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J. Bосh-Villa, University of Granada, 587, 632, 683.

Ch. Bouyana, University of Tunis. 498.
G. Bowering, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 547.
The late J. A. Boyle, University of Manchester. 300, 376, 498.

[H. H. Bruk]. 541.
Yu. Breigel, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 374, 582.


[C. Brockelmann, Halle]. 588.
K. L. Brown, University of Manchester. 271.
J. T. F. de Bruyere, University of Leiden. 167, 176, 583, 835, 1027, 1165.

[F. Buil, Copenhagen]. 1156.

R. Bulliet, Columbia University, New York, University of Münster. 1157.
K. M. Burnell, University of London. 576, 646.
J. Burton-Fage, Church Knowle, Dorset. 233, 785, 889, 1238.

Elisabeth Cahen, University of Paris. 22, 73, 104, 254, 272, 287, 865, 1029, 1159.


G. Camps, University of Aix-en-Provence. 757.

The late M. Canard, University of Algiers. 105, 820.

Mehmed Çağrıoğlu, University of Istanbul. 116.

Nihad Çetin, University of Istanbul. 694.

P. Chalmeta, University of Madrid. 377, 782.

D. Chevalier, University of Paris. 798.

J. W. Clinton, Princeton University. 649, 957.

D. Cohen, University of Paris. 525.


A. Cour, Constantine]. 49, 526.

Patricia Crewe, Oxford. 23.

P. Dacheaul, University of Tunis. 1244.

The late L. Ch. Damais, Paris. 228.


The late G. Deverdun, Paris. 855.

A. Dias Farinha, Institute of African and Oriental Languages, Lisbon. 367.

A. Dietrich, University of Göttingen. 252, 787, 820, 1168.

[A. Diez]. 266.

F. Th. di Jermen, Leiden. 225.

Hichem-DjaIt, University of Tunis. 498.

B. Djuric, University of Sarajevo. 32.
AUTHORS

G. E. Wheeler, Epsom, Surrey. 28.
G. M. Wickens, University of Toronto. 936.
[E. Wiedemann, Erlangen]. 357, 397, 537, 548, 1189.
[G. Wiet, Paris]. 386.
M. Winter, University of Tel-Aviv. 975.

R. Wixman, University of Oregon, Eugene. 1, 3, 5, 81, 284, 285, 498, 579, 616, 730.
M. E. Yaff, University of London. 1080.
M. J. L. Young, University of Leeds. 314, 860.
E. A. Zachariadou, Montreal. 268.
H. Zafarni, University of Paris. 207.
A. H. Zarrinkoob, University of Tehran. 603.
[K. V. Zettersten, Uppsala]. 437.
P. 87ob, KEMAKH add to Bibliography; R. H. Onal, Monuments $al£uqidcs de Kemah (Anatolic orientate).
in REI, xxxv (1967), 149-72.
P. 9*0“, KIT AF, Mto Bibliography: J.Aubin, Unsanton qiViistdnidel'ipoqiu Umoi-r'de, in REI. xxxv (1967),
185-216.
P- 9*4®, KHAFt>, add to signature and O. Mkinardus.
P. 962*. al-KHALIl b. AHMAD, I. 39 from below, instead oj al-farahidI read al-FarAhIdI
1. 17 from below, instead of Falknerliteratur read FalknercUiteratur
P. 962\ I. 36, instead of ibn Ahmad read ibn-Ahmad
I. 37. instead of Sibaicayhs read Slbawaihs
!• *8 from below, instead of 266 read 366
1. 14 from below, instead of 4075 ff- read 4075 f.
P. 963b, 1. 32 instead of Fa'id read Fdyit
I. 18 from below, after author add, a pseudo-al-Khalil,
P. 963*. I. 19. instead of 303 read 304
69, Arabic tr. in MM&A (Cairo) 18 (1964), 33-47
II. 34 and 37, instead of If. read f.
1. 22 from below, instead of 37-9 read 37-42
1- 2 from below, after x373/r954 odd, 43*7
P. 964*. JSJjALlL b. ISHAR, I. 14, instead of born in Cairo read died in Caiiv
P. 1034*>, al-KHARADJ. 1. 32, add: R. S. Cooper, The assessment and collection 'J hharai tax in medieval Egypt,
in J AOS 96 (1976), 365-82 ^important).
P. i6gon, KUA$I, last line, after 123 add; this belief has been affirmed by Muslim law; see R. Brunschvig,
Averrois juriste, in Etudes d'orientalisme. . . Uvi-Provencal, Paris 1962, i, 65, n. 79 — Etudes d'Fslamologie, Paris 1976, ii, 197, n. 79P. xo99b, al-EHA$$A wa-’l^AMMA, 1. 30 from below, after mischief-makers, add (It should be noted,
however, that the ShPitcs applied the term cdmma disparagingly to the Sunnites; see R. Brunschvig,
Fiqh fatimide et histoire dc ITfnqiya, in Melanges .. .G. Marpais, Algiers 1957, ii, 13 — Etudes d'Islatnologie, Paris 1976, i, 64.)
P. mi*, al-KUATIB AL-BAGHDAPj, 1. x8 from below, after haditf' add (ibid., i, 417)
I. 17 from below, after Kufa add (Yakut, Udabdy, i, 246)
1. 14 from below, after NIsliapur add [Ta'rikk Baghdad, v, 67; x, 383)
I. 12 from below, after Rayy add {ibid., xi, x 15)
I. 8 from below, instead of 1922 read 1911.
J. 6 from below, after DInawar add (Subkl, Tabakal, iii, 12; *iv, 29)
P. xxii*, 1. 20, instead of Udabt* i., read UdabaJ, i.
I. 25, instead of 210-17 read 210-27.
1. 25 from below, instead of 1974. i. 69-73 read 1976, i, 70-74
I. 17 from below, after Baghdad add a year later
P. ni2\ 1. 22, instead of lldhiyat read lldhiyal
I. 27. after 1971; add *Beirut 1974;
I. 23 from below, instead of 69-73 read 70-74
I. 22 from below, after ’l-tajrllf, add a work about traditioners with similar names and their identifi¬
cation,
I. 18 from below, after 175 ff. add; printed Beirut 1975
I. 17 from below, after al-*amal add, a small paraenetic book concerning 201 ahdditji abydt and nfiwal
by well-known individuals, named and anonymous poets, prophets and sages (e.g. quotations from
the Torah), on both concepts ‘jtm and *amal, always introduced by isttdds
after by al-AlbSiii, add Beirut 1386/1966, 3i389(igfe9,
P. iii2»,l. 12, after 13 add] *iv, 33.
P. nss*.KHAYR al-DIN PASHA, 1. 13-14 from below, instead of G. S. van Krieken read idem
I. 11 from below, instead of idem read G- S. van Krieken
P. n62r, al-KHAYYAT. Abu ’l-Husayk, I. 14 from below, instead of Aba read Abii
P. 1162®, |. g, delete about
P. xi63®, |. 6, instead of 7 read -7
I. 29. instead of 6 read -6
>- 19 from below, instead of 5 read -5
1. 14 from below, instead of 4 read -4
last line, instead of 6 ff., 85, xx. 5 ff. read -6 ff, 85, 11. -5 ff.
Plate XLVII, &HAZAF, caption No. r belongs to the left-hand photograph, caption No. 2 to the right-hand
photograph.
P. 1171*, Add to Bibliography, section 'General': E. J. Grube, Islamic pottery of the 8th to the 15th century in the
Keramxk, Katalog, Diisseldorf 1973; Keratnos, No. 64, Berlin, April 1974 <in conjunction with the
preceding reference).— Section 'Technique': J. C. Cardin, Code pout I'analyse des formes de poteries,
CNRS Paris 1976. — Section *China and Islam' : Y. Crowe, Certains types et techniques de la clramique
dc Suse, in Atti del VII Convcgno Internationale della ceramica, Albisola 1974. — Section 'Turkey':
W. B. Denny, The ceramic revetments of the mosque of Riistem Pasha and the environment of change.
New York 1977; M. Meinecke, Fayeuce Dekcrationen seldschukischcr Sakraibautcn in Kleinasien,



VOLUME V

P. 849, KİBLA, l. 2: al-Daghmuni lived ca 618/1223-24, since, according to Hâghipi Khalifa (though not in the printed versions of the Kâshaf al-şunûn), this was the date of composition of his treatise on astronomy.

P. 850, 2nd formula from bottom: the quantity $\cos \varphi$ is to be multiplied by the preceding quotient and the product is to be added to $\sin \varphi$.

P. 859, l. 8, before $\frac{\cos \varphi \cos \Delta L}{K}$ insert $-$

P. 859, l. 10, before $\frac{\sin \varphi \sin \varphi}{K}$ insert $-$

P. 859, l. 15, before $\frac{\cos \varphi \cos \Delta L}{K}$ insert $-$

P. 868, l. 4, after $\sin \theta$, insert $-$

P. 87, Table 1, instead of $ij$ read $\varphi$.

P. 87*, ll. 7 and 9, instead of $\varphi_{p}$ and $\varphi_{r}$ read $f_{p}$ and $g_{r}$.


P. 106, KILWA, l. 3 from below, instead of KÎNIVI read KÎNÎNE.


P. 243, KÎZ, 3rd paragraph: Ewliya Celebi and, following him, Mamboury are wrong when saying that the Elz-tashli, i.e. the Byzantine "Maiden's stone" (of porphyry), was incorporated into the Süleymaniye Mosque. The order books (1550-7) of the Süleymaniye mention the transportation of a column from the Kstahli Mahallesi to the mosque, but that one was from granite. See C. Mango, Antike Statuari und die Byzantiner beholder, in Dumbarton Oaks Papers xvii, Washington 1963, 61; O. L. Barkan, Süleymaniye camii ve inşaat, Ankara 1972-9, l. 344-6, il. 23-4, Nos. 44-5; J. M. Rogers, The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey, i, The stones of the Süleymaniye, in JAMES xiv (1982), 79.

P. 268, KORDOS, The correct name in Ottoman Turkish of the city of Corinth emerges rather as Kördes or Gördes in the pages of Ewliya Celebi, where it is consistently spelt with hâfsâfî and not with hâfî, confirmed by such European renderings as Gourdese (Bernard Randolph, 1689) and Ghiurdos (W. M. Leake, ca 1805). Add to the Bibliography: P. A. MacKay, The fountain at Hadji Mustafa, in Hesperia, final. of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, xxxvi (1957), 193-5; idem, Aerocnôth in 1668, a Turkish account, in op. cit., xxvii (1968), 386-97, with map, plan and photographs.

P. 428, KÛRÂN, add to Bibliography, section "General studies": A. Neuwirth, Studien zur Komposition der mekanischen Suren, Berlin 1981.

P. 509, KÜRSAN, l. 23, instead of Khârî I Island read Khârî Island.

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

P. 532, KUTB MINAR, place Plates XXVIII-XXIX between pp. 508 and 549.

P. 557*, KUTN, l. 24 from bottom: instead of Bozdogan read Bozdogan.

P. 558*, l. 23 from bottom: instead of Calışlı read Calışlı.

P. 559, l. 19 from bottom: instead of Eiuçay read Uluçay.

P. 560*, l. 8 from bottom: instead of muslim read muslin.

P. 550, l. 16 from bottom: instead of of read or.

P. 561, l. 10: instead of 873/1470 read 875/1470.

P. 561, l. 39: instead of muslims read muslims.

P. 563*, l. 5: instead of Starhemberg read Starhemberg.

P. 564*, l. 7: instead of Mecmerrer read Moriner.

P. 565*, l. 20 from bottom: instead of 1241/1225 read 1244/1225.

P. 565*, l. 12 from bottom: instead of journalist read journalists.

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

P. 566*, l. 14: instead of Edseby read Ecseby.

P. 570, A-KUTUB, l. 7 from bottom: A part of the 6Uyain, edited by Fayyal al-Sâmîr and Nabila ‘Abd al-Munîm Dâdûd, has been published in Baghdad in 1357/1977. Following an unconfirmed report another part has been published in Cairo in 1980 and further parts are planned.

P. 590, LAHAWR, place Plates XXX-XXXI between pp. 600 and 601.

P. 898, MÂ, section 7: Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain, add to Bibliography: R. Brunschvig, Hafsidens, ii, 210-13 and the bibliography given there.
P. 1027a, MADJÁZ I. 4, instead of more read mere
l. 31 from below, after mind insert to

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


P. 1103b, MADJINÜN LAYLÁ, l. 7 from below, after his love add of


P. 1231b, AL-MAHDI, l. 12 from below, add to end of paragraph: The Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr al-Āyānī, who died in Himṣ between 88/707 and 95/715, attributed the following tradition to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "The Mahdi will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (fikhr̄) of ten and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (tābūt al-sakhīna) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus; and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."

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

P. 1235a, add to Bibliography: W. Madelung, The Sufyānī between tradition and history (forthcoming).

SUPPLEMENT


KHEMASHIN, a numerically small group of Muslim (Sunni) Armenians who had been converted from Christianity in the beginning of the 13th century. In the U.S.S.R. (population 529, according to the 1926 Soviet census), they now inhabit the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border. In Turkey they live in compact settlements along the Diftiri and Karadere rivers (Bash Khemashin) and in the mountains not far from Hope (Hope Khemashin). The traditional economy is based on sheep and goat herding, and related activities. The Khemashin dialect (like the Erzurum, Cilicia and Istanbul dialects) is part of the western dialect group of the Armenian language. The Khemashin have, to a great extent, assimilated by the Turks, nor have they been listed in either the 1959 or 1970 Soviet censuses.

KHERLA, a fortress of mediaeval India, lying to the south of Malwa and east of Khándesh [q.v.], and in the extreme northern part of Berar [q.v.], just to the south of the headwaters of the Taptí River. It is in fact some 50 miles west of modern Deogafh; in British India it fell within the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh.

The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Râdîput râdiâ, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dilî Sultan, perhaps in the time of Allâbâd Khâlid; but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction. During the revolt of the Deccan in the latter years of Mubârram b. Tughluq, it fell into the hands of a local Gond dynasty. In the early 9th/10th century, the Gond ruler Nasîngh was made subject to the ruler of Mâla, Hushang b. Dîlâwar Khân Ghûrî (508-38/1105-35), appointed to Mâla by the Tughluqids. It now became a subject of discord and covetousness between the rulers of Mâla and the Bahmânis; the latter took over the territory in 831/1428. The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Râdîput râdiâ, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dilî Sultan, perhaps in the time of Allâbâd Khâlid; but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction.

According to the 'Abbâsid tradition, Khidâsh was a nickname derived from 'âh-d-âsh “to tear apart”, "to scratch" because “he has torn religion to pieces” (khâdâsha al-dîn) (Tabârî, ii, 1503; Bâladhûrî, Anshâb, f. 292b). This is a clear indication of the efforts made on the part of the 'Abbâsids to blacken his name, especially after his death. In another tradition, however, Tabârî says that it was Khidâsh who adopted this name whereas his real name was 'Ammâr or 'Umâra b. Yazîd (ii, 1588, cf. Anshâb, f. 292a, inf.; Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmîl, Beirut 1939-48, ii, 237, lists Khâlîa as a sâhîr of the sâhîr of Berâr with a revenue of 171 million damûn.

Bibliography: Sir Wolseley Haig, in Camb. hist. of India, iii, index. (C. E. Bosworth)
name is concerned, Khidāsh is not an uncommon name in Arabic, derived from the third form of the verb ʿād-š (cf. Lane’s Lexicon and LA, s.v. and Aṣḥāb, xxix, 52 and index). It is quite possible that the ʿAbbāsids added their interpretation to the name later, when already there existed a tradition according to which the Prophet disliked the name Khidāsh. (Bu Wālib, Dilwa‘, Cairo 1939, 97, cf. Rster, “Call yourselves by graceful names”, in Lecceus in memory of Prof. Martin M. Plossner, Jerusalem 1975, 21). However, whether Khidāsh was his name or not, it does not make much difference to the fact that his activities in Khorasan for over eight years as head of the Hashimiyya (q.v.), caused so much trouble to the ʿAbbāsids that his memory was almost completely obliterated from the records of the ʿAbbāsids daʿwa.

In order to understand the enigmatic personality of Khidāsh, one must remember that in the early phases of the daʿwa the contacts between the centre of its activity in Khorasan and the parallel centre in Kuṭa were, for security reasons, very weak. The same considerations necessitated extreme caution in the contacts between the Khorasanis and the ʿAbbāsids Imāma in Hunayna. Although the sources say that the propagandists in Khorasan acted in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, it is highly improbable that the ʿAbbāsids intentionally failed to uncover this connection or to discover the identity of the Imām until the very end. The contents of the daʿwa teachings were extremely ambiguous throughout, and its propagandists spoke in general terms about the rights of ʿAbī al-ḥaṣaṣ (cf. al-Imā mùa, al-Imā‘a, ed. Samarrai, Leiden 1973, 571 l. 18) a term which was accepted to mean the family of the Prophet (cf. M. Sharon, Thè ʿAbbasid daʿwa re-examined, 9, n. 23). Thus through most of its phases, the daʿwa in Khorasan was, in fact, nothing but an extension of the Hashimiyya of Kuṭa. It is thus highly possible that even the leaders did not know what exactly were the essential ideas that differentiated their activities from those of the other Shiʿa in Khorasan, and especially those in Nishāpūr and its environs.

The only information about Khidāsh supplied by Tabārī and Balṣdhuri is as follows. After Asad b. ʿAbī Allāh al-Kārī had killed several of the first propagandists of the daʿwa in Khorasan, headed by Abū ʿIkrima, and had severely punished some of the others, another leader was sent from Kuṭa to Khorasan. The new leader was Abū ʿl-Husayn Khāshālander. As he was an uneducated man (if the term ʿumma in Tabārī’s account is to be understood thus), Khidāsh was able to overcome him and assume the leadership (Tabārī, ii, 1503, Ansāb, l. 292a).

In another tradition there is some more and rather different information about Khidāsh. According to this tradition, it was Bukayr b. Mihin, one of the veteran adherents of the Hashimiyya who, in 215/736 sent ʿAmār b. Yāzīd to Khorasan as a “leader of the Shīʿa of Bann ʿl-ʿAbbās” (Wāliyyan ʿalā ʿlf bann ʿl-ʿAbbās). He resided in Marw and changed his name to Khidāsh (a custom common to the early adherents of the daʿwa, who for reasons of secrecy, used to adopt new ʿumma once initiated into the movement [see Kārta]). He began making propaganda for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, in which he was very successful. According to another tradition in the Ansāb, it was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī who nominated him. Sometimes later, however, Khidāsh changed his initial propaganda and “turned away from the Imām’s instructions and began to teach improper and disgraceful ideas. Therefore, the adherents of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī fell upon him and killed him. Some say that it was Asad b. ʿAbī Allāh al-Kārī who killed and crucified him” (Balṣdhuri, Ansāb, f. 292a). The “disgraceful ideas” according to Tabārī (fns. cvid.) were those of the Khurramiyya (q.v.). His execution by Asad took place, according to Tabārī, in 103, during the governor’s second term of office (ii, 1589–9; Wellhausen, 510). Although these traditions reflect clearly the ʿAbbāsids distortion of the information about Khidāsh, it is possible, however, to build the following picture, from the combination of the above narrations with the information transmitted in the Aṣḥāb. Khidāsh’s predecessor as the leader of the Hashimiyya in Khorasan, Khāshālander, b. Saʿād, led the movement in Marw from ca. 108/726 for three years until 111/730. It was probably in that year that Khidāsh arrived from Nishāpūr, a centre of Hashimit activity, and took over. For at least seven years, until his execution in 118/736, he was the leader (ṣādiq) of the Hashimiyya there (Tabārī, ii, 283, l. 2) and the one responsible for creating its sound organisation, as Wellhausen rightly observes. He was the first to achieve a real and enduring success and to gain wide support among both Arabs and Muslims. The lists of the leaders of the daʿwa in his time show people from Ṭūmān, Ramḍān and other Arab tribes, including Sallām b. ʿAbī Saʿīd of Kufa, who was later to replace him (Wellhausen, Tabārī, ii, 1586–7, Aṣḥā, 216–22). There is no neutral evidence whatsoever that he was Khurrami, though Wellhausen, Cahen and Lewis tend to accept ʿAbbāsids traditions which attributed to him Khurrami and Mazdakite theories (this tradition is presented in its complete form by al-Naṣabī al-ʿAkbar, ed. J. van Es, Beirut 1971, 32–5, cf. Wellhausen, 515–16; Cahen, Point de vue . . ., 324–5). Cahen, however, points out that many people who fell out of favour were accused of sandaṣa, and this is clearly true of Khidāsh; a tradition which presents him as a Christian from Yūrā should be understood also as representing the same trend (Ansāb, loc. cit.). From a unique tradition in the Aṣḥāb, we know exactly the nature and content of his propaganda, and it also explains why the ʿAbbāsids later hated him. The tradition states: “A group of Khidāsh’s adherents in Nishāpūr, called the Khidāshiyta after its leader, a certain Abū Khidāsh. The group acted against the ʿAbbāsids from the very beginning of their reign, and in the time of Abū Dīsār al-Mansūr changed its name and became the Fātimiyat. They argued that, since after the death of ʿĪbrāhīm al-Imām [q.v.] a new ʿimām was not nominated in the way of wāʾṣiya, the ʿimām should return to the ʿAlids, now already represented by the descendents of Fātimah (Aṣḥāb, 439–4). From the statement that the Khidāshiyta-Fātimiyat continued the former Khidāshiyat, it is clear that Khidāsh as a Hashimi leader furthered the cause of the ʿAlids.

Having worked for a while in Nishāpūr, Khidāsh seized the opportunity of the growing activity of the Hashimiyya in Marw in order to move there in 118/730, and being intellectually superior to Khāshālander b. Saʿād, he was able to depose him and take over the leadership of the movement there. For the Hashimiyya of Marw, both his leadership and ideology were congenial. After the death of Abū Ḥāṣim, the original Hashimiyya continued in general terms to support the cause of the House of the Prophet, which became more and more identified with the Fātimid ʿAlids. This development disturbed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and on one occasion he is said to have warned one of his early emissaries to Khorasan, the Khilāf leader Abū ʿIkrima, about the ʿAlids leaders in Nishāpūr.
During the seven years of his activity, the 'Alid cause gained widespread support, whereas the 'Abbasid Imam was kept completely in the shade. Khidash spoke in favour of al-Ra`if min Al Muhammadd or al-Kifin min al-lb bayy, slogans which were common to all the 'Alid adherents in Khurasan and the early da`wa.

Khidash’s independent ideas, which were inconherent with the aims and aspirations of the 'Abbasid Imam, are explicitly indicated in Ta'rikh al-Khulafa', ed. Grazievich, f. 252b l. 18-2531. 6, and especially in a unique note on the margin of the manuscript, f. 253a, which is the key for understanding the whole problem. It runs as follows: Khidash, radhunu nabilah wa-rasidun bi-Khurasan wa-nisabahu li-l-lahum min ukhri bayyi rasidul alladhi fa l-sharia ba-dhut "I shall not return to all the Alid adherents in Khurasan."

Muhammad b. `Abd understood that the new independent centre in Khurasan had to be connected directly with him and not through Kufa, but as long as Khidash was alive this was impossible, and it was difficult even after Khidash’s death in 121/736.

The new leader, Sulayman b. Kathir, went to see the Imam in Humayma in 120/739, but this meeting led to a crisis. Muhammad b. `Abd tried to repropose the Khurasani for accepting Khidash’s wrong ideas, but Sulayman and the Khurasani could not see what was wrong in pure 'Alid-Hajjajiyi ideology, and for over five years the relations between Khurasan and the 'Abbasid Imam were almost non-existent (Tabari, ii, 1240, 1277, 1269, Baladhuri, f. 292b).

Only in 120/744 were relations restored, and the centre in Khurasan acknowledged the leadership of the new Imam, Muhammad b. Kathir (died in 125/745). Sulayman welcomed Bukayr b. Mihah in Marv and sent money with him to the Imam (Tabari, ii, 1240, 1269, Baladhuri, loc. cit.). This improvement in the atmosphere was due to the great crisis in the Shfa that followed in the wake of the collapse of Zayd b. `Ali’s revolt in Kufa in 121/736 and the execution of his son Yabu in 122/737. The messianic expectations of the Shfa which were connected with these two were replaced by the usual feelings of sorrow and repentance after their death. This feeling was especially acute in Khurasan, where black garments were worn everywhere as a sign of mourning for the dead 'Alids and where mourning for the dead 'Alids and newborn Alids was introduced. The circumstances were, therefore, ripe for coming to terms with the 'Abbasids imam and for turning the da`wa into an 'Abbasid one. Even so, this change was not easily accepted. Not only did the pro-'Alid Khidashiyia continue to exist under a new leader, but also (as Baladhuri reports, Anas, f. 305a), Muhammad the son of Sulayman b. Kathir was himself an adherent of the Khidashiyia who was opposed to the transference of the movement in Khurasan to Alu Muslim. Because of the activities of Khidash we can now understand that it was not until 120/744 that the da`wa in Khurasan was changed from a purely 'Alid one to an 'Abbasid one. But the 'Abbasid was, after reaching power, known as al-Mansur is reported once to have said, that "the love for the Al Ali 'Abd in the hearts of the people of Khurasan is mixed with the love for us" (Fragmenta, ed. De Goeje, 245).

which He has created him; while țayn consists in His preparing the fasîk for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Kirân, the force of logie, and the attitude of the jussaâs and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the Companions and Successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong in the past who handed down traditions and of the firman (passion, desire). When Allah protects the soul, țamyiz (power of discrimination) and another, haw (unanimous). Then follows this reasoning: Allah hat m, Thumama. aMAIIaf and aI-DjH»?i are all to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like al-

is "the creation of the ability to disobey". The Mu'tazills (as already indicated by Ibn Hazm’s words) see in it a contradiction to Allah’s commandment. He strengthens the law with a strength which amounts to leading astray (ıddal).

Therefore it is the refinement of divine grace. It is the "prince, lord", while, according to the Ash'arists, țidhal is "the creation of the ability to disobey". The use of the Arabic form of the title Khedive is "lord, prince, ruler". The use of the Arabic form of the title Khedive is "lord, prince, ruler".


KHIDHLÄN—KHIR BEG

KHIDHLÄN, Khidhlä, title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, deriving from Persian khidhlä, kadäsh "lord, prince, ruler". The use of the Arabic form of the title Khedive is "lord, prince, ruler".

In a way, it was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman Sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroyâs of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismâ'îl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outlays, his master in Istanbul and the European powers.

formal opening of the Suez Canal. From a mere viceroy of Egypt, he rose to become the viceroy of Egypt and the vassal of the Ottoman Sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroyâs of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismâ'îl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outlays, his master in Istanbul and the European powers.

Although Khidhlän is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehi, 9). His three sons, Ya'qub Pasha, Mustâfî Ahmâd Pasha and Sinan Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous Tadarrusvâs. Although Khidhlän is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehi, 9). His three sons, Ya'qub Pasha, Mustâfî Ahmâd Pasha and Sinan Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous Tadarrusvâs.

The title remained in use until 1914, and was assumed by Ismâ'îl's son Tawâfîk Pasha (1879-92), and Tawâfîk's son 'Abbâs II Hilmi (1892-1914) [9v.]. When soon after the outbreak of the Great War Egypt was declared a British Protectorate and 'Abbâs II was deposed, his successor, his uncle Husayn Kamîl, assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt.

Ilyas is described as a horseman. Ilyas is further mentioned in oral tradition. In one poem the Turk Istanbul 1941, 54; Dergama'da cinsaneler, detaylar, 77.

In beliefs which explain the name of joy from their reunion (Ali Irner, hitir that of the land, but others hold the inverse impression on the hands which he touches; and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyas, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and ceremonies are reserved for women and girls. They are generally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the 'Alawi villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kirkkale. During the month which precedes the day of Hidrellez, the ceremony of "drawing from the divinatory pitcher" takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called "the day of Nazari", when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrificed animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, more or less, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see 2STisgiv]. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Utul, Yuhan Kanara bayindir Nazari sentikleri, in Türk folkbh arastirmaları, No. 167 (1971)).

In addition to the sources cited in the entry for Khi<Jr Beg in von Hammer's Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst, Pest 1860, i, 124, is actually that of his son, Sinan Pasha.

AL-H饲料USAYN [SEE AL-H饲料USAYN].

KHI<JR BEG — KHI<JR KHAN

AL-H饲料USAYN (in Turkish, Hidrellez), is the name, in Turkish tradition, of a popular festival in the spring and celebrated on the 5-6 May, this date being considered as marking the beginning of the season of summer, extending from then till 7 November (Kusma). The two dates correspond respectively with the feastsdays of St. George (23 April) and St. Demetrius (26 October).

Khidr (Teish, Hizir) also symbolises in Turkish tradition the renewal of vegetation in the spring. It is believed that, when this personage shows himself upon the face of the earth, the dry vegetation becomes green again as he passes; that he leaves a green impression on the banks which he touches; and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyas, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and oral tradition they are limited to allusions to his certain beliefs, Ilyas is the master of the seas, and a power which he shares with Hinr; according to a local source, Bihamad Kh.ini’s TVriAA-i hagiologically attributed to the $flfl EjalAl al

Funds, such as abundance, prosperity, happiness in general, or more specifically, the acquisition of a house, the birth of a child, etc. Early in the next morning, there takes places the "drawing from the divinatory pitcher". The previous evening, there are placed in the pitcher, to the accompaniment of appropriate rites, various small objects belonging to women and girls who wish to ask Fate about their future destiny; the pitcher is then placed under a rosebush during all the night. In the morning, a young girl draws out the objects in the pitcher one after the other, and Woman recites the "divinatory quartain", which is interpreted in regard to the future fate of the owner of the corresponding object. (3) On 6 May, there is an outing to go and eat, in groups of relatives, neighbours and friends, in the countryside, usually by some sanctuary. Games and amusements, including swings, the preferred pastime for this festival, are organised.

The festival and its attendant ceremonies are normally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the ‘Alawi villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kirkkale. During the month which precedes the day of Hidrellez, the ceremony of “drawing from the divinatory pitcher” takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called “the day of Nazari”, when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrificed animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, more or less, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see 2STisgiv]. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Utul, Yuhan Kanara bayindir Nazari sentikleri, in Türk folkbh arastirmaları, No. 167 (1971)).
When Timur invaded India in 801/1398-99, he took refuge in Mewar, but later entered Timur's service, and became the governor of Dihli and khilāʿd-dar of Multan and Deogadpur. However, it was not until 817/1414 that he finally took possession of Dihli. He regarded himself a vassal of Timur, and later of the latter's son Shah Rukh (q.v.), whose names were recited in the Mubda and inscribed on the coinage. He obtained Shah Rukh's permission in 820/1417 to affix his own name also on the coinage; he chose for himself not the title of mullah, but that of rūyāt-i nāʾī, suggesting presumably that he was a standard-bearer of the Timurids.

His reign of seven years, until his death in 839/1431, was full of campaigns undertaken by himself and by his able and loyal māst Tāj al-Mulk which extended the frontiers of his authority and re-united Paṇḍāb with Dihli. Punitive expeditions were organised against rebellious nobles, especially the Tārān nakhs; there were also several expeditions against Hindu rājās such as those of Kotahe and Gvālījār (q.v.) in order to collect taxes and tribute. Near-contemporary chronicles regard him as a kind and benevolent ruler who brought to Dihli and the other areas which he governed relief from the economic sufferings and insecurity which had continued since the invasion of Timur.


KHILA (pl. khilāʾ), "robe of honour," also called tasāghī ṭaṣāghī, and tasāghījāt. Throughout much of the Middle Ages, the term khila did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles (khilaʿ or baddā) which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction (hence the alternate name tasāghīf, "honouring"). These robes, the most common of which was the ḥabī (see above), were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as firāz (q.v.) and were produced in the royal factories (dār al-firāz).

(i) Origin of the custom.

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

This custom had a most important precedent in Islam with Muḥammad's gift of the baddā (q.v.) which he was wearing to the poet Kāʾb b. Zuhayr (b. al-ʿAtlīr, Kāmil, Cairo 1903, ii, 137-4). The very word khila denotes the action of removing one's garment (A. Ḥabīb) in order to give it to someone (TA, v, 342). L. A. Mayer has suggested that this was "originally more a promise of personal security [māṣlaḥa] than a token of distinction" (Mamluk costumes, 56), but this is an overstatement.

This term khila does not appear until ʿAbbasid times, when the practice became so institutionalised that the bestowal of garments of honour was an almost daily occurrence. Members of the caliphal entourage came to be known as aṣḥāb al khilaʾ those who wear the khila". The presentation of a robe of honour was a standard mark of investiture. Such was the case for an heir-apparent (see e.g. Maṣḥīd, Murājī, vii, 305), a vizier (e.g. Ḥūdā al-Ṣāliḥī, Taʿrīkh-i Wāsārī, ed. Mamed, Beirut 1904, 175), or a provincial governor (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 217). The bestowal of khilaʾ and other gifts to favourites was an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by historians (e.g. Ibn al-Fawārī, al-Baḥāshāl al-dimīrī, ed. M. Djalal, Baghdad 1337).

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

The Mamlūkīs with their strong military psychology and a marked penchant for heraldic symbolism, standardised the khilaʾ in accordance with the class of the wearer and his rank within that class. The three major classes of khilaʾs were the military (aṣḥāb al-ṣawāfī, the civil service (aṣḥāb al-ṣawāfī), and the religious scholars (al-ʿulāmāʾ). Makrizī draws in detail the great variety of khilaʾ worn by these three important classes of Mamluk society (Khitāt, ii, 229-8; tr. by Mayer, in Mamluk costumes, 58-60).

A special official, the Nīsār al-Khāṣī (Keeper of the Privy Purse) oversaw the khilaʾ in the Great Treasury (al-khassā al-ḥabīr) which contained only robes of honour (ibid.). In addition to garments, the Mamluk military tasāghīf could consist of arms, such as gold-ornamented swords, and a horse from the sultan's own stable (min al-ṣīghāḥ), fully outfitted with saddle, bridle, and caparison (kandās).
officers upon the accession of a sultan (C. Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire turco-français, Paris 1881, i, 706), so that this term is to a large extent synonymous with that of ġulāt i jātī "accession payment".

Robes of honour were given on all sorts of occasions and for a variety of reasons. Thus, there was the ḥādīyat al-ma'āniya ḋ.or ḫ. al-sitaḥār (robe of appointment), the ḫ. al-wasīrah (robe of viziership), the ḫ. al-risāda ḋ.or ḫ. al-rīḍa (robe of pardon), and the ḫ. al-safar (robe of dismissal—with honour of course). The ḫ. al-hadīdām was given to a guest from afar, while the ḫ. al-sāfar was given upon his departure. A sultan might give a ḫ. al-ṣīfāya (robe of health) to a favourite who had recovered from an illness (Mayer, Mamluk costume, 5r-4, and the sources cited there).

The custom of bestowing robes of honour remained widespread throughout the Muslim world until recent times. In 19th century India a khilafat (also ḥilafah, ḥilāfa, khalīfa) might consist of anywhere from a minimum of five articles to as many as one hundred and one (Mrs. Neer Hassan Ali, Observations on the Mussulmans of India, London 1917; repr. Karachi 1971, 149-50; see also Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1903, repr. London 1968, 483-4).


[N. A. Stillman]

KHILAFA — KHILAFA

KHILAFA, KHILAFA movement, a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. On the one hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which came to the fore about 1900. On the other hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which was stimulated by nationalism [see A. C. Nicmecijer, The Khilajat movement in India, Delhi 1925 (confidential publication of the Govt. of India)]. Material concerning the movement can be found in Afzal Iqbal, ed., Select writings and speeches of Moulana Mahomed Ali, Lahore 1944 (containing among other things an unfinished autobiography of the author). In many books, the movement is treated as an episode in the nationalist struggle, e.g. A. Aziz, Discovery of Pakistan, Lahore 1944, and R. C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom movement in India, iii, Calcutta 1963. The most recent monograph is A. C. Nieemijer, The Khilajat movement in India, 1919-1944, The Hague 1972.

Khilâfa's wardenship over the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—claims which, by the way, constituted a check on Arab nationalism and the ambitions of the Sharif 'Abd al-Qasim of Mecca. Another deputation, headed by Muhammad 'Ali, went to Europe and had two (unsuccessful) interviews with members of the British Government in March 1920.

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

No less deadly blows came from the Turks. The nationalist government at Ankara succeeded in restoring Turkey's position. The Khilâfists supposed that Kemal Pasha was acting on behalf of the Sultan-Khilâfa, but this proved to be an error. In November 1922, the Sultanate in Turkey was abolished and the Khilâfa lost all temporal power; he was "Vaticanised" (a condition which the Khilâfists had declared to be incompatible with his office). Khilâfa leaders tried to explain away the fact, but their followers left them. The movement wholly collapsed when in March 1924 the Ottoman Khilâfa was abolished. Some leaders, like Abu 'l-Kalâm Āṣāl and Dr. Ansārī, remained in the Congress; others found their way back to the Muslim League, which up to 1929 had been the political organisation of Indian Muslims. Other leaders again, like the Āl brothers, tried to save the Khilâfa organisation, but to direct it towards communalist goals. It grew into an instrument to further Muslim interests as opposed to Hindu ones, but even in this form, the organisation had lost all significance by 1928.

Bibliography: Among the contemporary accounts the most important is P. C. Bamford, Histories of the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements, Delhi 1925 (confidential publication of the Govt. of India). Material concerning the movement can be found in Afzal Iqbal, ed., Select writings and speeches of Moulana Mahomed Ali, Lahore 1944 (containing among other things an unfinished autobiography of the author). In many books, the movement is treated as an episode in the nationalist struggle, e.g. A. Aziz, Discovery of Pakistan, Lahore 1944, and R. C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom movement in India, iii, Calcutta 1963. The most recent monograph is A. C. Nieemijer, The Khilajat movement in India, 1919-1944, The Hague 1972.
Miniature in the MS. of Rashid al-Din's *Djamā' al-Tawārīkh* in Edinburgh University Library representing Mahmūd of Ghazna donning a *khilfa* sent by the caliph al-Ḫāir in A.D. 1000.
KHILAT—KHINZIR

KHILAT [see A-KHILAT].

KHILATI. [see KHALD].

KHINALUG self designation: Kattitturur; Russian, Khinalug (from the A Khinalug), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Khinalug is a numerically small ethnical group, which forms an independent branch of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language family. According to the 1959 Soviet census, there were (ethnically) 95 Khinalugs, and linguistically 1,540. The Khinalugs are Small Moslems of the Sháffi rite.

In Khural law, suidae are included in the same divine anathema as monkeys (V, 65/60) [see qimun], and since their flesh involves the major impurity (najis al-tayr), no Muslim eats it (Túrân, 169/175, V, 34, XVI, 11/16). This food prohibition inherited from the Old Testament (Lev. xi, 17; Deut., xiv, 8) was abolished by Christ for Christians (Matt. xix, 17-20; Mark, vii, 15-21). In Islam, the prohibition of eating pig meat implies ṣīnput fadu the illegality of buying it or of raising the animal, whose presence near a person praying renders void the prayer; only the use of its bristles for making footwear is tolerated. These bristles are provided by Christian pig breeders who obtain them by scalding the beasts in boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying akrab min khindat al-khinzir li-l-ṣallat al-maghār "showing more aversion than the pig for boiling water".

Al-Jahiz, although admitting the excellence of the pig's flesh, which has pride of place on the tables of the Caesars and the Persian Emperors (iénawd, i, 234, iv, 40), is careful to point out, in regard to the animal and its behaviour, its most unattractive habits, aiming perhaps at justifying the strict terms of the Kur'anic prohibition. It is omnivorous, though not really coprophagous (ṣāiži), but it devours on occasion excrement. It consumes snakes, like the porcupine, certain raptores, the cat and the Purple Gallinule (zhahmu), its zeal to prolong the act of copulation (iénawd, ii, 35, iii, 188, 400, 496, 525, iv, 50 suggested scornful sayings like afyash min 'urf "more flighty than a boar" and akbah min khinzir "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squealing in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (mashar), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. This legend (iénawd, v, 387-8, vii, 204) stated that Noah, distressed when in the Ark by the pestilence that Jehovah had created out of the lion's sneeze in order to end the great spreading of rats in the ship, appealed once again to the Almighty, who sent down to him a pair of pigs (or wild boars), who soon set to work razing the beasts In boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying akbah min khinzir li-l-khtnzir li-md* al-miighar "showing more aversion to al-Daralr! (tfayate, i, 304), there was a tradition person expiating the divine punishment; according to the passage (tfayate, iii, x76, 354, 496, 525, iv, 50) suggested scornful sayings like afyash min 'urf "more flighty than a boar" and akbah min khinzir "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squealing in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (mashar), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. 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in the neighbourhood of pigs. The fact was noted by R. Reclus (Nouvelle géographie universelle, Paris 1884, ix, 190) that in many stables in Fars there was the custom of keeping horses in the company of pigs, and that a most close affection grew up between the two very different creatures. On the Christians' farms, the pig rivalled the cock in the role of waking people in the morning; since its cries for its food allowance could be heard from the earliest hours of the day (Hayyavân, ii, 294-5).

The ancient empirical forms of medicine attributed curative virtues to various organs of the pig. Thus its liver was used as an antidote against the venom of reptiles and soothe colics; its dried and powdered gall sprinkled on haemorrhoids made them go down; inserted in the nostrils, this lost soothed cough; a bone carried as a talisman secured against the quartan ague; and an ointment of its lard rubbed on the body gave protection against all evil and against malevolent spirits. Numerous other beneficial properties were attributed to its blood, urine and dung, as well as to the wild boar's tusks (see al-Damāri, op. cit., I, 306, and in the margin, al-Kazwīnī, 'Aqīdābī, II, 224-5).

Arabic synecgetic literature is poor in material relating to hunting the wild boar in particular and to the dangers involved in this. It was considered to be a dangerous beast because of its bad temper and its defecations, so that hares for its destruction were held by local rulers and officers; it was hunted with the lance, hunting spear, bow and sabre on these occasions. In Syria, the farmers preferred to let the lion roam on the fringes of their lands rather than to exterminate it, since it was a sure protection against the possible nocturnal ravages of herds of packy-boars through their crops (Hayyavân, iv, 49).

Kushādjīn (g.v.) simply recommends that a person on foot charged by a wild boar should feign death, face downwards on the ground (Masāyid, 215). In the 6th/12th century, the valiant lord of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munṣīd, tells in a realistic fashion of his perilous encounters with the black beast which, in his time, abounded in the Oronites lowlands (N. al-Mubīwī, Princetont 1930, 202, 223-4). 'Isā al-Asadī (27th/38th century), in his encyclopedia of hunting ('Al-Dhāmirat fī tālūnah al-bayzara (Iscorial ms., Ar. 931, l. 262a), advises farmers that, in order to ward off the depredations of wild boars, they should cause to boom out in the middle of the night a big caudron, emptied and placed upside down, and with a drum skin stretched over its mouth; a bunch of hair should then be flicked between the fingers with an alternating movement of the two hands. He also gives directions for making a trap (huṣna), roofering over the mouth of a conical hole dug in the normally-used pathway of the animals (op. cit., ff. 303b-304).

Finally, a century later, the Mawlaik Ibn Munfī, completing al-Asadī, brings to bear the fruit of his experience for anyone wishing to measure his strength against the savage beast, whether on foot or mounted (Uns al-mala' bi-waṣīth al-falād, B. N. Paris ms. Ar. 2832, ff. 17b-18b, and annotated tr. F. Vīrī, in the press). The arms which he recommends for fighting with it are the double-edged sabre (bābaddarlār) and the arrow with a flat-edged head (yāsdīlāh), which the attacker should plunge right into the animal's forehead or pierce with them its paws. If the hunter is thrown to the ground by the beast's charge (bānīlāh), he should flatten himself on the ground and strike upwards with a slashing motion in order to cut the tendons of one of the beast's limbs. He should also lie in wait for the moment when the beast turns round in order to spit it with a backwards action and rip it open. Another secret of success is perfect mastery of one's mount, which must not take the bit and bolt when it sees the attacking beast. With a lance or hunting spear, the best way is to gouge out one of the beast's eyes, which cannot then survive this wound. Finally, Ibn Munfī records that, according to the ancients, the bold taliṣman against the wild boar's violence is to carry a crab's claw hung on the arm.

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

The term khirīsīr plus other terms is also used to designate several other wild animals which have a long muzzle: the potamocherus (Potamocherus percaris) of Africa is therefore called khirīsīr al-nahr ("wild boar of the river") or khirīsīr al-mā'ī, wrongly identified by Rashīdí with the hippopotamus [see farān al-nahr in Suppl.]; the two other African subdes, the phacochoerus (Phacochoerus aethiopicus) and the hylochoerus (Hylochoerus meinertzhageni) are lumped together under the name khirīsīr abī al-nahrāyyn because of their highly-developed defensive tusks; with its long snout for grubbing up ant-hills, the orycterus (Orycterus afer) is called khiriṣiṣ abī al-nahr whilst the dolphine and the porpoise are called khirīsīr al-bahr "sea pig". Finally, in pathology, the plural khamṣīsīr designates scrofulous growths on the neck.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F. Vīrī)

AL-KHIRAKI, 'UMAR b. AL-HUSAYN AL-BAĞDĀDI (d. 334/946), better known under the name of Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Khirakī, was one of the first and most celebrated of Hanbali jurists. He was first guided into the maghlab of the Imām Ahmad by his father Abū 'Ali al-Khirakī (d. 290/902), who was himself a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwānī (d. 275/886). He also knew Ahmad's two sons, Sālīḥ (d. 268/880) and the ghāfīš 'Abd Allāh (d. 290/903).

On the eve of the arrival of the Shī'ī Būyids in Baghdad, al-Khirakī left the Irānī capital as a mujādīd seeking refuge in Damascus, where a Hanbali school was already taking root. He died there soon after his arrival there, in 334/945, although the exact date of his death is not known. He was buried in the cemetery of the Bāb Sāḥīr, at the side of the martyr's tomb (Kūbih al-guθādah), and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Ibn Bāṭa visited it when he passed through Damascus, and it still existed in Ibn Kathīr's time (Bīdawī, xi, 214).

Shams al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1394-5), in his résumé of the Bābī Abu 'l-Husayn's Tābi'īn al-hanbalīn, 532, tells us, on the basis of a report going back to Muwaffak al-Dīn Ibn Kūdāna, that al-Khirakī had denounced publicly in Damascus a "reprehensible practice" (munkar), whose nature is not otherwise specified. Because of this, he was condemned to be flogged and died as a result of his wounds. However, this version of his death does not seem to be given by his other biographers.

Al-Khirakī's only work which has come down to us is his famous Al-Muhkam, the first précis of Hanbali fiqh, which was to enjoy a considerable success and to contribute to the education and formation of numerous generations of legal scholars.

It is said that he wrote numerous other works whose titles are not specified and which have all
been lost. He had left his personal library in Bagdad in the care of a friend in the Darb Sulayman, before leaving for Syria. A fire there destroyed it (Bidaya, xi, 214).

Ibn Kathir remarks, loc. cit., that the Mukhassas was written when the Black Stone was in the hands of the Carmathians. In fact, al-Khiraki tells us in the Mukhassas, iii, 395, when describing the Pilgrimage rites, that "The Pilgrim must kiss the Black Stone if it is in its proper place". It is well-known that this last was carried off in 327/930 and restored in 339/950; one may accordingly conclude that the Mukhassas was put together between 317/930 and 334/945, after the death of Abu Bakr al-Khaliil (d. 314/928).

Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Aziz b. Di'antar (d. 356/967), called Qudam al-Khaliil, gave out that he did not follow the views of the Mukhassas on 60 questions (mas'ala). The had Abu 'l-Qaysayn, in his Tabakht, iii, 76-118, returns to this problem and enumerates 98 points of divergence between the two scholars, whilst defending that doctrine which he deems the best.

A large number of commentaries were written on the Mukhassas, of which three became especially celebrated, sc. those of Ibn Haniil (d. 403/1011), of the had Abu Ya'la (d. 458/1066) and of Muwaffak al-Din Ibn Khushru (d. 620/1223). The first two have been lost, however; under the title of Maq'tu, Muwaffak al-Din, has been published in Cairo by Rashid Ridai (12 vols., 1341-42/952-30). But there were also many other commentaries, and no text of Hanbalism was so much commented upon. The shaykh Badran, in his Madkal, 214, states that 300 commentaries still existed in the time of Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Hafl (d. 909/1503), a Hanbali known as a historian of Damascus.

Various disciples are known to us of al-Khiraki, including the following: (1) 'Abd al-Aziz b. al-Harith Abu 'l-Qaysayn al-Tamimi (d. 371/981), prolific author and founder of a famous line of legal scholars (Ishibli, 324); (2) Abu 'l-Qaysayn Sam'an (d. 387/998), one of the most famous preachers of his generation and a mathematician (bid., 350-3); (3) 'Abd Allah b. al-Ba'tha (d. 387/998), even though he does not mention al-Khiraki amongst the authorities upon whom he based his creed (bid., 346); and (4) Abu 'Hasan al-'Ukbari (d. 387/998), considered one of the best-informed scholars of Hanbalism.

Bibliography: Tahayth Bagdad, xi, 234; Tabakht al-hammala, i, 75-118; Ibn Kathir, Bidaya, xi, 274; Qudam, 331-2; Sharh Tabakht, ii, 526; Brockelman, i, 183, 398, S. 1, 312; Sezgin, G.A.S., i, 512-13; Laoust, Le Hanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad, in REI (1955), 54. (H. Laoust)

Khirbat al-Bayda', an early Arab structure in the Syrian Desert. Khirbat al-Bayda', or Qar al-Abayd is situated about 100 km. southeast of Damascus, looking out to the east over the Ruba'a, a fertile depression in the middle of the southeastern Syrian desert. It is a structure set out as a square, 50 m. x 60 m. At every angle and in the centre of each side, except for the eastern one, there are circular cell-like rooms. The eastern side contains the gate, giving on to a courtyard on the other sides by ranges of rooms, 7.6 m. deep and ca. 5.0 m. (type a), 6.5 m. (type b), 7.5 m. (type c), and 5.8 m. (type T) wide, forming the scheme a-b-a-T-a-b-a. All these rooms were living quarters. On the eastern side there were two small rooms flanking the entrance and four long rooms, which must have served as store-rooms. On the southern and northern sides the rooms were articulated into two groups with the scheme a-b-a and a-b-d respectively. Entrance from the courtyard was given by doors in the b-rooms, whence doors led to the a-rooms and further doors led from there to the T-rooms. On the western side were two groups of rooms following the scheme a-b-a which were also accessible through doors in the b-rooms. Thus we have on three sides of the courtyard two groups of rooms separated by isolated room of the T-type. The residential character of the building is attested by the organisation of the rooms, together with the abundant mural decoration especially on the lintels. First impression suggest that Khirbat al-Bayda' is another example of the genre of Unayyad palaces. Closer investigation, however, reveals this identification to be impossible. It lacks many elements shared by Unayyad palaces, principally the basilica organisation of the rooms, the peristyle, brick and vaulted construction, and stucco decoration. Both the decoration and the technique of construction demonstrate an ambitious local Syrian craftsmanship. The decoration shows this craftsmanship to be working with oecumenical patterns of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The relations of this local craftsmanship can be more closely determined. Masonry comparable with that of Khirbat al-Bayda' is found in northeastern Syria, not in the neighbouring Hawrin. Equally, the decoration is not Hawrain in type, but resembles closely the ornament found in the region northeast of Hamah. This suggests that Khirbat al-Bayda' is not an Unayyad structure but was built in the 5th and 6th century by one of the Arab rulers, clients to the Byzantine state.


Khirbat al-Mafjar, popularly known as Kafr Higam, is the modern name for the ruins of an unfinished Unayyad mansion in the Wadi 'l-Nuwaywan, north of Jericho. The ruins comprise three separate buildings: a palace proper, a mosque and a bath attached to a hall. On the east side of this complex stood a colonnaded forecourt with an ornamental pool at its centre. Additional architectural remains lie north of these buildings, but have not yet been excavated. Foundations of a wall, found north of the site, suggest that the buildings were originally surrounded by a walled estate, comprising cultivated land, agricultural settlements and perhaps a game preserve. A complex irrigation system, developed already in Roman times and based on three neighbouring springs—Ayn al-Sultan, Ayn al-Makhtjar and Ayn el-Duyrah, provided the water for the residential buildings as well as for the cultivation of the land. The modern name of the site, meaning "a place where water springs from the earth", attests to the abundance of water in this area. The site, which has not yet been identified with any place mentioned in written sources, was first visited and described by Captain Ch. Warren and Mr. F. J. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Survey of Western Palestine, iii, 1883, 211-12;
Our main knowledge, however, derives from the excavations conducted between 1935 and 1948 by the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, under the direction of R. W. Hamilton with D. C. Barski as field director. Their finds, which appeared first as preliminary reports in the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, were later published by Hamilton (Khirbat al-Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar, Oxford 1959).

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

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

The mosque was preceded by a small courtyard or vestibule, which had three additional openings in its northern wall. The mihrab was flanked by two cylindrical columns and was covered with white plas-
ter which remained undecorated. In front of the mshāb the excavators found the fallen remains of two arcades composed originally of three arches each. These arcades must have sheltered a strip of slightly more than 10 m. of the enclosure. The construction of the mosque was probably never finished, for the walls nowhere stood more than these courses high, and the excavators found no traces of a floor.

About 40 m. north of the palace are the ruins of a second large building complex which was separated from the palace by an open area. A wall and a butter-tower enclosed the area on the side aligned with the western palace wall, and the mosque was erected on the east. A paved and originally covered passage crossed the open space, connecting the palace with the northern buildings. The dominant feature of this complex was a square hall (north wall, 30.28 m.; south wall, 30.33 m.; west wall, 30.42 m.; east wall, 30.79 m.). The north, south and west sides each had three horse-shoe shaped exedrae, while a stately entrance porch, flanked by similar exedrae, occupied the eastern wall. Two additional entrances were found at either end of this wall. Each of the eleven exedrae was flanked by a pair of engaged columns, whose bases stood about a metre above the floor. Between and inside these exedrae were small rectangular niches which stood about 1.10 m. above floor-level and were covered by arched heads. Square plaisters with three-quarter round shafts at their corners supported the roof and divided the hall into nine central bays and an ambulatory. The piers were interconnected by stone-built arches carrying intersecting walls which rose high enough to provide room for windows. According to Hamilton's reconstruction (Fig. B) (Mufjar, 67-91; Pl. CV and Eavant, 63 and Fig. r for revised isometric restoration), the four central bays were square and had cross-vaults, while the axial naves were rectangular and barrel-vaulted. The central bay was raised above the rest and carried a dome over a cylindrical drum which was also pierced with windows. Except for the four compartments at the corners, the bays of the ambulatory were barrel-vaulted. The spacing of the piers was such that the central nave, connecting the porch with the central ase in the north, south, and west sides, was wider than the other passages (5.50 m. to 6.00 m. as against 4.40 m. to 4.60 m. for the flanking aisles and 3.30 m. to 3.90 m. for the aisles closest to the walls).

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

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

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

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

2. Decoration.—Apart from the mosque, which was never finished, and the ground floor of the palace, the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafjar were lavishly decorated. There were mosaic floors at the sīrāb, the hall adjoining the bath, and the dīwân. The façade, the porches and the walls of the hall and the dīwān were covered with stone and stucco panels respectively. The walls of the upper floor of the eastern wing of the palace, and of the bath hall, showed remains of paintings; figural sculptures, many of them nearly life size, were placed in niches or arcades at different parts of the buildings. The mosaics were of natural stone in a rich colour scale of red, brown or yellow, bluish, grey and white grades. While those in the sīrāb are technically of mediocre quality, the mosaics in the hall and dīwān are extremely fine. There are forty-two carpets altogether (thirty-eight in the hall and four in the dīwān). They are partly adapted in size and pattern to the architectural superstructure, and their placement appears to have been guided by the purpose and function of these buildings (Pl. IIb). The majority of these patterns show geometric or abstract designs and interlacings which are enriched by stylised floral devices. In the centre of the Hall a radiating rosette pattern accentuates the main axis and "reflects" the central dome above it (Panel 17 in Hamilton's chart, Mufjar, 305, Fig. 256). Roundels containing concentric interlacings decorate the floors of the four corner bays which were apparently cross-vaulted. There is a continuous mosaic panel in each of the outer corridors (Nos. 1, 2, 3 in Hamilton's chart). The rectangular panel between the entrance porch and the main rosette, in its composition and ornament, leads towards the central axis of the Hall. Finally, the design in the central ase (No. V in Hamilton's chart) is distinguished from the other apses by a large rosette in its interior and a semi-rosette at its base (Pl. IIa). The pavement includes only two figurative designs: one at the base of the central ase, representing a citrus fruit, a branch and a knife; and the other in the dais of the dīwān showing a fruit-bearing tree flanked to the right by a pair of gazelles and to the left by a lion attacking a gazelle (Pl. IIb).

Together with Kasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (45J, Khirbat al-Mafjar provides the richest accumulation of early Islamic architectural decoration so far known. Apart from stone—and occasionally marble—the artists made abundant use of mosaic for decorating the interior and exterior of the mansion. This technique, not used in Syrian architecture until later Umayyad times, had the advantage of being comparatively cheap, and its flexibility allowed it to be used for life-size sculpture. Moreover, it could be painted, and since it lent itself to modelling in a wide variety of forms, these stucco carvings must have contributed to the impression of richness and sumptuousness of the buildings.
Generally speaking, two groups of motifs predominate in the architectural surface decoration of Khirbat al-Mafjar. The first, and largest one consists of vegetal elements, such as acanthus leaves, full and half palmettes, vine garlands, flowers and fruit. The other comprises geometric elements and various abstract designs. Pure geometric compositions, however, are comparatively rare. In general they appear together and interwoven with vegetal designs, such as interlaced roundels, or roundels alternating with rectangles filled with rosettes, or diamond-shaped units filled with rosettes and palmette leaves respectively (Hamilton, Majjar, Pl. XI, III, 2). In most of the plaster ornaments the geometric units are interrupted and combined in such a way that the resulting patterns completely conceal their original rigid construction (Balustrade panels from Palace, Hamilton, Majjar, Pl. IX, 13, 14 and pp. 225-6, Figs. 182-91). The same principle was used in the mosaic pattern.

Wall paintings were found in two areas only: in the rooms of the east wing on the first floor of the Palace and in the "Bath Hall". Fragments on plaster, in both fresco and tempera, hardly any of these paintings were found in situ, and all that has remained are fragments. Since we know so little about Umayyad painting, this situation is all the more deplorable. Professor Oleg Grabar has studied these fragments and found that in subject matter, style and iconography the fragments in the Palace differed from those in the "Bath Hall". In the north part of the eastern wing of the Palace Sassanian textiles motifs predominated. In addition to floral ornaments, such as heart-shaped leaves, rosettes, lotus and palmette designs, a pattern of interlacing circles with a simurg painted within each of the roundels could be reconstructed. In the rooms to the south the excavators found architectural and figurative remains as well as painted imitations of marble. The style is less homogeneous than in the Palace proper and the Roman tradition of public baths is uncertain. In the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by a heavy unbroken band representing the eyelids, and the brows are marked by a grooved line; the eyelids of the other figures are more smoothly sculptured, and the brows are painted (Pl. Illb).

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

### Interpretation of structures and decorations

Our knowledge of the purpose for which Khirbat al-Mafjar was built, and of the actual function of its different units, is based primarily on interpretations of its architectural features and decorations. The irregular plan of the whole complex seems to imply that it was not conceived as a single unit and was built in consecutive stages. The function of most of the rooms of the Palace, except the little mosque, or mawlid, and the underground siribble, is uncertain. The discovery of numerous wall paintings in the upper story, in contrast to the lack of decoration observed in the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by the fact that the upper floor was reserved for the living quarters and private rooms of the owner of the mansion. This seems to be confirmed by the only painting which could be fully reconstructed, the textile pattern with the simurg and the interstitial heart-shaped four-petaled rosettes, which came from a room in the northern part of the east wing. This pattern would have been appropriate for a princely dwelling, as its Sassanian prototype figures on the garb of Khusraw II at the bas reliefs of Tak-i Bustan and in similar royal Sassanian representations. Scholarly opinions vary as to the purpose and function of the "Bath Hall". In relating it to the bath-rooms proper and the Roman tradition of public baths in Palestine and other provinces of the Roman empire, Creswell and Hamilton interpreted the Hall as...
Fig. C "Bath Hall". Porch façade (after Hamilton).
one of the other functions of the "Bath" Hall. First, of the main apse (Hamilton, Majjar, with the knife, citrus fruit and leafy branch in from 35-6), Ettinghausen further uses the mosaic panel in or near the particular spot.* Moreover, while all the exedrae in the ambulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the bulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the apse is related to the situation or activity that took place at the particular spot. In relation to its function. According to his interpretation of these functions in the niches along the walls, which had to be peeled with a knife in order to be eaten, appears to indicate that one of the purposes of this Hall was feasting and banqueting.

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

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

The identity of the owner and builder of Khirbat al-Mafjar has not yet been established conclusively. On the basis of certain graffiti with the name of Hishām which were found in the debris of the palace, it has been assumed that Khirbat al-Mafjar was built during the caliphate of Hishām, between the years 105-125/724-44. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walid b. Yazīd. Hamilton asserted that the palace was built during the reign of Hishām, between the years 105-125/724-44. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walid b. Yazīd. Hamilton's arguments are rather intricate. Yet it is true that in its architectural concept the palace, and particularly the Throne and Banqueting Hall, would have suited the taste of a personality like al-Walid II. 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KHIRBAT AL-MINYA, in mediaeval times known as Minya or 'Ayn Minyat Hisfam, is the name for the ruins of an apparently unfinished Umayyad mansion about 230 m. west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. The ruins were excavated in 1952 by A. E. Mader and between 1955-6 by A. M. Schneider and O. Puttrich-Reignard. During July-August 1959 the western section of the palace was excavated by O. Grabar in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The building consists of an irregular rectangular enclosure (66.40 m. x 72 m. x 22.30 m.) facing the four cardinal points. Like other Umayyad castles it has round towers at the corners, a semi-circular tower in the centre of three of the walls, and a gateway salient about 3-70 m. north of the centre of the eastern wall. The rooms which surrounded the originally porticoed court differ in size and arrangement. They comprise a mosque in the south-east corner, a three-aisled basilical hall flanked by a unit of five rooms in the south, and residential quarters in the north.

As against the simple unpretentious decoration of the mosque, the domed gate-way chamber and the southern rooms must have been richly decorated. Marble panels covered the dadoes of the walls. Coloured and gilt glass mosaics decorated the summit of the dome, and stone mosaics combined with glass tiles and set in geometric carpet-like patterns on the floor of the five southern rooms indicate the official, representative character of this section.

Another well-preserved floor mosaic was discovered in 1959 in the western part of the mansion.

A fragmentary inscription with the name of al-Wald on a marble slab which had been used as a sill when the gateway was rebuilt centuries later supports an attribution of Minya to al-Wald I (866-955). However, the palace was apparently used throughout the Umayyad period. Moreover, the stratification established in the western part of the site, and the ceramics found in the excavation in 1959, have shown that the site was settled in the later Mamluk period when it served as an important commercial post between Damascus and Cairo. It was abandoned at an uncertain date, but later temporarily resettled.


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

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

b. Dishin. Mosaic. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.
a. Partridges.


Khirbat al-Minya. South-east side of palace.
Sharif is protected by being wrapped in seven silk shelf made a lid, which is given further protection by being those whom it is "given officially by the Ziibdat al-imdm, his about the mantle is known before Ahmed I's time; in fact, because there is no other source of the same [q.v.] named the Khtos Oda by IC. Kufrah) the author refers to the i, 93 cf. Ottoman chrouicles ('Afa 5
placed in a gold casket that was made in the era of lattice work doors were made. Today the Khtrka-yj Celeb!, Dcrwlsh ZilH Mebmed, the head jeweller of and a cream-coloured woolen lining, was kept in a Mecca and other Islamic relics, after the conquest of of Mecca, together with the key of Sherif son of the was brought to Istanbul by Muhammad AbO Numayy, preserved at the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul. It
by the 'Abb&sid caliphs and then later by the Ay-
hard suits of Syria and Egypt, was one of the
features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom.

Bibliography:
In addition to references given in the article, see the definition of Sharif given by the Khtos Oda built by Mebemned IX. No information of the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the fourth century or subsequent ones that mentions it until the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the Khtrk Oda built by Mebehmed II. No information about the mantle is known before Ahmed I's time; his imam, Mushtas& Sa& Efendi, refers in his Zvd& al-
leu&erikh (Topkapi Saray, R. 1304, i. 238a) to the mantle, and says that Ahmed I had a shelf made above his throne in the Kh&us Oda and had the mantle put on it. We also learn that Ahmed I started the ceremony of dipping a port of the mantle into water, thus making the latter holy; this custom was later changed into dipping the fastenings and then in Mahm&d II's reign, to placing scars on it. We also learn from the Zvd& al-leu&erikh that the Kh&us Oda did not contain all the relics in Ahmed I's time. This room, with its 19th century, was repaired by Mahm&d II, when a new fireplace was built, giving occasions of the doore and upper parts of the walls were redone, and the whole apartment assigned to the keeping of the relics.

There were forty Kh&os Odals—the men in charge of the Privy Chamber—who did the work of guarding the Khirka-yi Sherif. The duties of the Kh&os Odals were to sweep the area, dust the Kur&an and other books, burn incense on special nights, sprinkle rose water, clean and polish the gold and silver objects, etc. (I. H. Uzuncaprl, Osmanli sarayi tepkili, Ankara 1915, 238). The "silver" water carriers, thus named because they carried the water in silver containers, washed the floors of the building (ibid, 455). In the manner of their work, there was a duty that opened into the third century, third a pounding stone used to grind up incense; on the other side of the same wall was a well where the sweepings were disposed of. Four of the Kh&os Odals stayed on duty at night and read the Kur&an (ibid, 32). The guarding of the Kh&os Oda was the duty of Aghas, whose spell of duty lasted for a period of 24 hours before being relieved.

All the Ottoman Sultans believed firmly in the sanctity of the Ka&-y Sherif and tried to remain near it; Ahmed I took it with him wherever he went (ibid, 256). Findikli Mehmed Agha, a Kh&os of the reigns of Mustafa II and Ahmed III, speaks at length about the Kh&os Sherif. According to him, Mustafa II took the mantle with him in a private wagon to Cataldja where he went for Ramadan, had it kept in a special room and visited it ceremonially on the 15th of Ramadan. He also took it with him when he went to Edirne (Nusret-nmke, ed. I. Parmaksizoglu, Istanbul 1966, ii, 45), and when the revolt that ended his reign took place, he tried to escape to Edirne with the mantle (ibid., ii 183). Ahmed III was also keen on keeping the mantle with him. When he went to the Tunisi B&glesi to spend the summer of 1227/1713, or to the W&de Sultan's seaside palace to spend the winter, and when he held a circumcision festivity for one of his sons, the mantle always figured prominently in what had to be taken with him (ibid, 213, 328-9, 397).

Ewliya Celebi writes about Mur&d IV's sword-girding ceremony, after which he went to the Khirka-yi Sherif at the Kh&os Oda, paid humble respect to the mantle and then prayed (Ewliya Celebi, Seyh&-nme, i, 227). We also learn from Findikli Mehmed Agha that, when Mustafa II learned that he was going to succeed to the throne, he went to the Tunisi Odasi (Khid Oda), prayed in front of the Khirka-yi Sherif, and then put on appropriate robes. This act is described in (Nusret-nmke, i, 4). Subsequently, he visited the Khirka-yi Sherif every Friday (ibid., i, 32). Ahmed III's eldest son, Sul&yman, after he finished reciting the Kur&an, held a ceremonial session in the Tunisi B&glesi in front of the Khirka-yi Sherif, according to Findikli (ibid., ii, 388). It had an even greater importance in war-time. A good example of this is the Egri campaign of Mebehmed III, which was
going very badly, but was finally turned into victory when Sa'd al-Din addressed his people and Mehemmed III put on the mantle. The spirit of battle was kindled, and this turned the tide of the war (Ochhan Sâlik Ökyay, Kâtib Çelebîden seçmeler, Istanbul 1968, 39). Mustafa II took the Khirka-ye Sherif on all of his campaigns in order to reinforce the courage of the army (Nusret-nameh, i, 143, 185, 187, 189, 190, 199). It was said that Ahmad III took the Khirka-ye Sherif and the Sandjak-i Sherif—the flag of the Prophet—which was only unfurled for a holy war—with his army in order to raise the morale of the men (Nusret-nameh, ii, 290).

When the sultan took his oath of allegiance, the Khirka-ye Sherif was not forgotten. When a sultan died, the Dâr al-Sâ'âde Âghâsi carried the news to the crown prince and took him to the deceased. He was then joined by the Sâ'di dâr âghâsi, who took him to the Kâhi-ye Oda (Dewcett Pascha, Tahirli, i, 236; Usucarpil, op. cit., 186). The oath of allegiance of the Sâ'di dâr âghâsi or Grand Vizier, the Sâ'di dâr âghâsi of the sultanate, was also taken there (Dewcett, iv, 237; Usucarpil, 187; Nusret-nameh, ii, 187, 189).

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

One other mantle of the Prophet was brought in 1922/1027-18 by Shîhür Âllâh Efendi. It was believed that this mantle was sent to Uways al-Şarabî by the Prophet. Presumably it was preserved by Shîhür Âllâh Efendi and his son at his house in the Eski-Allâ Pascha quarter of Istanbul. Their mansion was built opposite it in 1835 by Abu al-Mejidli. In this mosque, named that of the Khirka-ye Sherif, the mantle was displayed to the public every year by the Queen Mother on the 15th of Ramadan. Today, it is possible to visit it there between the 15th of Ramadan and the Laylat al-Kadîr.

circumcision is mentioned together with the according to al-\textit{I\textasciitilde{f}c}, equally obligatory for males and many of the doctors, \textit{al-Sij\textdoublespacei}, 1283, i, 328) has devoted to the subject, also because giving a survey of the different views it may be, Concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of hub's commentaries on Muslim, \textit{Jahdr\textdoublespacei}, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1905, i, 273) he was 13 years old when Muhammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time 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Hadramits who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, Mehka, ii, 141 ff.).

In Egypt, boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a pair of stone swords or knives, some populations of the poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

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

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Douit, Merrebek, 371, at Algiers a stone knife was used for the operation. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 ff. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife for the operation (Willemen, 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony. A. Jansen (Costumes des Arabes au pays de Meoh, 163-4) has observed that the Bedouins organise collective circumcisions every two years, as an economy measure; hence the children’s ages vary considerably (see also al-Utayzzi, Kāmīs al-'iddī, Amman 1973-4, ii, 232, s.v. f-ḥ-r). It should be noted here that in most Arabic dialects, the term for circumcision and its accompanying rites is taken from the root f-ḥ-r, implying the idea of purity; this practice is therefore popularly felt as a purificatory rite. In Java, circumcision of boys is often combined with the kadhim- or kadham-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelgo, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Verspreide Geschriften, iv, 1, 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14-15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (larus) is made before the house or pendopo, and a small room (kobong) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious act at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings. Festivities such as wayang, layubus, djangogan precede or follow the ceremony. The djangogan always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon kadaman, the recitation of some chapters of the Korān by the boy. On the day preceding circumcision, a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of nagas or other animals. They wear the bridegroom’s dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with holk. It occurs also that the boy wears the Niqah’s dress. Just as in North Africa, poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

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

In Atchel, boys are usually circumcised by the mudhen (probably = mudhādhyān) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Korān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, The Achelness, i, 390-400) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atchel the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g., to arrange a Rapa’s performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bridegroom, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

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

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islam in that part of the world (cf. G. A. Willemen, De basmijdenis bij de volken van den indische Archipel, in BTLV, Ser. iv, vol. x, 166, 180 f. = Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Willemen, iv, 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

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

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Willemen, op. cit., 207). In the Muslim world we have the
stance of Malays who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and who submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djjida for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurogjone, Membk, ii, 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (saafa, cf. Doutré, Mermith ; 531), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Kur'an. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellers. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Butanun, Ruba, 239), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurogjone, Mekba, ii, 131). In spite of doubts about the authenticity of such information, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a santri who has many children (see above and Wilken, op. cit., 239).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, op. cit., 221); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception into the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii; see also Wilken, op. cit., 227).

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

Ethnologists put forward various interpretations for the phenomenon of circumcision: as a surgical operation meant to prevent phimosis and to help fecundity; as a religious rite connected with fertility; as a ritual to prevent phimosis and to help the husband and wife to have children. According to Muslim authorities, the khitba does not involve a contract. It is true that it involves an offer and an acceptance, but before the acceptance is made, it is merely a demand in marriage and does not form a legal act.

The Maliiks, apparently uniquely, give more importance to the betrothal than the Hanafis or even the Shafiis, but the principle remains that the act of betrothal does not involve a legal obligation. However, betrothal can only take place when there are no nullifying factors present which would prevent a valid marriage; every impediment to marriage is an impediment to betrothal. The parties to a khitba are on the one hand, the man making the demand in marriage, and on the other, the woman, who may be represented by her mali (see NIKAI). Yet if betrothal does not in principle involve any legal obli-
gation and is not a legal act, certain effects nevertheless follows from it:

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

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

Dissolving of a betrothal. Either of the two parties can end the state of betrothal unilaterally. The only problem that is that disposal of presents which have been exchanged, and which are subject to the rules of donation. However, in various Islamic countries, part of the dowry is paid over at the time of betrothal, and this must in all cases be given back.

Finally, there remains one problem: can one award damages to the victim of an ill-founded breaking off betrothal? Although certain modern Islamic authorities are endeavouring to introduce an obligation to pay an indemnity for damages in the case of an ill-founded breaking off, the action for damages is not an absolute right. Even so, many Islamic countries have been compelled to adopt the solutions of Western law, since on the plane of practical law, betrothal is of no legal concern except in case of its being dissolved.

Bibliography: Ch. Chehaba, Études de droit musulman, Paris 1971, 73; Ibn Rushd, Biddiya, Cairo 1952, ii, 2; Ibn Kudama, Mughni, vi, 536; and see Dīrām (A. M. Delcambe) — KHITBA — KHIWA

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

Khīwa was placed under an officially appointed leader, the raʾs al-rūb or raʾs al-khimṣ, who was selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division, and who was responsible for the command of the division in war and the maintenance of order and law within it in peacetime. The lesser groups continued to serve as military and administrative subdivisions under their own leaders. The entire range of tribal chiefs (the aghāʾ of the Umayyad period) served as the link between government and subjects in the Sufyānid system of indirect rule, aghāʾ being governors coming together in the latter’s madjīl, which was under the leadership of a headman (called the magā’īlī, or “sump”, otherwise a modest plot of land occupied by one or several families). These quarters were exchanged, accompanied by a traditional display of generosity. The raʾs al-rūb (or raʾs al-khimṣ) in turn passed on information, orders and gifts in his own madjīl, and the process was repeated in the madjīl of the lesser chiefs until we reach the smallest political unit reflected in the khīṣīl.

The erosion of the tribal ties in the Marwānid period rendered the system obsolete; the aghāʾ disappeared from the political scene, while the khīṣīl survived only as place-names. The larger quarters and districts, on the other hand, persisted until the end of the Umayyad period, physically as military divisions, now consisting of regiments of tribal groups, and morally as categories for the definition of factional loyalties. When the Abbāsids came to power these too disappeared, and the allotments in Baghdād (known as khālīs, or khalīta, rather than khīṣīl) were made on the basis of geographical provenance, not tribal affiliation.


KHIWA, on the western bank of the Amu Daryā, site of the last capital of the khanate of Khūzār, subsequently called the khanate of Khīwa. Its origins are bound up in the history of Khūzār [q.v.].

Khīwa was the third capital, after Gurgandī (385–515/995–1227) and Khāʾ (q.v.), the latter was the capital during the 8th/9th century, in which period, with Khīwa, it was governed by the Čaghatay, and Gurgandī (subsequently called Urgan) by the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity (under the rule of the Shāybanids) in the 9th/10th century, the capital was again established at Urgan, but neither this dynasty, nor the Pĕnči branch of the Ozbek dynasty that succeeded it, was in a position to restore stability in the region. Assassination increased, and the closure of the commercial routes which covered the land hastened, at the same time, its economic decline and its relative isolation.
During the second half of the reign of 'Arab Muhammad (1637-38/1665-66), which perhaps coincided with the drying up of the left branch of the Amu Darya, the capital was transferred to Khiva, and it was then that the khānate of Khāvarazm began to be called the khānate of Khiva. Little is known of the early history of this town; archaeological remains enable us to date its foundation between the 6th and 8th centuries of the Christian era; it is mentioned by the Arab geographer al-Istakhri in the 9th/10th century. The inhabitants of Khiva were distinguished from the other Khāvarazms by the fact that they were Shi`f rather than Ḥanafis.

The khānate was composed of various feudal districts (shāhkal) loosely linked together, and their chiefs (khābīm) recognised the sovereignty of the khān of Khiva. The degree of unity of the khānate depended on the personal power of the khān; it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of 'Abd al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (1554-73/1643-63) whose History of Khiva has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by 'Abūlsha in 1553/1643, the khānate of Khorasan was merged with that of Khiva.

The inhabitants of Khiva were described by the Chinese geographer Ch'ien Chih in the 18th century. They were distinguished for their dyes and carpets, which were exported to neighboring countries. In the 19th century, made a number of successful attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shah in 1755/1749, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1133 and 1184/1720-70; however, in 1184/1770, the Imām 'Abd al-Qodūr Mūhammād Amin entered the Turcoman Yomuds were particularly violent between 1133 and 1184/1720-70; however, in 1184/1770, the Imām 'Abd al-Qodūr Mūhammād Amin defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were erected, including the palace of Tashkurgan (1850), the mausoleum of Buhshāhūr Shāhīzāde (1859) and the madrasa of Allah Kūll Khān (1853), which are still standing today.

Under the Imām Ḳutbūzār, who became the first Kungrāt Ḳutbūzār in 1304, the khānate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Sīr Darya on the Aral Sea as far as Kāfīr-i Mawr on the Kūshā; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Buhshāhūr at annexing the oasis of Merv, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khānate. His successor, Mūhāammad Rāḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful Khān of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Kazaks, subdued the Kara Kulpaks and ravaged Khurāsān. Although he had repelled an attack by the Russians in 1839-40, Khiva was forced to accept their economic and diplomatic demands, which had the result of reinforcing the Russian presence, which was already showing itself in Central Asia. The conflict which broke out with Buhshāhūr and the Turcomans further increased the already divided State, and in 1875 the Russians were able to take possession of the entire territory without striking a single blow. The peace treaty gave them the right bank of the Amu Darya and made the Ḳhūzān of Khiva a vassal of the Tsar.

The Turcomans continued their struggle against the Khānate and in 1875, the Khān Isandīyar (1905-16) was assassinated at the instigation of Dūnayd Khān, the Turcoman chieflain, who reduced the new sovereign, Sa'id 'Abd Allāh (1188-20) to the status of a puppet. After an initial failure in 1918, the Soviets waited until 1920 before putting an end to the khānate of Khiva and on the 26 April 1920, the People's Republic of Khāvarazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khivans. On 3 September 1921, this was replaced by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Khāvarazm, controlled by the Bolsheviks, and in November 1924, it became the oblast of Khāvarazm in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, with Khiva as provincial capital (1920); between 1920 and 1924, there was a considerable movement of resistance to the Soviets, led by Dūnayd and supported by the deposed khān.

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

Bibliography: see that for Khāvarazm.

W. Barthold - [M. L. Brill]

KHĪYĀBĀNĪ, SHAYKH MUHAMMAD (1789-1920), Persian religious scholar and political leader. Born in Khānamā, Āḏarbāyjān, the son of a merchant. Khīyābānī received his early education there and then moved to Bāḏgān in the Caucuses, where his father lived. After returning to Tabriz, he studied fūsūl, 'usūl, and Ptolemaic astronomy, and soon became a muḥtaḥid leading public prayers in two central mosques. Responding to the Iranian constitutionalists, Khīyābānī joined the Social Democratic Party and also became a leading member of the Āḏarbāyjānī Provincial Council which played a decisive role in the deposition of the anti-constitutionalist Shāh Muhammad 'Alī (1907-9). Khīyābānī was then elected to the second Parliament, where he rejected the 1917 Russian ultimatum and condemned the Persian government which, on the British recommendation, was willing to compromise. The Parliament rejected the ultimatum but the Regent, Nāẓir al-Mulk, dissolved the Soviet and accepted the Russian ultimatum. Khīyābānī denounced this action in a long speech before the people of Tehran. He then fled to Russia, and later on returned to Tabriz secretly. After the two Anglo-Russian treaties (1907 and 1915) there remained little room for the existence of Khīyābānī and his party. Suddenly, however, in the 1917 Russian Revolution broke out and the Soviets withdrew the claims the Tsars had made against Iran. At this point, Khīyābānī and his friends re-established the Democratic Party and founded Taqaddud, a newspaper which published Khīyābānī's speeches and articles. Among Khīyābānī's targets of attack were the British South Persian Rifles and the existing Persian regime as being submissive to foreigners. Before the end of the War, Ottoman troops invaded Tabriz, arrested Khīyābānī, and imprisoned him in Rūdkhān, but after the War he returned to Tabriz. In 1920 the British signed an agreement with the Wūṯuk al-Dawla which gave them control of the Iranian army, finances, and customs. Under the influence of Khīyābānī and others, the treaty was not passed in Parliament. The Wūṯuk al-Dawla then suppressed Khīyābānī's party and resigned. Khīyābānī rose against the government (now in the hands of Mushtīr al-Dawla) and in April 1920 he declared his province Azāhpūrān (“home of freedom”). Mushtīr al-Dawla appointed Muḥābīr al-Salāma (Mahdi Ḳull Ḥidāyāt) governor of Āḏarbāyjān, and the latter put an end both to the six-month old movement and to Khīyābānī's life.
Khiyabani has been described as a rebel, and his movement as a separatist one. Khiyabani’s attachment to the Soviets has also been a matter of controversy. However, he has been widely recognised as a national hero, whose murder was lamented by poets such as Bahar, ’Arif, Safwat, and Agah.


Options (khwyâlî) may be either conventional or legal in nature.

1. Conventional options. Included amongst these, there is first of all the conditional option, khwyad al-‘ayb, which is extremely important. This is the clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserves the right to accept or reject it within a specified time, the legal act which they havejust drawn up. This clause is undeniable equivalent to a purely potestative suspensive condition. The decision of the one confirming or rejecting the act does not have to be justified. The lawyers of the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventional option is the one called by the jurists that of designation (khwyad al-‘ayb). It can only be inserted into alternative obligations, and allows the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects and one of the same obligation. Thus there are only two conventional options, one common to all four schools and the other peculiar to the Hanafis and Malikîs.

2. Legal options. On the other hand, legal options, in which the law automatically grants the options without the parties having to stipulate them, are very numerous. Some Muslim authors number them at seventeen. Fraud, injury, hidden defects, evocation, and many other deeds, are only to be sanctioned in Islamic law by means of an option. In the Shî’î treatises, only a brief allusion is made to legal options, apart from the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void (khwyad al-‘ayb or khwyad al-nakifa). The option of sight (khwyad al-‘ayb) presents a problem. It is rejected by the Shî’îs, and there exists concerning it as many different doctrines as schools of legal opinion. In the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventional option is the one denominated as schools of legal opinion; see Ibn Rusâd, Bidaa, and some Sunnis and Twelver split off the Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizaris in the area of Multân and some Mominas in northern GJudarât. The history of Nizarî Isla withdraw the marriage in being or dissolving it.


(À. M. Delcâmeré)

Khiyâr (in theology) [see khitvâr].

Khizâna [see maktûma].

Khizânî u ‘Amîrî [see khaizîn].

Khîlot [see ghu’rî].

Khodja in the strict sense is the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizâris and some Sunnis and Twelver Shî’is split off the Islaîlî community. In a looser sense the name is commonly used to refer to the Indian Nizâris in general including some minor communities like the Shamsis in the area of Multân and some Mominas in northern GJudarât. The history of Nizarî Isla withdraw the marriage in being or dissolving it.


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(À. M. Delcâmeré)
the Nizāri. Khodja tradition makes one Saēgur Nār, also called ūr al-Dīn, the first ḥādī who, coming from Daylam, was active in Fātān, Gudjarāt. Dates ascribed to his activity vary widely. According to one version he was sent by the imām al-Mustanṣīr (427/840-936/941) in order to preach for his son Nāzir; according to another, by the imām al-Hasan al-Sāhib Khudrī Ṭalizān (552/1156-62-6). He is alleged to have converted the Hindu king Siddhārāja Dijay-sinaḥa (d. ca. 1243). Yet his place in the lists of pirs as seem to put him in the first two centuries of Islam, and he is even identified with the imām Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn. His shrine at Nawsar appears to date from about the end of the 18th century. His historicity has been doubted. Evidence for the presence of Nizāris in Gudjarāt in the first half of the 7th/14th century is too vague to be trusted. Most early Nizāri activity rather appears to have been centred on Sind. The beginnings of the Nizāri daʿwa in Sind are connected by tradition with the pīr Shams al-Dīn, though the previous pīr, Ṣāḥib al-Dīn, who is also called the father of Shams al-Dīn, is mentioned to have already been sent from Alamūt to India. Legend, on the other hand, identifies Shams al-Dīn variously with Shams-i Tabriz, the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, or with the first post-Abūl imām al-Mustanṣīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, it is alleged, turned the imānate over to his son Ṣāḥib-Ṣalāḥ in order to come to India. While most of the religious poetry ascribed to him names Ṣāḥib-Ṣalāḥ as the contemporary imān and thus would place him around the turn of the 7th/13th century, several dates mentioned in the poetry for his activity are in the first half of the 6th/12th century. A legendary account of his meeting with the Sufi saint Bahīṣtır Zakariyyāʾ of Multān (d. 665/1266) appears to be without historical foundation. His lifetime thus cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. He is described as having been active in Multān and Učh in Sind and his shrine is located in Multān. The community of the Shāmis claims to have been converted by him to Nizāri Ismāʿiliyya. They live in Multān, Rāwalpindi and elsewhere in Panjab and are mostly goldsmiths. The next two pīrs on the traditional lists, Nasīr al-Dīn and Ṣāḥib (also Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn, are said to be the sons of Shams-i Tabriz. The later became known, however, that some minor figures were omitted. There is no information on their activity except that they worked clandestinely. Ṣāḥib al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn who is credited with the conversion of the Khodja from the Lohanas, a Hindu caste. He is also said to have given them the name Khodja, derived from the Persian kāḥeja, master, which corresponds to the Hindu term ṭhakur used in addressing Lohanas and Khodjas, as the Lohanas are considered Kshatriyas. Dates given for his reign from 770/1369 to 819/1416. The latter date seems more reasonable. Ṣadr al-Dīn, according to tradition, also laid the foundation for the communal organisation of the Khodjas by building the first three gurizzas al-akhbar (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their amīrs (leaders). The centre of his activity was Učh and his shrine is not far from it near Djetur. Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as pīr by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of whom a short vita was included by ʿAbd al-Haqq Dihlawi (d. 1052/1642) in his hagiographical work ʿAbd al-akhbar. His appearance in a list of shahids of the Suhrawardi order reflects the close links of Nizāri Ismāʿiliyya with organised Shīʿism throughout this period. According to the ʿAbd al-akhbar he traveled widely before settling down in Učh and converted many Hindus. The death dates mentioned for him range from 859/1450 to 893/1490. Most accurate are probably those giving 879/1470 or 879/1472. His shrine is outside Učh. As Kabīr al-Dīn's successor, his brother Tadj al-Dīn was appointed by the imām. He was opposed by some of the numerous sons of Kabīr al-Dīn who were also quarrelling among themselves. After Tadj al-Dīn's return from a visit to the imām, they accused him of embezzling the tithes for the imām and he is said either to have died of the shock or to have committed suicide, probably not very long after his brother's death. His grave is in Ṣin in Sind. After his death Imam Shāhī ʿazīz, son of Kabīr al-Dīn, vainly tried to gain the allegiance of the Khodjas in Sind. After a visit to the imām in Persia he settled in Gudjarāt, where he succeeded in converting numerous Hindus, mostly of peasant communities. Legend maintains that he converted Muhammad Begā, sultan of Gudjarāt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Imam Shāhī's son Nār Muḥammad. Imam Shāhī died in 910/1503 in Pirāṇa, a town founded by him, where his shrine is located. Although he is not recognised as a pīr by the Khodja tradition and according to some accounts seceded from the Ismāʿili community, it appears more likely that the schism occurred only under his son and successor Nār (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh. The latter at an unknown date demanded that the imām's title should no longer be sent to Persia but be turned over to himself, claiming that his father Imam Shāhī had been the imām and that he was his successor. The majority of his followers accepted his orders and came to form the separate Imām-Shāhī community while a minority remained faithful to the Ismāʿili imāms. The Khodja lists of pīrs name after the pīr Tadj al-Dīn the Pandvi-ī javānmāndī, a book of religious admonitions attributed to Imam al-Mustanṣīr al-Mustansīr, II, in place of a person. According to tradition, the imām decided in view of the dissension in the pīrs family after Tadj al-Dīn's death not to appoint any pīr, but instead to send the book as guidance for the faithful. There is, however, reason to assume that the book reached India only around the middle of the 10th/16th century, probably after the Imam-Shāhī succession. It may have been sent at the time with a view to casing the leadership crisis resulting from the schism. Only one pīr mentioned in some of the lists after the book was active in India, Ṣāḥib Dādī. He is said to have been sent by the imām from Persia to Sind with the mission of stopping the conversion of Ismāʿils to Sunnism. He was forced to leave and settled first with some followers from Sind in Nava-nagar (Djamnagar) in Gudjarāt. In 1584 he moved to Bhuj where he died in 1593. An important role in reorganising the community and the prayer is ascribed to him. After the end of the line of pīrs the imāms came to be represented at the local level in India by muqaddams and dādis. This development evidently reflects an attempt of the imāms to gain even more direct control over the Indian communities. However, some local families of sayyids, i.e. descendants of the pīr Kabīr al-Dīn, retained much influence. Most important among these were the Kadiwali sayyids of Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fādīl Shāh, was active in Rādi around the middle of the 17th century. In Sind the family resided in Rāli and after 1780 in Tančo Muḥammad Khān. Shires of early members of the family are located near these two places. Other members are known as authors of extant gnaws. Two sons of Fādīl Shāh, pīr Mughalī and Ḥasan pīr, played a
major role among the Mawlawis in northern Gujrat, Mehdyyik (d. 1108/1697 in Ahmadshahi) actively endeavored to suppress Hindu practices in the community and cut his allegiance to the Isma`ili imams. His extant works espouse strictly Islamic practices and reflect Sunni and Shia Ashari tendencies. He is said to have cooperated with Arangwaz in his wars against the Shi'i rulers of Bhdjapur. His followers later quarreled whether he was a Sunni or a Shi'i. His brother Hasan remained loyal to Isma`ilism and became the saint of the Nizari Mawlawis. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanaplipi near Dhanaghar, Khodjas and Nizari Mawlawis in 1727 built a shrine in his honour in Canon in Gujrat in 1759.

The Khodjas were active in the commerce between India and East Africa at least since the 17th century, and in the 19th century, especially after the Umaiyan sultan Sayyid Sa`id transferred his capital to Zanzibar in 1840, they came to settle in large numbers on the island and later in mainland East Africa. The coming of the Asha Khan [q.v.] Hasan Ait Shah to India in 1840 led to an aggravation of earlier conflicts in the Khodja community about the rights of the imam. In 1866 the judgment of Sir Joseph Arundale in a law suit brought against the Asha Khan by ex-communicated members of the Bhdrui party fully upheld the Asha Khan and the disciples were definitely separated from the community as Sunni Khodjas. Later dissidents seceding in 1877 and 1901, formed Ithna Ashari Khodja communities in Bombay and East Africa.

For Khodja religious doctrine, see ISLAMIV and SATPATH.


(W. Madelung)


Life. He was born in 1536/1537-8 in Istanbul, and died there on 12 Rabii`I 1008/2 October 1599. His grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selim I after the battle of Caidir was, had served the supervisor scholars, entered the islamic career and became assistant (mudarris) to the mufti Ebu`l `U-Sa`id (see ARO `L-Su`ufi) at the early age of twenty (96/1553-4). Soon after, he was appointed, with a salary of 30 aspers, to the Mufti Pasha ma¬dressa in Istanbul, and in 977/May-June 1578 he was appointed, "with forty," to the great mosque of Ali-Imam Khodja in Busra, and one year later was promoted to the khadij rank. After another promotion in Dhul-Hijjah 977/May 1578 he rose, in Ramadan 979/January-February 1579, to the rank of professor at one of the eight courtyards (sa`id) attached to the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul. When the preceptor (khadij) of Prince Murad died, Sa`d al-Din was ap¬pointed in his place (Muharram 981/May 1573) and sent to Manisa. This was the beginning of a long period of prosperity and influence for Sa`d al-Din, who was henceforth known as Khodja or Khodja Efendi. When his pupil became sultan as Murad III, he followed him to Istanbul as khadij-i sulhtan (8 Ramadan 982/22 December 1574). As the sultan's trusted advisor, he soon became influential in politics, even in foreign affairs such as the establishment of relations with England. When Nebemmed III succumbed to the plague in 1588, Sa`d al-Din was appointed to be his preceptor in the palace and was expressly referred to for advice, the decree saying that "consultation (meqwerti) should be held with Khodja Sa`d al-Din in all matters of appoi¬nting vizes and religious officials". Although Sa`d al-Din, in Murad III's special meqwerti-i meqwerti, had strongly advised against the "Long War" with Austria begun in 1593, it was he who beckoned the waving sultan Nebemmed III, especially in the Egji campaign. In the great meqwerti on 20 October 1596 it was Sa`d al-Din who with his courage carried all with him, prevailing on the timid sultan to stand fast and eventually win the battle of Hid Cevat (Mardere Keseries). After this triumph, Nebemmed III fell into dispute over the nearest attachment of the next Grand Vizier; on 1 DzumadI 1108/23 January 1597 his opponents at court brought about his dismissal from the office of preceptor. Expressly ordered to refrain from intervention in state affairs, Sa`d al-Din remained in disgrace for 14 months. As soon as he could, in March 1598, the sultan fully rehabilitated Sa`d al-Din and raised him, against some resistance, to the office of shaykh al-Islam, together with that of Nebemmed III's preceptor. This earned him the title Djam`i al-Reysiyleyn. At this time Sa`d al-Din took the inefficacy of Saturdjl Mebemmed Pasha as savior on the Hungarian front as an opportunity to state his views: he drew up a memorandum, outwardly directed to the Commander, but obviously meant for his opponents at court and later circulated as a piece of sayh (it was published by Na`fin in his official history). It voices the sense of impending misfortunes that threatened the Ottomans, and justifies, in the matter of meqwerti, what Sa`d al-Din had done and was considering his duty: not to "meddle" with matters of state, but to render services to it. In 1599 this meant persuading both the sultan and his mother to pay out of their treasuries the funds needed for the next campaign. After a successful term of office as mufti, he died during prayer in the Aya Sofia Mosque.


(W. Madelung)
dedications to him of several of his astronomical works. The Khodja attracted writers and younger scholars of growing fame, some of whom worked as his assistants (Nihat Hacioglu, Nadid) or were his protégés (Loymen); even Mustafa Ali, his severest critic, dedicated a book to him. The charge of nepotism and favouritism which was brought against him, especially by Ali, does perhaps deserve closer inspection within the framework of the times. Of his five sons one died before him; two became shaykh-ul-Islam and two were kadi 'asharis; three of his grandsons were gheykh ul-Islam (S. Turan, art. 'Sad-ed-Din in IA; H. Dannismand, Osmaus deset erbaðli, 115).

Works. Although he did write poetry, he was essentially a prose writer. He translated Arabic and Persian works into Turkish (see Turan's article in IA). His fame as a writer rests on his work seen Li-taaurdih was begun under Selim I and dedicated to Murad III in 1582/1575. As a carefully-written history, based on critical examination of a number of named sources, the work mightily superseded the older chronicles. It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Selim I. In it Khodja Sa'd al-Din displayed his celebrated powers of eloquence, but he was also a great master of Persian. When he was suspected of disloyalty, he was sentenced to death. But it is true that his book abounds in Persian and Ottoman, he could often be simplicity itself: indeed, the contracts are great and have only been disregarded to some extent because Sa'd al-Din is habitually classed among the writers of "ornamented prose". On the many MSS. of the Tâdil, see F. Babinger, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke, Leipzig 1917, 125-6; M. Aktepe, Hase Sa'ded-Din Efendi'nin Ta'dil-i-taaurdih'i ve bunun seyi hakkında, in Tarih, ii, 106-10; Turan, art. in IA; B. Flemming, Türkische Handschriften, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 215-5. The work was printed in two volumes at Istanbul in 1297/1871. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by I. Parmaksiz was published in 1894. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by I. Parmaksiz was published in 1894. A continuation of the Tâdil-i-taaurdih is Mustafa Sa'di's (d. 1602/1661) Zubdat al-taaurdih. An abridgment is the first part of Hasan Bey-Zade's (4.5) History, Selcukludâ (d. 1657) and Dizerdarzade (d. 1708/1794) made extensive use of the Tâdil.

Sa'd al-Din's Selim-name, a collection of anecdotes based on the recollections of his father Hasan Dina, was printed together with the Tâdil-i-taaurdih (ii, 224-401).

Bibliography: A. A. Abdal, Hase Sa'ded-Din Efendi, Istanbul 1881; 128-9; 429-31; F. Babinger, EV, s.v.; of the works cited above, Turan's article has the fullest bibliography.

(b. Flemming)

KHODJA ELI [see KODJA ELI]

KHODJA EVNDI — KHÔI

by the Communist Party of Russia. On the final overthrow of the Amir's régime in September 1920, Khodjaev became a member of the Communist Party and was constituted head of the newly created Peoples' Soviet Republic of Bukhara. He vigorously opposed the counter-revolutionary Basmachi movement led by Enver Pascha, the Turkish ex-Minister for War. For this and other services to the Bukharian people, he was awarded in 1922 the Order of the Red Banner. Visiting Berlin in 1922, Khodjaev became active in trying to establish economic relations with European countries. This policy was seen as aiming at the economic independence of Bukhara and in 1923 incurred the serious disapproval of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, to the setting up of which Khodjaev had always been opposed. In the same year, however, he took part in the 12th Party Congress in Moscow as delegate of the Bukharian Communist Party. On the delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, the greater part of the former khanate of Bukhara was embodied in the Uzbek SSR, of which Khodjaev was in 1925 appointed President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, a post which he retained until his downfall in 1937.

Although he was then said to have made "errors of a personal character", he was described as "a prominent revolutionary". The long biographical introduction to the edition of his selected works published in 1957 is wholly laudatory, refers only briefly to his differences with the Party authorities and makes no mention of his downfall, trial and execution.


KHODJAN [see KHODJAN]

KHÔI, Khyt, Iranian town (population in 1951: 49,000), situated in long. 45° 52' E., lat. 38° 32' N., in the shahrastân of the same name in the wusent of West Astarbâyjân; the Kurdish district of Çufur is included in the shahrastân of Khôi.

The town lies at an elevation of 2,040 m., in a plain known locally as Khot el kelîr ("the Khot depression"), because all the surrounding areas are at a higher elevation. The mountains surrounding the Khoi plain protect the city from the cold winter winds (the Harâwî range along the Turkish frontier to the north-west averages over 11,000 feet), and consequently Khôî has a warmer climate than either Tabriz or Rûdîbayî. Minimum winter temperature is _14° C. winters are very hot with hot southerly winds. The economy of the region is partly pastoral, partly agricultural; crops include grain, pulses, tobacco, apricots and cotton. The region has a mixed population of Sunnis and Shi'is whose first language is either Turkish or Kurdish (the name Khôî is said
to mean "salt" in Kurdish, and certainly salt-mines are still worked in the area. In the bakbsh of Shahrvar there are several Christian villages.

In ancient times, Khobi acquired commercial importance by virtue of its location on the silk-route. In Safavid times, the proximity of Khobi to the Ottoman frontier made it a town of great strategic importance; in 903/1501-2 a safe-conduct at the borders of the Ottoman Empire was issued to Shah Selim I on the plain of Califdric, some 70 miles north-west of Khobi. In Kadjir times the strategic values of the town continued because of its proximity to the Russian frontier; the ruins of the walls built by General Gardane early in the 19th century at the request of Fath 'Ali Shah are still visible. More recently, Khobi saw fierce fighting between nationalist and royalist forces prior to World War I.

Bibliography: All Razmâr (ed.), Farhang-i Gyurghâisiyyâ-yi Nârân (Tehran 1330h.), 83 f.; M. and S. Skaznyoi, Khokand (Tehran 1330h., i, 185f.); S. S. M. and S. Shafie,J. S. E. (Teheran 1330h., iv, 184). Khobar, Arabic orthography, Khokand, later written Khokand (which is given a popular etymology, khâb + hânâ = town of the oasis), a town in Farghâna (q.v.), where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Ozbek kingdom with Khokand as capital in the 18th/19th century. The accession of the first ruler of this Mii dynasty, Shâhrukh, was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eskî Urdâ was built by his son, 'Abd al-Karim (d. 1746). 'Abd al-Karim and his nephew and successor 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Karim (who wrote poems himself under the pseudonym Khokand, Asiat. Museen Mal. c. 589 h., especially fols. 332, 145b). When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghâna (1758), Irdinâ also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, Magasin Asiatiue, i (1825), 81 h. from the T'ai ts'ing yi P'ung ci. Irdinâ also was a member of a coalition of Muslim rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Ahmad Shâh Durrânî (q.v.), the ruler of Afghanistan, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Ahmad Shâh in 1759 appeared in Turkistan at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khokand and Tashkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Kâkî-Kirgiz was made from Khokand, Klaproth, op. cit., 85 h.), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. 'Abd al-Karim's grandson, Nâr Bûtâ Beg (probably reigned 1823-1825), is described. According to Filipp Nazarov (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Khobi's two sons, 'Ali and 'Umar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khokand as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1222-1275/1750-1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which 'Ali was assassinated and 'Umar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the Taârikh-i Shâhârâbî (ed. Fantusov, ii, 106), 'Umar died in the year 1257/1821-2 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, 101; French tr., 224), which here follows another source (the Mumtâzâb bâl-Târikh-i Hâlâm Kîmân), 'Ali was not murdered till the spring of 1823 (i.e. 1817, not 1816, as in Nalivkin; on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig. 185; French tr. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of Khokand by 'Umar Khân in 1253/1836. The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarov, who was in Khokand in the winter of 1813, was the ruler of Khokand 'Ali Mir-Wâlijâr (Zaplâchii o vseobshchel vydaniâ Sredu-nessyâ dae, St. Petersburg 1824, 40 ff. This is probably for Wali al-NâsÂmi, not Wali Miâyâni, as in Klaproth, op. cit., 45). The ruler at this time was only 25 years of age; this statement can only refer to 'Umar, not to the much older 'Ali; according to 'Abd al-Karim al-Bukhârî also (ed. Schefer, 101), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khokand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropavlovsk) both took place in the reign of 'Umar Khân. According to 'Abd al-Karim, 'Ali had already been killed in 1225/1839, which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Qumâdâ 1, 1225/June 1810 (Protokoll des Türkischen, Lyb. arkh., ii, 254 f.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1811.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1233/1779-80, 'Ali still regards himself as the representative of an unnamed Kîlmân; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title Kîlmân or Amîr; after the conquest of Tâshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amîr of Bukhârâ. In 'Umar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarov; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. 110 f.; French tr. 234 l.), the town of Turkistan with the parts of the Kirgiz steppes belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of Khokand. 'Umar thereupon took the title of Amîr al-Mulk al-Mulâmân. There were several wars with Bukhârâ regarding the possession of Ua Tribe in the reigns of both 'Ali and 'Umar, and the town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest.

'Umar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers, 'Ali had made up his mind to break the power of the Ozbek families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Karitgin, Darwâz and other lands (Taârikh-i Shâhârâbî, 42 f.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the religious classes, especially the dervish orders. The historians on this account describe 'Ali as a godless tyrant (fellâm); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of 'Umar, who was put on the throne by 'Ali's murderers. 'Umar built the present chief mosque of Khokand, which was also used as a madrasa and therefore is known as the Madrasa-yi Dîâmân. 'Umar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (takhlîs) of Amîr; verses by the Khân himself, his officials
and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled 'Maddal al-she'ara' by M. Hartmann in MSOS, vii, Westas. Stud., 87 ff.

It was probably 'Umar who founded the town of Shahri Khân (west of Andijân); the great canal, led to it from the Kara Darya, Shahri Khân Säy, completely altered the irrigation of Farghana.

'Umar's son and successor, Madali (properly Muhammad 'Ali), was 12 at his accession (according to others 14). During the first half of his reign, the Khanate of Khokand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Karakhan, Darwâz, and Kulâb, which now belonged to Bukhârâ, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the Kara Kârgir; on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Kazak Kârgir; the Khan's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili [p.134]. The rebellion of Khoda 'Isâ dîhângir in Kâshghar (1826), which received support from Khokand, met with no success; nevertheless, the officers of the Khân were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (ilâhi dîrâz) of Kâshghar, Turfan, Yarkand and Khôlân. Like Khokand, where one of the largest madrasas bears the name of Madali Khân, Tashkend attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the town had a population of 80,000, with 15 madrasas of the Khân, and the foundations erected in the town of Khokand. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khokand, including the palace or 'urda of the Khân, and the madrasas of Hâkim Ayn and Sulîtan Murâd Beg, built by the Khân's mother and brother.

Until 1875, it seems to have been the Imperial Russian government's intention to retain the Khânate in a similar status to those of Bukhârâ and Khiwâ. But disturbances within the Khânate, and attacks on Russian-held territory, continued, and in 1875 there was a popular rising against Khudâyâr Khân led by his kinsman Pâlîd Khan, and the former regions of the Khânate then annexed by Russia, such as Khudâjand and Kurâmînsk, joined the revolt. A Russian force advanced up the Syr Darya, thereby driving a wedge between the two Khânates. After the fall of Khudâjand, Khudâyâr came to terms and agreed to become a Russian vassal and to pay an indemnity.

Thus began the last phase of the Khânate's nominally independent existence. Despite all the internal dissensions and intrigues, the economic condition of the Khânate seems to have been prosperous enough, with flourishing local textile, carpet-weaving and other crafts; according to a Russian observer in 1887, the town held a population of 56,000, with 5 madrasas of the Khân and several hundred mosques. Traditional Muslim learning was, indeed, far from moribund in all three of the Central Asian Khânates in this the last phase of their existence. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khokand, including the palace or 'urda of the Khân, and the madrasas of Hâkim Ayn and Sulîtan Murâd Beg, built by the Khân's mother and brother.
became an oblast under the ancient name of Farghāna. In the 1890 administrative re-organisation, Khokand became a head of the oblast of Farghāna. The town of Khokand itself continued to be the chief town of the region, with 21,966 inhabitants in 1911, but with the newly-founded town of New Marghilan, later Skobolev, as the governor’s seat.

The Khokars, one of the power tribes of the former Khurasan played a major role in the anti-Russian rebellions of 1916, when the Imperial government attempted to call up non-Russians for labour service in the war. In the following year, the focal point of the Muslim movement for the autonomy of Turkestan as the Tsarist régime broke up, and in December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress met in the town of Khokand and declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Early in 1918, however, the Tagaigov Soviet declared the government set up in Khokand under Mustafīn Chalayev to be counter-revolutionary, and in February 1918 Red Army forces attacked the town of Khokand, which was defended only by a hastily-raised militia, captured it, and conducted a savage massacre in which several thousands of the inhabitants were killed. After this, Muslim desires for self-determination in the region were expressed by the guerilla activities of the Basmajis [9.1.1].

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


(K. W. Barthold - C. E. Bosworth)

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

The earliest mention of the Khokars occurs in Hassan Nūrī's Tafṣīl al-ma'allih which refers to an inscription of the tribe under their chiefs named Bikan and Sarki. The next contemporary chronicle to contain a reference to the Khokars is Miḥālīš-i Sārākū's Tahāris-i Nāṣīrī, which says that they were encouraged by Malik Khusraw, the last Ghaznavid ruler of Lāhūr, to rise against their Lodi overlords. History also records a military contact near Lāhawr between the Khokars and a force of the fugitive Djalil al-Dīn Khvānaazād in 640/1243.

Extending their sway beyond their traditional stronghold in the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab, the Khokars held a considerable area east of the Beas. In 647/1250 they were masters of most of the upper part of the Panjab, but they are no more heard of until the reign of Sultān Muhammad Tūgchūk when they again created disturbance. Yahyā Sīhtīnī's Ḥāfirah-i Muḥarrarīdīsī describes the seizure of Lāhawr in 797/1394 by the Khokar chief Shavkha, and his long-standing feud with Sirang Khan, governor of Dipālūr, resulting in the former's defeat.

The Khokars played a significant role in offering resistance to the invading hordes of Tūmrū in India. After Shāykhī's arrest by Tūmrū in 801/1398, the Khokars disappear from history, but his son Djasrast, who escaped from Samarkand, whether Tūmrū had taken him as a prisoner, emerges later in 823/1420 as a force to reckon with. For more than twenty years, this indefatigable Khokar warior proved to be the cause of constant worry to the Sultans of Dihlī. In 845/1441, Sultān Mūṣīm Shah conferred Dipālūr and Lāhawr on Bahlīl Lōdī and charged him to chastise Djasrast, but the wily Khokar came to terms with Bahlīl and urged him to astate the Sayyids and occupy Dihlī. However, Djasrast was murdered in 846/1442 by his queen, a daughter of Bahlīl De'ēs, Rāğıj of Dāmūn, because her father had been put to death by him. After Djasrast, the Khokars were left leaderless, and coupled with the rise of the Lōdī power in the Panjab, the Khokar ambitions finally came to naught. Scholars and historians have often confused the Khokars with the Gakkhars, a totally distinct tribe, settled in the same province. Fireight in all probability means Khokars when he describes the Gakkhars as a race of wild barbarians, devoid of religion or morality, practising polyandry and female infanticide. Similarly, in his article, *A history of the Gakkhars, in JASB, xii* (1921), I. G. Delmerick has attributed the achievements of the Khokars to the Gakkhars. As a matter of fact, the Khokars were spread all over the central districts of the Panjab centuries before the Gakkhars acquired a foothold in the Salt Range, to which they remained traditionally confined (cf. H. A. Rose, *The Khokars and the Gakkhars in the Panjab history*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxvi (1907), 1-9).
from Herzegovina (C. Trubelka has shown that "Radivoj". the brother of the Sultan's son-in-law", to whom the people of Raguša [Split] sent gifts, was Ferhād's brother). Taking part in Sultan Suleyman's campaign against Belgrade (927/1521), Khosrew Beg was appointed sandžak bey of Bosnia on 15 Shawwal/15 September of the same year, a fortnight after the conquest of the city. Having stayed four years in Sarajevo, he was removed from office because he failed at the siege of Škoplje. Some six months later he returned to his post, which he kept until he died, over sixty years old, in 948/1541. Except for an interruption of a few years (1533-36), during which he was at Belgrade sandžak beg of Servia.

Distinguishing himself by his successful campaigns, Khosrew Beg was nick-named Ghāzi; even today he is well-known among the Bosnian Muslims by the name of Gazi Hüsrev-beg. Due to his military activities, Turkish power spread widely in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (Ubrovča, Vayl at, Banjaluka, Pođega, Kiš, Gorčači). His campaign brought Khosrew Beg great riches which he spent on embellishing Sarajevo. During his governorship, the city grew into an important centre. Three charters of foundation (waḥfīyye) attest his activities: two (938/1335 and 944/1341) for the Khosrew Beg mosque (Beşāma dāmāsi) next to which was erected the mausoleum (türbe) in which he was buried, and one (943/1341) for the Kuršumlija modesta. The Beşāma dāmāsi is one of the most outstanding specimens of Islamic architecture in Yugoslavia, and an imposing monument of the Turkish period in Sarajevo. The waḥf founded by Khosrew Beg has been of great importance for the city of Sarajevo and for the cultural life of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general. Up to the 20th century, many public buildings were erected with its revenues. It still exists, but most property was lost in the 1930s-40s, especially at the great fire in 1567 when Prince Eugene of Savoy made his breakthrough at Sarajevo. In course of time, many estates belonging to the waḥf were lost, including recently at the land-reform in Yugoslavia after 1918.

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

Other monuments in the town for which Khosrew Beg was responsible include the eponymous two küba buildings, a bedside of 90 stalls and the Taşlih Kǎn, a caravanserai provided with 60 lodgings.

Bibliography: Mustapha Hilli: Muhbibić, Beitrag zur Geschichte Sarajevs, in Wissenschaftliche Mitthteilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegowina, ii, Vienna 1894, 305; Badekšić's guide, Austria-Hungary, 1911, 420; Ćiro Trubelka, Gazi Hüsrev-beg, njegov život i njegovo doba, in Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, xxiv (Sarajevo 1932), 97-134; idem, Gazi Hüsrev-Begova spomennica - letninogotrašnjic njegov dāmāsi u Sarajevu, Sarajevo 1922; Hazim Šabanović, art. Hüsrev-Beg (Gazi), in Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, Zagreb 1956, iv, 306; Tăsibi Otq, art. Hüsrev Beg, Gazi, in IA; idem, Gazi Hüsrev Beg ve onun Saraybosna'daki camiine bit riwarate daha ilâhe edimisleri daha bit vesika, in Necati İğdel arzmagani, Ankaa 1968, 83-99; K. Dobrđa, Gazi Hüsrev-begova biblioteka u Sarajevu - Kinišli arapšk, türkški i perzijski рукописи, Sveoak prvi, Sarajevo 1905. There are numerous references to Gazi Khosrew's military activities in the Diarit of Marino Sanuto, where he appears under the name of Uṣref Beg.

(K. DJURĐJEVIĆ and J.-L. BACQUE-GRAMMONT)

KHOSREW, MOLLA, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Mehmed b. Farāmuz b. "All. According to one statement he was of Turkman (tribe of Warsak) descent and born in the village of Karghan (half way between Siwās and Tokat); according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islam. According to Sa‘d al-Dīn his father was of Rumi (Rūm) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Tafazzūnī, Burhān al-Dīn Haydar of Herāt (cf. Isā, xi, 51 and Sa‘d al-Dīn, Tāh al-tawārid, ii, 436), and received training in the Shah Malik modern in Adria¬nople; in 848/1444 he became bābā of Adrianople and later bābāšker of Rumelia. On the death of Khaḍîr Beg [v.], the first bābā of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time mādāris at the Aya Sofya. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kārčin [v.] being promoted over him, he went to Bursa in 567/1172 and built a nedrese there. In 874/1469 he returned to Istanbul by command of the Sultan, became Shaykh al-İslām and died there in 893/1480. His body was taken to Bursa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Istanbul, named after his name (cf. ʻUthmān Ḥusayn, Ūdāl al-ḥujūmi‘i, i, 20; J. von Hammer, OR, i, 87, No. 426). Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the aššar-anotated Durar al-buhkām fi ḍharb Qūnār al-ḥašān on the principles of legal practice, written in 877-83/1473-7 (printed at Cairo 1394 and 1405), also a dogmatic work Mīrād al-wuṣūl fi Qum al-wusul (printed at Cairo 1362 and Istanbul 1364). On other works by him, cf. von Ham¬mer, OR, ii, 386 ff. and Brockelmann, ii, 225-7.


KHOSREW PASHÁ, BOSNIANK, -KHOSREW PASHÁ, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Bosnian in origin, Khosrew was taken into the palace service and rose to the office of slikašir. When, in Muhammad 1033/ October-November 1625, the dissident (urba) oda khan of the Janissaries demanded the replacement of their aga by someone not of the corps, Khosrew passed out of the slikašir-i hâmaydn to become Vehbi bey agašir.

The state was at this time going through a critical period: the dominance of the Janissaries in internal affairs had reached new heights with the execution of Othman II (Rèjâl 1031/1622); Abâna (Meh-
med) Pasha [g.o.] was in revolt in Erzurum; and the Safawid Shah 'Abbas I was soon to take Bagḥdād (Rabi' I 1035/January 1626). In Shaban 1035/May 1624 Khosrew Agha, as agha of the Janissaries, left Istanbul with the bâbshâlu soldiery in the train of the Grand Vizier Cerkes Mehmêd Pasha [see Kurânân] and advanced to Diyarbekir, where he had been given the command against Abaza Pasha. Khosrew is mentioned as having fought courageously in the victory over Abaza's forces near Kayseri in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1033/September 1624. When Cerkes Mehmêd died in winter quarters in Tokat (Rabi' II 1034/January 1625), Khosrew and the baçhadefkar, Bâktî Pasha, wrote to the capital urging the appointment of the beglerbegi of Diyarbekir, Hâfiz Ahmed Pasha [g.o.], as his successor, an action Khosrew came to regret on learning that he himself might have been considered for the office. Though he was soon after given the rank of vizier, he is said by Peçewl, then with the army, not to have been able to overcome his disappointment and to have hoped that Hâfiz Ahmed might fail in the subsequent campaign against Bagḥdād (Peçewl, Ta'rikh ii, 493, 495).

In Rabî' 1034/June 1625 Khosrew and the forces which had wintered in Tokat joined the army under Hâfiz Ahmed to march against Bagḥdād. The ensuing siege of that city, which lasted for nearly eight months (Safar-Shawwâl 1035/November 1625—July 1626), was unsuccessful, but Khosrew again distinguished himself by his bravery, especially when the Ottomans were near to rout in the third of the battles (Rama'dan 1035/June 1626) with a relieving force of some 30,000 soldiers under Shah 'Abbas himself as pasha. His actions earned him the imperial decree of pardon Khosrew during this siege, see Ferîdûn Beg, Miwash 'al-sâlihîn, Istanbul 1854-5 ii, 89-90.

Following the failure at Bagḥdād, both Hâfiz Ahmed Pasha and Khosrew Agha were dismissed (Rabi' I 1035/December 1626), though neither was disgraced. Summoned to the capital by the sultan, Murad IV, Khosrew arrived in Radijb 1036/March-April 1627 and was made a şâbbed vizier (and thus Pasha). The inability of the new Grand Vizier, Kâmil Pasha, to counter the renewed threat from Abaza Pasha in 1627 led to the former's dismissal. The sultan is said to have placed great trust in Khosrew Pasha's courage and in his ability to control the army (Peçewl, ii, 498) and in the composition of the new Grand Vizier the arguments of the Şâyâyîh al-Islâmîn Vâhyî Efendi that it was time to try a new face and that Khosrew's unparalleled reputation for valour made him the best man for the post silenced the other ministers. Because there were viziers senior to him, notably the bãkîn mahbûm Radijb Pasha [g.o.], he was not made Grand Vizier immediately but was first appointed governor of Diyarbekir and sent to Ismit, where the imperial seal was delivered to him on 1 Shaban 1037/17 April 1628. In his letter of appointment he was charged first with subduing Abaza Pasha, then with marching against the Safawids; and he was also given wide discretion in the making of appointments and in the administration of affairs generally (see Ferîdûn Beg, ii, 90-5, for the herea).

Having made careful preparations for the campaign against Abaza, Khosrew moved towards Tokat. Through harsh measures against wrongdoers and those whom he regarded as having failed in their duty, he succeeded in establishing strict discipline in the army. He reached Tokat on 28 Rabî'ân 1037/1 June 1628, where he remained for some seven weeks before a report that Abaza, concerned by desertions from his forces, was seeking aid from Shah 'Abbas spurred him to move quickly against Erzurum. His considerable reputation for bravery persuaded increasing numbers of Abaza's followers to desert to him, a tendency which he further encouraged by treating the deserters well. Abaza had laid siege to Hasanbâd but, on hearing of Khosrew's advance, abandoned it. At the suggestion of the governor of Hasanbâd, Khosrew advanced on Erzurum at great speed with a picked force, arriving before Abaza could complete his preparations (29 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1037/10 August 1628). During the siege which followed, Khosrew again encouraged desertions by promises of pardon and employment in the army. Recognising the impossibility of resistance, Abaza surrendered on terms on 23 Muharram 1038/22 September 1628, and Khosrew thus brought to an end a problem which had bedevilled the state for some six years. A Safawid force coming to Abaza's aid was surprised and defeated by the governor of Kayseri, its commander, Shamsî Khân, being captured and sent to Khosrew. Having decided not to winter in the field, Khosrew returned to Istanbul with both Abaza and Shamsî Khân in his train and made a triumphal entry into the city on 12 Rabî' II/9 December. Abaza, pardoned in accordance with the terms of the surrender, was appointed governor of Bosnia.

Though Khosrew fell ill in the spring of 1629, he recovered and was appointed commander for the campaign to retake Bagḥdād. He left Oskudar on 18 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1038/9 July 1629 and arrived in Mosul on 1 Dümâdîa I 1039/7 December 1629. An unusually hard winter, with continuous heavy rains and even snow, caused severe flooding over a large area and created great difficulties for the army. On 13 Dümâdîa II/28 January 1630 the army left Mosul for Bagḥdād. Having suffered considerable losses of men and materiel in the crossing of the flooded river Zâb, Khosrew convened a jûmeîn in which it was decided that to besiege Bagḥdād in the present conditions was impossible and that the time would be better spent in a pre-emptive attack on the ruler of Ardalan [g.o.], Khân Ahmad, who might otherwise threaten their rear. As the army advanced, many of the Kurîshî beges submitted to Khosrew. Reaching the district of Şehirezîr, Khosrew was persuaded to rebuild the fortress of Guî'ânbar, built by Sultanîyan I and subsequently destroyed by Shah 'Abbas I. The work began on 10 Ramadan 1038/4 March 1629 and took some fifty days to complete. During the stay at Guî'ânbar, Khosrew sent a force to take the fortress of Mihrîbân, on the road to Hamadhân. The garrison surrendered, but the Ottoman force was then attacked by a Safawî army under the khân-i bâhûdan, Zaymî Khân. In the ensuing battle the Ottomans, with some difficulty, won the day (22 Ramadan/5 May). Moving further east, the Ottomans sacked the palace of Khân Ahmad at Hasanbâd and, on 27 Shawwâl/9 June, reached Hamadhân, which had been evacuated by the Safawîs. They laid waste the city, and, with the intention of marching on Şawrîn, advanced to Dargûzûn, which they also sacked. It was there decided that an attack on Şawrîn would prove both difficult and ultimately pointless and that it was past time to return to the main aim of the campaign, the recovery of Bagḥdād which was now some sixty stages distant. The army departed from Dargûzûn on 10 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1039/21 June 1630 and marched towards Bagḥdād, meeting serious resistance only from the ruler of Ľukîstân, set against them by Shah Sâfî, whom they overcame on the plain of Camâghûl, near Nîhâvûnd, on 3 Dhu 'l-Hijja/14 July. Reaching the environs of Bagḥdād in early Septem-

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
KHOSREW PASHA

Khosrew began on 28 Safar 1040/6 October 1630 what proved to be a fruitless siege of the city. Five days after an unsuccessful full-scale assault on 5 Rabī’ II/19 November it was decided to withdraw. During the course of the siege Khosrew had been persuaded by the local Arabs to garrison the fortress at Hillā; and leaving a sizeable force there, he departed with the army for Mosul, where he arrived on 7 Dhu‘ al-Mu‘arram/13 December. While the army dispersed for the winter, Khosrew, ill-health, prepared to winter in Mosul.

When the news that the Ottomans had abandoned the siege of Baghdād reached Kurdistan and the Shāh, an army under Khan Aḥmad attacked the Ottoman garrison at Derteh. The defenders fled to the newly-built fortress at Shahrizūf (Gu‘lānbar) which was subsequently attacked by a large army under Khan Aḥmad and the Safawī Shāh ʻAlāʾ al-Dīn; news of their advance caused the Kurdish khānidtr, under Khan Ahmad and the Šafawī Khosrew to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 26 Dhu‘ al-Mu‘arram/12 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February. (For further details of the Hamadān/Baghdād campaign from the Safawī side, see Iskandān Beg Munsī, Dīwān-i Ḥamadānī, ed. Sūhāyli Khwānsarāy, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

From Mārdīn a request was sent to the capital for men (in particular a large force of Tatars), money and supplies for another campaign against Baghdād in 1631. In Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1040/June 1630 Khosrew moved to Kočbīsyr, a short distance to the south-west of Mārdīn, where he spent the summer months awaiting the arrival of the Tatars, several thousand of whom had set out in the spring, and trying to decide on his course of action. When he finally determined to move towards Mosul (Ṣafar 1041/September 1631), heat, fatigue and disease had so affected the army that Khosrew was persuaded to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 26 Dhu‘ al-Mu‘arram/12 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February. (For further details of the Hamadān/Baghdād campaign from the Safawī side, see Iskandān Beg Munsī, Dīwān-i Ḥamadānī, ed. Sūhāyli Khwānsarāy, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

By this time, however, he had already been replaced as Grand Vizier by Hāẓīf Aḥmad Pasha, the decision to do so having been taken in Istanbul on 29 Rabī’ I/1014/25 October 1630. Na‘īmā (Ṭarīqī, iii, 70-9) lists a number of underlying reasons for his dismissal, chief among them his excessive dependence upon, and consequent enmity of favour with, the troublesome elements in the army (ṣorba), this in turn leading to instances of oppression and malfeasance (see also ii, 446-7, where Na‘īmā gives details of Khosrew’s securing the dismissal of a Yasīrī khābī who had been appointed with special instructions from the sultan to end the abuses in the enrolment of Jāniskāries and to prevent improper entries in the registers of the corps). The decisive factor, however, appears to have been his failure to retake Baghadh despite a substantial investment of men and resources. When the news of his dismissal reached Dīwārībīr (22 Rabī’ II/16 November), the army immediately protested, threatening to kill the messenger who had brought the news and urging Khosrew to remain until they could make representations to the capital on his behalf. Khosrew calmed them, however, accepted his dismissal and left Dīwārībīr (26 Rabī’ II/21 November), surrendering the imperial seal in the vicinity of Mārdīn. A recurrence of gout forced him to halt in Tokat, where he was to remain until his death.

Khosrew Pasha’s dismissal became the focus of a serious rebellion in the capital, incited, it is said, by the vizier Radjab Pasha, who coveted the Grand Vizierate. Those involved were the ṣorba, who had been recalled from Dīwārībīr for the winter and a number of individual ṣorba, who, having built up their own followings and made themselves virtually independent in various parts of Anadolu and Rāmūs, had agreed to attempt to restore Khosrew to the Grand Vizierate and had converged on the capital. Demanding the deaths of seventeen leading men identified as those who had brought about Khosrew’s dismissal, the rebels succeeded in assassinating Hāẓīf Aḥmad Pasha, who was replaced by Rabī‘ullāh Pasha (29 Ṣafar 1041/20 February 1632: Peczwii, ii, 420, wrongly cites the execution, not the dismissal, of Khosrew as the cause of this rebellion). Deeply angered by these events, Murād IV held Khosrew to be the cause and determined on his execution. Appointing Murtaḥā Pasha to the governorship of Dīwārībīr, he charged him secretly with putting Khosrew to death. Despite opposition from the people of Tokat as well as Khosrew’s followers, this end was accomplished when Khosrew ordered an end to resistance and accepted his fate. The news of his death, which became public knowledge in the capital on 19 Shābān 1041/11 March 1632, provoked yet another serious rebellion, including that of Ṣīlākzāde, ed. Sūhāyli Khwānsarāy, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

Though Khosrew Pasha is credited in the sources with considerable personal bravery and with taking great pains in the preparation of his campaigns, these qualities are overshadowed by what is regarded as his excessive severity, even bloodthirstiness, to demonstrate which numerous examples are given. On this aspect of his character Na‘īmā remarks: ‘He had no hesitation in putting to death men whose execution neither the jāf, nor reason required, who perhaps did not deserve so much as a rebuke’ (iii, 77). This success in terrorizing the people of Tokat to defend him and, while allowing for the selfish ends of some of those involved, the strong reactions aroused in Istanbul first by his dismissal and then by his execution. These events suggest that he was, perhaps, more widely admired, even at the end, than the sources, and particularly Na‘īmā, would lead one to believe.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelbio, Felahi, ii, 52, 66, 84, 94; 102-42 passim; Peczwii, Tarīqī, ii, 401-25 passim; Šīlākzāde, Ta‘rīkh, 742-50; Na‘īmā,
the third time, Khosrew Pasha became Suleyman Pasha a tenacious hatred against him. For denigrate in the eyes of the Porte, evoking in Khadim highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably end of that same year of Blytli Meljined Pasha I life, as evoked by 'All in his
tenure of the governorship he had endeavoured to
finish oganization on behalf of the Ottoman sultan. A commission of enquiry was unable to prove his guilt, but
he was nevertheless dismissed from his office. In fact,
the evidence on his administration in Diyarbakar and
in Egypt reveals a brutal, largely unscrupulous and
highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably
enlighted official. The Ottoman chroniclers of Egypt
(Yusuf, Mehmed b. Yusuf al-Khailak and 'Abd al-
Karim b. 'Abd al-Rahman) stress moreover the un-
usual prosperity and security which the land enjoyed
under his rule.

He was replaced at Cairo by the powerful vizier Khadim Suleymân Pasha, whose previous ten years’ tenure of the governorship he had endeavored to
cenagitate in the eyes of the Porte, evolving in Khadim Suleymân Pasha a temerous hatred against him. For the third time, Khosrew Pasha became beglerbeg of Anatolia at the beginning of 1537, and then of Rumelia in June 1538. His services during his tenure
of these offices (the Moldavian campaign of 1538 and the capture of Castelnuovo in 1539) led the sultan to appoint him as fourth vizier in 1541, Khâdim Suley-
mân Pasha being Grand Vizier and Rûstem Pasha [q.v.] second vizier. It seems very probable that the
latter’s ambitions were the cause of the ruin of the
other two. As the sultan’s son-in-law and enjoying
the support of his influential mother-in-law Kûr-
ren Sultan, Rûstem was able to rage against each
other very skilfully the old enemies Khâdim Suley-
mân and Khosrew in such a way that they were
to blows in the sultan’s presence in 1544 and were
both deprived of office for this affair. Rûstem Pasha
then became Grand Vizier. In despair at having
lost his offices and powers, Khosrew Pasha allowed
himself to starve to death in this year, one of the
very rare cases of suicide amongst Ottoman officials
of this period.

Bibliography: J.-L. Bacoque-Grammont, Notices et
documents sur Djiwân Hîseri Pasha, in KO (1979),
and bibliography cited there.

KHOSREW PASHA, MÈMÈD (1572/1555),
Ottoman Grand Vizier, educated in the Palace
and raised to the post of Kâbul in the service of Selim III [q.v.] in 1503/1509. He entered the
service of the Khûkûz Hayyân Pasha, a protagonist of
military and naval reform, who became Admiral (Kapudan-i deryî) in 1506/1507. In 1552/1580 Khos-
rew sailed with the fleet to Egypt, where he commanded a force of 6,000 and co-operated with the
British in the recapture of Raghid and the defeat of
French forces. In recognition of his services he was
soon afterwards appointed waif of Egypt.

In Egypt he attempted to establish the nigam-i
djejed [q.v.] army and disarm the irregular başîl
beshî troops imported from Rumelia for the war against the French. When he attempted to stop their
pay, the başîl beshî forces rose in revolt and de-
feated Khoor’s own troops. Then Tahir Pasha at-
tacked Khoor, forcing him to withdraw to Damiet-
ta and declared himself waif of Egypt. Shortly after-
wards, Tahir was murdered, leaving Muhammad 'Ali
[q.v.] and the Mamlûks real masters of Egypt. In
Rabî‘ al-Awwal 1228/July 1813, the Mamlûks de-
teated Khoor near Damietta and threw him into
prison. On his release by Muhammad 'Ali 8 months
later, he was removed from the government of Egypt.
His next appointment was as waif of Diyarbekir
(1218/19/1803-4), followed by various governorships
in Rumelia. He was active in the Russo-Turkish war
which broke out in 1222/1806 as waif of Silistra
and military commander on the Danube front. In re-
co gnition of his services, he was appointed Kapudan-i
deryî in Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1225/January 1812 and com-
nanded the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea until
the conclusion of a peace in Ramaçan 1227/September
1812. He was dismissed in 1233/1821, and afterwards
served in a number of provincial governorships. As
waif of Erzurum he was appointed military commander
(sarhisir) in the east, with instructions to pacify
rebellious Kurdish tribes whose activities had led to
a clash with Persia. However, his mishandling of the
affair led to a rebellion by the former indagatîf of Bây-
cikl, while the Persians, taking advantage of the situa-
tion, captured Bâyçikkâl, Erichish and Bilîks. The Porte transferred him to the government of Trabzon, and in Safar 1233/September 1821 appointed in his place the
former Grand Vizier Mehmûd Emin Râfî Pasha.

With the outbreak of rebellion in the Mores, Kho-
srew Pasha was again appointed Kapudan-i deryî
(Rabî‘ al-Akhir 1238/December 1823) and detailed to
pursue the rebels in the Aegean. For this purpose, he constructed a fleet of shallow-draught vessels, suitable for pursuit in shallow waters, and attempted to cut off sea communications between Morea and the islands, at the same time discouraging Ottoman troops on the Greek mainland. However, during the siege of Missolonghi (1240-1245), rivalry often broke out between Khosrow and Muhammad Ali’s son Ibrahim Pasha [q.v.], who was commanding an Egyptian force on the Sultan’s behalf. Ibrahim and Muhammad Ali sought Khosrow’s dismissal from the admiralty and were eventually successful. He was instead appointed visir of Andolu (Anatolia).

Khosrow, however, retained the confidence of Mahmud II, who recognized him as a protagonist of military reforms and as being instrumental in introducing European tactics to the fleet. In 1242/1827 the Sultan therefore appointed him serasker of the newly formed army, the "asker-i vahd-ye muhammadiyyah," where he also began to introduce European tactics and training techniques. His influence in the capital increased after the outbreak of war with Russia in 1243/1828, when he engineered the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Selim Mehmed Pasha and the appointment of his own former slave and nominee, Rashid Mehmed Pasha. He also secured a commandship on the front for his former slave Khalil Rif’at Pasha, and the dismissal of the serasker on the Russian front, Agha Husayn Pasha. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Balkans and advanced on Edirne. Khozrow advised the Sultan to seek a peace, at the same time taking extraordinary measures to prevent panics in Istanbul, to the extent even of executing certain advocates of surrender. This, and the unpopularity of his westernising measures in the army, almost provoked a popular revolt. He was present at the peace negotiations in the presence of the French, English and Russian ambassadors. His influence was now at a height, and he used it to remove his rivals from positions in the government, replacing them with his own slaves, and to have the former Grand Vizier, Selim Mehmed Pasha, dismissed from the governorship of Rumelia.

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

However, in Shawwal 1250/January 1837, two of his own proteges, Khalil and Sa’di Pashas, secured his dismissal as serasker, while in Rabii’ al-Awwal 1253/June 1837, his great rival Mustafa Reshid Pasha became Foreign Minister. Khozrow retired on a pension. His absence from public affairs did not last long. In Dhu ’l-Hijja 1254/March 1838, he received the chairmanship of the Reform Committee (medjelle-i waliyeh) and presided over the councils which met in his villa to discuss the Egyptian question.

A further deterioration of affairs in Egypt and the death of Mahmud II in 1255/1839 caused a grave crisis in the empire. It was at this juncture that Khozrow literally seized power, by grabbing the Imperial Seal from the Grand Vizier, Ra’uf Pasha, during the funeral of Mahmud II, and declaring himself Grand Vizier. This led to the defection of his rival, the Kapudan-i derv, Ameen Feyzi Pasha, who sailed with the fleet to Muhammad Ali in Egypt, with the intention of returning with Egyptian troops and deposing Khozrow. Muhammad Ali, partly on his part, demanded Egypt and Syria for himself and the dismissal of Khozrow. Neither plan succeeded. Khozrow remained in his post, but the Foreign Minister, Mustafa Reshid Pasha, seized the initiative and, partly no doubt, to win the sympathies of the European powers over the Egyptian question, had the famous khafr-i sheikh of Gulkhane proclaimed, marking the beginning of the Towhid [q.v.] era. Khozrow was still Grand Vizier, but Mustafa Reshid Pasha later had the sympathies of the Palace and was able to press for his dismissal and the reinstatement of Ra’uf Pasha. He then had Khozrow tried and convicted for bribery by the Supreme Council of Judicial Offices (medjelle-i waliyeh-i adliyyeh) and exiled in Diyarbak ’l-Usb 1250/July 1840 to Tekirdag.

In the following year, the Sultan Abd al-Medjid permitted his return to Istanbul, where a change in government permitted his return to power. In Safar 1260/January 1845, he was appointed serasker, in which position he removed his predecessor Rija’ Pasha’s nominees and replaced them with his own men. During this period of office, he opened the Military School at Kulelik Tashkent. However, later in the same year, he was removed from office, and the new Grand Vizier, Mustafa Reshid Pasha, took care to prevent his further rise to power. He died, at the age of more than ninety, on 13 Diyembr ’l-Aghira 1271/3 March 1855.

Bibliography: see article Husrev Pasha by Halil Inelcek in IA, of which the foregoing is a summary.

(Ed.)

KHOŠT, Arabic spellings Khwst or Khwst, the name of various places in Afghanistan. The most likely etymology for the name is that given by G. Margonier in his in an etymological vocabulary of Pashtu, Oslo 1928, 98: that it is an Iranised form of Pashto, An etymological vocabulary (Ibn Hawkall, 457, tr. 441, and Muqaddasi, 349), and this is apparently the Khwst mentioned three centuries or so later by Kasmid, Afar al-bilād, ed. Whiston, 244, as a town of Ghur; see Le Strange, Lands of the eastern Caliphate, 420, 417.

Distinct from this seems to be the Khwst further north near Andarab and on the borders of Badakhshan, the district which the Besaid-i al-Islam (end of the 4th/10th century) refers to as (?) Yun, cf. tr. Minorsky, 106, 240-1, perhaps the Khwst of Vašt, Buddir, ed. Beirut, II, 358, and the Khwst of the Hāsun-Tasong, see Marqart, Erdnähre, 241. It is frequently referred to in Timurid and early Mughal times. In 884/1479 we hear of one Mir ’Abd al-Khidr, the governorship of Khwst, “one of the most important districts in Badakhshan and Kunuz” (Tārīḥ-i Rakhsh, ed. and tr. Eijsa and Ross, tr. 105). One of Šāh’s wives, Māhān, apparently came from here; his daughter Baharang was born here, and he is said to have visited it on various occasions, see the Bābur-nāma, tr. Beveridge, index.
In modern times, the most important region bearing the name Khōst is that comprised within the modern Afghan province of Pakhtia, lying to the south of the Sefid-Koh range in the basin of the Kaitu, an affluent of the Kurram river which drains eastwards to the Indus; hence the ethnic and tribal connections of Khōst with the regions of Kurrum, Kohat and northern Waziristan on the modern Pakistani side of the Durand Line have always been close. Khōst now forms an important forestry region of Afghanistan, and, in the southern, sub-tropical zone, dates, citrus fruits, etc. are grown; recent Afghan governments have made considerable agricultural developments (see J. Humiltim, Cultural investment here (see J. Humiltim, Cultural investment here (see J. Hultin, Cultural investment here)).

The town, and the territory which depends on its small coalfield, 35 miles east of Quetta. The latter we team that the population of the kingdom which existed in 125 B.C., following the mission of Kuang K'ien, under the name Yu-Tien. Although numerous archaeological remains have been found at that site, Yotkan cannot correspond to Yu-Tien. In fact, according to Pelliot (Notes on Marco Polo, 412, s.v. "Cotan"), Yu-Tien corresponds to *Qoton, with the variant *Qoton arriving from the transcription Yu-Tien given by Huan-tsang (ibid., 409): the name encountered in the Khōtanese texts is just a transcription of the Chinese Yu-Tien under the form Yutien, while documents of the 4th century in Kharoshī script give the form Khotana (L. G. Gercken, Khotanase and Khotanese, 101). Yotkan is a ruined pre-Islamic cemetery, approximately 8 km. west of the town itself.

In fact, the kingdom of Khōtan was not really known to the Chinese until after the conquest of the Tarim basin, carried out by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), in the years following 210 B.C. and through the reconquest by the later Han between 75 B.C. and ca. 170 A.D. Little is known of the history of the ruling dynasty and the name of the town is always transcribed Yu-Tien in the Chinese sources. From the latter we learn that the population of the kingdom reached a total of 50,000. All that we can say is that this population spoke a language of Iranian type, which has become known as a result of discoveries made at the beginning of the 20th century and which has been deciphered principally by Lüders, Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey. It now seems that the Khōtanese spoke a dialect of the Saka language.

In its course of the first centuries A.D. that the kingdom of Khōtan received Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition, which agrees in some points with the account given by Huan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced to Khōtan by a Kashmiri monk called Vaisscena, during the reign, almost certainly legendary, of king Vijayasambhava (E. Zürcher, The Buddhist conquest of China, in Sinica Leidensia, xi, Leiden 1972, 340-1). This assessment is confirmed by the fact that one of the oldest dated Buddhist monuments is from 209 A.D. (A. Stein, Sand-burried ruins of Khōtan, 1922, *).

In the 7th century, Huan-tsang writes in his Memoirs (Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, ii, 1929) "Khotan in the kingdom of Kuia-ta-ta-na-nan. (Note) In Chinese, this signifies "Breast of the Earth"; it is the formal name used in the region. The local language uses the expression "Kingdom of Huan-na". The Hong-nong call it Yu-touen; the Hui (Iranians), Ho-tan; the Indians, K'iu-tan. Formerly they (the Chinese) called it Yu-Tien; it is an incorrect form*. (On this passage, cf. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, 409-17).

Thus, in the Tang period, the polite and literary form is "Costana" or "Gaustana", difficult to interpret according to Pelliot; the local language used the expression Xuan-nâ (Huan-na?), this name faithfully rendering the name which appears in the Khōtanese texts under the form Hu-tien, Xuan, Huan, and Huan; the nomads of the north would have pronounced it *Qoton or *Quton, a name which is found much later in Syriac, translated from Persian, in the story "The History of the Patriarch Mar Yaballadh and the monk Rabban Sâум, published by Chabot (Paris 1855, 22), where the latter identifies the town of "Lōtôn" with Khōtan. In fact "Lōtôn" is an erroneous form from the Persian original, where the *Lom has appeared as a result of confusion with the initial *Lâf, whence we deduce the correct form "Oden" proposed by Pelliot fifty years ago, while Budge (The monks of Khiibid Kîla, London 1928, 138) and Montgomery (The history of Yaballaha III, New York 1927) have retained the form "Lōtôn". This form appears in the works of Kshâghâr (Strockeimann, 1931), with "Kshāghār" and "Kshāghâr", the Indians would have pronounced it Ho-tan (Xuan-tan) which assumes an original *Hwatan, precursor of the Khōtan of the Muslims, while the Indians would have pronounced it K'iu-tan (*Kut-tan) which presuppose a form Khōtan or Khōtan. The land was known to the Tibetans under the name of Li-yul, "land of Li", although they knew the town under the name of Hui-lên, which is just a transcription.

In the Tang period, the kingdom of Khōtan was bounded to the south by the Kuan-men, while in the east its territory touched that of Kroraina (Niya, Cercen and the Lob-Nor region), and in the west that of Kshâghâr (Kıyasa) which stretched from the Pamirs and the Ferghana to Maranhagh and beyond. The language used throughout the Khōtan region was Saka-Khotanese, which was related to the Tadjik vernacular of the Pamirs, of which no ancient evidence has yet been recovered, to the language of Kshâghâr in the west and north, of which some traces have been recovered at Tumshuk (the Turkish name of a site whose ancient name has disappeared), and in the east to the language spoken in Kroraina, of which apparently no relics remain.

The kingdom of Khotan at that time had a large population which had, no doubt under the influence of Buddhism, lost all interest in expansion and showed an extreme aversion to matters of war; Huan-tsang noted that the Khōtanese were remarkable
Khotan, who called himself Kair Khan Yusuf and reigned in Kashgar from about 491/1050, decided, for reasons unknown to us, to conquer the territory of Khotan. Seeing that he died in 492/1052 (Ibn al-\Alfira s.a.), it is likely that the conquest of Khotan was accomplished sometime between the years 1053 and 1052, for we possess money struck in his name at Kashgar and at Yarkand from 404/1013-4 onwards (A. Markov, Incendiarium catalog, etc., 192 ff.). On the conquest of Khotan, cf. Barthold, Turkestani, 281, 2.

Later, Khotan, like Kashgar, passed under the authority of the Ilkhanids (q.v.), and subsequently under that of the Karakhanids (q.v.). After these events, the crisis arising in Central Asia as a result of the expansion of the Mongol empire led the Khwarazm-Shah to make an agreement with Kulthig, who had deposed and expelled his father-in-law, the Gur-Khan of the Karakhitay, and a partition of the western sector of the Karakhitay empire took place, between the two rulers, giving to the Khwarazm-Shah the territory to the east of the Syr-Darya as far as the heights of Khardar and of Khotan (Barthold, Turkestani, 296-7); after his succession to the throne, Kulthig, who had married the daughter of the Gur-Khan, a Buddhist fanatic, undertook a fierce persecution of Islam in the regions under his authority, particularly in Khotan, after the death of Kulthig, the Khwarazm-Shahs (q.v.). According to Djugazian (tr. Boyle, 65-6, 20), Kulthig persecuted the Muslims cruelly and crucified the Imam 'Ali al-Din Khotan in the door of his madrasa in Khotan. In the time of Haydar Mirkat (qds), nothing more was known of this martyr; even his tomb was unknown (Turkshlard, q.f. D. Ross, 215, and ch. xliii). Thus there was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost. Arabic and Persian geographical literature provides us with only the most meagre of information; the real situation is misrepresented by al-Samani (f. 189b) and by Yakut, who followed al-Samani in his own writing (f. 403).

Under the rule of Ogedei, Djugazian (tr. E. Markov, 180), 417) reports that “the lands between the banks of the Ann-Darya and the frontiers of Khotay were placed under the orders of the Chief Minister Mahmud Yulava and of his son Mas'ud Beg; those included Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrar, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kashgar, Djand, Khwarazm and Farahbana”, Rashid al-Din (Din-i al-tawarikh, tr. J. A. Boyle, The successors of Ghenghis Khan, New York-London 1971, 94), also writes as follows: “The Ka'an (Ogedey) placed all the lands of Khotay under (the orders of Mahmud Yulava, and (the region of) Bej-Balk and Karâ Khogha, with the territory of Uyghurtan, Khuday, Khotay, Kharazm and Budagh, as far as the banks of the Oxus under (the orders of) Mas'ud Beg, the son of Yalavâd”. In the remainder of his work, he makes no further mention of Khotan; nevertheless, under the year 1259, Barthold (22 Verlegerungen, 186) writes as follows: “After the re-establishment of order, the frontiers of his government (sc. of Mas'ud Beg) were extended further: to him were subjected Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrar, the land of the Uygurs, Khotan, Kashgar, Djand, Khwarazm and Farahgana”. After the death of Mangu (Mongko) in 1259, a conflict arose between Kubilai (q.v.) and his younger brother Arikkhöge in the course of which a cousin of Arikkhöge, the Caghatayid Alugu, took to himself the entire area entrusted to the authority of Mas'ud Beg; the latter appealed to Arikkhöge who gave him full authority to dispose of Alugu, but in the course of his mission he
went over to the side of Alqin who died ca. 1268. As Arik-böge had been eliminated during this period, Kubilay appointed in his place another Caghatayid, Barak, who took possession of part of the former possessions of his grandfather Caghatay, but Barak was compelled in his turn to submit to Kaydu, grandson of Ögedey, who sought to reconstitute the territory given to him by Chingis Khan. (Barthold, 12 Vorlesungen, 184-6). Finally, a more or less stable equilibrium was established between Kubilay and Kaydu, so much so that according to a passage of Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, 1, 188; ed. Hambis, Paris 1955, 62-3), it is reported that in the 1370s Khotan was under the authority of the Emperor of China, while Yarkand depended on Kaydu.

While Central Asia was the object of partition between great powers, it is nevertheless certain (Barthold, 12 Vorlesungen, 188-9) that a number of indigenous dynasties survived as vassals, especially at Khotan. In reference to these last, Barthold mentions some Persian verses of which the date is unknown, which were composed in honour of the sultan of Khotan, Munnigh-Tegin, the last words being quoted in Turkish (tëbadîn biiyey kigîsîyê Türk "yene dâhî biiîmîyê Mûnînîg Têgin"). Barthold (op. cit., 193) also mentions the fact that Dinâmî Karâsh, in the appendices (Mulfut'il) to his translation of an Arabic dictionary of the 4th/10th century, devotes considerable space to the town of Khotan, giving a brief description and a list of some persons native to the place. Again according to Barthold (op. cit., 195), Muhammad Haydar (op. cit., tr. Ross, 301) writing in Kâshgharia, distinguished according to his own terms, four classes at Kâshghar and at Khotan: first—liyên, the peasantry; second—kâshênî, the army; third—oynak, the nomads (who were entitled to a certain quantity of grain, textile goods, etc.); and fourth—the class of the officials and the 'ishânî.

Much later, it seems that Khotin shared the fate of other towns in the Tarim basin, in particular in Kâshghar and other towns in the same region; in the 18th century it was a part of the state established by the Khâdiyas, who defeated the descendants of Caghatay and were compelled to submit to the domination of the Dzungar, and later, in ca. 1760, to that of the Manchus who eliminated the Dzungar. Later still, in the seventh decade of the 19th century, Khotan was obliged to accept temporary domination by Yâshûb Bög and after the death of the latter in 1872 to submit once again to the Manchus. With regard to a historical work completed on 11 Sha'bân 1315/24 February 1894 in Khotan and dealing with events subsequent to 1286/1285, cf. Bull de l'Acad. (1922), 209; cf. also the chapter on the Khâdiyas of Khotan in Tarikh-i emeyyê, ed. Pantusov, 161 ff. The principal source for the history of this region is provided by reference in the Chinese dynastic histories and in other works concerning the autonomous region of the Uighurs itself, which have appeared in Chinese from the 18th century to the present day. It is there that the documentation concerning the town of Khotan is found.

The town itself, like all those in the Tarim basin, has known a variety of activities, but the silk industry which has continued from the Han period to the present day is the principal activity. At the time of writing, the industrialisation of the region is being developed by the People's Republic of China, although it is not possible to assess what progress is being made; it seems that the Chinese government is concentrating there on the search for raw materials. There is no certainty about the population figures; according to Kornilov, Khoqaqiyya, Tashkent 1903, 273, the population amounted to only 15,000; according to E. and P. Sykes, Through deserts and oases of Central Asia, London 1920, 216, the population was 50,000.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see especially E. Bretschneider, Mediæval researches, II, 47 ff., 246 ff.; M. Hartmann, Chinesisch-Turkenkauten, Halle 1908, 93 ff.; on the state of the Khâdiyas and their connections with Khotan, cf. idem, Der islamische Orient, I, Berlin 1903, 193 ff., and the index. These sources may be completed by numerous works in Chinese.

KHOOTIN (in Ottoman Turkish usage Khotin; in modern Turkish and in Romanian, Hotin; in Polish Chotin and variants; in German Hüthyn (19th century), Chotin, Chotin, Chotmez, etc.; in Italian (18th century) Cucino; and other forms): a fortress and town on the right (formerly Moldavian) bank of the Dneest (Tula), 20 km. south of Kamenets Podolsk (Kamianî [see KAMIANČI]). Khotin is now (since the end of World War II) in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and forms the administrative centre of the rayon of the same name in the oblast of Černovits (Cernăuți, Csernowitz).

Khotin, which occupied an easily-defensible site at the point where the important medieval trade route from the Baltic to Constantinople crossed the Dneestr, was from the mid-14th to the late 18th century a military stronghold and commercial entrepot of some importance. The region of Khotin, which was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, disputed between Poland and Moldavia, had attracted Ottoman attention as early as the reign of Mohammed II, and in the 16th century Muslim merchants frequented the route via Khotin to Poland. Khotin was besieged unsuccessfully by Ogünman II in 1520/1622; thereafter it was restored to Moldavian control, and is so described by Evliya Celebi, who visited it in the retinue of Melek Ahmed Pasha in 1653 (Señalak-nâme, v, 224-5). In 1664/1673 Khotin was occupied by the Poles, but it was regained by the Ottomans in the following campaign season (Silahdar, Ta'rikh, Istanbul 1928, i, 528 ff.). The Ottoman occupation of Podolía in 1683/1672 carried the frontiers of the Empire beyond the Dneestr, but with the retrocession to Poland of Podolsk, and the evacuation of Kamianica in 1710/1699, Khotin became the most important Ottoman fortress in the region of the upper Dneestr; this importance was to increase in the course of the 18th century, as the conflict with Russia became ever more acute.

Khotin was occupied by the Russians in 1715; on its return to the Ottomans in 1725/1714, the old fortifications were rebuilt and increased in height by more than a half, as part of a general strengthening and rebuilding programme, which was supervised by a special commission sent from Istanbul. The contemporary Moldavian historian Cantemir described the Khotin of this period as the most elegant and well-fortified town of Moldavia, praise which is echoed in an Ottoman description of the town written at the same time. Also in 1725/1714, Khotin and its surrounding districts were removed from the jurisdiction of Moldavia and reorganised as an eyâlet, as part of the strengthened Ottoman frontier defences along the right bank of the Dneestr, becoming, in the words of a German observer, "die einzige Vormauer der Moldau".

The 18th century stronghold of Khotin consisted of the medieval "hâle" and the more extensive new outer works encircling the old fortress on three sides.
In the outer walls were four gates: their names are variously given as the Istanbul (or Jassy) gate, the Temeşvăr gate, the Water Gate and the Ukraine or Bender gate. Within the outer fortresses were two baths, two principal mosques and, near the Istanbul gate, a beşestan. Inside the Istanbul gate, on the right, lay the barracks of the artillery and the supply-train, the residences of their aghas, and the headquarters of the defterdar. On the left was a large and well-constructed reserve granary. Further towards the sea were situated another bath, the office of the yeşiliseri aghas, and the barracks of the Janissaries of the fortress. Higher up, towards the old fortress, was situated the seraglio of the paşa of Khotin, and the mosque of the valide sultan. Khotin was, however, yet again occupied several times by Russian forces in the course of the 18th century: in 1742/1743 (by Münich) and again in 1783/1789 (by Gaitiein). In 1788 Khotin was occupied by an Austrian force; later, after the conclusion of the Peace of Jassy, Khotin was restored for the last time to Ottoman rule. After 1806 it remained in Russian hands; except for the period 1918-47 when the territories south of the Dneus formed part of Russia.


**KOTIN — KHUBAYB**

The first permanent settlers on the spot were members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir who landed in 1341/1342 after fleeing the island of al-Bahrain in fear of British reprisal following clashes with Shī'ī elements. 'Īsa b. Ahmad al-Dawāsir is generally regarded as the first settler of al-Khubayb. Other tribesmen who landed near al-Dammim a few weeks earlier subsequently moved to al-Khubayb. Prominent among the early inhabitants were Muhammad b. Rashid and his brother 'Īsa, 'Usayn b. Surayb, Kādi b. Mibar and his brother Mūsā, Sa'd b. Muhammad and Shīh b. Dāmūs (author's father). The settlers built huts of palm fronds along the sea shore. For two decades the village depended on small-scale pearl-fishing for its survival. No more than 20 boats left the village each pearl-fishing season; the crews came partly from the village, but mostly from nearby oases. In the early 1930s 'Īsa b. Ahmad returned to al-Bahrain with a group of the villagers, mostly crew members of his pearl-fishing fleet.

Al-Khubayb remained a small fishing and pearl-fishing village covering an area of less than 0.5 km² until 1935. In that year the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (later the Arabian American Oil Company) built a pier at al-Khubayb to support the early oil well-drilling at nearby al-Dammim. A storage and shipping terminal was built at al-Khubayb, and barges started carrying Saudi Arabian oil to the refinery of the Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO); this marked the beginning of the export of Saudi Arabian oil. The importance of al-Khubayb port has diminished since 1969/1970, when a deep-water pier began operating in al-Dammim; the al-Khubayb harbour facilities now accommodate only fishing fleets and coastal ships. The city itself, however, now covering an area of 8 km², thrives as one of the most active business centres on the Kingdom's Gulf coast, second only to al-Dammim. Commercial enterprises that were given their original impetus by the oil industry have diversified considerably, supported by both the public and private sectors of the economy. With modern office buildings and living quarters, with stores displaying merchandise from all over the world, and with substantial job opportunity, al-Khubayb attracts foreign communities of various nationalities. (ABDALLAH S. JUM'AH)

**KHUBAYB** b. 'ABI AL-ANṣāRĪ, ONE OF THE FIRST MARTYRS OF ISLAM. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uthmān [q.v.] (on the chronology of which, see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was discovered and surrounded between Mecca and 'Usān by 200 (or 200) Libyans who belonged to the Ḥudhayl. The leader of the hand-pressed little band, 'Āmin b. Ṭabīt al-Anṣārī (according to others, the leader was al-Muḥājir), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon Khubayb, Zaid b. al-Dağiña and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubayb fell into the hands of the Banu Ḥārīrī b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Marāf, who, on the expiry of the sacred period, took him out of the Harm and to al-Ṭanfim, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (ṣafar) in revenge for al-Ḥārīrī, whom Khubayb had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubayb asked for time to perform two rak'as, which became a sunna for martyrs, comparable to the last prayers of Christian martyrs. Khubayb is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. Ḥudhayl formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sūlaiman hurriedly pressed the little Mūwāiyah to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Sa'id b. 'Āmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death 'Āmin prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened.
His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wakidi, 155, however, Muhammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Bîr Ma'ûna; and according to Ibn Hishâm, 641, it was not ʿAṣim, but Kubayb, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muhammad to be informed. According to al-Zuhri and ʿUrwa (see the latter’s brief account in al-Wakidi, 150) the ten men were sent out as a suriyya to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishâm, 636, al-Wakidi, 357, and Ibn Saʿd, ii, 39-40, ii/ii, 33-4, ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like which has been woven round the drama of Bîr Ma'ûna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wakidi, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Kubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uhud, as ʿAṣim fought there. In the official Sira, the incident is recorded under the name ʿAwn al-Radî and put by Ibn Hishâm in the year 3 and by al-Wakidi in their text.

The figure of the protagonist Kubayb lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-ʿArish (according to others Mūywīs, a client of Hudayr b. Abī Thāb), in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Kubayb noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have given the elegies uttered over him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have given the elegies uttered over him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have given the elegies uttered over him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have given the elegies uttered over him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have given the elegies uttered over him.

The economy of ancient Arabia was such that the Arabs could not make bread the basis of their diet (see corn [khubz], barley [ṣâ‘ät], rice [ṣurr] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and size of bread. This story is too much like which has been woven round the drama of Bîr Ma'ûna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wakidi, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Kubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uhud, as ʿAṣim fought there. In the official Sira, the incident is recorded under the name ʿAwn al-Radî and put by Ibn Hishâm in the year 3 and by al-Wakidi in their text.

According to Rycart, in addition to designating a member of the movement, the term Khūbmeslī entered general usage as a description for anyone of mild and amiable disposition. The accuracy of this information in all its points is not to be assumed; many of the statements of Rycart on religious matters are demonstrably erroneous. The Khūbmeslī movement presumably found its inspiration in the teaching of Khādiǧ, executed in Istanbul in 952/1547, after some delay, for allegation that the spiritual rank of Jesus was superior to that of the Prophet. Rycart makes no mention of Khādiǧ, however, nor do any of the sources on Khādiǧ (e.g. Tâbârî, Pâṣawala, Tâbârî, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 326–46) attribute to him the foundation of the Khūbmeslī movement.

**Bibliography:**

Given in the text.

**KHUBZ** (L) a generic term (nomen unitatis: *khubz*) meaning bread, whatever the cereal employed, e.g. corn [khubz], barley [ṣâ‘ät], rice [ṣurr] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and size of bread.

**KHUBAYB** — KHUBZ
bread, which was from that time considered, with nuances, "the subsistence of the land-dwellers, the basis of nourishment and the prince of foods" (al-Dhähâ, Bukhâlât, 114) and city-dwellers who did not offer it to their guest unceasingly are taken to task (ibid., 182). The Kîlāb al-Bukhâlât (see index, s.v. Kuswâs) provides interesting details regarding wheat-bread and its use, but in general it gives a picture of an affluent class, whose members were in a position to own a slave charged with the functions of a waiter or of a majordomo rather than a baker, but called khubâb because of the importance attached to bread (ibid., 48).

The same work (108), while giving valuable information on the refined standard of cuisine then practised, shows that bread was never eaten alone, and that it was incorrect to offer it dry, (khubâb kâ fârât). In the more affluent circles, it did not constitute the most substantial part of the diet and was rather used for dipping or was eaten from side-plates, while in poorer families and from a very ancient period, it was always accompanied by some condiments (fîrât) to make it palatable; in the present day, a term taken from the root ʿâd w. ʿâdâ, or dâj to "fan"; ājdā, ājdâ, ādâ, clearly expresses this idea; however, the interested parties probably do not take into account the imbalance which they create in thus adding lipids to the proteins and glucose contained in bread. It should be stressed however that not everyone was in a position to eat it regularly, and even today, it still constitutes a rare luxury for certain particularly impoverished populations; for the more affluent, the basis of the diet is often, in many regions, boiled rice, ground corn (burghût) or kuskus (see Kuskus). Since the classical period and, to a large extent, to the present day, there have existed various categories of bread which can be reduced to the following, while it may be noted that the dialectical vocabulary, extremely variable and rich, deserves to be the object of a linguistic-geographical study, whose ethnological results could yield useful information:

- in Iraq, rice cultivated in the region of Başa was used probably by a limited number of bakers (among whom a popular poet, al-Khubzârûzî, mentioned) to make a bread which was quite cheap and accessible to the poorer classes, as well as to those who lived an ascetic life-style (cf. Ibn Battûta, li, 5); in the other regions where it was cultivated, notably in Palestine and Egypt, rice was used more often in other forms (see M. Canard, Le vin du Proche-Orient, in Arabica, vii2 (1959), 122 ff.);
- white bread, made with pure wheat-flour (hūsār wâd) was in general confined to the more affluent families, but it seems to have been in widespread use in a number of countries, such as Palestine and Egypt; physicians actively recommended it, although it was less nutritious than bread of coarse-ground flour (hûsâr hârâm and vars.) which was consumed by people of less means;
- bread made from common wheat, perhaps mixed with a little barley-flour;
- semolina bread (samâdîsamâd);
- barley bread, more coarse, mention of which appears frequently in the hadith; ascetics judged it to be sufficient, but many poor families even today, must be content with it; in North Africa, khos, and in the Near East, barp, are often added to more than a pancake of barley-flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour;
- to this list it is appropriate to add the bread manufactured, in times of hardship, with flour of maize, millet or sorghum (dâhû) or even of some wild plant, such as nâmî in Jordan.

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

- rûshâ, very thin, was cooked on a slab of iron (or later, of stone) heated on a hearth or a brazier. This slab, once called tâhâbûd, in the Middle Ages, is still in use in the Near East where it is converted and bears the name sâdî; in the Maghrib, similar baking is not unknown, but a type of earthenware casserole is more often used, and bread thus prepared is called marâbûk or marali (cf. E. Lecomte, op. cit., 56 for the Berber world);

- ragât, or (from Persian) djardakdjardash, is a round bread (nakhâzawar) quite thick and cooked in an oven. But there is a distinction there between the domestic and the communal oven. The former (jausâr; currently tâhâbûkdînâ) has the form of an upturned jar without a base or of the truncated cone open in the upper part; it is heated by means of charcoal which is placed inside the dough is spread on the sides, on the outside (see Beaussier and Desay, Suppl., s.v. tâhûn). In certain regions there is also still to be found a tâmâr dûg into the earth, while in Jordan (Jaussen, Moob, 6) tâbûn refers to a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking-pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. In encampments the oven is replaced by a pottery plate (gânûn and hâmân in Tunisia) which is heated on a brazier (kâhûn) or oven, on occasion, by heated stones.

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

The baking done, the baker came and handed over to each family the tray and the bread belonging to it. The wages of the baker consisted of a piece of bread which he baked and sold to his profit; in Andalus, this bread was called fâyçâ (and vars.) and this term has survived under the form fânsâfûl bâyâ, in some regions of Morocco and of Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, even after it became the practice to pay him in cash (see W. Marquis, Textes arabes de Tanger, Paris 1917, 242-3; this work contains, pp. 2-39, 127-51, an extremely vivid text relating to the journeymen and the bakers, notes and a bibliography.)

Thus there were no real bakers, and there was no such reserved for the making and the sale of bread. However, foreigners, individuals and bachelors were able to obtain it, either from certain women who kneaded extra pastry in order to sell the surplus bread in the streets, at a price fixed by the muhtâsib, or from bakers or retailers; in fact the farrân sold not only the small amounts of bread that they had
received in wages (for they were in principle forbidden to mix the pieces of dough to make large loaves); cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Sevile musalmâne*, §§ 115, 148), but also the bread which they made on their account. The, authors of works of *khubz* [poetry] especially al-Sakati (G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de khubz*, Paris 1931, 26-32 and passim; Spanish tr. P. Chalmeta, in *Al-And.* (1968 ff.), §§ 52-67 and passim), enumerated in detail the frauds committed by these bakers, in such matters as the mixing of flours of different qualities (and even the addition of white earth), as well as malpractices in the baking and in the weighing of the bread, and also the rules of hygiene which were to be observed by the bakers and the traders who, in particular, were not allowed to work at professions such as those of the butcher or the fishmonger. (cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Rahîd, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Travaux hispaniques de khubz*, Cairo 1955, 89-91 French tr. R. Arîb, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/2 (1960), 202-2).

In spite of these precautions, the quality was not always high, and bread sometimes contained gravel and other impurities (cf. M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, i/5 (1954), 319).

The price of bread, sold by weight and not by the loaf, was fixed by the mahkâtîb, but it varied enormously, and it is the price of corn which provides the most convenient basis for estimating the cost of living; we confine ourselves to referring to E. Ashotor's fundamental work, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médieval*, Paris 1919, and to the article *Tâbûn* for all matters relating to the different types of flour.

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

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


(Ch. Fellat)

AL-KHUBZ'ARUZZI (many possible vocalisations), *Abû 'L-Kârim NASR b. ÂHMAD b. AL-MU'MIN*,

popular poet of Bâṣra, who probably died in 337/953. He made rice bread (*khubz arroz*) in a shop at the Mirbad [q.v.], where his biographers show him as surrounded by a circle of admirers who were especially attracted by his *ghâzal* verses on boys, these being his specialty. It does not seem that he should be included in the list of those poets whose belligerence involved them in contests and controversies, nor does he seem to have been inclined, like so many of his contemporaries, to attack the honour of others; because of this last fact, al-Mas'ûdî's information that he had to flee into Arabia in order to avoid the vengeance of one of the Barîdîs [q.v.] is dubious. This same author states that his verses, set to music, were sung everywhere, but except in error, the *agālîn* cites none of them. At all events, his *Dîbût*, put together by his friend Ibn Lânakah [q.v.], must have spread considerably beyond the confines of his native town and even of Baghdad, where he lived for some time. This is confirmed by the fact that this illustrious *kumîl* poet was highly appreciated by a person who held fast to the classical tradition like Ibn Sjaraf [q.v.], who attributes to him "ingenious shafts of wit and subtle inventions, in a closely-knit form and a chaste style, with no superfluities". The judgments of the biographers and anthologists confirm this appreciation, which the extant fragments of his work do not however seem entire to justify; but the complete *Dimas* must have been much richer and must have had enough originality to have stimulated the jealousy of a certain "great poet", thus referred to briefly by Ibn Sjaraf.


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

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

A new era in the history of the Library opened in 1905, when it was visited by Lord Curzon, then Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He was deeply impressed by its literary treasures, and ordered that a suitable new building be erected to accommodate them. He also discussed plans for the proper preservation and safe-keeping of the manuscripts; and at the same time he directed Dr. E. Denton Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, to make suitable arrangements for the proper cataloguing of the manuscripts.

Twenty-eight volumes of the catalogue have so far (1970) been published, in addition to two Supplements and an Index. The work of cataloguing is still in progress. The library at present contains 4,232 Arabic and 4,238 Persian manuscripts, in addition to a number of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, French, German, Latin and other languages.

Khidâ Bakhsh was succeeded by his son Salâh al-Din Khudâ Bakhsh, Barrister-at-Law. Like his father, he too was a legal practitioner, but found time to write a number of essays and papers on Islamic history and was accordingly characterised by D. S. Margoliouth as an "Interpreter of Indian Islam to Europe and of European Orientalism to India". He was a liberal and a modernist in his social and religious views.

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**KHUDABENDÉ**

KHUDAWAND (p), God, lord, master. There is no established etymology for this word and no qualifying word or phrase such as khuddâwând-i 'ilâm "lord of the world" (ed. Muntâdî al-Din al-Dîwâni, 'Abâb al-Fuqâ'ah, Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaki, Târîkh-i Bayâhâş, ed. Allâbâd Fâyâyd, Baghdad 1971, 39, 435, and passim.)

In documents and letters belonging to the Saljuqids and the Ilkhanids, it is used as a term of address to the sultan, usually with some qualifying word or phrase such as khuddâwând-i 'ilâm "lord of the world" (ed. Muntâdî al-Din al-Dîwâni, 'Abâb al-Fuqâ'ah, Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaki, Târîkh-i Bayâhâş, ed. Allâbâd Fâyâyd, Baghdad 1971, 39, 435, and passim.)

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**KHUDAWÎNDÎRÎ**

In Ottoman usage, it was used as (a) the title of Murâd I, and (b) the name of the province of Bursa.

(a) The title Khudawândîrî was used for commanders and vizziers during the Sâlîqîd period (Hasan b. Abû al-Mu'min al-Khûyi, Gûnyat al-kâtib wa-nunyat al-fâlîh fu-rusûm al-ra'dîll in-mu'âjîdî al-fâlîl, ed. N. Lugal-Adnan S. Erzi, Ankara 1963, 4-5; M. Čâshabînî Tekând, İzet Koyunluâ Şîxî qilinânâvela bulunan Türkî yazarlar, in TM, xvi 1971, 134-5). As an attribute, the term was used for mystics like Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî and Hâjjî Pekštânî (Hiqîfî, Monâbîh al-'arşîn, ed. Tahsin Yavuz, Ankara 1993, 90, and index). The word became widely used, especially after its usage as an attribute for the Ottoman Sultan Murad I (1360-89) (e.g. F. Taeschner, Die Wûrde der Familien in ihren Titeln, in Jsl. xxv (1932), 175) and the early Ottoman historians (e.g. Şâshîkpaşa-zâde, Nâşî, Orân, Bâbişî) did not mention this title. In 9th/10th century documents, when referring to the reign of Murâd I, the phrase Khudawândîrî zamânînda is used without mentioning the Sultan's name (H. Inalcîk, Hicri 835 larihli Sâriy-i defler-i sancak in Ârvañ, Ankara 1956, 87, 89, 150, and Karâ Koyunlu documents. The term Khudawândîrî was used for the successors of Murâd I from Bâyârîd I to Selim I (Forûqî, ed. i, 118, 124, 149, 152-3, 154, 165, 182, 296, 304, 373, 377; A. Nimet Kural, Türkî tarhi, in A. K. Lambton, Sûrî, Sarayt MHsesinde bulunan Âlîverdi, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarık ve hikâyeler, Istanbul 1949, 49-50). As applied to these Sultans, it had the same meaning as the terms pâdikâhî and Khudawând. (Kanûn-nâme-i Velîydiyên Efendi Library, no. 1950, 115, 160, 296; Tekând, ed. i, 135, no. 11), but in the 18th/19th century, it was applied to Murâd I exclusively (Ewîvî Yâbûlî, Strûklû-nâme, Istanbul 1314, 14)

(b) The use of Khudawândîrî as a name for the province of Bursa started after its conquest when Orkhan gave the town, together with its surrounding lands, to his son Murâd as a sandîqâ (Nâşî, Gûnûn-ı namûm, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 56; Şâshîkpaşa-zâde, Tûrîkî, Istanbul 1935, 43). However, there is no record in the contemporary sources that this name was used during the reign of Murâd I (cf. Kûtbî Yâbûlî, Gûnûn-ı namûm, Istanbul 1345/1352, 656). At this early period, Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman leader, himself called the emir-i khebbâh, and the province was therefore called after him beg sandîqâ (see H. Inalcîk, Bursa şerîrin scillerinde Fâhût Sultan Mehmed'în formûlan, in Bâleten, 4
in the 13th century. This province consisted of the sandjaks of Karakasir, Sahib, Kutaya, Bilecek, Erdeb, and Biga in 1847; it was reduced to a more important centre for river navigation along the Sir Darya, which was presumably on the site of the modern village of Kani Badam, some 40 miles from Khudjand. Leninabad, visited by the American traveller E. Schuyler in the mid-1820s en route for Khiva (see Ibn Hawkal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 457, 489; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 479; Barthold, Turkistan, 157-8, 164-5; Schuyler, Turkestan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khiva, Bukhara, and Khudja, London 1876, ii, 3-4). A considerable number of ulama bearing the nisba of ‘al-aqdjari’ are mentioned by e.g. Sams‘i, Anb, ed. Hyderabad, v, 53-6, and Vâkıf, Buldo, ed. Beirut, ii, 548; most notable of these is the mathematician and astronomer Ahi Mahommed Hâfiz al-Ajdjar, d. 18-338/1426-7 (Al-Farabi, in the period of his struggles in Farghana and elsewhere. Ibn Hawkal states that Khudjand was presumably a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town of bgham of Khudjand and its many amenities (Bâbûr-nâma, tr. Beveridge, 7-8, 89-92).

During the period of the Mongol invasions, Khudjand was in 617/1220 stubbornly defended against a besieging force of 20,000 Mongol troops and 50,000 pressed levies, and after abandoning the citadel, he sailed away down the river and eventually reached Khârâzm (E. Breuschneider, Medieval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, London 1920, i, 277-8; Djoewaïev-Boyke, ii, 92-4). In the next century, under the Ciaqtaghids, the site of the important city of Bâbûr, in the period of his struggles in Farghana, was occupied by the Khorasanian rulers. Another important centre was Khudjand, and in 731/1337 the Khorasanian rulers were dispersed from the region (Barthold, Fewer studies on the history of Central Asia, ii, Ulugh Beg, 9-26). Bâbûr, in the period of his struggles in Farghana, was a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town of bgham of Khudjand and its many amenities (Bâbûr-nâma, tr. Beveridge, 7-8, 89-92). It was the connections of the Mongols and their epigoni in Central Asia with their kinsmen in northern China which stimulated mentions of Khudjand in the Chinese annals of the 14th century, e.g. in Hsü-ch'än...
in the Yuan-shih, and an early 14th century Chinese map shows it as Hu-juan; mediaeval Chinese travellers call the Sfr Darya the Ho-chen or Hu-keen "river of Khudjand," following Arabic usage of such terms as Nahr Khudjand or Nahr al-Shok for that river (cf. Bretschneider, op. cit., ii, 54-5).

After being under Ozbek rule, Khudjand became part of the Khânate of Khokand at the beginning of the 19th century, but in 1842 was captured by the Manas (Khan of Bukhara), Mahmud b. Chokhray (see F. H. Sayce and E. D. Ross, The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates, London 1899, 225-16). In May 1866 Khudjand fell to the Russian armies of General Roma

ibid., and the town was then used as a base for the final

von B. 'All b. 'Irak fowl. In his fi 'l-mayl wa-ard al-balad (ed. L. Cheikho, in Macurix, xi (1902), 59-60). Al-Biruni gave a detailed analysis of this in his Tahdîd, and set down on the plan of the meridian; it was surrounded by walls and covered over by a roof, part of which was vaulted (tâkî) and with an aperture 3 spans (eqûr) in diameter (al-Biruni: one span) coinciding with the centre of the sextant. With this instrument it was possible to take the height of the sun; the sun's light threw a circle on to the sextant and, in order to determine the centre, al-Khudiand asserted that the sextant was his own invention, and he boasted that, by using it, he could make calculations down to the very second. Similar instruments seem to have been employed in the observatories of Maraghah (founded before 660/1261-2) and at Samarkand (built in 823/1420). With this suds al-jahiri, al-Khudiand observed the meridian height of the sun at the summer and winter solstices of the year 384/994; the procedure involved consisted in making observations on two consecutive days at the time of the solstice and in determining, by interpolation, the exact moment of the passing of the sun into the solstice. He was able to do this in the month of June, but clouds prevented him from repeating the procedure in December, so that the exactness of the whole operation was somewhat affected. His observations were made in the presence of a group of leading scholars who drew up a report. The result was: \( \varepsilon = 23^\circ 34'16" \) (21° according to al-Biruni in al-Kândîn al-Mas'âdi, Hyderabad 1544, i, 364), a value which, compared to those worked out by the Indian astronomers (24°) and Tolomey (23° 51') justified al-Khudiand's belief in a progressive reduction in the obliquity of the ecliptic. Al-Biruni, who believed that \( \varepsilon \) was a constant (Tahdîd, 107-8, 115; Kândîn, ii, 364) emphasizes that al-Khudiand told him verbally that the aperture of the vault by which the sun's rays came in had been displaced downwards by a span before the observations regarding the winter solstice were made, so that it did not coincide exactly with the sextant's centre. This fact may explain the decrease in the value of \( \varepsilon \) in relation to other determinations made roughly around the same time.

Al-Khudiand made other observations; he fixed the latitude of Rayy at 33° 34' 30" (al-Biruni, Tabâdîd, 86-7, 99, 238; Kândîn, ii, 612), and he asserted that he had observed the planets for Faqâr al-Dawla by described a universal instrument (al-âla al-Âmmâ or al-Âmmâ) to be used in place of the astrolabe or quadrant. He constructed an armillary sphere and other astronomical instruments, and must have worked on theoretical questions concerning the laying out of the plan of an astrolabe, since Abu Nasr Mansûr gives two methods of al-Khudiand's for determining the position of the circles of the alidade on the astrolabe by the intersection of the equator and the muhâsârdâr (Risâla fi 'l-mayl wa-ard al-balad fi 'lam al-kâmâr, in Rossâbi's al-Birûnî, Hyderabad 1943, 3-9). His most important work in the sphere of astronomical instruments was the sextant called al-suds al-jahri (sc. dedicated to Faqâr al-Dawla) which he made in order to determine the obliquity of the ecliptic. He described this instrument and the observations which he was able to make with it in his Risâla fi 'l-mayl wa-ard al-balad (ed. L. Cheikho, in Macurix, xi (1902), 59-60). Al-Biruni said that al-Khudiand was "unique in his age" (awrâh zumânî) for the construction of astrolabes and other astronomical instruments. Some manuscripts have been preserved of his treatise fi 'lam al-âla al-Âmmâ, in which is des-
al-KHUD.IANDT — KHULM
means of armillary spheres and other instruments
[R.fi 'l-mayl, 62). The final result of this work was
the compiling of al-Zl4i al faMpl. An incomplete copy
in Persian of a rfjjj, preserved in the Majlis Library
in Tehran (ms. 181) may be based on al-Kbudjandl's
observations; the period of the tables of average
movements is 600 of the Yazdagirdl era. sc. about
two centuries after al-Khudiandl's death (see K. S.
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1973). 353-4; J* Samsb, Es/udios sobre Abu Nasr
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A. L. S6dillot, Mdmoire sur les instruments asironomiques dcs A rubes, in Mint, de l'A cad. dcs laser, ei
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deniau, Vbcr den Sextant dcs alChogcndi, in Archiv
fiir Geschickte dcr Xaiuruisscnschaften, ii (1919),
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lnstrumenlc, in Zeitschrift fiir Instrumenlcnkundc,
xli (1921). 193-200; A. Say ill, The observatory in

47

and long. 750 12' E; it is also known as Rauza (sc.
: Raw da). It is 14 miles from AwrangabAd and 8 from
Dawlal4b&d fa.ro.], and a particularly holy spot for
I Deccani Muslims, since it contains the tombs of
several Muslim saints and great men, including the
j Nitim-Sbahi minister Malik *Anbar fa.®.]; Nijarn al, Mulk Asaf Djab, founder of Haydarab&d state fa.n.];
I and above all, of the Mughal Emperor Awrangaib
fa.ir.], who died at Abmadnagar in Phu ’1-I\arda 1118/
March 1707 and was buried at the raud* or shrine of
SfcayBh Zayn al-Hakk, and of his son A'tam Shah.
After Awrangzib's burial, the place was called fvhul! rlAbScl, the monarch’s posthumous name being IfhuldI makdm “He whose abode is eternity" (see Cambridge
• hist, of India, iv, 302).
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,
Bombay 1884; Imperial gateteer of India9, xv, 285;
Murray's Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and
(C. E. Bosworth)
EHUL< [see tala*].
&HULK (see AJCHLA#].
KHULM, a town of northern Afghanistan
I lying in the lowland region to the south of the upper
Ox us at an altitude of 1,400 fL/450 m. and in lat.

36'’ 42' N. and long. 67*41' E.; it is situated some 30
miles/50 km. to the east of modern Mazfir i Sharif
and, according to the mediaeval Islamic geographers,
! two viarlialas or 10 farsahhs to the cast of Balklj
fa.t'.]. It further lies on the Khulm River which flows
down a narrow valley from die Hindu KusJi past the
town of Haybak and then Khulm itself until it peters
out short of the O.xus. It i9 possible that this river
(J. SamsG)
is the Artamis of the Greek geographers.
khudjistAn. a small town or village of
The mediaeval geographers describe Khulm as the
mediaeval Islamic B4dhgl>is fa.u.J, lying 10 the ; centre of a flourishing agricultural district, with lus¬
cious fruits, and as enjoying a healthy climate; the
northeast of Harat in modern Afghanistan, and des¬
or land-tax was levied on the extent of
cribed by the mediaeval geographers as being moun¬ (
irrigated Jnnd. The grapes and other fruits of Khulm
tainous, possessing agricultural lands and having war¬
were still the subject of much praise by the Scottish
like inhabitants (fatakhrl, 268-9; Ibn Uaw^al", 441,
traveller Alexander Burnes in the early 19th century.
tr. Wiet. 426; tfudiid al'alam, 104, 327; Yikikt, ii,
The road from Balldj eastwards into Badakhshan and
404; Barbier de Meynard, Diet, glogr., hist, et lilt, de
la Perse, 197). Although within a Sunni region, Khuto Andariba and the silver mines of Pandjhir also
djistdn itself was one of the last centres for the Kj»apassed through Kl)ulra (see Le Strange, The lands of
w5ridj in eastern Iran, and the population are des¬ - the Eastern Caliphate, 427, 432; tfudud al-^ilam, 108).
Regarding the pre-Islamic history of Khulm, it has
cribed as Kh&ridiis and extremists (afcurdt tra ghnldt).
Its main claim to fame is that »t gave birth in the
3rd/9th century to A|.imud b. cAbd Allah al Khudii- l
stani. He was a commander in Muhammad b. Tahir's
army, but after the fall of the T&hirid capital
Nishapur to Ya'ljub b. Layii] in 259/853, lie made a I
bid for independent power in K]iurasln, with a base
of powei in HarJlt and Tuliharistfin, against the fjaffi- I
rids. until be was killed by one of his own gkuldms in
268/882. Worthy of note is the detail that Khudiist4nl 1
was allegedly launched on his career as a condottieri
through hearing the martial poetry of a local author,
Hauzala of Bddbsbls. who must have been one of the
very earliest writers of verse in New Persian (Ni?ainl
‘ArOdl, Cahar makdla, ed. Browne, 26-7, revised tr.
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erenres): C. Detr6mery in JA (July-Dec. 1845),
345 if.; E. von Zambaur, in Aumismatische Zeil- 1
schr., Iv (1922), 13; R. Vasmer, in Nunitsmatische
Zeilschr., N.F. xxiii(i93o), 116 18; C. E. Bosworth,
in Cambridge history of Iran, iv, ed. R. N. Frye,
Cambridge 1975, ix6-3.
(C. E. Bosworth)
KHULDAbAp. a town in the northwestern part
of the former Haydarabad state, now in Maharashtra
state of the Indian Union, and situated in lat. 20°i'N.

been conjec lured that Khulm is the Aornos mentioned
by Arriun as conquered by Alexander the Great in
the winter of 330 329 HC (d. Pauly-VVissovra, i/a,
2659). The Buddhist Chinese traveller of the early 7th
century, Hiucn-Tsang, seems, however, to mention
it as the kingdom of Hu-lin, whose chief town had
over 10 Buddhist monasteries with more than 500
monks (see T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in
India, London 1904, i. 106,109). In the period of the
Islamic conquests in Central Asia, it is mentioned
at various times in the course of warfare, e.g. in 90/
708-9 when Kuiayba b. Muslim fa.c.J made his final
attack on the Hephtlialite leader Tarkb&t NIrak
(Tabari, ii, 1205-6, 12x9, with mention of the g/ji'h
JOlultn “defile or valley of Khulm”!. and in 119/737
when Asad b. cAbd Allih al-Kasri was endeavouring
to expel from Tuflhiristan the united forces of the
Turkish Khakan Su-lu of the Western Tiirgesh, the
rebel al-l.Iarith b. Surayclj and the local princes of
the O.xus valley principalities and of Soghdia, and the
Khakan endeavoured in vain to take the town (Tabari,
ii, 1603, 1615). Once pacified, the district was settled
by Arabs of Tamlm, lyays, Azd and Bakr (SamfSnI,
Khulm also figures in the lax-assessment for Tukh^ri*
stAn in the time of *Abd Allah b. Tahir's governor-


KHULM — KHULT

KHULT, the classical form of the name of a tribe of north western Morocco pronounced Khloj (but often Kholo). The Kholt came into North Africa with the invasions of the Banu Hilal in the 10th/11th century, and formed part of the "mixed" Arab people known as the Djuhan; according to Ibn Khaldun and other historians, the Kholt allegedly belonged to the Banu 'l-Mundafiy. The Djuhan spread throughout the central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the wars which desolated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they vainly tried to rebel, and not long afterwards, the Banu Ghâniya (see ni'âma) had little trouble in engaging them as their auxiliaries after the capture of Bougie (see ni'âma). The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, once victorious over his enemies, punished their allies and accordingly transported to the oceanic shores of Morocco the Djuhan and Riŷâb Arabs. The latter were established in the Hibt and the Gharb, and the first group in the Tamesnî (Shawiya), depopulated since the extermination of the Bergawûta (g.v.) by the Almoravids.

Under al-Manṣūr's successors, the intrigues of the Almohad shaykh found excellent support in the two component groups of the Djuhan, the Kholt and the Susîyan, whose jealousies yet further aggravated the internece conflicts. In 621/1224 the Kholt espoused the cause of the pretender al-Mâ'mûn against the caliph al-'Adîl, who was supported by the Susîyan. In 625/1228, al-Nâmrûn was proclaimed caliph; in 635/1237 his son al-Rashîd succeeded him, but because of their misdeeds and violence, he was obliged to take strong measures against the Kholt chiefs, who then rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yâlî b. al-Nâsr. The Susîyan, now reconciled with al-Rashîd, attacked the Kholt on the banks of the Umm al-Rabî' and a frightful carnage ensued. The Kholt sought vengeance by proclaiming as caliph the Andalusian pretender Ibn Hud, but al-Rashîd pursued them, drove them back, and captured and then executed their chiefs (635/1237-8). Much weakened and browbeaten into obedience, they took part in the caliphs' expeditions, but their rivalry with the Susîyan was in no way extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 649/1250, at the siege of Tameshûk against the Zayînîd pretender Yaghmorasen, this rivalry brought about the caliph al-Sa'dî's death and the Almohads' defeat.

The Moroccan sultan Abd al-Rahîm treated the Kholt harshly for their violence (707/1308), but he took advantage of their resistance in order to destroy the power of the Riŷâb. They were then settled on the former's lands, in the Azghûr and the Hîbt, and formed part of the makhzan (g.v.) of the Moroccan sultans, made marriage alliances with these rulers and provided for them provincial governors, ambassadors and advisers. They subsequently passed into the service of the Banu Waṭûs and gave no support to the Sa'îdids, who at first held them at arm's length despite the importance of the tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry into the field. However, the Kholt's important part in the Moroccan victory of Wâdî al-Maghâzî against the Portuguese gave them entry in part at least to the makhzan of the Sa'îdids. At the time of the Marînids' decadence, the marabout Karîm al-'Ayyîdî (g.v.), who sought to compel them to march against the Christians of Lurâiche, was unable to bring them to obedience and was assassinated by them (1048/1638-9). Under the 'Alâwîs, the Kholt took the side of the petty principalties of northern Morocco who had made themselves la-
KHULT—KHUMARAWAYH

49

dependent under the cover of waging holy war. Maw¬
lay Isma'il and his successors, after first reducing
them to submission, deprived the Khāṭīb of their status
as a mahāmm tribe and favoured the establishment in
their region of heterogeneous elements, the Ṭīn and
Bāḍawayh groups, who inevitably afflicted and reduced
the power of the former occupants of the land.

Bibliography: Michaud-Belaira and Salmon have
doubtedly the most complete information and
the habitat, ethnography, administrative organisation,
political position and the splits among
the Khāṭīb in their article *Trouous arabes de la ville
de Lébanois*, in AM, iv-vi (1905-7). (A. Cour)

KHUMARAWAYH b. ABD-r. TULAYN, second Tūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria. He was born in Sāmarrāʿ in 250/864 and, after the abortive rebellion of his brother 'Abbās [q.v. in Suppl.] against Ahmad b. Tulān [q.v.], was designated heir-apparent as early as 259/872. In an unprecedented act in the history of Muslim Egypt, the popular Khumarawayh came to power upon the death of his father on 10 Dhu-l-Ka‘da 270/10 May 884 without the caliph's sanction, but with the general approval of the military and civil authorities of the Tūlūnid régime.

His brother 'Abbās was forced to pay homage to his rule, and was assassinated under obscure circumstances only a few days after Khumarawayh's accession. Khumarawayh reigned for twelve years; on 28 Dhu-l-Ka‘da 281/18 January 896 he was killed, a victim to a palace cabal, by one of his own slaves.

Khumarawayh inherited both a stable and wealthy polity from his father—the treasury is said to have contained ten million dinārs, thanks to Ibn Tulūn's far-sighted internal and external economic policy—and also an unresolved struggle with the court of Baghdād. Since he had come to power only through his father's death, despite the affluence of his polity, the caliph regarded him as an exsurger. Immediately upon receiving the news of Ibn Tulūn's death, al-Muwaffāk, the ruler of the eastern half of the 'Abbāsid empire and strong man in the Baghdad court, broke off the negotiations which had led to the de facto recognition of Ibn Tulūn as governor of Egypt and Syria. One of Ibn Tulūn's foremost generals, Abūd b. Mūhammad al-Wāṣīṭ, then changed sides and urged al-Muwaffāk to attack Khumarawayh and reconquer Egypt, exploiting Khumarawayh's lack of political and military experience (al-Kindi, 234, ii, 4-5). Two generals of the caliph with al-Muwaffāk's sanction now invaded Tūlūnid Syria: Isḥāq b. Kandājī, the governor of Mosul whom al-Muwaffāk had appointed 'legal' governor of Egypt and Syria in 259/864-5, and Mūhammad b. Dīwād Abī l-Sa’dī of Anbār. The defection of the 'Abbāsid governor of Damascus and finally the appearance of Ahmad b. al-Muwaffāk [the future caliph al-Muḥāsin] led an 'Irākī army challenged Khumarawayh's control over Syria even further. In Shawwāl 271/February-March 885 (Grabar, 68) Ahmad's troops met the Egyptians under Khumarawayh's command in the tragic-comic Battle of the Mills (al-Tashābūn) in southern Palestine. Both Ahmad and Khumarawayh ignominiously fled from the battlefield; the military decision in Khumarawayh's favour was confirmed and confirmed Bìnhūnī Tūlūnid general Ṣa’īd al-Aṣyār. After his victory he went to Damascus and rebelled, though unsuccessfully, against the humiliated Khumarawayh. Khumarawayh's long-term strategy of achieving a rapprochement with the 'Abbāsid court is reflected in the exceptional eloquence with which he treated his 'Irākī prisoners of war. In the following years his realm was considerably extended. He beat decisively,

though with inferior forces, Ibn Kundajā, who submitted to him and brought areas as far east as Harrān (Grabar, 75) under Khumarawayh's control. The Duṣṭra became part of the Tūlūnid lands when its governor Ibn Abī l-Sa’dī sought Khumarawayh's protection. On Khumarawayh's own initiative, Yazdān of Tārūk finally accepted Tūlūnid sovereignty over Gilea.

In Rajab 273/December 886 al-Muwaffāk and Khumarawayh eventually came to terms. Khumarawayh discontinued the public slandering of al-Muwaffāk in the sermons of Egypt and formally acknowledged 'Abbāsid sovereignty. In return he was granted the de jure governorship of both Egypt and the lands of Syria (al-Sham) for thirty years for himself and his progeny (ubūdī). Thus not only his own succession, but also the dignity of his family, were recognised by the caliph. The time limit imposed, however, clearly shows that the caliph regarded the Tūlūnid rule over Egypt and Syria to be temporary and revocable, unlike the privileges granted to the Abbasids [q.v.] of Ifīrātka. In return for Khumarawayh's recognition of the Abbasid sovereignty, Khumarawayh and al-Muwaffāk are not recorded in the sources. Syria soon became an integral part of the Tūlūnid domains; in the provincial capitals of the Sha'mat, Ramīs/Fusfūs, Ḥims, Ḥalab and Akāntū, new mints were set up.

In Rajab 274/Optober 892 al-Mu‘taḍid, the son of al-Muwaffāk, succeeded al-Mu‘taṣib as caliph. In a new treaty he readily confirmed these arrangements with Khumarawayh. The annual tribute to be paid by Khumarawayh as vassal to al-Mu‘taṣid was fixed at a rate of presumably 300,000 dinārs, supplemented by 200,000 dinārs to be paid for each preceding year of his rule. These figures are vague and inconsistent on these crucial figures. Khumarawayh lost the territories east of the Euphrates, Mawṣili, Diyar Ḍafūr of Dirās, where coins had been struck on his behalf before 279/892. The important and prestigious ḥadīs-manufactures of Fusfūs and Alexandria remained under the control of the caliph. Tūlūnid coins bore his name with Khumarawayh's name.

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

Khumarawayh's frivolity and generosity are well attested in the sources. He had sumptuous palaces and gardens built for himself and his favourites. To his contemporaries, his awesome blue-eyed palace lion epitomised his prodigality. He was said to ride no horse more than once. Becker (Beiträge, i, 191) connects his addiction to luxury and debauchery with his status as heir to the capable and successful founder of a dynasty. "Rule was something self-evident to him, something given. He liked to exercise it, but shied from the burdens which were indispensable for
When Khumārawayh was murdered in 282/896, the treasury was empty. All the wealth Ibn Tūlūn had amassed had been squandered within a few years. In Khumārawayh's rule the dinār's worth sank to one third of its former value (Hassan, 245). Under Khumārawayh's sons Dżyayh and Hanīca who succeeded him in rapid sequence, the political and financial demise of the Tūlūnids state was still further accelerated. In 292/905 Abdālīs troops sacked Ibn Tūlūn's new city of al-Ḳaṣīd and brought back for thirty years direct Abdālīs rule to Egypt.

Khumārawayh's military prowess was notable. After the disaster of al-Jawāfīn he showed strategic skills that personified his control of the country. 'Allī b. Ahmad al-Mākhāriṣī and under the Ikhshīldīds, directed the finances of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to stand in rapid sequence, the political and financial precarious finances of the state.

Possibly under Abdālīs influence (al-Muṭaqādīdīs) had his own elite body of military slaves, al-mukāthra. Khumārawayh established a corps d'élite, al-muṣlahi, consisting mainly of native Egyptian freedmen of the Eastern delta, on whom he bestowed various privileges. By converting these tribesmen into a loyal and efficient bodyguard he reassured control and brought back peace to this strategic region between the centres of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to have been no Turks among Khumārawayh's mukāthāra soldiers; he seems rather to have used them to offset the predominant influence of his own Turkish entourage. One thousand Negroes formed a less highly privileged special contingent within the mukāthāra.

Already under Khumārawayh, the civil administration of Egypt passed gradually into the hands of the Māṭar family who later, during the Abdālīs intermezzo and under the Ikhshīldīs, directed the finances of the country. 'Allī b. Ahmad al-Mākhāriṣī began his illustrious career by bringing under his control the bard, the intelligence and communications service. Khumārawayh's relations with the religious establishment of Egypt were strained; his libertinism and frivolity made him the target of harsh attacks both in contemporary and later historiography.

Khumārawayh's prodigious rule encouraged a rich life. Few traces of his splendid architectural and cultural monuments and the minor arts are preserved. His patronage of scholarship and poetry is well known; the grammarian Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad b. Mūsā (d. 295/907) was his protege and the teacher of his son, Yabhīl b. Mākhāriṣī (d. 317/928) wrote encomia to celebrate Khumārawayh's triumphs on the battlefield.


(Ü. Haarmann)

**Khumāry** (pronounced locally Khmir, in French Kroumir), an element of the population which has given its name to a mountainous massif extending along the north-west littoral of Tunisia. The Djebel Khmir, or Kroumir, forms part of the administrative district of Djenoub, which covers an area of 3,000 square km. and has a population of 40,000 of whom 283,000 are peasants (census of May 1966). The massif of the Khumāry, a Tunisian extension of the Atlas range, consists of a series of contrasting sandstone features running along a south-west-north-east axis. The two extremities of the massif, separated by the cultivated limestone depression of Ghazawān, present palpable differences in spite of the overall unity. The western Kroumir has its highest point at Djebel Ghcura in an altitude of 1,201 m., at Djebel Elj which dominates Ain Draham. Everywhere the contrasting forms of rockstrata, deeply furrowed and dissected, in their symphony give a dreary aspect to a landscape covered by a forest 170 hectares in area. Of the trees 70% are cork-oak, 20% are zear oak, and 10% other species, including the wild olive. Often the undergrowth consists of fern. Other species have recently been introduced, notably the parasol pine (Asiu). The level of rainfall in Kroumir is the highest in Tunisia, with an average of 1 m. per year and a maximum of 1,575 m. at Ain Draham. In spite of the abundant rain and relatively plentiful falls of snow, the massif suffers from shortage of water. Springs are certainly numerous, but they are dispersed over a wide area and their output is feeble. Some springs even dry up in summer.

In ancient times, the massif of the Khumāry did not escape penetration by the Romans. Three routes crossed it: in the longitudinal axis, the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Bône, now called Annaba) via Hippo Diarrhytus (Béja), in the transverse axis the road from Simittu (Cherotou) to Thabraca (Tabarka), of which numerous traces have been discovered, and the road from Vaga (Béja) leading to the same destination via Trisipa. Thabraca, originally a Carthaginian market-town, and from the 4th century one of the richest dioceses in Africa, was the centre for the export to Rome of the products of the massif, timber for building and wild animals, as well as oil, wheat and minerals. "A city of luxury, where there has its place alongside commerce" (P. Gaukler, Mosaiques, 358). Thabraca has given its very fine mosaics.

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

The Khumāry had cordial and profitable relations with the colony of Genoese fishermen established since 947/1540 on a rocky island of 40 hectares in area separated from Tabarka by a channel 500 metres wide. They were acutely affected when this islands was unexpectedly attacked and forcibly recovered by
are the Awlad ‘Umar, the Hwamdiyya, the Awladments. The most importaut in the eastern Kroumirie ancestor. According to another tradition, the Khu original lived in the south of Tunisia and mayr originally lived in the south of Tunisia and were ruled by the Shibbiyya of al-Kayrawin. In the 12th century, according to al-Istati, it was nothing more than “an unhealthy village” (barya wadli), infested by scorpions, its only claims to importance being the movement of ships between it and Muslim Spain and its status as a customs station (op. cit., 79). In the 12th century al-Bakri noted that impressive ruins of ancient monuments were still to be seen at Tabarka, and that the place enjoyed a certain prosperity on account of the activity of its port. In the 13th century, according to al-Idrisi, it was nothing more than a fort (nasir), thinly populated and surrounded by gangs of Arab bandits, men with respect for neither law nor religion. Finally, at the start of the 15th century (Leo Africanus, Description de l'Afrique, 55) it was nothing more than “an abandoned port”.

Today, Tabarka (population 4,000), is a port of modest size whose primary function is the export of cork from the massif of Kroumirie, 3-4,000 tons per year. There is also fishing and the limited exploitation of coral, and the town has profited, albeit on a relatively minor scale by comparison with other regions, from the growth of tourism in Tunisia. The most important settlement on the massif is Ain Draham, at an altitude of 800 m., a summer resort and a centre for boar-hunting; Fernana, at 275 m., is principally a market-centre; Babouche is little more than a frontier-station controlling the border-crossing into Algeria; at Oued El-Lil, near the hamlet of Ben Mitr, there was constructed in 1955 a dam with a capacity
of 73 million cubic m. to produce Hydro-electric power and to provide Tunis with water. Another dam, at Oued El-Kebir, is in the process of construction. In spite of efforts at re-organisation, settlements continue in the main to be scattered, according to the location of wells and agricultural small-holdings. Hujs and shackls built of branches have not yet disappeared.

In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia. The most important source of income is the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, in which the methods used have not evolved at all in the course of time, provides only a mediocre income. Attempts at improving the cultivation of trees, by introducing apple, pear, and cherry-trees to the area, have yielded only very limited results. Products of local craftsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils; embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number. Finally, let it be added that the limited results. Products of local craltsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils; embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number.


**KHUMBARADJIL**

bombardeur, grenadier (From Latin bombis—"explosive projectile, grenade, mortar bomb", etc.), a term used in the Ottoman military organisation. The bombardiers in the Janissary corps and the Khumbaradjil unit in the Lifedjil corps are thought to have been first introduced in the 17th/18th century. The Khumbaradjils were of two types, the ulufes, who were paid, and the limar holders, who formed the majority of them and served in the fortresses. The Khumbaradjils were neglected until the beginning of the 18th/19th century. Khumbaradjil Ahmed Paşa [see Ahmed Paşa BONNEVAL] was appointed by Muhâmad I in 1144/1731 to reorganise the Khumbaradjil corps; under his reorganisation, 301 soldiers from Bosnia were registered as paid ulufes, and thus a separate corps of bombardiers was formed. Each 100 soldiers were to go to the location of each oda was to have a captain (ülefe), a cebilbas, and 10 corporals (onbasıa)(Ta'rikh-i Sâmi-Şâh-ı Sâbî, Istanbul 1598, 58-9 b.). In the Ayaza palace at Uskûdar, there were constructed a barracks and a factory for the Khumbaradjil corps, and later, their numbers increased to 600, half of whom were ulufes and the other half limar holders (for the activities of Khumbaradjil Ahmed Paşa, see also Başkanfanik Aşik ve Memleketin Müüridi, Cevdet tasnifî, Askeri Kûsim, no. 45137; for the number of Khumbaradjîl on the strength at 8 Ramaçan 1129/December 1739, see Cevdet tasnifî-Askeri Kûsim, no. 37485). The Khumbaradjil corps, which expanded until 1106/1747, was neglected thereafter, but in 1197/1783, during the reign of 'Abd al-Hamîd I, Ibrahim attempted to improve it again (Dieudret, Ta'rikh' Istanbul 1309, iii, 35; Cevdet tasnifî-Askeri Kûsim, no. 37485). The Khumbaradjil corps, which was included in the plan of reform. According to the decree of 1206/1792, the Khumbaradjil corps, whether paid or limar holders, were to be concentrated on Istanbul and the names of those absent were struck from the pay rolls. Also, there were to be 10 Khumbaradil soldiers and five assistants (müdrim) for each Khumbaradjil, so that the whole corps would comprise 300 Khumbaradjil soldiers and 150 assistants. Out of every to soldiers, one was to be considered as the khalif, and the other nine as his aides (yanmâs); out of every five Khambaradjil one was to be an officer with the title of ser-xhalif, and the most notable among the officers was to be edîk xalîфи, another xalîfi, and another 'ali-mdar or standard-bearer; beside the chief bombardier (Khumbaradjil-xhalif), who was responsible for the soldiers' discipline, there was to be appointed a superintendent (nâzîf) from among the state officials (Enver Ziya Karal, Selim III'nin half-i kûmâyûnâr Nizâm-i cediti (1789-1807), Ankara 1946, 45-6; for the text of the regulation relating to the bombardiers' corps, see Dieudret, Ta'rikh' Istanbul 1309, 356-8). The barracks for their training were built at Hasköy on the Golden Horn shores in Istanbul. A more detailed ordinance for the Khumbaradjil was prepared and put into effect in 1211/1797 (Cevdet tasnifî, Askeri Kûsim, no. 4088). In the move-
ment to dethrone Selim III, the Khumbaradji sided with the rebels, but when the Janissary corps was abolished in 1724/1836 during the reign of Mahmud II, they supported the government action (Djewdet, op. cit., xii, 157; Esad, Üss-i şofr, Istanbul 1293, passim). When a new army was established under the title of the Asakari Mawsera, the Khumbaradji corps was reorganised and retained within it (Lütüf, Ta'rikb, Istanbul 1290, i, 159), but was included in the artillery division and was to be headed by the Topluu-bashi (later by the Topkâbruarya Han adilâr). There was one Khunbarid regiment (nafia) with two battalions (laburs) in existence in 1248/1832 (Bahkakanlı Arif Çenk Müdürüsü, Kâmil Recep, Topog. Hist. de la Syria antique et méditerranée, Paris 1927, 261, 273; C. Cahen, La Syrie du Nord, 293; M. Cuard, H'annâdines, 219-20. [Ed.])

KHNÂTHA BINT BAKKER B. 'ALI B. 'ABD ALLAH AL-MAGHRIBI, wife of Mawlâ Yûsiîl, sultan of Morocco (1085-1139/1672-1727). She was highly versed in literature and the religious sciences and acted as an adviser to her royal spouse. In 1143/1734, during the reign of her sons Mawlâ 'Abd Allah, she performed the Pilgrimage; and at Mecca, she bought buildings and established them as umâbi, in particular, a house in the Bâb al-'Urmâ, one of the gates of the Holy House, which she placed at the disposal of students. The memory of her sumptuous pilgrimage was commemorated by the 'Abû 'Abd Allah Muhammed b. 'Ali al-Husayn al-Shâfi'î al-Tabari, imâm of the Makâm Ibrâhîm, in a splendid poem. She died at Fâs in Djumâda I 1159/May-June 1745 and was buried in the mausoleum of the Shorfa in Fâs al-Djâidî.

Her writings include a letter addressed to the people to calm their fears over the neighbouring Turks, and a commentary on the Isâba of Ibn Hâdîj al-'Ashkalâni.

Bibliography: J. Gräberg de Hemsó, Specchio geografico, 209, Ibn Zaydûn, Isâba, iii, 16-23; 'A. Āmmânîn, Nasîb, i, 281; Nâṣîr, Ithâf, vii, passim; Kâdhî, al-Nâsîr al-kabîr, ii, fols. 176b, 190b; idem, Ithâf, fols. 51a, 58a; Akmânî, Bayâya, 105; M. El-Fouâ, al-Râbahî al-maghrîbî, 277; M. Lakhârî, La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie alâouite, 190-2. (M. Lakhârî)

KHNÀDÏ, FADL ALLAH B. RâBÎHÂN (860-927/1455-1521), Persian religious scholar and political writer, who as a staunch Sunnî fiercely opposed Shâh Isâmîl, left Iran and fled to Uzbek Transoxania.

Khnàdî's background, both on the side of his father (of the famous Râbîhân family, cf. Râbîhân al-Bâkî) and of his mother (of the Shâfi'î family), made him a member of the wealthy and influential 'ulamâ' of Fâs who were important as sayyâğhâddârîn and who enjoyed the high esteem and the protection of the Al-Kayyumi rulers. Khnàdî received an exceptional scholarly training; in his native Shâhîr he studied under the grand shaykh Dârâ Dâwândî (a.v.), the author of the Ašhâbî al-Djâidî. Dâwândî's preoccupation with political thought is likely to have influenced Khnàdî's own interest in a practical application of the norms of the shari'a in a post-Mongol, Sunni state, as his sophisticated manual of government, Sultan al-mulâkâ—which he wrote shortly before his death on the suggestion of the Uzbek ruler 'Ubâyîd Allah Kâhan in Bukhârâ—attests. He was introduced to Shâîrîn by Dâmîl al-Dîn al-Ardîstânî, a follower of the Safawîyûlîyya torikâ. With him he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and he devoted a masâkhî biography to him which has not, however, come down to us. Khnàdî himself joined the Dâsh-rîyûs order, an offshoot of the Nâshabîyûs, possibly only after he had left Aqharbayjân and Iran and had settled at the Uzbek court. Khnàdî represents the typical intellectual Şî'î of his time, for whom 'asâwîfî is an indispensable item in the academic curriculum. He wrote a commentary on the Wâsîyat-nâme of 'Abd al-Kâhîk al-Ghûjûlîwînî (a.v.), one of the great precursors of the Central Asian Nâshabîyûs. Khnàdî enlivened Khâlîjî Baba' al-Dîn Nâshabî and extensively quoted his doctrines; he sought and cherished the friendship of the disciples of the famous Nâshabî popular leader
Kashf futation of Ibo al-Mutahhar al-Rilll's treatise critical of his students and compeers, included in his practices of the nomadic Uzbeks, such as the institutionalised pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints; however, he does not seem to have been very successful with these admonitions.

It was from the well-known Mamlik historiographer and polyhistorian al-Sakhawî (d. 1322) that Khundîl owed his initiation into the sciences of hadîth, i.e. the discipline for which he acquired particular fame in his century. In Uzbek Central Asia, he became known as the "paragon of the traditionalists" (sanad al-mahdathâdîn). He studied law, theology, the Arabic sciences and hadîth with al-Sakhawî in Medina; his proficiency is attested by the very complimentary tardjama which al-Sakhawî, who was normally very critical of his students and compatriots, included in his biographical dictionary of 13th-century celebrity.

Among Khundîl's writings on tradition, one might mention an Arabic risâla on the big fire in Medina in 886/1478, Hadîyat al-laṣâbû ilâ kibyât al-ābâr (ed. Muhammad Dânîzân, in Yâdnama-yi Írân-yi Minârsîn, Tehran 1969, 77-123), which is a methodically exemplary study based on hadîth.

Khundîl began his public career at the court of the Ak Koyunlu Ya'qûb b. Úzun, Hasan, whose father he had attracted in 914/1507 with a copy of his book—possibly penceyistical—work Badî' al-samâ'î li kiswâ Hayy b. Yabdîn. Al-sayr, the carefully-composed Tarîkh-i âlam-darâ-yi aminî (partial translation by V. Mîncsîrî, Forsa in A.D. 1478-1489—An abridged translation of Fodlûlâh b. Rûshdîn Khundîl's Tawîhî Târîhî âlamârâyî-yi Aminî, London 1957; full edition under preparation by John Woods, Chicago). In this work, which is the most important single narrative source on the history of the later Ak Koyunlu rulers, Khundîl presents himself as an active courtier, who probably participated in the cabal to overthrow Ya'qûb's first minister Hâfa of Skiva who had tried to re-Islamise the fiscal system of the state, thus endangering the sayyâgid of Khundîl's affluent âlamârâyî relatives. The most significant passages of this chronicle are his diatribes against Ismâ'îl's grandfather and father, Shaykh Djinayd and Haydar (q.e.), whose self-styled religious authority he reviled in vitriolic language.

After Ismâ'îl's accession to power in 907/1501, he fled in 909/1503 to Kshânâh, where he wrote his rebuttal of Ibn al-Muhammad al-Hillî's treatise Kaškh al-ḥâšî wa-nahjî ilâ-yîd wa-lşâirâ, entitled Ilîâh nahjî al-ḥâšî wa-damal khâfî ilâ-yîd (partial edn. and German tr. by I. Golder, Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī`a und der sunnitischen Polemik, in SBWAW, lxviii (1873), 475-86). There he questions the originality and consistency of Ismâ'îl's fuhâf and rash al-fuğâf and disqualifies Šī`î dogmatics as a bad reproduction of Muṣâaffir (that is, in itself reprehensible) kalâm. A hundred years later, the Shi`î Kshân Nâzîr Allâh Shuqûstâr (d. 1016/160, a victim of Dja`hângîr's anti-Shi`î religious policy, again wrote a reparation of Khundîl's treatise. Khundîl's book has had a lasting influence on Shi`î-Sunni polemics in the Arab lands, even in the 20th century. Khundîl, who himself held the ahl al-bayt in high esteem and wrote poems in praise of the twelve imams (see the text in Muhammad Amin Khundîl, Fadl Allâh b. Rûshdîn Khundîl, in Farhang-i Jâm-e-śamîm, iv (1335/1956), 378-9) and, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Mashhad in the company of Shaykhâbîn Khán (d. 1307), the eight İmâm Allî Ridâ (see Khundîl, Miḥmân-nâma-yi Bûhârâ, ed. Manfûh Sutûdà, Tehran 154/1962, 356-8), accused the İbnî Asahîr theologians of placing more emphasis on the slander and cursing of the Prophet's Companions, and the shaykhyan Abû Bakr and Ūmar in particular, than on the due veneration of the immaculate family.

On his flight to the east, which also took him to Timûrîd and later Uzbek Herât, Khundîl passed through Īrân, where he was inspired, as he describes in a touchingly impressionistic and intimate account, by the decaying ruins of al-Ghazâlî's tomb in the solitude of the steppe (Miḥmân-nâma 355). Al-Ghazâlî was Khundîl's revered model whom he quotes extensively. On this occasion Khundîl splendidly that he would make an effort to emulate the great master and bring to the land of Khurasân, in this age of great calamity, a revival of the orthodox religious sciences. He came to Bûhârâ, to the court of Shaybânî Khán, the successful Uzbek ruler, who had ended Timûrîd rule in Transoxania and Herât and had conquered most of western Khurasân. He gained access to and was to dominate the scholarly madaghîs in which the Khán, himself a cultured man, had scholars discussing questions on religion, particularly on the compatibility of certain policies with the Šī`î, e.g. the issue whether it was permissible for the Muslim Uzbeks to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by their semi-pagan Kazakh enemies. Khundîl compiled at the court before 916/1510, perhaps on suggestion of the ruler himself, the unique "guest-book of Bûhârâ" (Miḥmân-nâma-yi Bûhârâ, see above; partial German tr. by Ursula Ott, Transoxanien und Turkestân in Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts—Das Miḥmân-nâma-yi Bûhârâ des Fodlûlâh b. Rûshdîn Khundîl—Übersetzung und Kommentar, Freiburg 1973) as a token of gratitude to his host and friend Shaybânî Khán. This work defies any formal classification. Its beautiful language and style evidences his literary talent. We find here, in a loose, more or less chronological sequel, passages on tradition, refreshingly natural descriptions of the scenery of Turkestän in spring and winter, surprisingly personal and autobiographical sketches (Khundîl tells us, unashamedly much about himself, e.g. his fits of hypochondria), and straightforward narrative passages. In the latter he e.g. gives an account of the manners of the Kazaks, the cousins and at the same time the most dangerous enemies of the Uzbeks to their north. He devotes special attention to Shaybânî Khán and to his nephew Ubayd Allâh Khán, who much later was to lead the Uzbek federation back to political power.

The impelling idea of the Miḥmân-nâma was the effort to drive Shaybânî Khán into attacking and exterminating the Šī`î heresy from Iran and reviving the legal order of the sunna in Iranian homeland. He unsuccessfully opposed the scheme of defeating the Kazaks in the rear of the Uzbeks first, before marching against the Safavids, whose deeds Khundîl denounced—in a familiar topos—as even more abominable
noble than the unbelievers of the Franks, who were 

hujza at origin. He expatiates on the apocalyptic hadith of Harb, both in the Mihrān-nāma (93/107) and in a separate visīa: Harb, the prototype of Shāybaṁ Kān, saved the true doctrine of Islam from a heretic tribe which slandered and vitified the companions of the prophet and the four orthodox caliphs, an unconcealed allusion to Shāh Ismā'īl, the foe, and his damnable creatures, the Khwājah [q.v.]. Khundji's concept of history is remarkable. He regards the Usbecks as another manifestation of the nomadic migrations from Inner Asia to the Muslim East, destined to overwhelm Iran and Tūrkistan and to bring back justice to these lands, just as the Saljūqs had done. He praises the legendary past of the Usbecks and predicts a glorious future for them. He elevates Shāybaṁ Kān, beyond the bounds of conventional encomium, to appear as a mujaddid of his age.

The catastrophe of Marv in 916/1510, when Shāybaṁ Kān was slain in battle by the Safavid army, shattered Khundji's dreams. His advice had proved fatal for his protector and sovereign. Taking into account the vulnerable personality of the author, which shines through so often in the autobiographical passages of the Mihrān-nāma, this turn of events must have had disastrous effects on Khundji. He passed the following two years in hiding in Samarqand which had returned to the rule of the Timurid Bābur, Ismā'īl's half-hearted ally. In 918/1512 Khundji suddenly re-appears delivering an eloquent sermon in Samarqand (cf. Zayn al-Din Mahmod Wasti, Badr al-nāma, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, 1-45 f.), which had been recaptured by the Usbecks under Ubayd Allāh Kān.

Fulfilling a vow made at the tomb of Shāybaṁ Abūlm Yasafl in the hour of greatest affliction, Ubayd Allāh commissioned Khundji to compile, as a guide for a righteous Sunni ruler, the Sulūk al-muluk (ed. Muhammad Nāẓamuddin, Hyderabad/Dn. 1386/1966). In form this didactic work displays features of the Mirror for Princes books; in its topics and in the treatment of the legal norms, with numerous quotations from the canonical textbooks, with highly realistic and sober opinions on the present state of affairs. This can be observed in his treatment of taxation; he appears to equate certain aspects of the canonical salvation duties with the prevailing Mongol jangār imposts. Even more significant is his chapter on the ḥizzat. He took his lesson from the catastrophe of Marv. No longer does he call for ḥizzat against the Safawids at all costs, lest the blood of innocent subjects of Ismā'īl be shed. He even concedes (and thereby joins the mainstream of traditional Sunni polemics) that the Twelve Shi'ite doctrine does allow for the observance of the precepts of the shari'a, such as legal marriage contracts, the call to prayer etc. We do not know to what degree Khundji's enlightened doctrines were taken up by Ubayd Allāh, an energetic and pious ruler, who despite the bitter polemics on both sides, kept religious issues largely out of his long controversy with the Safawids over the possession of Khorasan. His fame lived on at least in Central Asia; the increasing isolation of Transoxiana from the Sunni central lands probably accounts for the little influence which his writings—particularly the Sulūk al-muluk, which was explicitly directed to a broad audience of Sunni rulers—exercised outside the Usbek domains. An effect on political thought in Mughal India is more likely, yet remains to be investigated.


KHUNDZAL (self designation, Khunzami; Russian designation, Khunzal, Gun(za)ll, Gunzebi, Gunzeala, Gunzebl, Gunzei, Janak; other designations, Khunzez, Gunzez, Gunzeb), a numerically small people of the eastern Caucasus. The Khuza in forms with Bezheta, Dido, Gunzal, and Khurgali [q.v.], the Dido division of the Avan-andi-Dido group, of the north-eastern Iranian-Caucasian languages.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were, ethnically, 106 Khunzals, and 129 claiming Khuzaal as their mother tongue; in 1933 (estimation by Grande) there were 916 Khunzals. The Khunzals inhabit four raions on the upper course of the Avar River in the Tarkhata district of the Dagestān A.S.S.R. They live in the highest and most inaccessible part of mountainous Dagestān. This isolated position has protected the Khunzals from external influences, and they have maintained to a great degree many of the patriarchal customs. The Khunzals are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'ite rite. The economy has remained traditional: raising sheep with a transhumance system, agriculture on terraces, and handicrafts (especially leather work). The Khuza is a purely vernacular language, and the Khunzals use Avar as their first literary and second spoken (sometimes first) language, having Avar as the language in primary education. Russia is the second literary language. They are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars.


KHURĀSĀN, today the north-easternmost usūn of province of Persia, with its administrative capital at Mashhad [q.v.]. But in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of what
are now Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan; early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of western Persia, sc. Dzhöb or what was subsequently termed 'Irak 'Adjam, as being included in a vast and ill-defined region of Khurasan, which might even extend to the Indian Valley and Sind. Thus the Armenian geography traditionally attributed to Moses of Khoræn depicts Khurasan as stretching from Cugan and Kurnis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badakhshon and Tukharistan on the upper Oxus and Bamiyan in the Hindm Kush (see J. Marquart, Erânsahr, 47 ff.).

Topographically, Khurasan in the modern, restricted sense is dominated by a zone of mountain ranges running roughly NW-SE, a continuation of the Alburz chain, and connecting that chain with the Paropamisus and Hindû Kush ranges of northern Afghanistan; in a district such as that of the Koh-i-Dinâlîz to the north of Nishâpûr, these mountains rise to 12,000 feet. To the north, open steppes and deserts roll down through the Soviet Turkmenistan SSR to the Caspian Sea and the Amôr-Daryâ basin. To the south, lies an extensive region of landlocked deserts and salt flats, such as the Dağı-kêrav, the Dağı-lêt and the Hînsand basin of Sîkân, but within this region is situated an important upland zone, that of Kânî and Bîrdjeld, the early Islamic province of Kûhenîstân (p. 40), one massif of which, the Koh-i Mûminândâd, rises to 9,100 feet. There is thus considerable topographical diversity, but only in the more northerly mountain zone do adequate rainfall, perennial streams and accessible wells permit a relatively flourishing agricultural and pastoral economy; here, the population is quite dense when permanent political frontiers were established. These areas control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by the local marshád Mâhyûn and his murder in 3/657. Meanwhile, the Arabs had already appeared in Khurasan. During 'Umar's caliphate, forces from Bâspa penetrated as far as Tabasun in the Great Desert, and a determined attack on the province was made in the following reign of 'Uthmân when 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Kûraya (q.v.) was governor of Bâspa (sc. from 29/649 till 33/653). An expedition eastwards was mounted by the men of Kûfa under Sa'îd b. al-'Ash, travelling along the northern route between the Alburz and the central deserts, and another one by the Basran army under 'Abd Allah b. 'Amîr and his lieutenant al-Abnaf b. Arba'a, approaching via Kûmarân and Tabâsan, a route which was for long used as an easier and safer route than that of the modern highway and railway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It was the Basran army which made most progress, and in 33/653-2 reduced Nishâpûr to obedience, receiving the submission of local rulers and former Sasanid governors in most of the other towns of Khurasan. In the following year, the last great stronghold of the Sasanids, Marw al-Rûd, fell to al-Abnaf after fierce fighting, but the local marshâd, Bâdham, was confirmed in his office and possessions there in exchange for a relatively light tribute. The permanent pacification of Khurasân was, however, a protracted process. Local potentates frequently rebelled against Arab control and appealed to outside powers like the Hephthalites, the Western Turks or Türgësh, the Sogdians, and even the Chinese Emperors (who claimed a vague sovereignty over Central Asia and the Khorasan region, with whom Persian Sasanid had long continued to maintain relations). In particular, the civil war between 'Alî and Mu'awiyâ meant a relaxation in Khurasan of Arab control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by 'Abd Allah b. 'Amîr (re-appointed governor of Bâspa and the east by Mu'awiyâ from 42/661 to 44/654)
and his generals. Thus an important and revolutionary movement from its centre at Marw under a political adventurer of considerable skill, Abū Muslim [q.v.]. This movement had been organised, from the caliphate of Hishām onwards, under local leaders or representatives of the 'Abbāsid family in Marw, until Abī Muslim took over the leadership there in 295/700, apparently drawing his prime support from the older-established Arab settlers in the district, those whom Tabari and the anonymous author of the Ta'rikh al-bâula/dîn [q.v.] edit as Geyravich call the Abī al-tālabān (see Shabban, The 'Abbāsid revolution, 155-8). By 320/738 Abū Muslim was undisputed master in Marw and soon in Khorāsān as well.

Since Khorāsān support was so decisive in the rise of the 'Abbāsids, the province enjoyed considerable favour from the early 'Abbāsid Caliphate; especially the encomium of the Khorāsānīs as "our party, our helpers and the people of our da'wa" in a Bayāna oration pronounced at Hāshimiyā by al-Manṣūr and reported by Murūdī, Manṣūrī, vi, 305 H., and the similar sentiments quoted from Ibn Kūtayba in Muhammad, 293-4. Many Khorāsānīs migrated westwards into 'Abbāsid service, such as the Barnak family from Bālīg (see Karamīka); this process was accentuated when al-Ḥānjūm, the former governor in Marw, achieved the caliphate in 198/813 with the support of the Persian east against his brother al-ʿĀmin.

The Tāhirīds [q.v.] governed Khorāsān for the 'Abbāsids, as faithful servants of the caliphs rather than as autonomous rulers, for some fifty years (202-59/821-73). They were of Arab stock, Persia only the theatre of a process which had been secondary to an 'Abbāsid da‘wah or propagandist in Khorāsān, Sulaymān b. Ḥāṭir b. al-Ṭāhirī, Tāhir Dhul-ʿAbdān, one of al-Ḥānjūm's generals, and was in 205/821 appointed governor of Khorāsān and the east. The Tāhirīds were strenuous supporters of Sunni orthodoxy and the established Perso-Islamic social hierarchy against Shi‘ī and other Iranian religious movements in the Caspian provinces and Transoxiana, and also against heterodox currents of Persian soci-religious protest which were rocking the Persian countryside at this time (see G. H. Sadighi, Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire, Paris 1938). Under the Tāhirīds, Khorāsān blossomed economically and culturally. We find 'Abī Allah b. Tāhir (213/828-29) showing his concern for his province's welfare by his commissioning a book on water rights and the regulation of kanāts, the characteristic means of irrigation throughout much of Khorāsān; this Kālib al-ʿAnwī was, according to the Ghānawīd historian Gardīzī, still in use two centuries later. Whereas in the early Islamic period Khorāsān had been economically and culturally backward compared with western Persia (cf. E. Herzfeld, Khorāsān: Denkmalegeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islam in Iran, in Ist., xi (1931), 187-74), its agricultural prosperity now increased; according to Ya‘qūbī, Būdān, 365, tr. x, 308, the abarad or land tax of Khorāsān under the Tāhirīds amounted to 40 million dirhams a year. It benefited from commercial traffic connecting 'Ṭark and Daghfīl with Central Asia and the fringes of the Indian world, and a luxury product like the edible earth of Nīṣāpūr was, according to Thalālī, Lajūd al-ma‘ṣūrī, 132, tr. Bosworth, 132, exported all over the
Islamic world, including to Egypt and the Maghrib. Above all, Khurasan derived much advantage from the transit trade in Turkish slaves, which were a regular component of the annual tribute forwarded to the caliphs by the early 'Abbāsids governors, the Tāhirids, and later, the Samanids, and which often fetched high prices; Ibn Hawkūl, 2, 452, tr. ii, 437, says that he saw more than once in Khurasan slaves only sold for 3,000 dinars. (Further on the Tāhirids, see Bosworth, ch. 3, The Tāhirids and Saffārids, in Cambridge history of Iran, iv, Cambridge 1975, 90-106)

The Saffārid adventurer from Sistān, Ya'qūb b. Layyih, overthrew Tāhirid rule in Khurasan, entering their capital Nishapur in 259/873, and in the ensuing years, Khurasan was fought over by various contending generals, until the Samanid amir Ismā'īl b. Ataμad [q.v.] defeated ‘Amr b. Layyih in 287/998 and incorporated Khurasan into the Samanid dominions. Under what is described in the sources as the beneficent rule of the Samanids, Khurasan continued to be within the mainstream of Sunni religious orthodoxy and culture. It had become already under the Tāhirids a vigorous centre of Arabic literature and of Sunni legal and religious scholarship. There is a large representation of Khuršānī scholars in such literary biographical works as Thā‘alib’s Yatīmat al-dahr and the continuations of Bākhkhārī and Ishākhān. Khuršānī theologians and traditionists were prominent in Sunnī, especially Şā‘īrī and Aḥṣā‘ī, learning, and in such theological and philosophical movements as those of the Mu‘tazila and Karrā‘īyya. The extremist Şā‘īrī Ismā‘īlī sect had pockets of support in the east, and Khuršānī ascetics and mystics played important roles in the development of Ṣūfism. It is, of course, well-known that Khurasan and the eastern Iranian provinces in general played an important part in the Renaissance of the New Persian language and its literature from the 9th/10th century onwards; see Browne, LHP, i, 445 ff., and Rypka cit. alli., History of Iranian literature, 132 ff.

As the Samanid amirate disintegrated in the late 9th/10th century under external attack from the north and internal revolt by unruly Turkish generals, Khurasan passed under the rule of the Turkish Ghaznavid dynasty [q.v.]. In 384/994 the founder of the line, Sebātīkhān, had been given the governorship of Tāhirid Khurasan, and in 388/998 his son Mahdūd consolidated his power in the whole of the province, which was to remain under Ghaznavid control for forty years. The riches of Khurasan did much to finance the successful Ghaznavid war machine, but the financial exactions of Khurasan officials and a series of disastrous famines made the Sultans’ rule there unpopular. Hence Nishapur and the other towns were not averse during the period 428-31/1037-90 from surrendering to the incoming Oghuz nomads led by the Saldjūk family; and the Saldjūk victory at Daudkānān [q.v. in Suppl.] in 431/1039 sealed the fate of Ghaznavid rule over those parts of greater Khurasan to the west of Badakhshān and the central Afghan mountain massif.

Under the Saldjūk Sultāns, Khurasan was an important province of their empire, even though the founder Toghril Beg soon moved his capital westwards from Nishapur to Ray and Isfahān. Khurasan and the east were initially ruled by Toghril’s brother Čagālāg Beg Dāwdr, whose son and grandson Čagālāg and Malik šāh were to rule over the Saldjūk empire to its apogee. In general, firm rule brought peace to the towns of Khurasan. This was temporarily ended in the uncertain years after Malik šāh’s death in 487/1092—the local historian of Bayhaq or Sibzāwar, Ibn Fandik, comments on the recrudescence of sectarian strife and the activities of the para-military ‘ayyār groups in the town—but stability returned under the long reign of Sanjār, who was firstly governor in the east and then Sultan for a total of over sixty years. The intellectual and cultural vitality of Khurasan remained unimpaired, and four of the original nine colleges founded by the great Vizier Nizār al-Mulk were, according to his biographer Subkī, in towns of that province, see in Nishapur, Balkh, Harat and Marv. One effect of the Oghuz migrations into Persia was the arrival of Turkmen groups in northern Khurasan, where suitable pasture was to be found for their flocks. These nomads remained an unassimilable element of Saldjūk Khurasan, until neglect of their interests by the central government drove them into revolt towards the end of Sanjār’s reign, leading to the Sultan’s own capture by the Oghuz and effective deposition in 548/1153.

In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, post-Salmāk, Khurasan was held by various Oghuz tribal leaders and by formerly Saldjūk generals, and was then fought over by the Ghurids and Khwāzak-Shāhs [q.v.], until the ‘Abbāsids Muhammad finally overthrew his Ghurid rivals in the opening years of the 7th/13th century. (See, for the history of Khurasan in the Ghaznavid and Saldjūk periods, Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, part ii and iii, and idem, in Cambridge history of Iran, iv, ch. 9, v, ch. i.)

The Mongol hordes of Cingiz Khān, driving the Khwāzak-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn before them, appeared in Khurasan in 607/1210, and seized control of its towns. Whilst not all of the notorious massacres of the Mongols may have been perpetrated at the original surrender of some towns, but at the time of subsequent revolts, Marv and Nishapur, which resisted fiercely in 618/1222, suffered appallingly. Ibn al-Athir, xii, 256, places the number of dead in Marv at 700,000, and Djwaynayr, tr. Boyle, i, 163-4, has the figure of 1,300,000 for the Marv oasis as a whole. Even allowing for statistical exaggeration, the Mongol invasions undoubtedly devastated Khurasan to a far greater degree than the Oghuz incursions of the 9th/11th century had done, as is amply demonstrated in the accounts of European and Muslim travellers and geographers of the following period of the Il-Khānids, e.g. those of Marco Polo, Ibn Battūta, Hamd Allah Mustawī, etc. As well as the population losses and destruction of settlements, the increased proportion of Turkish and Mongol nomads in the province accentuated the existing trend from Saldjūk times towards pastoralisation and the decline of agriculture; moreover, the arbitrary Mongol system of taxation bore especially heavily on cultivators and landholders, according to I. P. Petrushevsky, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, ch. 6. Certainly, Khurasan never recovered its cultural and intellectual position within Persia as a whole; the Il-Khānids made their centre in western Persia, and Dībāl, Aḫchārīyān and ‘Irāq became the foci of political activity and artistic and literary life. The towns of Khurasan continued to suffer from the warfare between the Il-Khānids and the Čahāratāvis, and a place like Harat only became a major centre with the florescence of the Timurids in the 13th/14th century.

After the death of the Il-Khānīd Aba Sa’d in 731/1335, various local dynasties arose in Persia, including in Khurasan the Karīs or Kürts and the Sarbadārīs [q.v.]. The Karīs arose in Harat during the 13th/14th century, and successive rulers with the
title of malik or long retained power there till the
deposition by Timur of the last ruler, Ghiyath al-
Din Pir 'All, in 751/1350. The Sarbadars stemmed
from Baybak, and in the middle years of the 8th/
14th century they held this region of western Khorasan, extending to Dângân and even holding Nithân-
pur temporarily, till they too were extinguished by
Timur in 783/1381. Timur made his own capital at
Samarkand in Transoxania, but his son Shâh Rukh
became governor of Khorasan for his father in 799/ 1397 and ruled there for fifty years until his death in 830/1426-7. Towns like Harât and Marw were rebuilt,
and a considerable degree of prosperity restored; and
under the Timurid prince Husayn b. Manûr b. Bay-
kurgân (783-949/1381-1485) [gro.] Harât and Khorasan enjoyed a period of political stability and of brilliant
and artistic life.

In the early 14th/15th century, Khorasan was over-
rurn by the Özbeg chieft Muhammad Shâh b. Khân
and his khorde, but three years later, in 815/1410, the
Safavid Shâh Ismâ'îl killed the Khân and incor-
porated Khorasan into the Safavid dominions. The
Safawids were, however, unable to hold Balkh, and lost it permanently in 822/1421. Warfare with the Özbek remained endemic in northern Khorasan, with the possession of frontier towns like Marw oscil-
lating between the two powers. Noteworthy in the
Safavid period—one in which Persia became in
majority Shihâni—was the rise in importance of the
great shrine of the Imam 'All al-Ridâi [gro.] at Mashhad, originally the village of Sanâbâf, where
both the eighth Imam of the Shi'as and the Calîpî
Hârân al-Râshîd were buried. The shrine was already
splendidly ornamented in Il-Khânid times, as Ibn Batûtâ noted (Râhî, iii, 77-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 56-3),
and was increasingly enriched by the Timurids and
Safawids. Shih 'Abbas I endeavoured to discourage the
Shi'i pilgrimage to Mashhad, since the holy places
of 'Irâq, such as Najaf and Karbala', were often in
Sumâr, Ottoman hands. In the comparatively peace-
ful period of Kâjjâr rule, Mashhad gradually attained
its modern position as the principal city of Khurasan.

With the resurgence of tribalism and the political
upheavals of the 16th/17th century, Khurasan became
Nâdir Shâh's capital, and he made his military re-
doubt in the massif of Kal'at-i Nadiri in northern
Khorasan, but after Nâdir's death in 1160/1747, the
eastern parts of Khorasan passed for a while into the
control of the Durrâní Afghan chieft Nâdir Shâh
[gro.], and by 1168/1750, Balkh, Harât, Mashhad and
Nâthânpur were all in his possession. But the blind,
half-Safawid grandson of Nâdir, Shâh Rukh, had
meanwhile been raised to power in Khorasan, and
remained there as nominal ruler at least till his death in 1220/1706.

After Âqâ Muhammad Kâjjâr had made his
power over the whole land of Persia, control over
Khorasan was fully restored to the central govern-
ment, now installed in Tehran. But the depredations of the Özbek and other Turkmen continued to make
life in northern Khorasan chronically insecure; the
progress of commerce and agriculture was inhibited,
and many Persians were carried off and enslaved
by raiders from the Central Asian amirates. These
causes of friction were only ended by the Russians'
virtual annexation of Khâvä in 1873 and the crushing of
the Tekke Turkmen at Gök Tepe in 1881. After
this last victory, the Persian government was not
strong enough to withstand Russian pressure, and
the Russians annexed the Marw oasis in 1884. Relations
with the amirs of Afghanistan had meanwhile
continued to be bad, with contention over possession
of Harât. The town was besieged in vain by the Persians in 1838, and Nâşir al-Dîn Shâh fought a
brief war with Britain in 1856-7 over a temporary
Persian seizure of Harât. After this, overt Persian
attempts on these districts of western Afghanistan
ceased, though disputes over the demarcation of the
boundary between Khorasan and Afghanistan were
not finally settled till the definitive demarcation of
the whole boundary as far south as Sîstan in 1934-5.
Khorasan and the provincial capital Mashhad are
now fully connected with Tehran by a metalled road,
a railway and air services. The present population
of the province (1966 census) is 23 millions, with
Mashhad now the third largest city of Persia with
459,000 inhabitants.

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

(CE Bosworth)

BANû KHorâSân, the dynastv which, taking
advantage of the anarchy initiated in Zîrid Ifriqiyâ
by the Hilîlâ invasion, governed Tunis 454/522-
1062-1128 and 543-554/1150-35. When leaving Kay-
rân to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya (449/1062), the
Zîrid al-Mu'izz b. Badis had left Kayrân and
Tunis in the protection of a Sanhâjî chieftain Kâlîb
b. Maymûn. The latter seems to have exercised no
authority at Tunis, which was probably evacuated
by the Sanhâjîs, regrouping at al-Mahdiyya or in
Hamâmadî territory, and independent. Ibn Khallîn
states that it fell prey to a Hilîlâ amîr, a son-in-law
of al-Mu'izz b. Badis, Abî 'Abd 'l-Charîb b. Ziyâd al-
Mu'taferences with the amirs of Afghanistan had meanwhile
to be bad, with contention over possession
The situation (yaqum bi-amrihim khallalati mi yaqmiru dayyinu) they chose one of the leaders of their own community but he refused, and it was then that Abū al-Ḥakīb b. Abū al-ʿAzīz b. Khūrasān took power in the name of al-Naṣrī. According to Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-Ḥakīb was appointed by the Hammadids immediately following the reception of the embassy of the Tunisian ṣayyids. This historian, who makes no mention of a rudimentary name of Tunisian ṣayyids, proposed initially by al-Naṣrī, seems to have condensed his account of events; possibly there was a second deputation which returned with the designation of the Khūrasānī, or even with the governor in person.

Abū Muhammad Abū al-Ḥakīb b. Abū al-ʿAzīz b. Khūrasān, a native of Tunis, was quite probably, says Ibn Khaldūn, of Ṣanḥājī origin; without this affirmation one would have to postulate for him a Ḥanāfī origin; without this

Ibn Jālālīn, of Abū Sālima Ḥanīfī b. al-ʿArfāz b. Khurasān: from this we may suppose that both of them sons of Abū Muhammad Abū al-ʿAzīz b. Khūrasān, (al-sultān al-manṭūr) called (the most venerable shaykh) by Mubriz b. Ziyād, the amīr of La Malga (al-Murallaka, between Tunis and Carthage). They took as their chief the ḥāḍī Abū Muhammad Abū al-ʿAzīz, son of the imām Abū l-Ḥasan. With his approval, they made an astonishing vole-face, deciding to appoint Mubriz b. Ziyād as their king. In reply to their invitation, the Riyāḥīs approached Tunis; the ḥāḍī and the ṣayyids came in procession to meet him; but a cry taken up by the crowd, “No obedience to an Arab or a Ġuzz (se. a Turcoman),” caused the enterprise to fail. It seems that the ruling class, having acted out of realism or for the defence of their own interests, were foiled by public opinion. Mubriz b. Ziyād made his way back to La Malga where he was joined by the ḥāḍī who had been chased out of Tunis.

In order to put an end to the civil war, the Tunisians decided on a restoration of the Banū Khūraṣān. A deputation went to Bizerta to fetch Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Ḥakīb who was hailed up at night over the city walls of Tunis in a wicker basket. This secret entry, which is not adequately explained by the closure at night of the city gates, suggests that the population was not unanimous in its desire to adopt him as amīr. Seven months later he was betrayed by his brother’s son, Abū Allāh b. Abū al-ʿAzīz who seems to have had him drowned. Abū Allāh b. Abū al-ʿAzīz b. Ismāʿīl b. Abū al-Ḥakīb remained in power for about ten years. He killed the ḥāḍī Abū l-ʿAdlī al-Djiāfīr b. Ḥalwān, his son and the son of his sister Ibn al-Bannāt, fearing lest they conspire against him with the Arabs, doubtless with Mubriz b. Ziyād.

Nevertheless, it was thanks to a unit commanded by Mubriz b. Ziyād, which had penetrated into Tunis,
that the inhabitants, under siege by Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, son of the Almoravid caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min, made a successful sortie and forced the enemy to retire. On the last day of Djemâldâd I 552/ 20th July 1157, 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz reported to the archbishop of Pisa the victory which he had just won over the Maqâmâda, in a letter preserved in the archives of Pisa confirming the verbal terms of a commercial treaty between Pisa and Tunis.

He was succeeded by his nephew 'All b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Hāfiz b. Khurāsānī (in about mid-February 1159). But five months later (about mid-July 1159), Tunis was laid under siege by a formidable army and fleet under the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min, and surrendered. A deputation of twelve (or seventeen) shaykhs went to 'Abd al-Mu'min to ask for peace. After an initial refusal, and long equivocation, he accepted. In the list of these shaykhs, unfortunately incomplete, we notice nine names: three brothers, the Banū 'Abd al-Sayyid, Hashimī qāris (the epithet of another member of this line, dating from 528/1133, is qualified byjalil and ināmī), and two sons of Manṣūr Ismā'īl and their paternal cousin; so we are dealing here with an oligarchy, and, once more, it is making terms with the enemy. In fact, 'Abd al-Mu'min promised to respect the lives, families and goods of the shaykhs who had come to negotiate, in return for their readiness to surrender, but he made the same guarantees to the other inhabitants of the city and environs only after they had handed over to him half of their goods.

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

Tunis has kept some relics of the Banū Khurāsānī, etc. the mosque of the Djiâml al-Kasr (ca. 499/1106), which probably adjoined their palace (no longer in existence), and not far from Sidi Bu Khrlsan street, a Khâba, their funeral mausoleum in the centre of a necropolis excavated by S. M. Zbiss, to whom we owe the establishment of an epigraphic museum and the publication of a number of tomb-inscriptions of the necropolis, ca. 499/1005.


KHURĀSĀNĪ, ʿĀHMUD MULLA MUHAMMAD KĀZĪM (1859—1911), a distinguished Shīʿī muftih of Iran; born in Tūs, he received his early education in Mashhad, pursued traditional studies including natural philosophy in Tehran in 1860, and moved to Najaf in 1861 for further studies. He studied under Mīrzā Ḥasan Ṣafarzālī, the then sole māqālāt al-bālīh of the Shīʿī world. After the latter's death (1864), Khurāsānī was recognized as the legitimate successor to Ṣafarzālī. He proved to be a resourceful teacher, during daily classes before more than 1,000 students of tūl al-falāḥ and producing as graduates of his courses over 120 muftihādīs (Mahdī al-Mūsāvi, Aḥsan al-wadā’i, i, Najaf 1568, 127—8).

He established three religious (hijāb, 148) and some modern schools in Tūs (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fayyādī, al-Zahawwâl al-Mubayyib al-khurāsānī sana 1326, Baghdad 1967, 321f.). Since 1965 Khurāsānī's name has been associated with the Persian Constitutional Revolution as one of its most influential supporters. He and the other muftihādīs, Tāhirī and Māzdandarānī, issued numerous fatāwa and manifestos, sent many telegrams, wrote many letters to responsible authorities in Persia and Turkey, and organised two uprisings.

Led by Khurāsānī, the Persian 'ulamā' of Tūs intensified their campaign after Muhammad 'Ali Shah's abrogation of the constitution in 1908, and in a fatāwā they declared that obedience to the Shah and the payment of taxes to his government were un-Islamic (ʿAbd Allâh Kasravi, Tāhirī-i Mashhur-i yī, Tehran 1951, 730) and strongly condemned their clerical opponent Shaykh Fadl Allāh Nūrī (ibid., 538). Khurāsānī's activities were not favoured by 'Abd al-Hamīd II of Turkey. Thanks to the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, however, there appeared a degree of mutual co-operation between the 'ulamā' and the Turks, and Khurāsānī openly supported the Turkish Revolution. He even threatened to dethrone 'Abd al-Hamīd II upon the latter's counter-revolution in 1909 (Sayyīd Muhammad Ḥasan Nadjīfī Kāshkanī, Shāhī-i sharb, Mashhad 1972, 474-6).

Living in an Ottoman province, Tūs, Khurāsānī and other Persian constitutionalists seem to have been led to an agreement of expediency with the Young Turks. We see Khurāsānī, for instance, sanctioning the Pan-Islamic policy of the Young Turks (RMF, xiii (1911), 385-6) and at times, despite his being a Shīʿī muftihādī, calling the Ottoman sultan "caliph" (al-Tūsīyī, i (1909), 240-1; Nūrī al-Dīn Khurāsānī, Ḥudūd-i Rūs bi-Irān, Baghdād 1913, 43).

In support of the sultan, he also declared a holy war against the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 (al-Tūsīyī, ii (1911), 246-7, 250-7, 338-42). In return, Khurāsānī appealed to the sultan to interfere in favour of the Persian constitutionalists: once in 1909 when he was successfully working towards the dethronement of the foreign-backed Shah (al-Tūsīyī, i (1909), 240-1), and another time when, upon the Anglo-Russian invasions of Iran in 1911, the deposed Shah vainly attempted to regain his throne (Ḥudūd-i Rūs, 45-6). In both cases Khurāsānī, leading many of his supporters, set out for Persia to mobilize the masses; the first uprising was stopped because of the Shah's downfall (al-Tūsīyī, i (1909), and iv (1912), 39-40), and the second one was postponed because of Khurāsānī's sudden death (Ḥudūd-i Rūs, 58-67).

Despite the allegation concerning Khurāsānī's ties to the Oudh Bequest (Mahdī al-Mūsāvi, Tāhirī-i Mudarris-i ʿArabī-yi Iran, Tehran 1971-5), he does not seem to have favoured the British. Since the Russian troops were suppressing the Persian Revolution and the British were thought to have supported it, Khurāsānī sent delegates to the British Consulate in Baghdad seeking co-operation (Abdul-Hadi Hāfī, Safar-i Qūmīna-i Ṣafarzālī, i, Tehran 1953, xi—xii (1910), 246-7), though this proved useless because of the British commitment to the 1907 Convention. From then on, we see Khurāsānī in an equal opposition to the two powers. He expressed his deep mistrust in the Shah, and paid no attention to the intercession of the two powers under whose pressures the Shah had to promise the re-establishment of the Persian constitution; Khurāsānī only insisted upon the deposition of the Shah and the declaration of a genuine constitutional regime (Hāfī, Why did the 'Ulamā' participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909, in IW, xvii (1926-7).

Bamdad, Sharhi hal-i ridqal-i Irnn, i, Tehran 1968.
(Abdul-Hadi Haidi)
KHURMA, Fami (1875-1956) a Syrian politician, a Christian, who played a very important role over a period of almost half a century. Born in a Lebanese village on the slopes of Mount Hermiq, he studied at Sayil then at the school in Beirut which was later to become the American University, while also working as a teacher. When family affairs took him to Damascus in 1899, he took up residence in the Syrian capital, learned Turkish and French and was employed as an interpreter in the British consulate. His political career began in 1909 when he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. As legal adviser to the municipality of Damascus (1930-38) he was elected a member of the municipal council of the town in 1914, took part in 1928 in the Council of State which met in Istanbul, participated in the creation of the Arab Academy, and then occupied a number of important political offices: Minister of Finance in 1920, of National Education in 1926, President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1943 and then from 1946 to 1949, and President of the Council of Ministers in 1944-5 and in 1945-4. At the same time, he was President of the Bar of Damascus (1920-36), for a short time Professor of Law (1924), a founder member of the People’s Party (1925), then of the Nationalist Bloc (al-Ku/laal-ll’afanlyya, 1926), and was a member of the delegation which negotiated with France the Treaty of 1936. After the war he was appointed Syrian delegate to the United Nations, and presided over the Security Council in 1947 and 1948. He retired from active life in 1955 and died on 2 January 1962.

Faris al-Khuri was a calm, level-headed man whose essential aim was to achieve the supremacy of justice. He was a man of great culture and erudition, and his powers of oratory were widely recognised. After the beginning of this century he took an interest in events outside the Arab world and derived from them the inspiration for his literary, more precisely his poetic, production, for this man of politics was also a poet. His classical background gave him the idea of preparing an anthology entitled al-ilimar al-dkahab Jl lafaHJ al~ which has remained un¬

al-KHURMA, an oasis in western Saudi Arabia, situated at lat. 23° 54’ N and long. 42° 25’ E, which became prominent in Arabian politics during the first quarter of this century. The oasis lies in the middle reaches of Wadi Taraba or Turaba (also shown on maps as Wadi Subay). The companion oasis of Taraba (q.v.), capital of the tribe of the Buldan, is farther up the valley about 75 km. to the south-west. Another 75 km. downstream from al-Khurma the valley passes by the wells of al-Kusuliyia and then ends at Irk Subay, whose sands keep the floodwaters from joining the main drainage system emptying into Wadi T-Dawr (see [QAZARAT] AL-SARAJ). The oasis is close to the northern tip of Harrat Nawasi, the southern part of which is called Harrat al-Bultam. The road from al-Khurma to al-Ta’il runs south of west over the range of Hujn, often taken as marking the eastern geographical limit of al-Hijaz (q.v.). About 80 km. north of al-Khurma is the ancient gold mine of Zahlim, attempts to work which in recent times proved a failure. Beyond Zahlim to the north is the present main highway from Duvida and Mecca to al Riyad (Darb al-Hijaz); earlier, many pilgrims and a considerable amount of trade went along the track through al-Kusuliyia and al-Khurma.

The relatively small population of al-Khurma is made up of tribesmen from the western section of Subay (q.v.), who regard the oasis as their capital, Sharifs, and black freemen. The chief place in the oasis is Kaer Khalid, named after a former Amir (see below), and the other principal settlements are al-Suk and al-Sulaymiyya.

Unlike Taraba, al-Khurma is not mentioned by Handan, though it may have been inhabited even before his time. Its first appearance in history seems to have been in 1242/1798, when the Sharif Galib b. Musa’d, a determined foe of the Wahhabis b. ‘All of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-

Khirma became a crucial issue. Many Khurmanas had remained attached to the reform movement since the preceding century. As Wahhabi proselytising also won new adherents in the west, the Sharif al-Husayn b. ‘Ali of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-Khurma, which would have carried his authority well towards the east. In the words of Philby, “Khurma itself was a locality of little importance, economically or politically, though it occupied a strategic position as the back-door to Najd. Its real significance was as a symbol of the struggle for Arabian hegemony, which had now been transferred from the old cockpit of the Qasim (see al-Kasim) to the frontiers of the Hijaz” (Arabian jubiler, 60). The British government held that al-Khurma, which it thought was not very far away from al-Ta’il (the actual distance is 190 km.), fell within al-Husayn’s sphere. ‘Abd al-Aziz, on the other hand, avowed that he had inherited all.

Bibliography: In addition to the archival information held by the family, whose material is untitled, there have been two monographs on Faris al-Khuri: Hamil al-Khabbas and Durji Hachiki, Dark al-Khuri, 1969 (French translation champions). Faris al-Khuri ma-ayyad in muns. Beirut 1964. See also Causeries de l’orient Contempo¬

rain, Paris, i-xxii (1945 55), Index; Nasrin Sh. al-Khuri has presented at the Lebanese University in 1973 a Diesan Daras al-Khuri containing all of his poetic work which is accessible, together with a detailed bibliography; this work should be publish¬

Ed.)
the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, including al-Khurma.

The Sharif Khâlid b. Mâsûr Ibn Lu'ayy, said to have been named amîr of al-Khurma by al-Hasayn, became a convert to the Wahhâbiyya, as a result of which al-Hasayn detained him in Mecca for a time; al-Hasayn also rebelled the Hanbâlîs of al-Khurma for preaching in the Wahhâbi vein. The Khurrami Wahhâbîs were devout enough to be reckoned as belonging to the ranks of the Ikhwân [q.v.]. Late in 1333/1915 al-Hasayn's son 'Abd Allâh delivered ultimata to Khâlid demanding that he return to his original loyalty. Khâlid rejected the ultimata, and the Khurramiyya called on 'Abd al-'Azîz for help. Sympathetic though he was to their cause, he was occupied elsewhere and could do little for them. During 1336/1918, expeditions sent by al-Hasayn to subdue al-Khurma were repulsed one after another by Khâlid and the Ikhwân.

Infuriated by the tenacious and successful resistance of the little oasis, al-Hasayn in 1337/ May 1919 deputed his son 'Abd Allâh with a martial force, well armed by Arabian standards, to settle the account for it. On the way, 'Abd Allâh paused at Taraba, where Khâlid and the Ikhwân, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory. Allâh paused at Taraba, where Khâlid and the Ikhwân, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory of the little oasis, al-Uusayn in 1287, and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with 'Abd al-'Azîz. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khâlid and the Ikhwân.

The Khudîr of the Ikhwân beside Khâlid's castle in al-Khurma is said to have been founded after the battle of Taraba. The British explorer Philby visited the oasis in 1336/1917 and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with 'Abd al-'Azîz. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khâlid and the Ikhwân.

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ous Mazdakite adherents during his lifetime. After his murder in 327/940, the Khurramiyya in Khurāsān, according to al-Mas'ūdi, rose in revolt. Some of them denied his death and expected his early return to establish justice in the world. Others affirmed his death and held that the imāmāte had passed to his daughter Fāṭima. They were known as the Fāṭimiyya. The Zoroastrian Sunbādī [see sunbādī], a former associate of Abū Muslim, led an army of rebels from Nāyshābūr to al-Rayy where his following swelled rapidly. According to the Siyāsāt-nāma, it was composed of Mazdakides, Shi'īs and Zoroastrians. Sunbādī predicted the end of the Arab empire and promised to destroy the Ka'ba. Abū Muslim, he asserted, had not died and would shortly reappear, together with Mazdak and the Mahdī. By the latter, who is not identified, Muhammad b. al-Hanafīyya may have been meant. The revolt was suppressed after 70 days and the leader was killed. Another former associate or dā'ī of Abū Muslim, known as Ištāq ḥal-Turk, after the former's murder fomented an insurrection in Transoxania, affirming that Abū Muslim was alive in the mountains of al-Rayy and would return. He is also reported to have previously taught that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster, who himself was alive and would reappear to restore his religion. Nothing is known about the exact date of the activity of Ištāq and the fate of his movement. It has been suggested, on the basis of the account of Gardizi, that the governor of Khurrahān, Abū Dāwūd Khālid (d. 140/757) was killed by followers of Ištāq and that the rebel leader Baražbānda, whom Abū Dāwūd's successor 'Abd al-Dāwūd joined when he revolted against the caliph al-Mahdī, also belonged to Ištāq's movement. The first suggestion is highly conjectural and the second quite unlikely; the white-clad (ṣapīd-dījamān)? murderers of Abū Dāwūd were, according to Gardizi, the followers of one Ṣā'īd the weaver (djūsu), and Baražbānda claimed to be Ibrahīm b. 'Abd (read: Muhammad?) al-Ḥashimī (Gardizi, Zayn al-ashghar, ed. 'Abd al-Rayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347, 123 f.). About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Muqaffā (q.v.), also a former member of his dā'ūn and of the Risāmiyya, appeared in Transoxania to lead another revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyida [q.v.], Pers. Sapīd-dījamān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesmen. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Abu'l-Ḥasan, Nābī Ibrahim, Maui, Ištāq, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim (a different report adds Shāykh and substitutes ʿAlī and Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya for Abū Muslim) and taught the trans-migration of souls and sexual license. The sect of the Mubayyida is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century.

The latter two movements usually are not called Khurramiyya in the sources, though as branches of the Muslimiyya they were covered by the name in its wider sense. There is no specific information on their doctrine about Mazdak and the role of Mazdakites in them. Al-Birūnī, however, states in general terms that al-Muqaffā prescribed for his followers "everything Mazdak had brought" and al-Shahrastānī counts the Mubayyida as one of the neo-Mazdakite sects and as a variety of the Khurramiyya. They may have been crypto-Mazdakites before the coming of al-Muqaffā (see A. Yu. Yaluntsky, Vostro-Mozhanskie traditsii v belshkh otechestvakh, in SO, v [1948], 35-54).

The use of the name Khurramiyya is more prevalent for the neo-Mazdakites in western Iran. In 62/779 the Muḥammara, i.e. the Mazdakites, of

The anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activity of the Khurramiyya reached its climax in the great rebellion of Bābāk [q.v.] at the Khurramiyya in Adharbayjān (207/821-8). Bābāk had become the chief of the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Badhūn in Adharbayjān in succession to Dīwādīn b. Shahrār, whose prophetic spirit, he claimed, had settled upon him. Dīwādīn was alleged to have predicted the victory of Mazdakism under his successor. The sources offer little information on the religious doctrine of Bābāk and his followers. Their connection with the Muslimiyya is indicated by the fact that some people, according to al-Dinawarī, held Bābāk to be a son of Mūtahhar, son of Fātima, daughter of Abū Muslim. The revolt later spread outside Adharbayjān. In 212/827-8 the Khurramiyya rose in the area of Isfahān and al-Karadž and some of them joined Bābāk in Adharbayjān. In 216/830-33 they revolted among Isfahān under their chief ʿAlī b. Mandaḵ and in Fārs. As ʿAlī b. Mandaḵ took al-Karadž, the sectarians joined him in large numbers. After a bloody defeat by Ṣabīk b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān near Hamadhān, some of them retreated and pillaged in Isfahān, while others under their leader Bārsī fled to Byzantine territory. They were enrolled in the Byzantine army and are mentioned in 223/838 fighting under the emperor Theophilus against the Muslims.

ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdadi treats a sect called Māzāryāyya, followers of the ʿArnīnī rule of Ṭabarīsān, Māzyār [see kānīnī] (d. 225/840), as the second major branch of the Khurramiyya besides the Bābākīyya. Māzyār, whose revolt against the caliphate developed out of his quarrel with the big landowners of the lowlands of Ṭabarīsān and his rivalry with ʿAlī b. Mandaḵ, was certainly not a Mazdakite, although he was accused of having aided Bābāk. In his political struggle he came to rely on the non-Muslim elements of the highlands, particularly Zoroastrians, but evidently also Mazdakites. The Khurramiyya of Ṭabarīsān and Dīwānja may have continued to honour his memory as the account of al-Baghdādī suggests.

According to the Siyāsāt-nāma, the rebellions of the Khurramiyya in the area of Isfahān continued after the execution of Bābāk until the year 300/912-3. First they rose during the reign of al-Wāḥīdī (227-32/842-52), and again sacked al-Karadž. Later, at an unspecified date, one Bārūzādīnī succeeded in fortifying himself in the mountains of Isfahān. The Khurramiyya joined him and raided caravans and villages.

The Khurramiyya continued to be mentioned in the 4th/10th century in the regions of Fārs, al-Ahwāz, Ṣaḥānā, al-Burūj, al-Karadž, Masābādān, Mīhrīdān-kadāḥ, al-Ṣaymara, Dīnawar, Niḥwān, Hamadhān, Kāšān, Kunūn, al-Rayy, in the mountains of
Tabaristan, al-Daylam, Adharbaydjan, Armenia, Shahramaz, Dijrjan, Bahl and Khorasan. It has been accepted on the basis of a report of Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz, Elispes, ii, 299; tr., v, 327) that Khurramiyya living along the coast of Makran and Kirmân were subjugated in 360/971 by a general of 'Abd al-Dawla. The name of the Khurramiyya is, however, a corruption in the manuscript and should be read al-Djurumiyya. This is evident from the text of Ibn al-Albidh (viii, 451) which is based on Miskawayh as well as from Miskawayh's mention of the same people called al-Djurumiyya later under the year 356/970-4 (ii, 355 f.; Ibn al-Albidh, viii, 482; Hilâl in Elispes, iii, 377: al-Djurum); this point is also made by C. E. Bosworth, The Bein 111ys of Kirmân (220-57/932-68), in Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1937, 123 n. 34.

The latest mention of surviving Khurramiyya communities is for the first half of the 6th/12th century in the region of Anasâdhan and Darkazlan, north-west of Hamadhân (al-Bundât, Mu'âsîhan sulacterial at-al-munow, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1899, 124), and in Adharbaydjan.

According to al-Mas'ûdî (d. 345/958), the Khurramiyya in his time mostly belonged to two divisions, the Küdâkiyya and the Lûdshahiyya. (variants Küdâshihâyi, Kurdshailliyya). The former were probably named thus because of their veneration of Mâhi b. Fayruz, the son (or grandson?) of Fâtimah, daughter of 'Abd al-Malik, whom they called khâbash-1 dâddî, the omniscient son. They are also mentioned in other sources and apparently constituted the great majority of the Khurramiyya in western Iran. 'Abû Hâtim al-Razi (d. 372/983) states that the extremist factions which originally developed out of the 'Abbasid revolutionary movement were known under different names in different regions; in the country of Isfahân as Küdâkiyya and Khurramiyya, in al-Rayy and elsewhere in al-Dîbil as Mazdakziyya and Sunbâdîyya, in Dinwâr and Niha-ward as Muhâmma and in Adharbaydjan as Îbahîyya (or Dâfiyya). It is not clear if the latter name implies a distinction in religious doctrine between the Khurramiyya in Adharbaydjan and elsewhere in western Iran, though any such differences were most likely not substantial. 'Abû Dûsîr b. Mânîhalî, who visited al-Badâhân around the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentions a place there where the Muhâmma known as the Khurramiyya conserved their flags and where they expected the coming of the Mahdi. Probably the khâbash-1 dâddî or, in any case, a descendant of 'Abû Muslim's daughter Fâtimah, is meant.

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

The Mazdakites and Manichaean basis of these beliefs is manifest. The attempts of some sources to establish a close link between the Khurramiyya and the Karmâtis and Ismâ'îliyya must be viewed with reserve. There is no evidence for any influence of Khurram doctrine on Ismâ'îlian doctrine or of any large-scale conversion of Khurramis to early Ismâ'îlism.


KHURRAMSHAHR, chief town (population in 1966: 88,536) of the Khurramiyya of the same name (population in 1966: 156,281) in the Iranian province of Khurâstan (khusân 6), and situated in long. 38°13' E., lat. 30° 25' N. Its elevation above sea-level is 8 m., and the climate is hot and humid, with summer temperatures rising to 58° C./136° F., and a winter minimum of 8° C./18° F.

The present town is the successor of a number of settlements which, since ancient times, have been located in the general area where the Kûrān (Djûjâyâl) river and the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Persian Gulf a few miles apart. Elamite and Achemenid settlements were succeeded, in Islamic times, by Bâyân and Mâhirâz, which were included by the Islamic geographers in the province of 'Adâm-1 'Abdân. The earlier settlements were situated on the Kûrânum river itself, the later ones on a channel cut to link the Kûrânum and the Tigris-Euphrates estuary (now called the Arba'a Shahîl-Îrân, and by the Persians Arwazand-rûd). The construction of this channel (known at different times as Jayî-i Bâyân, Jayî-i Âuddî after it had been widened by the Buwâyhid ruler A'qîd al-Dawla [923-6], and the Mafrûz channel) created the island of Abdân (see 'Aabdân).
KHURRAMSHAHR — KHURREM

KHURREM (P. "cheerful, smiling") is a name of both men and women. The most famous bearer of it is the Khâysîk [g.o.] and beloved wife of Sulaymân I [g.o.], who was born in the early years of the 13th/xgth century, when a fort called Kût al-Mûbammara ("Red Fort") developed into the town of Mûbammara governed by Arab shâhâb of the Ka'b tribe. The new town was situated on the Hafîr channel, one mile from its confluence with the Kûrûn. The rise of a rival port at the end of the Persian Gulf was recorded by the Ottomans as a threat to the prosperity of Bâguza and, after 1254/1589 they sacked the town, which was, however, subsequently ceded to Persia by the Treaty of Erzurum in 1847. This treaty was violated by the Ottomans in 1886 by the construction of a fort at Faq, at the mouth of the estuary, which enabled them to harass shipping bound for Mûbammara.

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

The 1934-14 Boundary Commission took as the international boundary with 'Irâq the low-water line on the Persian side of the Šâhî-Šârāb, which was originally fixed between the two countries. This dispute appears finally to have been settled by the agreement signed on 6 March 1975, whereby Iran and 'Irâq agreed that the international boundary shall be the ala'mâz, or line of deepest water.


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In April. She was buried in her mausoleum, built by both infirm, they spent the winter of 965/1557-8 in instigation on 25 Dhu '1-Ra'da 969/23 July 1562. Barigo tells us (Albiri, iii/3, 148) that in her last years she returned to die in Istanbul. The Turk, possibly written in 1542 (see Davey, Sultan, 21-3), and also in Bassano (see, for example, Heyd, Ottoman documents, Oxford 1960, 143, and Kanun Sultan Suleyman sergisi, Istanbul 1958, nos. 71, 90, 102, 125. Some examples of embroidery said to be Khurrem's work are preserved in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum and the Türk i̇slâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

Khurrem's fame spread through Europe in her lifetime. It is unlikely that she ever set for a portrait, but several portraits of her exist. In Topkapi Sarayi there is an oil painting (see cover of Ulugay, Aşk mehribanları), made from the engraving in Boisard, Vitae et icones sultanorum, Frankfurt 1556, and also in Bassano (loc. cit., 1896), probably written in 1542 (see Davey, Sultan, 21-3, 503-4; Zinkeisen, iii, 43). Khurrem's story inspired drama and literature in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, including two French plays, Las Sultane Rulhine, Paris 1564, and Rouillar, Tah, 1643; see, for example, Heyd, Ottoman documents, Oxford 1960, 21-3), and probably identical to it. There is a fine engraving of her by Melchior Lorich in the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by the political centre, there begins at this date the political centre, there begins at this date the political centre, there begins at this date the political centre, there begins at this date the
rukin, "The Fortress of Sargon". The earliest excavations there were undertaken by Paul Emile Botta in 1843 when he was the French Consul at Mosul, and he has been described by Parrot as "the first systematic excavator of a Near Eastern site". He himself described his work in a series of letters which he wrote after each important find and he carefully copied all the inscriptions he discovered, although at that time Akkadian was still an undeciphered language. Victor Place continued the excavation of the site from 1852-5, but then it was abandoned until G. Loud worked there on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago for eight seasons from 1927-35. Since then a number of stone reliefs from the palace, including two famous colossal bulls, have been removed to the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad (1938, 1943) and the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq resumed excavations for a short period in 1957.

Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) built the city between 717 and 707 when he moved the centre of his administration from Kalkhu (modern Eris Nimrud), and the city is a model of Assyrian town-planning. It has seven fortified gates and the early excavations revealed the rooms of the palace and the houses of the palace officials. There are a number of shrines to various deities (called by Botta the Harem) and a ziggurat (which Botta described as an observatory). The later American excavation discovered the temple of Nabu who, with his consort Tashmetum, was a god of vegetation and recently it has been suggested by Postgate that the fertility ritual of the sacred marriage was performed in this building. The entrance to the palace was flanked by a pair of massive, winged, human-headed bulls (as in other Assyrian cities) and the walls were decorated with detailed reliefs of battle scenes and festival processions. A number of glazed brick panels have also been recovered from the site and chemical analysis of the blue glazes derived from copper suggests that lead was being used as a flux, a technique that was forgotten but later re-developed.

Cuneiform inscriptions show that the city was completed just before Sargon died. It was during his eighth military campaign, on which he plundered towns and villages in north-western Iran, that he was ambushed and killed (705 B.C.) and his corpse was abandoned the city and turned his attention to the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words: "(the king) built the city at the foot of Mount Musul above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which is the Assyrian language is called bi-hidat."

It is particularly interesting to note that he received inspiration for at least one architectural detail from his western expedition.

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

When excavations began, E. Flandin was sent by the French government to study the sculptures which had been found. It was identified with Dur Sharrukin after the inscriptions of its founding king had been translated. He had had it built as a strategic defence against the troublesome Cimmerian attacks from the north and hadhoffed the main exit roads so that his troops could be transported efficiently with their suppiles. The ancient walls surround an area of 320 hectares with the citadel occupying 20 hectares. Yahyeh mentions that the village of his day (which he refers to as Khurustabad) had good irrigation. The modern village supports a small population (the average density of the area is 29.5 persons per km²) situated on the eastern bank of the river Khwaraz at the northern end of the Dibaj Marshes.


Khorsabad, [900] of the Dabâyid line in Tabaristan. It was long believed that there were two Khorsabids, because of errors in interpreting coin legends; Mordtmann, in SB Assy. Ak. (1971), 30, 36, dated three coins of this prince to the years 70, 60 and 64 of the Tabaristan era, and this led people to postulate the existence of a Khorsid I who reigned 56-60 T. and a Khorsid II who reigned 58-60 T. (ibidm, in ZDMG, xxxii, 120, cited by Unvila, p. 6, § 5, p. 36, § 12). He was followed by Marquart, Erbrünnh, 132, who also read 64 T. on a coin which was originally decorated with mural paintings but no traces have survived.

Sargon had the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words: "(the king) built the city at the foot of Mount Musul above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which is the Assyrian language is called bi-hidat."
he attributed to Khurshid I, who must in his opinion have reigned 60-6 T. Vasmor, in EJ art. MARDAN was the first to perceive this false reading, which he explained by the resemblance between gahit = 60 and dakah = 110 in the Pahlavi script. Accordingly, Vasmor dated the coins to 110 and 214 T., instead of 60 and 64 T., and he therefore denied the existence of two Khurshids, especially as the local sources make no mention of a Khurshid I. Unavala, p. 7, § 4, p. 8, § 5, p. 80, confirmed Vasmor's conclusions, and remarked that the coins of the alleged Khurshid I are absolutely identical with those which Mordtmann attributed to Khurshid II. As for the bronze coin dated by Mordtmann (ZDMG, xii, 474, No. 170) to the year 70 T. and attributed to Khurshid I, Vasmor corrects this false reading to 107 T. (EJ, loc. cit.). Unavala (p. 9, § 12, coin No. 860 in his catalogue) confirms Vasmor's dating, and observes that to date the coins to 64 and 70 T. and attribute them to Khurshid I would interrupt in an inexplicable fashion the series of coins issued by Farrukhšan the Great (60-79 T.). One must thus cease speaking of two Khurshids, as does Spuler in EJ art. ĠAŠT.
to a peak some 1,500 feet above sea-level. Its vegetation is scanty: only a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and occasional mimosa relieves the monotony of the landscape. The water is brackish, the best being obtained from a couple of wells sunk by a RAF survey party in 1963. Sawdâ, the second largest island (3 miles long), is equally barren, though it was once inhabited. So also, apparently, was Dju- bâlîa, to judge from a few tombs on the island. Djubâyla and Hâshîkîya, the westernmost island, lying only 20 miles from the mainland, for the haunts of thousands of seabirds, including pelicans and goosanders.

The Khûryân-Mûryân Islands were early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zeno- bios, and as such they marked the frontier between the kingdom of the Fârîthân and the kingdom of Hâdramawt. From this it would appear that the Fârîthân frontier should be located in the innermost corner of Khûryân-Mûryân Bay. Over the centuries the inhospitality of the islands has forced their inhabitants to seek their livelihood from the sea. In the sixteenth century, Al-Idrisî (q.v.) records that the islanders, who were then politically under al-Shîbîr, were very poor and could not manage to make a moderate living in the sailing season. They used to sail to Úmân, Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell, which they traded to the Yemenis, and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Al-Idrisî calls the bay containing the islands Djuhn al-Haşhîfth (Bay of Herbs). The Khûryân-Mûryân Islands in their turn were frequented by Arabs from Shîbîr and Mûkallâ in the Hâdramawt (q.v. in Suppl.), and from Hûdâyîa in the Yemen, to dig guano from Hâsîkîyâ and Djubâyla Islands, where the seabirds during the centuries had left rich deposits. The guano was used as agricultural fertiliser, especially in the cultivation of tobacco.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in modern times to record the existence of the Khûryân-Mûryân Islands. Alfonso d’Albuquerque discovered them in 1503, and they appear thereafter in Portuguese sources as the Curia-Muria Islands, with Hâsîkîyâ as Asquî, Sawdâ as Sodî and Karzawt as Ro- donde. Kâwâsun (q.v.) from Ra’s al- Khayma descended upon the islands in 1518, possibly with the intention of using them as a base for attacks upon shipping. The local inhabitants were driven off and the islands remained unpopulated for several years afterwards. Sometime before or, more probably, after this incursion (the sources are unclear) the islands came into the possession of a sub-section of the Mâhra tribe, the Ibn Khâlîf, residing in the vicinity of Mîrêb on the coast of Dhuftâr (Zîdarîn, q.v.). It is from this clan that the islands have derived the name by which they are known to the Arabs of southern Arabia—Djuhn al- Khayl. By the middle of the 13th/14th century—and possibly a decade or so earlier—the islands had become a dependency of the sultanate of Mâşkât. French planters from Réunion Islands occasionally resorted to the islands to load guano for use as fertiliser, and it was the existence of these valuable deposits that led the British government in 1854 to ask the Sultan of Masqât, Sayyûd Sa’dî b. Sultan, to cede the islands to Great Britain. The deed of cession was signed on 24 July 1854, and the guano deposits were worked from 1857 to 1859. A cable station was set up on Hâsîkîyâ Island in 1861, only to be abandoned a year later when the Red Sea-Karachi cable proved unworkable.
From 1854 onwards, the Khūyān-Mūyān Islands were formally designated a dependency of the British colony of Aden, although administrative control over them was vested in the British political resident in the Persian Gulf, since it was more practicable for the British political agent at Maskaṭ to visit them than it was for the political resident (later governor) at Aden. When British rule over Aden ceased on 30 November 1967, the islands were handed back to the Sultan of Maksūṭ, despite the protests of the Aden successor government, the People's Republic of South Yemen, that it was entitled to succeed to sovereignty over all the dependencies of the former colony. Since that time the islands have been administered as part of the wilāya of Ḫumnā and the sultanate of Ḫumnā. Ḫallūnāy Island is still populated, the number of inhabitants having remained fairly constant over the past century—36 in 1883, 50 in 1936, 70 in 1947 and 53 in 1976. They still derive their living from the sea, and especially from the great shoals of sardines which appear off the islands in late October each year, at which time the islands are joined by the annual appearance of the δύτη of Ḫumnā, which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, remains on his biographical works.

**Bibliography:**


### KHUSDĀR [see KALKH]

**AL-KHUSHANI, ABD AL-A'LLAH MUḤAMMAD R. AL-HĀDIṢI, MUḤAMMAD SAKHĪ, and biographer, originally from Khushān near Kūyārān. After studying fiqh at the latter place and at Tunis, he left his homeland ca. 311/921, passing through Cule, where he was held back some time by teaching (he is said also to have corrected the orientation of the mosque there), and travelling to Spain. He resided in the Marches, and completed his legal training, especially from Kāsim b. Aṣbāḥ [a.], and ended up by enjoying the favour of the heir to the throne, prince al-Hakam, who procured for him the job of bādi' of inheritances (mawā'id) at Pechina, then that of the Ḧīrās of Cordoba and after that, summoned him to his own side. He was something of a poet (though accused of committing faults here), and was considered to have a certain manual dexterity and to practise alchemy; he seems also to have acquired some medical expertise which allowed him, after his disgrace following al-Hakam's death in 356/965, to live by making up electuaries (adāhān). He is said to have died in 372/981, but this date is not accepted by all his biographers, who however knew very little information about the last years of his life.

Al-Khushani is credited with a hundred or so works and treatises composed at al-Hakam's behest, which, as is well-known, was a great lover of books. Amongst the titles cited here figure *al-Ittihād wa l-khawāli fi ma'ānī al-Mālik, al-Tahfūz wa l-muqaddāt, al-Futūḥ, al-Tarīqī, al-Manawī wa l-ma'ādal l-Nasab and al-Ittibāb,* which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, rests on his biographical works. As well as a *Tābī'at al-‘Ulama? al-Anḍalus wa’s Rūhā m al-Mīklīyat,* which are no longer extant, al-Khushani left two collections of especial interest. The first one which one thinks of is his *T. Qādī al-Anḍalus,* ed. and tr. into Spanish by Riberà, Madrid 1914. Posing himself on written sources, archives and oral traditions, the author traces the biographies of the khān of al-Anḍalus from the conquest till 537/946, in a lively and instructive manner; and if he lacks a critical spirit in relating, for instance, the fictitious story of the first three judges in Cordoba, he nevertheless does not omit items of information which are sometimes unfavourable to the Umayyads.

The second work which has been preserved, the *Tābāḥat 'ulamā? al-Ifriqiya,* has been published by M. Ben Cheneb in his *Classes des savants de l’Ifriqiya,* Algiers 1915-20, as a continuation of the *Ṭabāḥat of Abu ʿl-Arab [q.v.]*. These *Ṭabāḥat,* which the bādiʾ Ṭyād [q.v.] utilises freely in his *Madāʾir under the title of Tābāḥat al-Ifriqiya,* calling the author in familiar fashion Ibn yarīb, contain biographies of scholars who did not belong to the Mālikī school, and most remarkably, of converts to Shiism established in Ifriqiya by the Fatimids. It is the opinion of R. Brunswig (*Universale de la litterature historique et géographique de l’Islam*), who utilises freely in his *Abū-l-Ifrīkiyyin,* that the titles cited here figure in this collection of especial interest.


[Ch. Prelat]
But it must be remembered that he had a predecessor, Mrizt Anzâry. Both these early Pashto poets used the Diri or Persian poetic moul, but instead of strictly applying the classical rules of prosody to Pashto, they adopted the metres of popular Pashto songs to verse forms known in Persian. "This metre is syllable in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable." (MacKenzie).

Khushhal further left many ghazals in Persian under the pen-name of Khudâbâd, and a Persian Sa'di sa'ad as ode on the futility of this world, an ode as the Bah-r al-abâr of Amir-Khusraw Dihalvi; this Persian poetry is amongst the best of that written in the so-called Sâ'dî Hindî or "Indian style".

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James of Cyprus (who had been installed with the help of a Mamluk contingent sent by al-Ashraf Inâl [q.v.] in 864/1460), although in a clash between the king and the sultan's resident in Cyprus, the latter was killed, and Famagusta, which he had held, passed into the king's possession (858/1454). Another vassal-state, the march-principality of Elbizan [q.v.] under the Turcoman dynasty of Dughdârî (Dhu l-Kadr [q.v.]), was disturbed by a succession-struggle following the murder of its ruler, Malik Aslan, in 870/1465. Two pretenders, Shah-Budak and Rustom, successively backed by Khushkadam, failed to hold their position against a third Dughdârî, Shâh-Suwûr, who had Ottoman support and at the end of the sultan's reign was threatening northern Syria. Khushkadam sent orders to the governors of Tripoli and Hamâh to assist Aleppo, and made provisional arrangements for an expeditionary force from Egypt (Mubarran 872/August 1467). There are some indications of a resurgence of Arab tribal power during the reign. Five expeditions were launched between 866/1462 and 869/1465 against the Labi tribe of al-Buhayra; while a few months before the sultan's death, he sent a punitive force against Shâh-Kuhâr of Banât, who had plundered the provisions for the pilgrims in the vicinity of Ayâ. One of his last acts was to approve an expedition to Upper Egypt, where the lâbûf had been defeated in a fight with Yûnus b. 'Umar, the chief of the powerful tribe of Hawwâra [q.v.]. The sultan died a few days later. Shortly before his death, an assembly of magnates had elected the aâtâb Yâlbây al-Inâl al-Mu'ayyad to succeed him.


**KHUSRAW** [see ANSHARWIN, AMIR KUSRAW, GHOOREH, KISRA, FARWIL].

**KHUSRAW FROZ,** name of the last Bûyûd ruler, better known by his labab of al-Malik al-Râjmân. He succeeded his father Abû Kâlidjâr in 440/1048. Most of his reign was spent in dispute with his brother Fuladîlî. Sûfîn the possession of Fârs and Khuzistan and in trying to maintain discipline amongst the Turkish troops of his general al-Bâbak [q.v.]. There is no discernible doctrinal reason for his adoption, in defiance of the caliph, of an epithet reserved for God. In any case, the enfeeblement of the Bûyûd dynasty allowed the caliph in question, al-Kâ'im, to recover a certain amount of authority, seen in the appointment once more of a vizier to the caliph, Ibn al-Musîma [q.v.]. A group within the caliphate, in which Ibn al-Musîma was a driving force, hoped to throw off the Bûyûd tutelage as the Sunnî sultan, the Sâdîqî Tughrîl Beg approached, at the invitation also of Fuladîlî Sûfîn. In 440/1050 Tughrîl entered Baghdîd, after having promised to respect al-Malik al-Râjmân's position as his vassal, but a rebellion gave him a pretext to arrest the Bûyûd ruler, and the latter died two years later in prison at Rayy.

**Bibliography:** See the main histories of the period, and especially Ibn al-Dîjâwî's Muntâsâr, Ibn al-Âhî's Râmisî and Sîbî b. al-Dîjâwî's Mîrât; H. Bowen, The last Burunqids, in J.R.A.S. (1928), 73.
and in general, the bibliography to Buwayhid, to which should be added, H. Busse, Čařif und Grossohlo, die Buwayiden im Titag (942-1035), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1896. (Cl. Cahn)

KHSURAW MALIK [see DHAZHWA].

KHSURAW PASHA [see DROSEW PASHA].

KHSURAW SHÂH [see DHAZHWA].

KHSURAW THÂN, eldest son of the Mughal emperor Dähângâr [q.v.]; by the daughter of Râji Bhangwâ Dâs, was born at Lahore in 955/1547. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign [see 1015/1606], was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghanîstân, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Aarâlah near Buchârā in the Deccan in 1015/1606, in suspicious circumstances, and was in all probability murdered by Shâh Dâhân. His sister had her body buried in the Khusraw Bâgh at Allahâbâd. His two sons, Dâwar Bağhâli, otherwise Buftâk, and Garshasp, were put to death at Shah Jâhân 21. His body was buried in the Khusraw Bâgh at Allahâbâd in 1031/1622, in suspicious circumstances, and was in prison. He made a second conspiracy in Afghâni-stân in the first year of the reign of his father (sc. in 1015/1606), was defeated and rebelled against his father in the first year of the accession. He perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He of Radia Bhagwin Das, was born at Lahore in 995/1587. It is allowable for him to pronounce the sermon of the Friday-service, except in the following cases, on the days of festival (e.g. Muslim, Ind. Gids., Mr. L. Snouck Hurgronje, Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums, i, 286. It is also said that Marwân was the first to hold the khutba on these days on a pulpit; the custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i, line 26; cf. also Hamack, Islam und Phonograph, Verspr. Geschr., ii, 214 f.). This practice continued in Mohammedan days; to which should be added, H. Busse, Čařif und Grossohlo, die Buwayiden im Titag (942-1035), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1896. (Cl. Cahn).

KHUTBA (a.), sermon, address, by the khâtib [q.v.]. The khâtib has a fixed place in Islamic ritual, viz. in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. On the Friday it precedes the salât, in all the other services the salât comes first. A short description of the rules for the khâtib according to al-Sîrârâl (Tanbih, ed. Juyânboll, 40), one of the early Shâfi'i doctors [q.v.], may be given here.

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

Regarding the sermon itself, there are obligatory: the kâmâla, the salât on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both Muslim, prayer (du'â) on behalf of the faithful, and recitation of a part of the fûrûn in the second seven times; further, he must repeat the khutbas nine times, in the opening of the first khutba nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the salât on Muhammad as well as istâglâf, recite verse 9 of Sûra LXVI, elevate his hands and say Muhammad's du'â (which is communicated by al-Sîrârâl in full). Further, he must turn towards the khâtib [q.v.] in the middle of the second khutba and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Islamic pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the khâtib must sit down between the two khutbas; it explains why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the khutba precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions salât comes first. Ghâlid tells us that Marwân b. al-Nakâm was the first to change this order by pronouncing the khutba before the performance of the salât on the days of festival (e.g. al-Bukhârî, Hadîyân, bâb 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, Hadîyân, trad. 9).

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (du'â). It is customary to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the khâtib to suspicion. In countries where Muslims lived under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler could expose the khâtib to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Islam und Phonograph, 14 f. = Verspr. Geschr., ii, 430 f. = Iden, Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's bewoening na het Mohammedadese recht, in Ind. Gids., vii, 809 f. = Verspr. Geschriften, ii, 214 f.). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephante (Pap. i, line 26; cf. also Harnack, Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums, i, 286.

Several of the characteristics of the khutba prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in hadîth. The khutba of Muhammad usually begin with the formula annam du'â (al-Bukhârî, Dju'âm, bâb 29). Side by side with the kâmâla (Muslim, Dju'âm, tr. 44, 45) the khutba occurs (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 507, 435). A khutba without the kâmâla is like a mutilated hand'. In a large number of traditions it
is stated that Muhammad used to recite passages from the Kur'ān (e.g. Muslim Diwāna, tr. 45-58; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 86, 88, 93 etc.). The khatba must be short, in accord with Muhammad's saying: "Make your salāt long and your khatba short" (Muslim, Diwāna, tr. 47). Just like the salāt the khatba must be right to the purpose (rasdān, Muslin, Diwāna, tr. 47). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour 'listen', has spoken a superfluous word", al-BuHārī, Diwāna, bāb 36. The two words pronounced by the standing khufba, who sits between them, are based on Muhammad's example (al-BuHārī, Diwāna, bāb 27; Muslim, Diwāna, tr. 33-57; Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 35, 97, 98). During the adhān Muhammad used to sit on the minbar; the ihāma was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the khufba standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 449 bis).

Neither the term khatba nor the verb khafaka in their technical meaning occur in the Kur'ān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the salāt which is mentioned (Sūra LXII, 9-11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the khufba did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muhammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the difference between the kinds of service were accurately regulated from the beginning. Ḥadīth has preserved descriptions showing that Muhammad's khatba often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dānādī, Kitāb al-diyāq, bāb 23, reports, for example, that the Prophet pronounced two khufbas at the end of a complaint raised against a collector of the ḥadāt. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. According to one of them related on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī it is said that Mu¬hammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the salāt; then he pronounced the khatba "and his khatba usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Abu Dānādī b. Hanbal, iii, 56 f.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, Kāmil, tr. 9: "When Muhammad had concluded the salāt on the days of festival by his khufba, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms ... then he went away. This state of things lasted till Marwān, etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muhammad's time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to connect the simple services of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who even had a minbar built on the masṣaṭ. According to another tradition, the Prophet once interrupted his khatba in order to reply to a stranger who had asked for instruction in the Muslim faith (Muslim, Diwāna, tr. 60); he is also portrayed as interrupting the khatba to call out directly to a man (ibid., tr. 54-9).

C. H. Becker endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the marūn on the other. But this view was opposed by Wittwech, who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to adhān and ihāma, to the hamāla, the recitation of the Torâ (first khatba) and the recitation from the Prophets (second khatba). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muslim worship.

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

The history of the khufba in Islam remains to be written, and the study of oratory from the minbar or pulpit likewise remains to be undertaken. On the latter point, the enquirer might utilise with profit the texts (of varying degrees of authenticity) of those sermons of the Prophet given in the Sūra, in the Ḥadīth collections and in historical texts, as well as in those ḥadāt works which have preserved specimens of famous khatbas. Collections like those of Ibn Nā巴士 al-Farāhī (q.v.) and the specially-compiled anthologies of sermons used by the professional khufbas, just as the secretaries used collections of model letters, would also be found useful. Collections of this latter type are often arranged according to the calendar, i.e. there are four sermons for each month plus supplementary ones for festival days, the Prophet's birthday and his mi'raj or night-journey (see Aḥwār, Verzeichnis der arab. Hist., iii, 437).


(A. J. Wernick)

**KHUTTALĀN, KHUTTAL, A region on the right bank of the upper Qūs river, in what is now Soviet Central Asia, lying between the WaSihr river and the Panjā river (the head waters of the Oxus), called the Wāṣilbēsh and Diyarbēsh in mediaeval times. It was bounded on the west by the topographically similar regions of Caghāniyan and Waṣilbēsh (q.v.), and was often administratively linked with Waṣilbēsh (Yābul, Baidūn, ii, 402). Khuttal was a land of rich pastures in both the river valleys and on the upper slopes of the hills, where the famed horses of Khuttal, known even to the Chinese, were reared; the geographers advert frequently to the Khuttal and Tūghār breeds, and the men of Khuttal were celebrated for their knowledge of horse-breeding, farriery and veterinary science, and for their skill in making saddles and other accoutrements (see Bosworth, The Gazānvan, 135). The valleys ran northwards towards the Būttāmān mountains, which separated Khuttal from the upper Zarafshān river valley; gold and silver were mined there, and there dwelt in these mountains two fierce and predatory groups, the Kunihs and the Kāngjina Turks, both of them probably remnants of Hepthalite peoples (see Kumpis).**

The form Khuttalān, with the plural ending, is early attested, for this is found in the very early New Persian satirical verses composed by the local
people against the Arab commander Asad b. 'Abd Allah al-Kasri when he unsuccessfully raised Khuttal in 108/726-7, see Tabari, ii, 1492, 1494, 1602. Later Persian poetry requires forms like Khuttal or Khaltân, whilst the 'Hudud al-Sultan', tr. Minorsky, 139, spoils Khottle. Yâkhtân, loc. cit., gives both Khuttâl and Khuttal, with his main entry under the latter form. In the Chinese annals we find forms like Koutut-lo, see Marqart, Erdnbroken, 299-300. An etymological connection with the name of the Hephthalites, within whose northern kingdom Khuttal certainly fell (see PAYATLA) is certainly not impossible.

The principal town of Khuttal and the residence of its ruler was at Halbak to the south of the modern centre Kulâb/Kulayb, whilst Nustâr or Andârârân is described as the main trading centre. Other towns enumerated by the geographers include the important centres of Halawand and Munk, the latter probably corresponding roughly to the modern Bâdjuwân; according to Yâkhtân, Munk was on the borderland with Râzî and the Turkish lands, so those of the Kumbadân, etc. Clearly, Khuttal was a prosperous and well-settled region at this time.

In the pre-Islamic period, the local rulers bore the titles Khuttalân-Shâh or Khuttalân-Khudâb and Shâhie Khuttalân (Ibn Khurarâdâbâd, 40). The Arab invaders did not gain full control of Khuttal till the end of the Umayyad period. The rebel al-Hârîrî, Surâyî (q.v.) received support from the local ruler, and in retaliation, Asad b. 'Abd Allah al-Kasri led two expeditions into Khuttal in 128/643-4. These provided an appeal for help to the Khâân of the Türgez or Western Turks Sulû, and the Arabs had to retreat hastily (Gibb, The Arab conquests in Central Asia, 813). The region was not fully secured till 133/750-1, when Abbâd Dâwûd b. Ibrâhîm, governor of Balkh, drove out the ruler (multâs) of Khuttal, who fled first to the Turks and then to China, where he was granted the honorific title of rajâ (Gibb, op. cit., 92; E. Chavannes, Documents sur les Toutes occidentales, 165, 216.

In the ensuing century or so, Khuttal same under the rule of the Khudâbâdîs or Abbâd Dâwûdîs, who exercised power on both sides of the upper Oxus. In the Sâmânîd period, the amirs of Khuttal were in loose tributary status only to the Sâmânîs, sending presents but not taxation to Bâghrân (Mukaddasî, 337), and they exercised suzerainty south of the Oxus, for the 'Hudud al-Sultan', 105, says that the diwan of the small principality of Yûn in Bâdjuwân was tributary to the amir of Khuttal. In the warfare of 355/749-7 between the Sâmânîs Nûh b. Nâsr and Abbâd 'Alt Câghânî, all the vessel rulers (multâs-i dâfî) along the upper Oxus were stirred into revolt by Abbâd 'Alt, including the amir Abbâd b. Dâfî of Khuttal, the amîr of Râzî and the Kumbadân (Gardîlî, ed. Narîmân, 36-7, ed. Abbâd b. Hâjî (Tabari, Tehran 1347/ 1965, 157-8, cf. Barthold, Turkestân, 248).

Under the early Ghânzmawis, Khuttal was strategically important as being in the buffer zone between the Ghânzmawis and their Karâkânî rivals. Khuttal is included with Câghânîyân and Kûtâbâhîyân amongst the territories enumerated in the 'Abûsîzâl Câlîfî's investiture diploma of 1322/932 to Mas'ûd b. Mahmûd (Baybaki, in Bosworth, The Ghânzmawis, 54), but it was also claimed by the Karâkânî 'Alt-tîn (see ILKHâNGs), who stirred up the Kumbadân to harry the region. Unlike as in the neighbouring principality of Câghânîyân, where the Mubtadâi amirs remained, no separate family of local rulers is mentioned for Khuttal at this time; Ghânzawî influence was exercised directly, seen in Mas'ûd's appointment of a kâhâ-i 'Afsârî for Khuttal (Bosworth, op. cit., 178).

In the Sâlâtîd period, however, various local amirs are mentioned. An amir of Khuttal rebelled against Alp Arslân in 456/1064, but was killed (Ibn al-Ash'ârî, x, 22), and in 553/1168 there was a campaign by the lord of Khuttal, one Ibn Shujî'î Farârkâhî, formerly a vassal of Sandjar, against the important crossing-place of Tîrânîsh, taking advantage of the chaos in Khurâsân consequent upon Sandjar's capture by the Ghûz and then his death; this Ibn Shujî'î is said to have claimed descent from the Khâânân emperor Bâhrân Gûr (Ibn al-Ash'ârî, xi, 135).

In the period of the Ghânzmawis and Khârânî-Šîrânî, no separate native dynasty is mentioned. When BâkfiWalsh, it may have been part of the Ghânzawis empire and may have become one of the small principalities into which that empire broke up, see Dâfînî, Tabâhî-i naskirî, ed. Habûbî, Kabul 1341-3/1622-4, i, 387, 392, tr. Rauvery, 426, 235, 490. A Dâfîl al-Dîn 'Umar al Mawshî, apparently from the Bâniyan branch of the Ghânzawis (q.v.), was carried off into captivity in Khârânî-Šîrânî ca. 612/1215, according to Nasawî, see Barthold, Turkestân, 322.

In the 8th/14th century, Khuttal was likewise one of the small states into which Câghâtây's empire disintegrated; Shâhâr al-Dîn Vândî records that the ruler of Khuttal, Kay Khusraw was killed by Timur for reasonable excuses with Khârânî (Zafar-nama, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 243). Later, Khuttal was one of the dependencies of the region of Hîrân (q.v.) and was controlled by the later Timûrid amir of Kûnduz. Then in the 16th/20th century it passed under Ozbâg control. The name Khuttal now disappears from use, being replaced by that of the modern town of Kulbâb; one of the last recorded uses of the old name is in the dynastic history of the Ozbâgs, the Bâdh al-arâd fi manâdîl al-âdâbî of Mahmûd b. Amîr Bâlî (begun in 1040/1634). After being included in the Khâânate of Bûhûshân during the 15th and 16th centuries, the mediaval region of Khuttal now forms part of the Tâdzhikistan SSR.

Yâkhtân, Dabûtî, ii, 102, also mentions a village of al-Khuttalân-afr on the Baghâdî-Kûrâshân high road near Daskard.

Bibliography: Marqart, Erdnbroken, 299-303; idem, Wehr und Arang, 57-8; Barthold, Turkestân, index; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 438-9; Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughli, Tabâhî-i naskirî, ed. and tr. Elia and Ross, tr. n-1-1: Khârânî-Šîrânî, tr. Minorsky, 139, 117-20, 339 (map), 347, 359-61; Bosworth, The Ghânzawis, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 904-1040, index. (C. E. Bosworth)

they were descendants of al-Salt b. al-Nadr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrīka b. Iyās b. Muḍar. The claims for Muḍar descent made by some groups of Khuzāʾa were firmly rejected by genealogists, who asserted that both Kamaʿa and al-Ṣalt died childless. (Ibn al-Kalbī, Diwan al-nasaʾ, Ms. B.M., Add. 32997, fol. 4b, il. 9-10; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, Abū al-huwayšī, Ms. Bursa, Ḥuseyn Cebî, 10, fols. 8b-8a; al-Baladhurī, Ascend, i, 34 UK, 36-9; Muṣṭafâ, op. cit., ii, 12). Musṭafâ, recording the Muḍarī genealogy of Khuzāʾa, confirmed by an utterance of the Prophet, remarks cautiously that the pedigrees uttered by the Prophet is certain true, provided that it was actually compiled by him (Muṣṭafâ; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Al-Imāh, 98). Harmonising traditions, trying in the usual way to bridge the contradictory reports about the origin of Khuzāʾa, claim that the mother of Lubayy married after the death of Kamaʿa the Yamani Ḥārīqa and the child traced his pedigree to the Yamani father who adopted him (al-Fāṣī, Shīrāz, ii, 46). Another tradition states that Kamaʿa married, begot children, but clashed with his relatives, left for al-Yaman and allied himself with the Aṣl (al-Baladhurī, Ascend, i, 35, li. 1-2). The Yamani tradition, on the other hand, records a lengthy list of ancestors of Khuzāʾa beginning with (ascendants of) Khuzāʾa himself (i.e. Ṭabīʿ b. Ṣalāḥ). The pedigree is traced back, of course, to Ḥaṭṭān (al-Fāṣī, Shīrāz, ii, 45, li. 5-10; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Al-Imāh, 92; Ibn Durayd, Al-Īṣābāh, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārin, Cairo 1378/1958, 468; al-Ḥāzimī, Uḏrāšt al-mubtadi, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Kārub, Cairo 1384/1965, 54).

The traditions about the beginnings of the rule of Khuzāʾa in Mecca, ascribing Khuzāʾa to Azd, record a lengthy story about the migration of the tribal groups of Azd from al-Yaman to the North. While some tribal divisions continued their migration to Syria (Ğassūr) and Umān (Azd Ṣhaʿraw), the Khuzāʾa separated (inḏalqāʾ) and managed to control Mecca. One of the traditions reports that the leader of the Azd asked Ḥijrūm (i.e. Ḥijrūm b. Ṭāʾūb), the tribe which ruled over that period of time, to permit them to settle in the territory of Mecca, which their forage would find for them suitable pasture-grounds, threatening war if they were denied this. In fact, when Ḥijrūm refused to grant permission, Khuzāʾa fought them, defeated them and got possession of the Sanctuary of Mecca. Another tradition, on the authority of Abū ʿAmr b. Shuqayr b. Ṣalāḥ, reports that the custodianship of the Kaʿba was gained legally by Khuzāʾa, as their leader Ṣalāḥ b. Ḥārīqa married Ṣulaymāna, the daughter of al-Ḥāʾib b. Mūḍār al-Dhurūm; his son Ṣalāḥ b. Ṣalāḥ (i.e. Ṣalāḥ b. Ṣalāḥ) had thus a legal basis for his claims to the custodianship. In the protracted battles which ensued between Khuzāʾa and Ḥijrūm, Khuzāʾa’s defeated Ḥijrūm, who had to leave the city. A third tradition ascribes the defeat of Ḥijrūm by Khuzāʾa within their deteriorating and moral decay. Afflicted by plagues, God’s chastisement for their wickedness, they were extirpated, and the main area of abode of the Khuzāʾa, who introduced the worship of Hubal and stating that Hubal was consequently called “Hubal Khuzāʾa” (al-Baladhurī, Ascend, i, 37, no. 77; al-Fāṣī, Shīrāz, ii, 51 inf.). As in the case of Ṣalāḥ, some traditions mention among the Khuzāʾa’s ancestors of other tribes who, in their search after the true religion, worshipped Ziyād. The unbelievers used to refer to the Prophet as Ibn Abī Ḥabība in the early period of his prophethood, pointing out his deviation from the current beliefs of his people. (Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, Al-Muḥaddib, ed. I. Lichtenthaler, Hyderabad 1362/1943, 129; Al-Bāhrī, Al-Dīn al-Kabīr, Insān al-saḥābī fī sharḥ al-ṣaḥābīn, i, 333; al-Baladhurī, Ascend, i, 91, 327; al-Sīyūḥī, Al-Durr al-maʿṣūm, Cairo 1314, iv, 131; Al-Kūtābī, Taṣawwur, 1387/1907, xvii, 119; al-Maktrī, Insān al-ṣaḥābī, ed. Mahmūd Šāhirī, Cairo 1941, i, 77, 158; al-Kāẓimī, Sharḥ al-nabī, Ms. B.M. Add. 1455, fol. 31a-3b; Abī al-Salām Hārin, ed. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Maḥfūzī, Cairo 1375/1954, i, 100; al-Fayrūzābādī, Toḥlīl al-ābāb fīmā ṣanāʿa ilā gḥarīb abīḥ). These conflicting and contradictory stories seem to indicate that the formation of the tribe of Khuzāʾa took place over a long period of time, ramifying into various tribal units. The main area of abode of the tribe was between Mecca and Medina. When Khuzāʾa arrived in Mecca aiming to gain control of the city, he had to subdue the ruling Bāḥrī b. ʿAbd Manāṣir b. Kināna, the Khuzāʾa’s and their abettors, the Siwāt. The different stories about the emigrative Khuzāʾa resemble in their outline the stories about the former rulers of Mecca; his marriage with Hubbā bint Huṣaylā b. Ḥubshayya gave legitimacy to his custodianship of the Kaʿba. Another manner of
legitimation, the tale of how this office was purchased by Kusayy for a goat's skin of wine from the drunken Abu Gubahbên, is recounted in the compilations of proverbs and stories of fools (al-Ašārī, Djamārātul-anwâhīl, ed. Muhammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibn al-Mudīl and Abū l-Mudīl Kušāmī, Cairol 1384/1385, i, 187, no. 388; Kamās al-Isakhbār, al-Durr al-
şimātur fi al-anbīyā wa 'l-sirāt, Cairo 1372/1373, i, 189, no. 335). The court of Abū Gubahbên (dār Abū Gubahbên) was extant in Mecca in the second half of the 3rd century of the Hijra (al-Fākhīl, Ta'rīkh Makkah, Ms. Leiden, or. 463, fol. 456b, i, 15). Like the preceding rulers, he fought, according to another no count, the two tribes Bakr b. 'Abd Manât and Khuzā'a and crushed their power. His wife Ḥubbā revealed, as in the story of Yūdîl, the place where the pillar with the Black Stone was buried, and so the trustworthiness of the Ka'bah could be resumed (al-Fākhīl, ii, 73; al-Nuwyārī, Niḥyāt al-ārāb, Cairo 1374/1375, xvi, 31). The relations between Kušayy on the one side and the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât and Kušā'a on the other were settled on the basis of the judgment of the arbiter Yûnār b. 'Awf of the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât, called al-Shu'dhādh. The verdict granted Kušayy the custodianship of the Ka'bah and provided that Kušā'a should be left in the area of the ātblum (Ibn al-Kalbī, Dijamārāta, fols. 51a, inf.—31b, sup.).

In the new régime set up by Kušayy, in which the scattered tribal units of Kuraysh were gathered and settled in Mecca, the groups of Kušā'a played an important role in strengthening the power of Mecca, aiding Kuraysh to extend their influence among the tribes. Kušā'a was included in the organisation of the Hums. Two tribal groups of Kušā'a, the Muṣṭālīlīk and Hayya, were included in the organisation of the Al-Shābīlī, the allies of Kuraysh (see e.g. Ibn Kuṭayba, al-Maṣāriʿūtā t̲-b̲a'ībīl, Hyderabād 1368/1949, i, 4; Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, al-Muḥāābatān, 178; al-Ḫazīmī, al-l-ṭabūr fī-bāyān wa l-nāsīkh min al-ṭabār, Hyderabād 1339/1950, i, 150; Ibn al-Kalbī, Dijamārāta, fols. 45b–46a sup.; al-Fāṣl, Shī'ā, ii, 41; Yākūtī, s.v. Makkā; al-Bukrī, Mīṣāq al-ma'sāqīm, ed. al-Salāhī, Cairo 1364/1945, 245; Ibn al-Fāṣlī, al-Bulādān, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1885, 13). Together with Mudāḏa tribes, Kušā'a worshipped al-Uzūz and Munā'[ together with the Da'ūs they worshipped Dhu l-Kaffān (Yākūtī, s.v. Munā'); Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥāḥābatā t̲-b̲a'ībīl, Beirut 1388/1968, i, 411; al-Aṣqāfī, al-Shāmīlī, the section Ta'wīshītā il-b̲a'ībīhā, Ms. B.M. Or. 1493, fol. 27a; Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, al-Muḥāābatān, 158). The involvement of Kuṭā'az and Bakr b. 'Abd Manât in the affairs of Mecca and their influence can be gauged from the story about the agreement between Kuraysh and Taḥfīl concerning the mutual rights of these two tribes to enter Mecca and Wa'dīlīj: the Taḥfīl complied with the demands of Kuraysh, fearing the strength of Kuraysh, Kuṭā'az and the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât (Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, al-Munāmahā, 280).

The considerable number of names of Kuṭā'az married by Kuṭa'āqīs recorded in the sources bears evidence of the close relations between Kuraysh and Kuṭā'az. These data allow us to see that with 'Abd al-Muṭālīk, they stressed that he was "borne" by Kuṭā'az women (fa-bād wa'l-wāldāhā). In the same style the Kuṭā'az Amr b. Sālim ad dressed the Prophet with the words had kusni

woładan wohnānā wūldīdī when he came asking his help against the Banu Bakr and Kuraysh (Ibn Sayyid al-Nisā, ʿUyīn al-aṣbāb fī-jumān al-maḥāsīt wa'l-gašālīl fī 'l-sīyāsāt, Cairo 1356, ii, 154–5, 234).

When the Prophet was on his ḥijrā to Medina he met, according to one tradition, Burayda b. al-Huṣayn al-Aṣlān (ra.) with a large group of his people; he summoned him and his people and embraced Isma'il b. al-Muṭālīk and the Prophet. These Aslam, a branch of Kuṭa'āqīs, allied themselves very early to the Prophet and warriors of Aslam took part on the side of the Prophet in his campaign. The agreements of the Prophet with Aslam (see Ḥamīdullāh, Mudīmīmī il-qāyīlāt al-nāṣīkhīyya li il-ṭabībī al-muṣālāta, Cairo 1376/1956, 191–2, nos. 165–70) bear evidence to the friendly relations between the Prophet and Aslam. After the murder of the people of the expedition of Bīr Maṣfīn (ra.), the Prophet invoked God's blessing for Aslam (see Aslam al-sālimātā Allāhū; al-Wāṣīlī, al-Maṣāriʿūtā al-sālimātā Allāhū, ed. Mas'ūd Jones, Oxford 1966, 350). When the Prophet mobilised the forces for the conquest of Mecca, he summoned the Aslam, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Medina, to present themselves in Medina. In fact, 400 warriors of Aslam, among them 30 riders, took part in the conquest of Mecca. The two standard bearers were Burayda b. al-Huṣayn and Nādiyya b. al-Ṣāliḥām of Aslam (al-Fākhīl, Shī'ā, ii, 123; Ibn Ḥadīdār, al-Īṣābāt, ed. Afīl al-Muḥāābatān, ed. Mūḥiyy, Cairo 1329/1972, vi, 398, no. 8647; al-Wāṣīlī, 799–800). Aslam, along with Shī'ār, Muzayna and Djiyhuayn, were pointed out by the Prophet as surpassing in virtues the mighty tribes of Tamīm, Asad, ʿAmīr b. ʿAṣṣā and Ḥaṭṭālān (al-Kaṭṭākīlīlī, ʿIrīdāl al-ṣāliḥī, Cairo 1327, ii, 11–13; Ibn Ḥadīdār, Fāṣl al-bālībīl, Cairo 1301, vi, 395–7). Commentators of hadīth are unanimous in saying that this high position was granted to them because they hurried to embrace Islam.

The attitude of the Muṣṭālīlīk, another branch of Kuṭa'āqīs allied with the Banū Muddīlīlīk of Kūhānīn and included in the Ablābīlī organisation linked with Kuraysh, was however quite different towards the Muslim commonwealth of Medina. Their leader, al-Rāhibī b. Abī Dirāf, gathered the forces of his tribe for an attack against Medina. The forces of the Prophet attacked the Muṣṭālīlīk at Murāysh in 5/627, defeated them and took captives and booty. The Prophet married the captured daughter of the leader, Djiyhuaynīya (al-Wāṣūlī, 404–3).

Another branch of Kuṭa'āqīs, the Ka'b b. ʿAmr, played a decisive role in the struggle between Mecca and the Prophet. The dissensions and clashes between the Ka'b and their neighbours, the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât, led the Ka'b b. 'Amr to opt for an alliance with the Prophet in the pact of al-Hudaybiyya, whereas the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât allied themselves with Mecca. A group of the Bakr b. 'Abd Manât sided clandestinely by some leaders of Kuraysh attacked the Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Wāṭir and killed some of them. The orator of the Ka'b, 'Amr b. Sālim, appeared at the court of the Prophet in Medina and addressed him, reminding him of the alliance of the Ka'b with 'Abd al-Muṭālīk, pointing out the killing of the Ka'b at al-Wāṭir, and urging him to revenge his allies. The Prophet responded and promised aid for victory (nāṣa). The request of a man from the ʿAmīr b. ʿAmr, the brethren of Ka'b b. 'Amr, to be included in the assembly was answered by the Prophet's remark that Ka'b and ʿĀdī are one corporate body (wa-ka'b ʿĀdī t̲a'āfūlū il-lālātū bi'l-nufra).
When the Prophet went out against Mecca, he was accompanied by the tribesmen of Ka'b who stayed in Medina; the main troop of Ka'b joined the forces of the Prophet in Kudayt. The troop of the Ka'b, numbering 500 warriors, had three standards carried to fight the Banu Bakr. In 9/630 they were permitted to fight the Banu Bakr b. 'Abd Manat against the Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Talabi, Tafshi', ed. Shibli, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16953-16957); it is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Ka'b to fight the Banu Bakr b. 'Abd Manat against the Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Talabi, Tafshi', ed. Shibli, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62.

It is evident that the ten- 

| Kamal | 6.o, fol. 85b; al-Tabarani, al-Mu'jam al-

| aqari', ed. 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Uthman, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 73-5). It is evident that the tendency of this tradition is to establish the position of the 'Adi b. 'Amr in the Prophet's invocation and to stress their role in the expedition against Mecca. Whether the Ka'b b. 'Amr were already Muslims when they applied for help is disputed by scholars (Ibn Suyuti al-Nasi, ii, 182, penult. says that they were unbelievers; al-Kal'bi, al-Tasrif, ed. Musafo, 'Abd al-Wahid, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 288, that they were Muslims; and see Ibn Hisham, op. cit., iv, 36, n. 4). According to some commentators of the Kur'an, vv. 23-15 of Qur'an 60, fol. 85b; al-Tabarani, al-Muttakl al-Hind, Hyderabad 1385/1965, xiii, 55, no. 316). The Kur'an is said to have been revealed to the Prophet in Kudayt. The Prophet permitted the Ka'b to fight the Banu Bakr. In 9/630 they were permitted to fight the Banu Bakr b. 'Abd Manat against the Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Talabi, Tafshi', ed. Shibli, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16953-16957); it is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Ka'b to fight the Banu Bakr b. 'Abd Manat against the Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Talabi, Tafshi', ed. Shibli, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62.

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AL-KHUZÂMÂ (A.S.) "lavender" has for a long time been considered as the origin of the name of Ahwâzmas, on the coast of the Rîf of Morocco, and this etymology is still given in ESP (art. ALHUCEMAS). Since the problem raised by this toponym has not yet been satisfactorily resolved, and since moreover Ahwâzmas has now, since Morocco's achievement of independence, been "arabised" to al-Husayna, it is under AL-HUSAYMA that an article on the place will be found in the Supplement.

KHZÎSTÎN, a province of south-western Persia, and the land of the Hzâ-/Hzâ/Hzâ (Hâsâl/Kussa), the Ogygia/Thall of Strabo and Pliny. The province of KHZÎSTÎN corresponds more or less to the ancient Elam and to the classical Susiana, and the names of its present capital, Ahwâz (q.v.), its ancient capital, Susa (q.v.), and the town of Hâvâza (q.v.), all reflect the name of its inhabitants in Elamite times.

Essentially, the province consists of alluvial fans formed by the Karkhâ and the Kûrân (q.v.) rivers and situated between the Zagros mountains and the sea; near the Persian Gulf, partially saline mudflats merge into a zone of tidal marshes, and the coastline is pierced by deep tidal estuaries known as khor. The province is bounded on the west by the Irano-Iranian frontier, on the north by Lâstân (q.v.), on the south by the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the river Hindiyân or Hindîkhî (q.v.). The chief towns are: Abâdân (see 'ABADÂN); Ahwâz (q.v.); Khurrarnu'îrân (q.v.); Dasht Mishân; Dîzîf; and Shâgîtar (see SHAGHAT). The population of the province (1,044,526 in 1966) is mainly hybrid Arab-Persian.

The climate of KHZÎSTÎN is hot and, in summer, so humid that water drips from the trees. Both the Greek and Muslim geographers speak eloquently of the heat. Strabo, quoting an unknown source (Near-choros?), says that in Susa at mid-day lizards and snakes could not cross the streets quickly enough to avoid being fried, and that the air spread out in the sun jumped as though it had been placed in an oven (Geography, xv.1.10). There was general agreement that snow rarely fell in KHZÎSTÎN, and water rarely froze. The great heat is accounted for by: (1) the lack of elevation (average altitude in southern Khuzistân = 20 metres/66.80 feet, rising to 100 metres/328 feet in central Khuzistân); (2) the southerly inclination of the land, which exposes it to the maximum effect of the sun's rays; (3) the hot winds in summer from the Syrian desert and Arabia; (4) the clayey nature of the soil, which retains the heat; (5) the lack of open water, snow-covered mountains or forests to the west to moderate the heat of westerly winds. Because of its climate, KHZÎSTÎN did not have the good reputation as a place in which to live; the Hudîd al-Aslâm, tr. Minorsky, 136, describes the people of Ahwâz as "yellow-faced", and quotes a popular belief that whoever establishes himself in Ahwâz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there loses its scent on account of the climate". Despite this, the province was noted for a perfume manufactured there from violets (B. Spuler, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1952, 386).

Despite the disadvantages of its climate, KHZÎSTÎN from earliest times was noted for its prosperity. Unlike the regions of the Iranian plateau, KHZÎSTÎN has never lacked for water, which is provided in abundance by the Karkhâ, Dez and Kûrân rivers and their tributaries. The province was the handmaiden of the Achaemenid empire. Strabo states that "Susian abounds so exceedingly in grain that barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes two hundredfold" (Geography, xv.3.12). In Sasanian times, extensive urban settlements, and cultivated lands watered by large-scale irrigation works, were protected from the destructive raids of the bedouin by a defensive ditch known as shandâl Sîbâr. In the 4th/10th century, KHZÎSTÎN had a monopoly of the sale of cane-sugar throughout Iran, 'Trak-i 'Arab and Arabia. Other important crops included citrus fruits, dates, melons, cotton and rice. The waters of the Persian Gulf provided abundant fish. The other basis of the province's prosperity was trade; from early times, Ahwâz had been the centre of an important road network and a recognised crossing-place on the river Kûrân.

Under the two great pre-Islamic Iranian empires, that of the Achæmenids and that of the Sasanîds, KHZÎSTÎN was firmly under the control of the central government. To the Achæmenids, it was the province of Uvâja, and Susa was the administrative capital of the empire; for the Sasanîds, it formed part of the "super-province" (pâhârân) of Nîtâwâ (the South), and was divided into seven kârâs. In 122/638 the Muslim Arabs, after a reconnaissance raid across the Kûrân, launched a major attack on KHZÎSTÎN under 'Utba, captured Ahwâz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640. In the 3rd/9th century KHZÎSTÎN, and particularly the city of Ahwâz, suffered as a result of the Zandî (q.v.) rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, KHZÎSTÎN was governed in turn by the Bûyids [see BuwâYûd], the Sâfâwîs (q.v.) and the Khânîâns (q.v.).

In the 9th/10th century, following the onslaughts of Timûr on the Iranian world, a local Arab Shî'î dynasty, the Mushâshâ'î (q.v.), established itself at Dâvîzâ, on the old course of the Karkhâ river on the western edge of KHZÎSTÎN, and enjoyed about seventy years of independence. In 835/1430, however, Shâh Ismâîl and the Sâfâwîs (q.v.) overran the province under 'Utba, captured Ahwâz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640. In the 3rd/9th century KHZÎSTÎN, and particularly the city of Ahwâz, suffered as a result of the Zandî (q.v.) rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, KHZÎSTÎN was governed in turn by the Bûyids [see BuwâYûd], the Sâfâwîs (q.v.) and the Khânîâns (q.v.).

Like the rulers of other petty states along the Ottoman-Sâfâwî border during the 16th/16th to 17th/18th centuries, the Mushâshâ'î sultanats played one side off against the other, often very much to their own advantage. As a consequence of Mushâshâ'îs rule, the western portion of KHZÎSTÎN became known, from early Sâfâwî times, as 'Arabîstân. In later Sâfâwî times, the title of "sâli of 'Arabîstân" was conferred on the Mushâshâ'î sultans. In the Sâfâwî administrative system, the sâlis were the highest in rank of the four categories of usurâr-yi sâravân, or "owners of the marches", and, of the four sâlis, the first in rank was the sâli of 'Arabîstân, who was "higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a sayyid family, his valour and the number of his tribes" (Tâdâkhût al-mulûk, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, 44). When the Afghans invaded Iran in 1115/1702, the Mushâshâ'î sultans threw in their lot with the invaders. In 1120/1707 KHZÎSTÎN was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, but in 1142/1732 Nâdir Khân Afghâr [see...
KUHSISTAN – KHVVARSII

SABIN GHAH reoccupied the province and made the Mushaghia's subjects his vassals.

In the course of the 15th and 16th centuries, the Mushaghia dynasty steadily lost ground to Arab tribesmen of the Banu Ka'b and Banu Lamin (p. 436). The former had begun to migrate in large numbers from central and southern Arabia into southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran during the 12th/13th century; at the height of their power, in the latter part of the 12th/13th century, their sway extended from Basra to Bihbifin (in the province of Fars, just east of the Khuzistan border). The Banu Lamin were nomads inhabiting regions along the lower course of the Tigris, and between 1258 and 1264 some 17,450 families from this tribe moved into Iranian territory. These immigrants lived a life that was neither completely settled nor truly nomadic, but gradually a sedentary way of life became the norm. The Banu Ka'b not only intermarried with Iranians, but adopted Shiasim and wore a compromise style of dress consisting of Persian tunic and trousers under an Arab kahf. Still later Arab arrivals, however, the Muntakib (p. 437), who in 1621 migrated to Hawiz and ousted the Ka'b from that area, have remained Sunni. As a result of this great influx of Arabs, the name of 'Arabistan was, by the 17th century, usually applied to the province as a whole. In the 15th century, control of the province virtually passed from the hands of the central government into those of the Shaykh of Mushaghia (Khurramshah), and it was not until 1654 that Rida shah Pahlavi (q.v.) overthrew the Shaykh of Mushaghia and restored the proper name of Khuzistan.

After the collapse of the Safavid dynasty (1523/ 1722), the prosperity of Khuzistan sharply declined. A number of factors seem to have been involved: (1) hostility between Iranian and Arab elements; (2) the extensive damage to agriculture and to the settled communities caused by both the recent Arab immigrants and by the indigenous transhumant tribes like the Lurs and Bakhtiyari (see Lambton, Lurid and pastoral in Persia, Oxford 1955, 177-8); (3) the constant raiding of trade caravans by the Banu Lam'; (4) the breakdown of the authority of the central government, which led to general neglect and maladministration, and the instability caused by frequent changes of governors; (5) oppression by tax-collectors, under whom the Arab shaykhs levied taxes five or six times a year (see Lambton, op. cit., 267). It was only after the discovery of oil at Masjidi-Sulayman in Khuzistan in 1908 that the economy of the province began slowly to recover, and this trend was accelerated by the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938; the line ran through Ahvaz, and its southern terminal was Bandar-Abbas.

In the last twenty years, Khuzistan's prosperity has increased exponentially. Many large oilfields are connected by road and pipeline with the refinery at Abadan and with the terminal at Bandar-Abbas (formerly Bandar-I-Mahshahr). Abadan, a virtually uninhabited site fifty years ago, is now Iran's fifth city (estimated population, 1975, 250,000). In 1964, the deep-water tanker terminal on Kharg Island was opened. The construction of the northern Mushaghia's Rida Pahlavi dam on the Dez river (1962) has not only provided the province with hydro-electricity but with water for the large-scale development of market-gardening and other agricultural projects, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar-cane; oil-rainds are planned. Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf. More recently, the development of the natural gas industry has taken place on a large scale; in 1973, 8.7 billion cu. m. of natural gas were exported to the U.S.S.R. The petrochemical industry is expanding at a great rate. The rapidly developing Djamshidpur University at Ahwaz now has over 8,000 students. The words of the author of the Naddid al-Salam (written not until one thousand years ago, now once again hold true: "This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. Its countryside is flourishing and its mountains are full of utility" (vii:50). Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see A. H. Layard, A description of the province of Khuzistan, in JRG, vi, (1846), 1-105; G. Le Strange, Lands, 232-47; (4) "Ali Razmaram (ed.), Farangi-It dissipati-yi Iran, vi, Tehran 1330/ 1951, 146; Ahmad Kasravi, Tarikh-i pendasad-salat- yl Khuzistan, Tehran 1350/1971; Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Islam Shahriz, Ti'di-I dissipati-yi Khuzistan, Tehran 1331/1952; G. N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, repr. London 1966, ii, 320 ff.; L. Lochet, Famous cities of Iran, Brentford 1939, 86-95; Cambridge History of Iran, i, Cambridge 1968, 33-58; J. R. Perry, The Banu Ka'b: an amphibious branch state in Khuzistan, in Le monde arabe et l'Islam, i (1971), 131- 32; F. R. C. Bagley, A bright future after oil: dams and agro-industry in Khuzistan, in Middle East Jour., xxxvii (1976), 25-35. (R. M. SAVORY)

KHVARSII (self-designation, Kodsas hikwa, Khouni, KHVARSII in Russian, KHVARSII in Russian) an ethnic group in the Caspian whose language forms part of the Avar group. Among the Khvarsis, however, the Dido and Khvare were the Dido group of the north-eastern Terek-Caucasian languages.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 1,019 ethnic Khvaresis, of whom 1,018 gave Khvaresi as their maternal tongue. They formerly lived in five aulas (including Khvaresi and Inkhorari) on the upper course of the Or-Uzbeks, a southern affluent of the Andi-Koyun in the south-west of the Bagul district of the Dagestan ASSR; in 1944, they were resettled in the district of Vefeco in that same republic. They lived originally in an isolated region of high mountains, which long preserved them from any marked degree of outside influence and allowed them to retain their patriarchal customs. They are Semites of the Sharrf legal school. Their traditional economy was based on sheep-rearing, with a system of transhumance, and also on terraced agriculture and various crafts; their present-day economy is essentially similar, with the added element of cattle-rearing.

Khvaresi is purely a vernacular language; Avar is used as the first literary language, and also as the second (sometimes first) spoken language, since it is used as the medium for primary education. Russian is the second literary language. Both linguistically and culturally, the Khvaresis are now being assimilated to the Avars [see further Avar, Dagestan, Dido, Al-Kaib].

To Allâh; when they say these words, perform our soldi...
In the mosques the direction of the salat is indicated by the mihrib (q.v.); in classical hadith, this word does not occur and kibla is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a kibla outside a mosque, a suara (q.v.) marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the kibla (Lane, op. cit., 228). It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately oriented (according to the shari'a, see below). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of Indonesia where the faithful at the salat take their direction not from the mihrib but from such indicators.

The laws relating to the kibla are here given very briefly only and according to the Shafi'i school as laid down in al-Shirki's Kitab al-Tantab (ed. Juyboll, 20). The adoption of a kibla is a necessary condition for the validity of a salat. Only in great danger and in a voluntary salat on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the thariq, rukba and suqi'id. One should turn exactly in the direction of the kibla, and one who is near it can do so with certainty. According to others, when one is on foot only the general direction (fur'a) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the mihrib within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of Mecca one turns towards the mihrib. According to others, when one is distant only the general direction (fur'a) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the mihrib within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of Mecca and as such it was usually treated by the mediæval

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**Mathematical Solution:**

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

**The Kibla:**

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

**The Mathematical Problem:**

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

$$q = \cot^{-1} \frac{\sin q \cos L - \cos q \tan r}{\sin L}$$

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

Although the problem of determining the kibla is a problem of mathematical geography, it is mathematically equivalent to the astronomical problem of determining the azimuth or direction of a celestial body with given declination for a given hour-angle, and as such it was usually treated by the mediæval
astronomers. Indeed, the kibla problem may be transferred to the celestial sphere simply by considering the zenith of Mecca rather than Mecca.

Fig. 2 shows the zenith of Mecca M on the celestial sphere for a locality O. The local horizon is NESW and the local meridian is NP2S. EOW is the celestial equator, P is the celestial pole, and ABC is the day-circle of $M$. PMTR is the meridian of Mecca. Now:

$$\text{PN} = q, \text{MT} = q_m, \text{and QT} = \Delta L,$$

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

In the sequel a selection of methods is presented to illustrate the variety and sophistication of some of the few medieval kibla determinations that have been investigated in modern times. The notation has been modified in order to relate to that used in Fig. 2. For the details of the original constructions the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed in the bibliography. Those methods that are trigonometric in character are represented by means of trigonometric equations; in the original texts the relations are written out in words. The capital of trigonometric equations; in the original texts the

Certain Muslim astronomers also used tables based on the formula and displaying values of $q$ ($\Delta p$, $\Delta L$) for each degree of both arguments from $x^\circ$ to $20^\circ$. A feature of these tables is that the entries for $\Delta p = \Delta L$ are all $45^\circ$. Another approximate solution to the kibla problem is outlined in a treatise related to Al-Khwarizmi (fl. Baghdad, ca. 215/830). Here the formula

$$q = \sin^{-1} \left( \frac{R \sin \Delta L - \sqrt{\sin^2 \Delta p + \sin^2 \Delta L}}{\sin \Delta L} \right) = \tan^{-1} \left( \frac{E \sin \Delta L}{\sin \Delta p} \right).$$

with the trigonometric functions to base $R = 150$ rather than $R = 60$, is outlined in words. The table displaying $q$ ($\Delta p$, $\Delta L$) that accompanies this treatise was rather popular with later Muslim astronomers and exists in several manuscript copies, some of which are of Syrian, Yemeni, and Turkish provenance. Yet other approximate kibla tables based on non-trivial formulae are found in the Aṣḥāfīṣī fiq of the Persian astronomer Sayf-i Mundż̄al (fl. ca. 710/1310), the Zādi of the Persian astronomer Shams al-Munadidjim al-Wabīlfawi (fl. ca. 725/1325), and
Exact solutions

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

A geometric kibla construction proposed by Habash al-Jāsib (fl. Baghdad and Damascus, ca. 235/850) involves an analemma in which the working plane is considered consecutively as the meridian, equatorial, and horizon planes. Habash’s method may be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4). On a circle centre $O$ and radius $R$ mark the cardinal directions NWSE, and then draw arc $WQ = \phi$, arc $QB = \phi_m$, and arc $QT = \Delta L$. Draw the diameter $QOR$ and the parallel chord $BC$ with midpoint $G$. Mark the point $M$ on $OT$ such that $OM = GC$ and draw the perpendicular $M_M$ onto $BC$. Next draw $M_I$ parallel to $WE$ and $M_IJ$ parallel to $SN$ to cut $WE$ in $J$ and the circle in $J$. Finally, construct the point $M$ on $M_I$ such that $OM = IJ$ and produce $OM$ to cut the circle at $K$. Then $OK$ defines the kibla.

This construction may be explained as follows.

Firstly, $QOR$ and $BGC$ represent the projections of the celestial equator and the day circle of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Secondly, $M_I$ represents the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the equatorial plane. If we then imagine the equatorial plane to be folded into the meridian plane, $M_I$ moves to $M$, which is thus the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Moreover, $M_IJ$ is the projection in this plane of the almucantar through the zenith of Mecca, whose radius is thus $IJ$. Also $M_IJ$ and $IJ$ measure the distances from the zenith of Mecca to the prime vertical and the line joining the local zenith to $O$, respectively. Finally, we consider the horizon plane the working plane; by virtue of the construction, $MP$ is the projection of the zenith of Mecca in this plane. Thus $OK$ defines the kibla.

From such a geometric construction a trigonometric solution for the kibla problem can be derived with facility. Indeed, from the analemma construction for the kibla proposed by Ibn al-Haytham [q.v.] (fl. Cairo, d. 430/1039) a single formula for $q (\phi, \phi_m, L)$ equivalent to the modern one can be derived directly. Ibn Yūnus [q.v.] (fl. Cairo and Fustar, d. 359/969) proposed the following trigonometric solution to the kibla problem. Firstly from the quantity

$$h = \sin^{-1} \left\{ \frac{\cos \phi \cos \Delta L}{R} \right\} \cos \phi_m + \sin \phi_m \sin \phi \right\},
$$

and then the kibla is defined by

$$q = \sin^{-1} \left( \frac{\sin \Delta L \cos \phi_m}{\cos h} \right).$$

Ibn Yūnus offered no justification for this procedure, but his formulae can be derived from an analemma construction such as the one proposed by Habash.
successively the arcs TR, SR, MK and KS in Fig. 2, as follows. Firstly, find TR using
\[ \frac{\sin PS}{\sin SQ} = \frac{\sin PR \sin TE}{\sin RT \sin EQ}, \]
that is,
\[ \frac{\sin (180^\circ - \phi)}{\sin \phi} = \frac{\sin (90^\circ + TR) \sin (90^\circ - \Delta L)}{\sin TR \sin 90^\circ}, \]
Secondly, find SR using
\[ \frac{\sin PQ}{\sin QS} = \frac{\sin PT \sin ER}{\sin TR \sin ES}, \]
that is,
\[ \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin 90^\circ} = \frac{\sin TR \sin 90^\circ}{\sin (90^\circ - 9) \sin TR \sin 90^\circ}, \]
whence ER and SR (= ER - 90° - ER). Thirdly, find MK (= h) using
\[ \frac{\sin SP}{\sin SQ} = \frac{\sin PR \sin MK}{\sin RM \sin KZ}, \]
that is,
\[ \frac{\sin (180^\circ - \phi)}{\sin \phi} = \frac{\sin (90^\circ + TR) \sin MK}{\sin TR \sin 90^\circ}, \]
Finally, find KS (= q) using
\[ \frac{\sin KS}{\sin SR} = \frac{\sin KZ \sin MP}{\sin ZM \sin PR}, \]
that is,
\[ \frac{\sin q}{\sin SQ} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\sin (90^\circ - \phi) \sin (90^\circ - \phi)}, \]

Al-Biruni [19. v.] ([f.] Khwarazm and Ghazna, d. after 421/1030) proposed several different methods for finding the kibla, based on a variety of different procedures. In his work on mathematical geography, the Ta'bid al-nihayat al-amknin, al-Biruni derived the longitude difference between Mecca and Ghazna mathematically using the distances between staging posts on the major caravan routes, and then derived the kibla at Ghazna using four different methods, including spherical trigonometry (using Menelaus' Theorem), solid geometry (using procedures equivalent to those standard in solving timekeeping problems), and the analemma. Al-Biruni's solution to the kibla problem in his major astronomical work al-Kanti al-Mas'ud, compiled after the Ta'bid, is more elegant than his solution by spherical trigonometry in the earlier work. It was also proposed about thirty years previously as an alternative solution by Ibn Yunus. Al-Biruni proved its correctness by spherical trigonometry. Ibn Yunus presented it algebraically with no justification, but he appears to have derived most of his formulae for spherical astronomy by projection methods rather than by spherical trigonometry. Al-Biruni's treatment of the problem illustrates the progress made by Muslim scholars in spherical trigonometry during the tenth century. Whereas his predecessor al-Nayrizi had laboriously used Menelaus' Theorem, al-Biruni used its simpler corollaries, the spherical Sine Rule and the "Rule of Four Quantities".

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

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

\[ \sin MP = \frac{\sin \angle MPH}{\sin \angle MFP}, \]
whence \( F = \angle PFL \) is known. Thus \( \theta_2 \) is the complement of \( F. \) Similarly

\[ \frac{\sin \angle F}{\sin \angle PLF} = \frac{\sin PL}{\sin PF}, \]
whence PF is known.

Thus \( \theta_3 \) is PF. Thirdly, since \( FN = FN - PF = \phi - \theta_2, \theta_3 \) measures FN. Fourthly, al-Biruni states that by the "Rule of Four Quantities"

\[ \sin \angle G = \frac{\sin \angle F}{\sin \angle H} \tan \theta_1 = \frac{\sin \angle G}{\sin \angle H}, \]

(note that \( \cos \angle G = \cos \angle FGN = \cos IQ = \sin ZJ \)) so that \( \theta_4 \) measures \( G. \)

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

\[ \sin \angle G = \frac{\sin FN}{\sin \theta_1}, \]
\[ \sin \angle F = \frac{\sin \theta_2}{\sin \theta_3}, \]
whence \( q = SK = \theta_3 - 90^\circ - GN. \)
Al-Khalli (9. Damascus, ca. 705/1365) compiled a kibla table based on an accurate formula and displaying \( g(\phi, \Delta L) \) for each degree of \( \phi \) from 0° to 56° and each degree of \( \Delta L \) from 1° to 60°. Al-Khalli's table contains a total of almost 3,000 entries, and the kibla is computed to degrees and minutes. The vast majority of the entries are either correct or in error by \( \pm 1 \) or \( \pm 2 \) minutes, a remarkable achievement. Table 1 shows a section of Al-Khalli's table.

### Table 1

<table>
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<td>60° 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21°</td>
<td>61° 25 + 2</td>
<td>59° 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20°</td>
<td>59° 59 + 2</td>
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<td>19°</td>
<td>58° 10</td>
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<td>22° 44</td>
<td>20° 50</td>
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Al-Khalli does not describe the way in which he compiled his kibla table. However, in his introduction to the table he expresses his approval of the kibla method of al-Marrakushi (fl. Cairo, ca. 679/1280). This involved first finding \( h \) using

\[
\sin h = \sin (\phi + \phi_M) - \cos \Delta L \frac{\cos \phi_M \cos \phi}{R^2},
\]

and then applying the standard Islamic formula for finding the azimuth from the celestial altitude, namely

\[
g = \arccos \left[ R \frac{\sin h \tan \phi - R \sin \phi}{\cos \phi} \right].
\]

Both of these formulae can be derived from Fig. 4. If al-Khalli did use precisely this method to compile his kibla table, it may be that he also used his universal auxiliary tables (al-jadwalal-imdabi) to facilitate the computation. These tables which were specifically designed for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude, display the three functions

\[f_1(\theta) = \frac{R \sin \theta}{\cos \phi}, \quad f_2(\phi) = \frac{R \sin \theta \tan \phi}{\cos \phi}, \quad f_3(\phi) = \cos \phi \]

The procedure for finding \( g(\phi, \Delta L) \) would be to first find \( h(\phi, \Delta L) \) using the simple formula of al-Marrakushi and then to use the auxiliary tables to apply the formula.

Al-Khalli also computed the kibla for 44 localities in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. These are likewise very accurate. Mediaeval latitude determinations depended on the geographical data that he had at his disposal. Mediaeval longitude determinations, based either on simultaneous observations of lunar eclipses in different localities or on measuring distances between the localities, were generally not very accurate. Mediaeval longitude determinations,
Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Islamic architecture as well as the history of science for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical tables. Likewise, in early Muslim due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. This explains why mediaeval mathematicians.

Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 21°, 21°50', 21°30', and 21°40', whereas the accurate value is 21°26'. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their minbars were erected in a kibla direction computed by competent mathematicians.

Another reason why mosques may be incorrectly aligned is that their kiblas were not computed from geographical data at all but were inspired by tradition. Thus, for example, mosques in the Maghrib and the Indian subcontinent generally face due east or due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim Egypt, the kibla adopted was the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the kibla of al-suhaba but which is about 16° off the kibla computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical coordinates and about 25° off the true kibla for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the orientation of mediaeval mosques. Such a survey would be of considerable interest for the history of Islamic architecture as well as the history of science.

**Bibliography:** Several of the following secondary sources contain descriptions and analyses of mediaeval kibla methods. There are numerous Islamic astronomical works containing kibla methods that have not been investigated in modern times. On the kibla method of Ulugh Beg (962) ([J. Samarkand, d. 853/1449]), which is none other than the method of Ibn Yûnis and al-Birûnî, see L. A. Sédillot, *Proélégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oulagh-Beg: traduction et commentaire*, (Paris 1853), 116-21. In the approximate methods of al-Battani and al-Djâhâni, see C. A. Nallino, *Al Battanî sive Albadhûni Opus Astronomicum* (Milan and Rome 1899-1907), 1, 316-9, and ii, p. xxvii; and G. Rudloff and A. Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Mahârûdî ibn Muhammad ibn 'Omar al-Gâmiûn*, in *EDMG*, xxvii (1893), 213-79 (esp. 271-2).

The first serious investigations of Islamic kibla methods were conducted by C. Schoy (see his article kibla in *EP*). The methods of Ibn al-Haytham and al-Nayrizî were discussed in his *Abhandlung der al-Hassan ibn al-Hassan ibn al-Haytham [Alhazen] über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Kibla*, in *EDMG*, lxxv (1924), 24-53; and in his *Abhandlung von al-Fa'âl ibn al-Nayrizî über die Richtung der Kibla*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.*, Math.

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<th>Kibla</th>
<th>Error</th>
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<td>67°0'</td>
<td>21°30'</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

on the other hand, based on observations of the solar meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 21°, 21°50', 21°30', and 21°40', whereas the accurate value is 21°26'. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their minbars were erected in a kibla direction computed by competent mathematicians.

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Several lists of geographical coordinates of cities and the corresponding kibla values, taken from Islamic astrological tables, are given in R. T. Gunther, *The astrologers of the world*, i, Oxford 1932, esp. 24-6. On mediaeval Islamic longitude determinations, see Schoy, *Die Astronomic des Mabmûd ibn al-Haytham*, in *EDMG*, xxvii (1924), 3'.

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(D. A. King)
shored of the Dead Sea and in the neighborhood of Jerusalem (see also Mukaddash, 184), in fact the deposits of brimstone to be found in clay, mixed with gypsum and calcite carbid, on the right bank of the river Jordan at a mile from the Dead Sea (see C. Hitzig, Handbuch der Mineralogie, I/2, Leipzig 1901, 68 ff.). Abü Dulaft Al-Khazrafil (al-Rixla al-Damiya, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1933, 22, tr. 34-5, ed. P. Bušgalov, Moscow 1960, 34) mentions already a sulphur spring on Mount Damavid (q.c.) around which brimstone (al-irid al-dhuq) was collected, together with immense deposits of brimstone. The same author (ibid., 43 = Yâkût, ii, 169) knows also the sulphur springs of Daurash (q.c.) in Khirîstân.

In general, four sorts of brimstone are distinguished: yellow, white, black and red (see WKAS, i, 336). Muhammad b. Zakariyâ' al-Râzî, K. Al-Asrâr (ed. M. T. Daniel-Fazbâh, Tehran 1964, 3), however, differentiates these even further into: 1. pure, massive, yellow brimstone; 2. pure, granular, yellow brimstone; 3. white, ivory-coloured brimstone; 4. white brimstone mixed with soil; 5. black brimstone, adulterated with stones; and 6. red brimstone. Description of Al-Kazânî's book (ibid., 171) go:

kibrît dâhâlî "golden brimstone", kibrît shaker "male brimstone", kibrît hahrî "brimstone of the sea", kibrît nahrî "brimstone of the river", etc. are also found. These descriptions indicate the various modifications and qualities: brimstone deposited by springs is mostly fine-grained and yellow-white, elementary brimstone is often contaminated with bitumen, solonium and arsenic. These various descriptions, however, were of course not used by the Arabs to indicate a strict classification.

A special case was the "red brimstone" (al-kibrît al-dhâmâr). According to Aristotle's Stone-book (ed. J. Runke, Heibeberg 1912, no. 26, p. 261 = Ibn al-Baytar, K. Al-Djumaâ, iv, 49) it shines by night over a distance of many parasangs, as long as it is left in its place of occurrence. Others maintained that red brimstone was a mineral to be found in the valley of the ant, marched through by Solomon (Ibn Samadân, in Ibn al-Baytar loc. cit.). These are fairy tales. Al-Râzî (K. Al-Asrâr, loc. cit.) knew already that "red brimstone" does not exist as a mineral, and this scepticism was wide spread. Al Djibâlî (Risâla fi l-Dja'ma wa l-Ha'l, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1943, 931 ed. Hârin, Cairo 1964, i, 271) remarks that "red brimstone" is easier to be found than a trustworthy friend, and the caliph al-Harith b. Hâshîm (737-852/950-1047) said that two things exist only in name: the phoenix (fâkid mughrûb) and al kibrît al-dhâmâr (Bâkîn, Djamâhîr, 154). In this sense is also to be understood al-Ma'dîyânî's proverb "more costly than red brimstone" (see Freytag, Arabum proverbum, i, 18, 293, 140) and Bilawhar's saying (ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1966, 134). The gold of the Dead Sea and in the neighborhood of Hulwan [q.c.] in Irâq, which avail against mania, is stuck in the chest, and against asthma. If a woman is fumigated with brimstone, she will have miscarriage. Leprosy, cutaneous eruptions and other skin diseases are treated with brimstone, which, if mixed with natron, dissipates itching. Finally, brimstone is used with salpetre and charcoal, to make gunpowder.


The curative property of sulphurous water is often praised: Abû Dulaft Al-Khazrafil (op. cit., ed. Minorsky, 12, tr. 43, ed. Bušgalov, 27, Yâkût, ii, 347) mentions the sulphurous springs in the neighborhood of Hulwan [q.c.] in Irâq, which avail against manifold diseases. According to Aristotle's Stone-book (no. 26, pp. 266, 175) bathing in sulphurous springs is good for open wounds, tumours, itching, scabies and fever. Baths in sulphurous water avail also against trembling (sidjâgî) (Philagris, in Râzî, Hârij, i, 44, see Galen, De tremore et palpitalione, vii, 600, Kânûn), Finally, sulphurous water is curative of arthritic pains (Râzî, Hârij, xi, 195), hemiplegia (fâlidy, *All b. Râbban, Firdaws, 197) and elephantias (qatâmâh, ibid.).

To the many palliatives which were recommended for expelling venom from houses there are always included fumigations with sulphur (Râzî, Hârij, xix, 320-35), which was also used in magic as an ingredient of talisman (Pseudo-Magrîfî, Qâsiyat al-bahîm, 434-6, German tr. by Ritter and Pflessner, London 1962, 254-8).

Sulphur played a prominent part in alchemy (see Al-Khûnâyîn). Distillation of sulphur and the action
of sulphurous vapour on metals gave occasion to many observations and conjectures. Since sulphur is liberated in the distillation of most materials, it was believed to be a fundamental part of all minerals. In particular, it was assumed that the metals consisted of quicksilver and brimstone. If the parts of both materials are in an ideal ratio to each other, gold originates (see Dimashki, Nukhla, 50 ff.). Sulphur is therefore also called "the mother of gold" (mun al-habab, see K. al-Kanz, ms. Berlin 4191, f. 512).

The alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, like "the yellow, red or white bride" (al-arus al-safra, etc.), "the red soil" (al-turba al-khabur), "the colouring spirit" (al-rub al-sabiq, "the saltiron" (al-saffara), "the divine secret" (al-sir al-shakh). The breath-taking smell of burning brimstone gave it the name "the soufector" (al-khammab). Because brimstone combines quicksilver, it was also called "the felter of the volatile" (bayad al-shib).

Conversely, the term kibrit was also used in various combinations as pseudonym of other substances, e.g. kibrit al-ja'darh, "incombustible sulphur" (see WZKM, ii, 49, 168) designates the elixir of gold. (For the problem of the pseudonyms, see J. R. Räthel, Die natur- und chemische Bezeichnungen im arabischen Allgemeine der Chemie, Beiträge LXVI, in SPME, iv, 1944-5, 20-33 = E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze, ii, 599-612; A. Siegel, "Dschehnamen in der arabischen Literatur, Berlin 1931).
trying to break away from the central government. In the circumstances, a governor's sole concern was simply to squeeze the maximum taxation from the subjects, not only to pay the necessary dues to the central government, but also for his personal enrichment. The depletion of the resources of the country was also often aggravated by low Nile floods and the spread of disease and plague.

The worsening of the economy meant heavier pressure and exactions for the Copts. The results of this situation were three-fold: many Copts fled to the desert monasteries to escape the poll-tax from which clerics were exempted, although this privilege proved to be ephemeral; some turned to Islam for the same reason, although wholesale conversions did not take place because the caliphs usually discouraged them in order to safeguard their revenue; and some rose in revolt, not infrequently reinforced in their insurrection by Muslim settlers.

Perhaps the Bashmuric Rebellion of 214/829-30 in the marshlands of the lower Delta was the most serious of those local insurrections. The caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, who came in person to Egypt to fight the Bashmuric rebels and to pacify the Copts. The outcome of a steadily deteriorating situation was a neglect of the irrigation system, the blocking of canals with sand and silt, and the ruination of the Nile dykes. In addition to a decline in the number of Coptic farmers, the steady shrinkage in the arable land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved doubling it without mending the cause of its decline. Realising that the cause of this deficit was the decline of agriculture, Ibn Tulun introduced land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved the revenue. Even with exemptions, the revenue rose to 4 million dinars before Ibn Tulun's death, in addition to accumulated savings of 10 millions in the treasury and the execution of an extensive building program. With the help of Ibn Kathr al-Firgani, an accomplished Coptic architect, he constructed the Nilometer at the southern end of Rawda (Roda) Island [see myyas] and his famous mosque with its external spiral minaret. Muslims commonly destroyed churches in order to use their materials and pillars in building mosques. To save the churches, Ibn Kathr promised the governor to construct the mosque of Ibn Tulun without having to utilise pillars from churches. Thus the new pillars were built of massive masonry supporting pointed arches long before their use in Gothic art in Europe, and only two small marble pillars were placed on the flanks of the abwa. The mosque still stands as a testimony to the architectural genius of the builder and the return of the country to affluence.

During the years of stability in the rule of both these dynasties of governors, the Copts enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and prosperity. It is recorded that Ibn Tulun cultivated the habit of retiring to the al-Kesaryar monastery near Cairo to recuperate and the first Ikhshidid, Muhammad b. Tughdul (323-346/935-69) used to participate in the celebrations of the Coptic Epiphany, according to the contemporary 4th/10th century historian al-Mas'udi. Both dynasties entrusted the Copts with key positions in government.

The really favourable position of the Copts, however, was still to come, viz. under the Shii Fatimid dynasty (358-607/969-1171), if we except the reign of al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah (386-411/996-1021 [y.r.], who ended by persecuting Copts, Jews and even Muslims. Hence the Copts, whose religious freedom had been undisturbed and who had occupied the highest positions in the administration during the reigns of al-Mustazir (358-607/969-75) and al-Afdal (365-86/975-96) now faced forced apostasy or persecution by the unbalanced monarch, and many of their churches were levelled to the ground. However, towards the end of his reign, al-Hakim apparently fell under the spell of a priest named Abu Sabouni during his visits to the monastery of al-Kesaryar on the Helwan road south of Cairo, and eventually began to wear a monks' garment, while his atrocities ceased.

During the caliphate of al-Zahir (411-27/1020-36), the re-building of churches was again authorised, and Christians who had been forced to apostasise were permitted to return to their faith. Nasir al-Mu'azzam [s.v.], who visited Egypt in the reign of his successor, al-Mustansir, remarked that nowhere in the world of Islam had he seen Christians enjoy as much peace and prosperity as did the Copts. The strongest Fatimid vizier, Badr al-Dinwali [s.v.], and his son al-Afdal, both Armenian converts to Islam, favoured the Copts and relied on their service. Ultimately, the sixty-sixth Patriarch Christodoulos (1046-77) decided to move his seat from Alexandria to Cairo in order to be within easier access to the central government.

Only towards the end of Fatimid rule, when internal disorder grew, did Copts and Muslims alike suffer in the ensuing broils and confusion, and the fate of the Copts was further aggravated by the outbreak of the Crusades. It would therefore seem that the Copts reached the height of power and prosperity, but also latterly some of their worst tribulations, during the Fatimid era.

The advent of the Sunni Ayyubid dynasty (564-648/1169-1250) re-established internal stability and
eliminated the confusion of the age of the last Fatimid caliphs, but these times proved rather a mixed blessing for the Copts. In the course of his fighting the Crusaders in the Holy Land and the Christian kings of Nubia in the south, Salih al-Din's suspicions led him to dismiss the Copts from government service. It was probably on this occasion that Zakariya 3 Abi 'l-Malik b. Mammad (a corruption of the Coptic Makadi) of Assyut, a Copt who held the joint secretariacy of the Sultan's Office and the Treasury, decided to apostasize with his family and become a Muslim, in order to retain his high office for himself and his descendants. His son as-Asad inherited his father's office, and compiled one of the few cadastres of mediaeval Egypt (al-Ra'iyy al-Salabih), leaving a record thereof in his Kitab Kanadma al-dawla. Salih al-Din's brother, Shams al-Dawla, who led the Nubian campaign, destroyed in the years 567/1172-3 the monastic settlement of Bawiti in Middle Egypt, the Coptic city of Kuf, which sank into insignificance thereafter [see cpr], and the important Convent of St. Simeon (Anba Hidra) across the Nile from Aswan. Salih al-Din found it expedient to pull down the magnificent building standing on this site, and the Copts tried in vain to ransom this church. It would however be erroneous to accuse the Ayyubid sultans of continuous intolerance and persecution of the Copts. One of their first deeds was to suppress Ibn al-Mudabbir's substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar in order to shorten the year and thus get more taxes. They left most of the Coptic churches standing, and generally refrained from interference with religious freedom. Salih al-Din himself granted the Copts an imposing monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, which they own to the present day as Dayr al-Staql. Salih's successes against the Crusaders and the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 seem to have terminated his early apprehensions about the Copts. The Copt Saif al-Din b. Abi 'l-Malik, nicknamed Ibn Sharaf, became his private secretary. Two Coptic architects, Abu Mansur and Abu Maghkur, were employed to repair and extend the fortified walls of Cairo and to build the Cairo Citadel on the Mufkatam hills overlooking the capital, Salih al-Din's most enduring monument which became the fortified seat of successive governments and dynasties.

In the reign of Sultan al-Adil Sayf al-Din (596-65/1196-1200-18 [g.v.]), the Saphadin of western chronicles, a Copt by the name of Ibn al-Makat assumed the administration of the War Office. In the Crusade of Daniabella 7 in 1218, the Coptic inhabitants participated in the defence of the city and with their clergy suffered greatly at the hands of the Latins. Again in the Crusade of St. Louis in 564-59/1172-3, notable Copts were to be found in the Sultan's camp. A number of Fatimid and Ayyubid sources show that numerous Copts earned some of the highest titles of honour in the state such as al-Reizi, Hisat Allah, al-Andadl, al-Asaad, al-Shaykh, Nabid al-Dawla, Tadi al-Dawla, and Fakhir al-Dawla. The Church historian Yahya Nakhla Rufaya collected as a sample some 30 Coptic names bearing these titles.

Two important processes were in progress since the Arab conquest, the Islamisation of Egypt and the Arabisation of Egypt, and these two processes should not be confused. That there should be a measure of conversion to Islam under early Arab rule was inevitable. The apparent kinship between Coptic monophysitism and Islamic monotheism might have played a role in a still amorphous body of doctrine, but the vexatious fidya or poll tax, increasing at a steady rate, left the impecunious Coptic taxpayer only one way to escape, sc. that of Islam. It is known that most caliphs discouraged wholesale conversion, in defence of a depleted influx of revenue to the treasury. How can we explain, therefore, the eventual numerical superiority of Muslims as against the numerical pre-eminence of the Copts in Egypt? E. L. Butcher impossibly ascribed it to the popularity of the monastic life and called it "suicide of a nation". The Muslim social historian, Aly Mazaheri describes this phenomenon as "ethnic exhaustion", and discards the assumption of wholesale conversion. It does not seem that a single, facile answer can be given here.

The Arabisation of Egypt, on the other hand, is a more transparent process. A study of the papyri indicates that at first the Copts conducted the administrative records in Coptic, and that the Arabs, who did not know the native language, accepted their procedures. This is also the inference of the Ayyubid sultans, ending by seizing power from the Copts, hastened to master the language of the new rulers, and the clerics persisted in the use of bilingual protocols in the papyri. As to the use of Arabic in public life, this must have been a slower process, although we may note the compilation of Coptic grammars and Coptic dictionaries in the 13th century, which is probably to be regarded as an indication to national Coptic efforts to keep the torch of the Coptic language burning amongst those who were fast losing it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Coptic was completely extinct at that early date. The same century produced eminent Coptic writers such as Ibn al-Asal (g.v.) and other members of his family, who were perfectly conversant with Coptic, Greek and Arabic. As late as 673, the traveller Vansleb reported that he met the last Copt who really spoke Coptic; and Benoist de Maillé, an 18th century French consul in Egypt, stated that he found whole villages in Upper Egypt whose residents spoke Coptic. In the present century, Werner Vycichl is quoted by the Coptologist William Worrell to have discovered Coptic-speaking communities at Zanla and other isolated villages in Upper Egypt. Of course, the liturgy was still celebrated today in Bohairic Coptic, together with Arabic, in Coptic churches. The Arabisation of Egypt is an undisputed reality, but the total extinction of the Coptic language is still a debatable problem.

The later Middle Ages brought difficulties for the Coptic communities. The Mamluks (648-922/1250-1517) who were originally slave soldiers bought by the Ayyubid sultans, ended by seizing power from them, and they then continued to reinforce their army by more slave purchases. They were therefore men of varied ethnic and religious origins and had nothing in common with the Egyptians except the bond of Islam; and it is doubtful whether any of them was fully aware of the doctrines of their faith or the language of the Coptic people. Internal insecurity and increasing poverty and isolation now began to drive the Coptic populace into desperation. Skilled Copts continued to work in the Muslim administration, but as soon as they rose to wealth and power, the Muslim mob tended to clamour for their dismissal from office and to start a wave of
church destruction. As mob fury became overpowering, the Mamluk sultans had often to yield to public pressure and unseat the Copts and condone the assaults on their religious foundations. Yet after a short period, confusion usually supervised in the government machinery, and the sultans were constrained to reseat the Copts in office once more.

On one occasion, a group of exasperated Copts decided to retaliate against Muslim oppression. In 1740/1532, a number of Coptic monks from Dayr al-Baghl ("The Monastery of the Mule") south of Cairo, formed a secret pact to use arson against mosques and Muslim quarters in the capital. Once when the city was ablaze, four of these monks were seized carrying naphtha and other incendiary substances. The Sultan ordered them to be burnt and the Copts were again dismissed from office. The infuriated mob continued their destruction of more churches. From 678/1279 to 851/1447, forty-four churches are reported to have been levelled to the ground in Cairo alone. The Patriarch Yohannes X (1636-9) was summoned by the Baqri Mamluk Sultan al-Aghaft Sha'ban (764/1364-76), and he and the archons or elders of the Coptic community were subjected to abject humiliation and confiscation of property, partly to appease the populace and partly to raise funds for waging war against the Cypriots.

As mob fury as in Mamluk times. In fact, they suffered occasional, temporary dismissals from service, they were not goaded by the outbreaks of mob fury as in Mamluk times. In fact, they suffered, together with the Muslim inhabitants, from the depredations of the Arab nomads who used to descend on villages in the countryside for looting. The land became isolated and its inhabitants sank into lethargy and ignorance until the French Expedition of 1798-1801 arrived under Napoleon and opened Egypt to western influences.

Perhaps the most significant Coptic document after the route of the Mamluks and the settlement of the French was a petition submitted to Napoleon by a notable Copt, Girgis al-Djawharti, imploring him to lift Coptic disabilities, in keeping with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution. However, the French, whose leaders feigned conversion to Islam in order to court favour with the Muslim majority, decided to overlook his plea and thus avoided the semblance of partisanship. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to select the best candidates for the administration irrespective of religious considerations. Hence the same Girgis al-Djawharti became the head of the taxation department. They also nominated a commission of twelve to administer local justice. Six of these were Copts and the chairmanship fell to Mu'allim Malaij, a Copt about whom we possess no documentary evidence. But the real hero in Coptic annals emerged in the personality of Mu'allim Ya'qub Hanna (1745-1802), whose meteoric career began in the predominantly Coptic city of Asyût in Upper Egypt.

Originally a humble civil servant under Sulayman Bey, a Mamluk amir in charge of Asyût province, he learned the equestrian art and the rudiments of Mamluk warfare from his master and even participated in Mamluk hostilities against the Turks. Later, when the French attempted to conquer Upper Egypt under Desaix, he played a prominent role in saving the French expedition from collapse. Then after the disastrous naval battle of Abukir, which gave Nelson and the British command of the sea, Napoleon left and Kéler succeeded him with an empty treasury, while Turkish infiltrators played upon religious sentiments and incited the Muslim population of Cairo to rebellion. It was in these precarious circumstances that Ya'qub, with the approval of the French authorities, recruited a Coptic legion of 4,000 Coptic youths to be trained by professional officers under his own command, first as Colonel, then in 1802 as General.

Still more spectacular in Ya'qub's career was his dream of Egyptian independence from both the Turks and the Mamluks. The documents pertaining to this chapter in his biography were discovered and brought to light by an eminent Muslim historian, the late Professor Shafik Ghurbai. The departing French made the stipulation that any native desirous to leave with them should be permitted to do so. Thus the General, together with a few companions, left Egypt with the French on the British ship Palais, in the hope of convincing the rulers of Europe.
that the only solution of the Egyptian question was the independence of Egypt. Ya'qub died on the high seas on 16 August 1802 leaving the fulfilment of his mission to his accompanying delegation. Apart from his secret deliberations with the captain of the Potamos Joseph Edmonds, preserved in the memoirs of his interpreter Laszaro, a Knight of the Order of Malta, his correspondence was communicated or signed by proxy and addressed to Bonaparte and his foreign secretary Talleyrand (25 September 1801) as well as to the British Lord of the Admiralty, Earl St. Vincent (4 October 1801).

Curiously, the man destined to realise Ya'qub's vision was Muyammad 'Ali (1805-49), the Macedonian soldier who came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish force and succeeded in founding the dynasty in Egypt which did not end till 1953. Under the new régime, the enfranchisement of the Copts went a long way. With increasing security and acceptance, it became less necessary for them to congregate in fortified quarters for self-defence, and they began to scatter all over the big cities side-by-side with their Muslim compatriots. They even took courage to fight for the removal of a few remaining disabilities in the Coptic Congress at Asyût in 1911, clashing with a counter-movement in the Muslim Congress in Alexandria. Both, however, were confined to a war of words and were discouraged by the Khdive 'Abd al-Hamid (1862-1914); eight years later both sides were engaged within the Wafd Party in the struggle against the British protectorate over their common homeland. The only causes of violence in contemporary history have consisted of localised incidents of arson against churches by the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-MAIMAN AL-MUSLIMIN], whose organisation was officially established by the 1930s [Gamal] 'Abd al-Nasir [itv. In Suppl.] in 1966.

In recapitulating the story of the status of the liberated Coptic community in modern times, we should not forget two 19th century movements. The first was an educational and cultural one sponsored by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-64), known as the Father of Coptic Reform. He founded public schools including the first girls' school in Egypt, and imported a printing press, the second in the country after the Bulak press. On the international scene, he carried out with success a conciliatory embassy in 1856-8 with the Emperor of Ethiopia on behalf of the Khdive Sa'id (1854-63). But he did not live to realise his grand dream of an eccenmical union with the Greek Church, the Russian Church and the Anglican Church; it is said that this enterprise disturbed the Muslim authorities and hastened the visionary Patriarch to his grave. The second movement was a natural corollary to the first, for western education created a Coptic elite who strove in the pursuit of establishing a more democratic system of government in community affairs and in the management of church property. This met with staunch resistance in the clerical conservatism of the age of Cyril V (1874-1927), and the project of a Community Council (Ma'dfis Mi'lli) has been in abeyance ever since.

Within the framework of the Islamic legal structure, the Copts made several gains of capital importance. The abolition of the jussiya came to pass in 1865 during Sa'id's reign, and this was coupled with the acceptance of the Copts into military service. At his accession, the Khdive Tawfik Pasha (1879-92) publicly proclaimed the principle of equality of all Egyptians in every way, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion; this was later formalised in a decree of 21 July 1913 and again in the Constitution of 1922.

In a period of more than thirteen centuries of Islamic rule, it seems that the density of population of Egypt has varied from time to time. At the Arab conquest, judging from the papyrus tax returns, the Copts must have been at least 12 millions. Owing to many hardships, occasional failures of Nile floods and diminution of cultivable soil, recurrent plagues, conversions to Islam and flight to the desert monasteries, we must assume the existence of a downward trend in the number of Copts throughout the Middle Ages and Ottoman Turkish times. We note that their number sank to approximately one million souls. However, the latest three official itemised censuses of the population reveal the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Copts</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>18,956,767</td>
<td>17,399,645</td>
<td>1,508,323</td>
<td>65,639</td>
<td>1,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>25,984,101</td>
<td>24,068,252</td>
<td>1,905,182</td>
<td>8,561</td>
<td>2,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>29,943,810</td>
<td>27,919,238</td>
<td>2,018,395</td>
<td>3,493</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is difficult to accept the above figures unhesitatingly. This is largely due to the fact that Coptic villagers have always shown a reticence in divulging the real size of their families. The newly-founded Census Department in the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo has been working with the local country priests in assessing the Coptic population; suggestions of a Coptic population from four to six millions in the year 1974 have been put forward.

The basic causes of the survival of the Copts are both internal and external. Internally, the Copts cling to their Church as a cementing element in their private life. Coptic ethnicity and faith became a profound faith, a way of life, and an intangible doctrine of ethnic consciousness. Externally, it is fair to admit that Islam shares in the credit of this survival. Under the aegis of Islamic dynasties, there came dark times when the violence of the majority could well have exterminated minority groups with the concurrence of the rulers; yet this did not happen, despite such difficult periods as the reign of the Fâtimid Caliph al-Hâkim in the 10th/11th century.

Bibliography: All chronicles and source material on medieval Egypt contain many references to the Copts; see especially Makrizi, Khdîf, Bulák 1270; Suyûtî, 'Iyân al-muḥaddara fi aḥbâb Miṣr wa 'l-Khânîn, Cairo 1347; and 'All Bâhî Muslimâk, al-Khâtâf al-Tawâfîyâm, Bulâk 1904-6. Equally, bibliographies of Egypt under Islam cannot be overlooked. On the Copts proper, see W. Kammerer, A Coptic bibliography, compiled in collaboration with Elinor Huisman and Louise Slier, Ann Arbor 1950; and the monumental work of G. Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 5 vols., Vatican City 1953. Some of the books cited below also contain additional detailed bibliographical material on special subjects.

1. Primary sources. Perhaps the most important primary source is Sawiris b. al-Mukaffâ's History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, ed. C. F. Seybold (to 567 A.D.), and T. Evets (to 849), in the Patrologia Orientalis. The remainder to 1200 was jointly edited with an English tr. by Yassa 'Abd el-Muisîl, O. E. H. Burmester and A. S. Atya in 4 parts in the publications of the Society of Coptic Archaeology, Cairo 1943-55. An other chronicle,
KIBT [See ČENGANE].

KIDAM (a.) In the technical vocabulary of philosophy and theology denotes eternity. It must be distinguished from asal and from abad [q.v.]. Al-Tahhanawi writes: "Azal is the constant duration of existence in the past, as abad is its constant duration in the future." As opposed to temporal origin (bdal), it is the fact of having been preceded by nothing else (al-la-mashabiyah bi-la-qayr): asal implies a negation of the first beginning (wafy al-anwajilayya); it is therefore a case of eternity of a partition, and abad is eternity of a point. Asal and abad are essentially identical in God (inna abaduhu sai'at asaliyya), for they mean the two negative extremities which are the beginning and the end, and are both "cut off" from God (nefali 'al-farayiya al-tdafiiyya al-sani'ah). For Him they are negative attributes (cf. F. B. al-Din al-RAZI, commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God, sura VII, 180; asal and abad are classed among the real and negative attributes. First, asal is regarded as real, accompanied by relationship and negation (sifa hadilayya isqa 'al-farayiya al-qayriyya). It is eternal, in the sense of asal, that which is not preceded by nothingness, that which is in existence before any rational conception of a first beginning (khabba its'a'bul al-anwajilayya), and in the sense of abad, that which persists beyond any rational conception of an ultimate term (ba'da 'itsa'bul al-ka'iriy)....

KIBT (See ČENGANE).

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So what does hidam denote? Etymologically, the term should be associated with the Hebrew, it is a root expressing the idea of anteriority. The LA says it is exactly the same as al-Tahhanawi says of asal: "It is the contrary of temporal origin (nashri al-yaqtii)". Ibn Manuzzi also explains it through the roots saba and sabaka ("to precede in a race"). It should in fact be noted that the idea of anteriority in time or space is linked to that of superior worth, as would appear from the substantive badam and from its Kurânic use: badam is a word (X, 2) which al-Zamakhshari interprets as sabiha rea-fud wa-mansala raayta, a priority, a higher abode that God is preparing for the Believers. Another explanation is that in advance a gift has been prepared for them on the part of God (bad sahaba sentham an Allah khab), which unites the two ideas of anteriority and of the excellence of the divine gifts. It may be noted further, with regard to hidam ("step"), whence the fact of being a step ahead of the others, of precedence) that the LA, as well as al-Kurtubi in his commentary, quotes verses of Dhû 'l-Rumûn (q.v.) where the expression of Bedouin mentality may be seen: badam is associated there with high nobility and acts of splendour (maqâkhir). Since the qualities of Bedouin ethic were in general transferred by Islam to God, it may reasonably be supposed that the root K-D-M served not only to convey the anteriority of God, but also His ontological pre-eminence over all things, while it must be made clear that this is not an anteriority and a pre-eminence relative to others, as in the case of maqâkhir which implies rivalry, but qualities that are transcendental and absolute. It is in this sense that the LA says that God is maqâkhir (because he precedes all things yahuddin al-agayy), and He puts them in their place (yadab'uhu fi mansul firs). But the terms badam and hidam in the sense of eternity and the
Al-Tāhāwī adds that essential eternity is more particular (aṣhāṣ) than temporal eternity, which in its turn is more particular than relative eternity or antiquity. Thus necessary Being, which is ḍādīm, is also eternal according to a temporal point of view, since it is preceded neither by nothingness nor by that which is other than itself. But the converse is not true: thus the attributes of eternal Being, which are not preceded by nothingness since they are concomitants of its eternal essence, are not eternal in themselves and so do not have ḍādīm. The same could be said of the world which is ḍādīm of another according to the fulāṣṣa, but which is not however ḍādīm ḍādīm, because it depends on its cause, which is other than itself. As for ḍādīm ḍādīm, it is not co-extensive with ḍādīm ḍādīm. In fact, the past time of an existence may be greater compared with that which subsequently occurs for the first time. This applies to the father who is ḍādīm in relation to his son, but who is not thereby ḍādīm ḍādīm, because he is born of parents. So if we compare the world to a man, both of these have a history made up of successive events. In relation to one of these events, the past of the world and of this man extend over a time greater than that of the new happening. Each of them will therefore be called ṭādīm in relation to it. They are both ṭādīm ṭādīm. But the world is not only ṭādīm in this context: it is so in itself, because there has never been a time where it did not exist. Man is only ṭādīm in relation, for example, to the event of his paternity: doubtless he preceded it, but precisely according to the antecedence which is only relative to it. On the contrary, in the context of origins, it is ḍādīm ḍādīm which is the most particular; then comes ḍādīm ḍādīm and finally ḍādīm ḍādīm. It is this because everything whose existence in the past covers a lesser time-span (ahāl) is therefore ḍādīm ḍādīm and ḍādīm ḍādīm. A fortiori, it is ḍādīm ḍādīm. This analysis has clearly been influenced by the thought of philosophers who tend to associate eternity with the ontological necessity of the wajīb al-wujūd and ḍādīm with continuity. Theologians simply understand by ḍādīm that which is not preceded by nothingness, or in the vocabulary of al-Tāhāwī, ḍādīm ḍādīm.

To what does the notion of eternity apply? ḍādīm relates first to the essence of God. On this point all the philosophers and religious scholars are in agreement. On the question of the eternity of the attributes of God, there are differences of opinion among the muṣtaḥalimīn. God is eternal because He is not subject to an origin, and being, cannot be other than muḥdād or ḍādīm. If God were subject to origin, in order to exist He would need another being to create him, a muḥdād. But the question would apply to the latter too and so on to infinity. So one must affirm the existence of God as eternal Creator, as it is expressed by 'Abd al-ḌāIRRār (al-ṢāÕīr al-Ḥaḏīm). This argument, which bears a philosophical mark, is not the exclusive property of the Muṭashīlīs. It is found in the same or similar terms in the Kitāb al-Tashkhīl of al-Bāḍīlīnī, in the chapter where he shows that the real being which is subject to origin (fīl al-mukdatta) cannot itself be the fruit of an origin. It is found in the Kitāb al-Ṭabrān of al-Duwaynī, where he proves that the existence of the Eternal "does not inaugurate itself" (waṣṣāṣ ṭādīm ḍādīm nisfis); in the same place he gives an interesting and precise observation on the concept of an existence that has no beginning: does this not imply an infinite succession of moments? He replies...
that the moment of a thing is defined by the fact that it is contemporary with other things. Now God is not contemporary with any other thing. So the eternity of God is implied by his uniqueness.

The Ash'ari school admits the eternity of the divine attributes. On the contrary, the Marubis express the major principle that "God has no co-


ternal" according to the formula of ‘Abd al-Djabbār in the Sharḥ (la ḫadima ma‘ al-Dībā). Nevertheless, they recognize as eternal four attributes: existence, life, knowledge and power. In fact, according to al-Djabbār and the majority of the learned men of the school, these four attributes necessarily belong to God through his essence, therefore they are also eternal. His knowledge is His being in acts of knowledge (la mmu ‘dīnē mientras) and the same applies to the other sifāt. Or furthermore, He knows through a knowledge which is Himself (Abu ʿl-Haḍhāη), etc. They do not say that He possesses eternal knowledge, but that he has not ceased to be in acts of knowledge (lam yatal ‘asmd‘īhi wa-fijatihi), etc. ‘Abdāb b. Sulaymān refused to say that God possesses knowledge, any more than He possesses eternity (kidām); but it may be said that He is eternal (ḥadim). Contrariwise, Ibn Kullāb thought that God is in acts of knowledge through a knowledge belonging to Him, and so on. To say that He is eternal, is to assert that He has not ceased to be in His Names and Attributes (lam yazal bi-asma‘ihi wa-yāsfihi; Makbālid). The essence of God alone is eternal, not in the sense that it is stripped of all attributes, but on the contrary, clad in all that belong to God. Some of his disciples claimed that God is eternal through an eternity (ḥadim bi-ḥadim), others that He is eternal, but not through an eternity (ḥadim bi-ḥadim). We here deal here within two subtleties of language, as in the distinction between the two expressions "God has not ceased to be" and "God has not ceased to be through the eternal attribute of eternity." A passage from the Makbālid deserves notice, however: "The supporters of the theory of attributes (aṣṣāb al-sifāt) differ in opinion concerning the attributes of the Creator: are they eternal or have they had an origin? Some say that they are eternal. Others declare: "If we say that the Creator is eternal in His attributes, we do not need to say that His attributes are eternal; so we say neither that they are eternal, nor that they have had an origin." According to al-Tahānawi, Abū Ḩāṣim added a fifth eternal attribute to the four above-mentioned: holiness (al-lābīyya), which is distinct from essence. This is reminiscent of the divinitas of the 12th century theologian of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porre. It is no doubt to this thesis that ‘Abd al-Djabbār alludes when he writes that, according to Abū Ḩāṣim, the attributes belong to God necessarily, and by virtue of that to which he confirms in his (li-ma ḫuca ‘alayhi fi ḫattāḥī). So it is through divinity that these attributes are eternal. For Sulaymān b. Dartr and other Ṣifātīyya, the attributes belong to God necessarily through "notions (li-ma‘dīn) which can be qualified neither by existence nor non-existence, nor by origin nor eternity" (Sharḥ). It is the concept of notional attribute (ṣifā ma‘nawiyyya), a term that has been translated variously as "mercurial", "qualitative", or even "excitative". It is nothing other than the qualification made necessary by the notion that one has of God. Ma‘ndā is always a notion signifying cause fundamento in re. The attribute ma‘nawiy therefore is not essence; neither is it a "thing" in God. It is that which the reality of God demands that one says of God. But, here too, that which is eternal is God and his essence, and the ṣifā ma‘nawiyyya escapes all ontological alternatives. Nevertheless, according to ‘Abd al-Djabbār, certain disciples of Ibn Kullāb ratified the ma‘nawiy and considered it to be eternal; for them the four aforementioned attributes are fitting to God by means of the ma‘nawiyyya, which may be translated by "eternal entities". (We may note with ‘Abd al-Djabbār that here azālit has the sense of ḫadim, as often happens.) The ḫadīsi points out however that these Kullābiyya did not dare employ this formula in its absolute sense, so as not to run counter to the unanimity of the Muslims over the denial of co-eternal attributes.

From the same root as kidām is the 5th form masdar, tabaidūn, which occurs in a very interesting commentary by Rāzi on the Qurʿān, LVII, 3: "He is First and Last". The word tabaidūn (antecedence) has several meanings: (1) al-tabaidūn bi ‘l-badī‘, where the antecedent exercises an influence over the consequent, for example, the movement of the finger entails that of the ring; (2) al-tabaidūn bi ‘l-badī‘-ma‘zūn, based on the need which the consequent has of the antecedent; thus the number one is anterior to the number two without being its cause; (3) al-tabaidūn bi ‘l-sharaf, according to worth; thus Abū Bakr has precedence over ʿUmar; (4) al-tabaidūn bi ‘l-martaba, according to a hierarchical order, either sensible, such as the place of the imām in prayers before the faithful who pray; or rational, such as the place of the genus in relation to the species; (5) al-tabaidūn bi ‘l-zamān, temporal antecedence or kalīyya; to which al-Rāzī adds (6) "But I think that there is a sixth division which is the antecedence of certain parts of time in relation to others; this antecedence is not temporal, otherwise it would be necessary for time to develop another time, to the point of infinity, Thus the present would be within another present which would be within a third present... and all these presents would be present at the present moment (kulluhu ḫāṭira fi ḫāṭira ‘l-ʿān). But the ensemble of these moments would be posterior to the ensemble of past moments, to the extent that there would be another time for the ensemble of times (masdar bi-ṣamān al-ṣamān), which is absurd, for, being a time, it would have to enter into the ensemble of times. Consequently, it would be both within and outside this ensemble, which is impossible. "Furthermore, this antecedence of parts of time in relation to one another is not an antecedence according to causality, nor according to need, otherwise they would co-exist; evidently it is not according to worth, nor according to space. It is therefore a sixth kind of tabaidūn. Now the Qurʿān shows that God is First (Primus, not prior) for all that is not Him, and al-Rāzī shows here that this qualification only fits the necessary, first and unique Being, for all that is not Him is possible (muḥmīn) and the possible exists only through origin: it is muḥbūth. But what is the nature of this divine antecedence? It is not owed to an act of influence, for the agent and the patient are relative one to another and co-existent. It is not a priority founded on need, since the precedence here is absolute. It is not a precedence owed to worth, for it cannot be said that God is more worthy or more noble (adār) than possible existence? He is not comparable (although in one sense, necessary existence implies a fullness of being besides which the existence of the possible is deficient). As for antecedencies according to time or space, they have no meaning for God, because time and space are possibles which depend on an origin.
God, being anterior to the totality of times, is not anterior according to time, otherwise the divine anteriority would have to enter into the ensemble of times, since it would be a time; but it would have to be exterior to it, because it would contain them all and that which contains is other than what is contained. This would be an absurdity. Apparently al-Rāzī is proposing, in so far as concerns God, a sixth kind of anteriority which is not without analogies to the anteriorities of parts of time in relation to one another. However, these are not identical and that is why al-Rāzī, when introducing his sixth division, does not say it is, but only that it is like ... In conclusion, we know that God is First in a universal manner (‘alad sabbt al-ṣiyām), not in a detailed manner (‘alad sabbt al-luṭfī). As for grasping the reality of this priority (sama‘khfīyya), human intelligences have not the means, since they cannot escape temporal forms. We may note that a similar division of ṭabaddum is to be found in the Maḥbūb al-falāshīfī of al-Ghazzālī, except that the ṭabaddum bi ‘l-hadījaha is called ṭabaddum bi ‘l-fa‘āb, in a case where the antecedent is not suppressed by the suppression of the consequent, but the consequent is suppressed by the suppression of the antecedent (as with a series of numbers), and except that ṭabaddum bi ‘l-lu‘tffī bears the name ṭabaddum bi ‘l-dhāt (in the relation of cause to effect).

The doctrine of the eternity of the world (see arānt) was upheld in Islam only by the ṣalāṣa, directly following the systems of thought of the Greek philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria, Proclus, and John Philoponos the Grammarien. The two Takaddūf of al-Ghazzālī and of Ibn Rughd deal with it in a detailed fashion. The fundamental argument is that it is impossible to conceive a temporal beginning to the world, a moment of time in which it was created, in such a way that an empty time preceded the creation. In fact, if, as Aristotle maintains, time is the numerical measurement of movement (a theory taken up by the ẓalāṣa, see mārkā), movement demanding a mobile thing, moving bodies, the physical world and in particular the stars, then it is impossible for time to have existed before the existence of the world. Furthermore, if it existed, it would be eternal or created. But eternity does not conform with time that is changing and elapsing (takaddūf); each of its parts is new in relation to the preceding part, and time renews itself (yadalāddad) in every one of its instants. If time is hadīt in each of its parts, it has all the more reason for being so in its totality. So it is created: but then the process arises: is it created in time and did a time exist before that? That is absurd. This is the argument as taken on the part of the world. On the part of God, given a temporal creation, what did the Creator do before creating? Was He inactive? That is not his nature and it is written (II, 255) that "Neither weariness nor sleep take hold of Him". Besides, if He was first inactive, then active, a change would have taken place in Him, which is inadmissible. What would have induced Him to create at the moment when He undertook His creation? A muraddidījī, something which could have turned the helix in the enigma of creation? But this muraddidījī is eternal or created. If it is eternal, the world must also be eternal, unless some other thing could prevent this muraddidījī from acting; this is known as tark al-muraddidījī. This tark in its turn will be created or uncreated. If it is eternal, there must have been, for creation to have taken place, the intervention of a tark tark al-muraddidījī, and so on. If now the muraddidījī is created, the question applies to it as to the world.

For their part, the theologians who believe in the creation of the world in time object on the grounds that if the world is eternal, it has no beginning, it has never ceased to exist and consequently it has existed for an infinite period of time. Now, according to an Aristotelian principle, it is impossible to traverse an infinite time. If there is an infinity of instants to traverse in order to arrive at the present instant that exists, it is impossible to arrive there and it does not exist. This is a contradiction. The same reasoning is made in considering the infinite chain of causes: the effect that exists at present could not possibly exist. The difficulty arises from the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. But it may be said that the world is eternal is to affirm that while remaining in the interior of the world and of the time which is linked to the world, one will never find a moment which could be its first beginning. One will need to go back indefinitely, but not to infinity. In other words, we are dealing here with an indefinite, or in the language of Aristotle, with an infinity in power, not an infinity in action. In short, the objection signifies that the expression "not having a beginning in time" means "having a beginning in infinite time." Besides, an infinity may be traversed if it is contained; between two points on a line, an infinite number of points is traversed. Ibn Sīnā seems to have held this view with regard to the problem of the first cause, analogous to the problem of the first beginning. If one considers the ensemble (jianfala) of causes within this world, it is clear that each one of them is at once cause and effect. Therefore, one cannot insert into this ensemble a first cause which would be without cause. "Every ensemble of which each unit is an effect caused demands a cause exterior to these units." In such a hypothesis of a causal chain "every series composed of causes and effects, whether finite or infinite, shows itself, if it contains within itself only caused effects, to need a cause that is exterior to it, but is definitely in continuity with it, as with a limit (lataṣṣa bihā jarada‘a‘na)." If the components of this ensemble are infinite, we are then dealing with a limited infinite ensemble. That is to say, that in the search for the first cause, it will be seen to stand out as a limit to the infinite which thought can never reach and towards which it strives. But its action does not need to traverse the infinite discontinuity of causes and effects in order to act his et nunu, for, as Ibn Sīnā points out "every cause of an ensemble which is not one of the units of that ensemble is in the first place cause of these units and in consequence cause of the ensemble." Such is one of Ibn Sīnā’s points of view on this question, according to the ṭabaddūt. Another objection to the theory of the eternity of the world is based on astronomy. We have an example of it in the Fīsāl of Ibn Ḥaẓm. Having declared that to an infinite time one can add nothing, and having thus shown that the infinity of centuries to come adds nothing to the infinity of centuries passed, Ibn Ḥaẓm writes: "In its circumscribed orbit Saturn passes one revolution in three hundred years and it has never ceased to turn. The greatest sphere, in these thirty years, makes approximately 11,000 revolutions, and it has never ceased to turn. Now beyond any doubt, 11,000 revolutions is greater than one alone. Consequently, that which is infinite will be approximately 11,000 times greater than that which is infinite, which is absurd." This is a
crucial variation on the same theme: the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. The reasoning of Ibn Hazm is ingenious, but it ignores the powers of the infinite.

And what of the end of the world? Plato apart, the philosophers held the view that that which has a beginning has an end, and correspondingly that which has no beginning has no end. From a creationist perspective, one could, however, admit that God will not destroy that which He has created, in such a way that the world could have been created, but eternal a parte post. For the philosophers, the universe cannot perish, but a part of it may disappear. For the theologians who believe in the end of the world, there remain Paradise and Hell which are eternal in the sense of abadi; in fact, it is written that the Chosen and the Damned shall dwell there eternally (hum fiha khalidin, as the Kur'an says in a number of places). But on the basis of the verse where God describes Himself as the Last, Djinah b. Salwân supposed that Paradise and Hell shall also have an end, and he found a confirmation of his theory in verses 207 and 208 of Sûra XI, "To dwell there eternally as long as the heavens and the earth remain". Thus God will find Himself as absolutely alone in post-eternity as he was in pre-eternity.

Bibliography: See the bibliography. Texts which should be especially consulted: Ash'arî, Mâkâlât al-Islâmîyya; Al-kifâ, K. al-Tamâhih; Djawwânî, K. al-Irjâh; "Abî al-Djâbbâr, Sharâ al-wâlî al-khâmous; Ibn Hazm, Fiqâh, ch. on those who say that the world is eternal; "Abî al-Kâhir al-Baghdâdi, K. Uqlâ al-dîn, 4th principle, 1st question: explanation of the number of the eternal (asâliyya) attributes. Studies and articles: M. Allard, Le problème des attributs divins, Beirut 1965; R. Arnaldes, La pensée religieuse d'Avrâlès, saât vii (1957); idem, Intro. to the De uterque mundi mundi of Philo of Alexandria, with Fr. tr. of J. Fouilloux, Paris 1969; E. Delhez, Die Ewigkeit der Welt, München-Facherborn-Vienna 1965.

KIFT, KIFT, KIFT, ancient Coptos, a small town of Upper Egypt situated where the Nile approaches its closest to the Red Sea (some 40 km. north of the ruins of Thebes, and about 2 km. to the east of the river). In Pharaonic times it was connected with the exploitation of the minerals in the hills between the Nile and Red Sea and with trade through the eastern part of Egypt, and enjoyed its greatest florescence in the Greek and Roman periods. Strabo describes the organisation of traffic up the Nile to Coptos, then by caravan across the desert to the Red Sea, and calls it a "town inhabited by the Egyptians and the Arabs together". In fact, it was a centre of attraction for the peoples of the eastern desert coming to trade there, above all, for the Bedja (q.v.), who doubtless received from there their Christianity; a bishop of the Bedja resided at Coptos-Kift. It formed the centre of a pagarchy, then of a baîra, but then the position of Kift as a starting-point for tracks to the Red Sea (in 132/750 some members of the Unayyad family fled there temporarily, probably with the intention of escaping) lost importance when the mainstream of oriental trade started using the Persian Gulf instead.

The tribes of the Nile-Red Sea deserts started attending the Nile valley; Kift was plundered with impunity in 242/859 by the Bedja, who were still Christian, and not till 243/862 was a rampart constructed to protect the settlement. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, al-Mas'ûdî wrote that Kift was the last important town to be severed from the ancient trade routes.
consisting of a list of the techniques which it comprised, according to places and periods. It is such a pragmatic definition which may be drawn from the Arabic documentation reckoned to preserve pre-Islamic traditions.

But in the mediaeval era, with the impact of Greek and Hellenistic philosophical thought, there was born, among the Arabs and the Islamized Iranians, a taste for theoretical definitions and methodological classifications. Already, in the works of a polylogistic like al-Mas'udî (d. 349/960) there are recorded a number of attempts at theoretical definitions which have been summarised by T. Fahd in *La divination arabe*, 43-5; cf. Muraḍî, iii, 347 ff. = §§ 1233 ff. Some philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Qazâlî, Ibn Ruhān and Maimonides, have tackled this problem and attempted to elucidate it (cf. *La divination arabe*, 51-53). Then came Ibn Khādîn who put together all these speculations (ibid.; 45-51). He emphasised that as a branch of prophetic practice, divination constitutes the lowest echelon. Like prophecy, it is a divine gift entrusted to a privileged group, men and women. In fact, according to al-Kazwînî, there exist illuminated and celestial souls which possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits. These are the souls of prophets and saints; they are also the souls of physiognomists, of soothsaying genealogists and of those who can see the future by means of past and present events. "As for the souls of the soothsayers", he continues, "they receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations" (i, 317-22; *La divination arabe*, 50-52).

So, divination is seen to be theoretically legitimised by inclusion in the mainstream of prophecy (on divination and prophecy see *La divination arabe*, 63-90). But, for practical purposes, it was necessary to strip it of all that was obsolete and too closely linked to paganism. From that point was born, in Islamic literature, a detailed inventory of divinatory practices, with precise definitions of the techniques listed. In their taste for the classification of knowledge, encyclopaedists and bibliographers finished by conferring upon the concept of divination an epistemological quality. We shall begin with the most detailed classification, that of al-Ḥājīdî Khâlîsî (i, 34-5), who draws the data of his inventory from his predecessors, from Ibn al-Nâdir (Fîhrist) to Tâshkîrîzâde (Mîṣfâh al-wâdīda).

Islamic divination, a legacy both of ancient Semitic divination and of Hellenistic divination, is divided into three categories:

1. *Irâsâ* [q.n.], or physiognomancy, and its ramifications. Under this heading, eleven sciences are listed:
   1. *ilm al-shamâl wa l-ḥâlîn "beauty-spots and birthmarks" (see *Kâfîh* and *La divination arabe*, 398-9).
   2. *ilm al-şārīs, "charomancy" (see *Al-Kâfî* and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).
   3. *ilm al-khâfîf, "conspicuousness" (see *Al-Kâfî* and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).
   4. *ilm ḥiyâfat (read ḥiyâfat) al-ṭarîq "observation of footprints (on the ground)" (see *Kîyâfâ* and *La divination arabe*, 370-5).
   5. *ilm ḥiyâfat al-ḥâsir, "divination by morphoscopic and genealogical lines" (see *Kîyâfâ* and *Kîyâfâ* and also *La divination arabe*, 370-99).
   6-7-8. *ilm al-ḥîdâdâ fi l-ḥâfîdâ wa l-ḥâfîr, "the sense of orientation in deserts"; *ilm ismâbâl al-mâḍâdîn "the detection of minerals"; *ilm al-ḥiyâfat, "the detection of wells". These three categories may be put together under the heading of "divinatory observation of the ground" (see *Kâfîh* and *La divination arabe*, 403-6).
   9. *ilm nûrûl al-gâyûd "the knowledge of (signs foretelling) rainfall". This consists in meteorological divination with its various techniques: nomancy, capnomancy, anemomancy, phyllomancy, brolomancy, etc. (see *Kânîh*, *Mâdîmâna* and *La divination arabe*, 407-17).
   10. *ilm al-ṣâfâ, "knowledge of the future by means of past events". This definition suggests that it is a case stricto sensu of inductive divination, although actually ṣafâ implied a certain intuitive, and consequently ecstatic, awareness (see *Kânîh* and *La divination arabe*, 403-9).
   11. *ilm al-ṣâhîddîlî, "palmonancy" (see *Kîhîfâh* and *La divination arabe*, 397-402).

II. *Sihr* [q.n.] or magic, and its ramifications.

12. *ilm al-khâšîn, "divination" (astrological divination, involving incantations and invitations to the stars). Thus the influence of Hellenistic ideas led to the division of divination into two types, traditional divination or ṣafâ and astrological divination, which underwent a great expansion in the Hellenistic period and which the Arabs came to know through the many translations of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Hindu astrological writings (see *Kâfîh* and *La divination arabe*, 478-97).


14. *ilm al-khârîhûs, "knowledge of the properties of divine names (al-ismâ al-khâsrî), of prayers (daʿâdî), of numbers (see *Dârâf* and *Kâfûrâ*) and various other special things" (see *Kâfîh* and *Kânîh*; *La divination arabe*, 214-45; *Le monde du sorcier*, 175-6).

15. *ilm al-rûșîyâ, "sympathetic actions or sorcery" (see *Kâfû* and *Le monde du sorcier*, loc. cit.).

16. *ilm al-ṣâfâ, "conjurations of demons or incantations" (see *Sârâ* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 164-5).

17. *ilm al-ṣîrâdâ, "the evocation of spirits in physical force" (see *Kîhîfâ* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 170 ff.).

18. *ilm al-dârît al-hâlûsîrî "the invocation of (the spirits of the planets)" (see *Kâfû* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 189 ff.).

19. *ilm al-fâriṣrîrî (mâšîyâtârî), "the art of making phylacteries" (see *Kâfû* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

20. *ilm al-ṣâfâ, "the art of making oneself instantly invisible" (see *Nîhrî* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 184 ff.).

21. *ilm al-ḥîyâl al-sâbînîyâ, "the art of trickery and forgery" (see ibid.).

22. *ilm al-ḥaḍîr al-daḥâ, "the art of disclosing frauds" (see ibid.).

23. *ilm al-ṣâfâ, "conjuration" (see ibid.).

24. *isl al-tâlîb al-ḥâbî, "charms" (see *Kâfû* and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

25. *ilm al-ṣâfâ, "the art of employing the properties of drugs" (see *Nîhrî*).

III. Judicial astrology (see *Nîhrî* and its ramifications.

26. *ilm al-ṣâfîyârîdî, "hermeneutics and melanologies" (see *Kîhîfâh* and *La divination arabe*, 483-8).

27. *ilm al-ṣâmîrî, "geomancy" (see *Kîhîfâh* and *La divination arabe*, 195-204).

28. *ilm al-fâlî, "omens" (see *Fâl*; *Kîyâfâ*; *La divination arabe*, 431-519).

29. *ilm al-mâkî, "râphâdomancy" (see *Kû*; *La divination arabe*, 214-19).
30. *Sim al-fira*, "orichomancy" (see FAT, \*YAPA; *La divination arabe*, 431 ff., 498-516). As can be seen, in this inventory, Islamic divination avails itself of methods belonging to magic and astrology. A single term embraces all these arts: *Sim al-fira*, "the art of apprehending the invisible". Any method permitting the acquisition of supernatural knowledge or assumed to do so is considered as relevant to divination.

IV. The disciplines omitted in this inventory.

31. Divination by dreams (see TA\'A\'IN AL-KU\'RA\'A; *La divination arabe*, 247-57, 258; Fahid, *Les songes et leur interpretation selon l'Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, ii (1959), 127-53). The absence of oniricism among the divinatory techniques is justified by the fact that it occupies in Islam a higher place than that of divination in the sphere of religious inspiration. It is closer to prophecy, of which it constitutes a true survival. This is the case in the forty (or forty-six) parts (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 343), while divination is the lowest echelon.

32-4. Among chernomantic practices, only rhapsodomancy and geomancy are mentioned. (32) Belomancy (see *La divination arabe*, 181-8). (33) Lithoboly (see RAYY AL-DUMAR; *La divination arabe*, 186-95), (34) mayor (see AL-MASIR; *La divination arabe*, 204-14).

The absence of these practices in the above inventory is due to the fact that they were associated with pagan culture and they were thus prohibited in the Kor\'an. (35-41. The use of the oracle (in its various forms: chad, radja, hafit [q.e.v.], ventriloquism, and necromancy; see, *La divination arabe*, 128-9), which was still popular in pre-Islamic Arabia, (36) exspisapny, (37) hepatoscopy, (38) teratomancy, (39) medical diagnoses, (40) lecanomancy, (41) ordeal, manic disciplines much used in ancient Mesopotamia, are present only as vague survivals in Islamic divinatory literature (cf. the index of techniques and ideas in *La divination arabe*, 591-3, and J. Nougayrol, *La divination babylonienne*, *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, i, 28-81).

If the diviner ceased officially to exist in Islam, divination survived, but considerably changed, adapted progressively to the taste of the period and enriched by new Hellenistic, Persian and Hindu practices, to which were added the local practices of the conquered territories. At the end of this period of adaptation and enrichment, Islamic divination progressively lost its primitive oracular nature to become a techne, an art or a science (*Sim*). It is thus, for example, that to beomancy, condemned by the Kor\'an because of the its connection with paganism, there succeeded *Sim al-kurra* or rhapsodomancy, *Sim al-qasr* and *Sim al-kurri* or onomatomancy, *Sim bhawas al-Kur\'an*, a combination of rhapsodomancy and onomatomancy, *Sim al-nam* or geomancy and *Sim al-majdiya*, a sort of machine for producing emblems. To onomatomancy, in the sense of dream-messages received directly from the divinity by a man or by his substitute and often expressed in explicit language, there succeeded *Sim al-ta\'at* or oneirocricism. To *biya\'a* or physiognomy, there succeeded *Sim al-firdasa* or physiognomy and the ramifications indicated above. The sphere of fari or emblems was enriched by the transition of the Arabs from a nomadic to a sedentary culture, while preserving nevertheless, its original structure, especially where onomatomancy was concerned (cf. *La divination arabe*, 525-6).

Islamic divination resembles a crucible in which the divinatory practices of Semitic and Hellenistic antiquity were fused. The rich divinatory literature written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish conveys us an imposing heritage the study of which will contribute to a better understanding of ancient and mediaeval religious beliefs.


(T. Fahid)
rians and geographers, but it is very probable that Kalat marks the site of mediaeval Kizkahan or Kikan, judging by the latter's position in the itineraries; it seems to be the K-kiangna of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuenstang (see Marguarit, Eranomâr, iv. 273-5). Kikan and Balak were raided by the Arab commander Sûman b. Salmâz al-Mughâfîl and then by al-Munfihir b. al-Dîrâbî al-Sâbî as early as Mu'awiyah's caliphate (Bâlîbhûr, P. 433-4). In the 14th/15th century, Kalian Khân Khan was named as the residence of the ruler of the region of Tûran (on which see Minorsky in El i. 820), Ibn Hawâlî b. 324, tr. Kramers-Wiet 378-7, calls Mu'tazz b. Ahmad, adding that he recognized the 'Abbûsids in his khâla (a point probably made by Ibn Hawalâl because the adjacent province of Sind at this time acknowledged the Fâtimids and the Ismâ'îlî imâmâtes). However, the capital of the region was located not long afterwards at Kúsâd, modern Khuzdâr, 30 miles to the south of Kizkâhân/Kalat (see کشنا). In the early Ghânawid period, it is recorded that Mas'ûd b. Mahmûd went on hunting in the district of Khânân (Bayhaâl, Târîh-i Mawdâlî, ed. Ghari and Fâyvûl, 126). Shortly after the end of the 12th century, Kalat has been in the hands of Brahyûls from the Kâhârân tribe, from whom the later Ahmadzây Khân of Khânân was descended. In the 13th century, the Khânns recognized the suzerainty of Nâdir Shah Afshâr and Ahmad Shah Durrânî (sq. sq.) during their Indian campaigns, and their power in Balûhistân grew. The greatest of the chiefs of this period, Nâsîr Khân b. 'Abd Allâh, tried to shake off Afghan control, and though Ahmad Shah defeated him in battle, the latter was unable to take Kalat town from Nâsîr Khân, despite three attempts (1772/1758). It was Nâsîr Khân who built the citadel of Kalat, known as the Mirî, which became the Khânî's palace. We possess descriptions of Kalat during the first half of the 19th century by travellers such as H. Pettinger (1826), who mentions the mud-brick defensive walls pierced with gun-holes and the ample water supply from a spring, which also turned several mills.

Kalat, in the southern part of the Khânân, is a spur of the Karljan-Dugh Mts. Kalat-i Nâsidr is located not long afterwards at Kusdst near the Irano-Soviet border, on a spur of the Kârdhâr-Dîgh Mts. Kalat-i Nâdir consists of a high valley (altitude 2,500-3,000 feet), some twenty miles long and running west-east, which is converted into a natural fortress by walls of the northern rampart is even higher. These walls have been in the hands of Brahyûls of the Kambarânîs ever since the 12th century, and the Brahyûl territories were now returned to the Khân, and with the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Panjab in 1845, British influence was brought right up to the frontiers of the Khânân. The Khânns themselves suffered several decades of disputed authority and tribal turmoil, till in 1876 the Government of India was compelled to intervene, and Capt. (later Sir Robert) Sandeman negotiated an agreement between the Khân and rival chiefs, making Kalat a protected native state, with a British Political Agent to be henceforth stationed at Quetta. The northern borders of the Khânân, Quetta, Nushkân and Kahruân were leased to Britain in perpetuity, to form British Balûhistân, and the right to levy transit dues at the Bolân Pass commuted for an annual subsidy (see T. H. Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier, London 1895, 39-87, 128-8, etc.). Even so, further intervention was necessary in 1893, when the tyrannical Mir Khudâlî k. Mîhrân was deposed from his Khânêtî under the Government of India.

The earthquake of 1893 affected Kalât badly, as well as Quetta and Mustang, demolishing most of the old town and causing widespread economic damage through destruction of the irrigation System (see کوشکر). In 1909 strained relations and clashes between the Khan of Kalât and the chief of Kharân (sq.) to the south-west of Kalat, were regarded as a threat to the foundations of Kharân as a separate native state under the control of the British Political Agent. Early in 1949 the Khan of Kalat acceded to Pakistan and his Khânate became part of the Balûhistân States Union, with the Khan no longer an independent ruler but enjoying a privy purse from the central government.

(2) The province. This included by the 15th century the districts of Saravan, Dzhalwan, Kachch and Makrân, and the tributary states of Las Bêla and Kharân. In 1555 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, and Kalat became a separate District under a Deputy Commissioner, whilst Kharân, Makrán and Las Bêla formed separate Districts. Kalat District is today the biggest in area of all Pakistan, covering 30,932 sq. miles in area and with a population, made up of Brahûls, Bâlîs, Jhâts, etc., of 34,420 (1966 census).

Bibliography: (in addition to sources mentioned in the text): Lo Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 332-3; P. M. Sykes, Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran, London 1902, 235-7; Imperial gazetteer of India, xiv, 299-306; R. Hughes-Buller, Balûhistân District gazetteer series, 1907, Zambour, Memul, 306; Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census reports, Kalat, pastim; Baigur Beg Khan of Kalat, Inside Balûhistân, 1975; El art, Balûhistân (M. Longworth Davies), for the detailed political history of the Khânât under British suzerainty.

(C. E. Bosworth)
It became of especial strategic importance to site for the treasure-house in which he deposited during the Crimean War, but finally demolished by occupation by a French force on 17th January 1853 by Turkey at the settlement of Kükü Kaynarjia.

The Ottomans when the Russians started descending the Dniepr. The Russians with the garrison of Orik (Otrakof) opposite to it, in the rivers to the Black Sea, and major reconstructions were accordingly undertaken in 1709 and 1710. Within the Kâlbûrun promontory is an inner isthmus slender as a single hair (kil). It lies at 2 sea miles’s distance from the fortress of Özi or Oczakof, and at the tip of the cape was a fortress built by the Ottomans.

Kâlbûrun came into prominence at the beginning of the 18th/19th century as a result of the Cossack invasions towards the Black Sea coastlands (Kâlbûrun Celebi, Fedâilâhe, Istanbul 1825, ii, 79, 107), hence Kâlbûrun, against Cossack raids (Poechi, Ta’rifk, Istanbul 1823, ii, 252). The one constructed at Kâlbûrun had a staff of 193 persons (Blâbokân). Kâlbûrun had a staff of 193 persons (Blâbokân).

In 1153/1741, Nâdir ibn al-a’lâm, son of Sulaymân b. Kutlumush [ nhớ; second Sâldât prince of Asia Minor. At an early age, he was in Antioch when his father was killed in battle fighting Tûsùh [ nhớ; and he was handed over as a hostage to Malik Shâh [ nhớ; who conquered Syria in 1086. On the death of the latter (1092) he managed to escape, and arrived in Nicaea, his father’s former residence, where he seems without much difficulty to have found a refuge.

Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far beyond the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dorylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor; but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the lines of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Kûlûk Arslan and Dânîshmend, which Dânîshmend, it is true, played the more significant role; the latter, at the head of his troops, threatened on all his frontiers, sought to use against his other opponents those of the Turks whom he hoped gradually to assimilate or to neutralise.

Kûlûk Arslan was especially anxious to maintain relations with the Turkish East, which other Turks, in particular the Dânîshmendids [ nhớ; were threatening to cut off. In summoning his father to Nicaea, Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far in advance of what then was still the principal zone of Turcoman population.

It was in these circumstances that the Crusades intervened, enabling Alexis temporarily to abandon the task of dealing with the Turks. Kûlûk Arslan crushed the Peasant Crusade of Peter the Hermit, but was subsequently forced to give up Nicaea, along with his harem, to the Barons’ Crusade, and was later beaten by the Christians again on the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dogrylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor; but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the lines of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Kûlûk Arslan and Dânîshmend, which Dânîshmend, it is true, played the more significant role; the latter, at the head of his troops, deprived the Franco-Armenians of the strategic centre of Malaya, vital to Kûlûk Arslan’s links with the East. Also, when Dânîshmend died in 1104, Kûlûk Arslan, who had become reconciled with the Greeks to the point of sending them contingents to fight other enemies (1106), came and occupied the place.

From there he was able to control Upper Mesopotamia, where the lieutenants of his Eastern Sâldât cousins were in conflict with one another. When the enemies of Sultan Muhammed b. Malik Shâh [ nhớ;
appealed to him for help, he confronted the army of the latter on the Khabur, and was killed (1107). This was for a long time the last intervention by the Saljūqs of Rûm in the East, and the roughly-constituted Turkish state was definitively enclosed within Asia Minor proper.


**KLİDİ ARSLAN II**, son and successor of Mas'ūd I, and one of the most important sultans of Rûm (1155-92).

Mas'ūd had, in dealing with the Greeks, succeeded in restoring the position of the Saljūqs in relation to the Dānghemzids who were divided by quarrels over the succession. Klidlj Arslan at first maintained this policy, and carried it to the extent of offering the Byzantine Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople in 1162 a form of allegiance which, in concrete terms, cost him nothing. He was then able to make himself master of a portion of the Dānghemzid possessions, and he would have taken them all had he not been confronted by the powerful ruler of Muslim Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. The latter, champion of the Holy War against the Christians, pretended indignation at Klidlj Arslan's relations with the Greeks. The two princes in fact were alternately allied and at odds, Klidlj Arslan helping Nūr al-Dīn to deprive the Franks of their possessions on the Syro-Anatolian frontiers with the object of sharing them with his rival, and Nūr al-Dīn extending his power over this territory as soon as the Saljūq sultan withdrew. The conquest of Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenants Shā ḥūk and Śalāḥ al-Dīn crowned his glory, and Klidlj Arslan's enemies persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to undertake an expedition into Asia Minor which forced Klidlj Arslan to recognize what remained of Dānghemzid rule. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, he annexed them (Malatyā in 1177) thus accomplishing, from the Byzantine territories in the West almost to the furthest limits of the East, the political unity of Asia Minor.

He no longer needed to deal with the Greeks, and on his side, Manuel Comnenus, though strengthened by the general success of his foreign policy, was uneasy at the growing power of the sultan, and decided that he must put an end to it. In 1176, at the head of a powerful army, he advanced on the Anatolian plateau, but was crushed at Myrsokêphalos. This was, after an interval of a century, a replica of Mantzikert, which showed that henceforward the power of the Saljūqs of Rûm was not comparable to that of Khusraw III, the young son of the sultan of Rûm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the amirs, worried at the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw IV (q.v.).

**KLİDİ ARSLAN III**, the young son of the sultan of Rûm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the amirs, worried at the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw IV (q.v.).

**KLİDİ ARSLAN IV**, better known by his ḥabūd of Rukn al-Dīn, one of the sons and successors of Kay Khusraw II (1246). It was at the beginning of the period of the Mongol protectorate that, the three sons of the late sovereign all being minors, the senior amir, in order to safeguard the unity of the state, sought to install, under their own executive power, a sultunate shared jointly between the three young princes; Klidlj Arslan was sent on a mission to the Mongol chief Batu to persuade him to accept this solution. This very mission alone established a special relationship between Klidlj Arslan and the Mongols, and for many years two opposing parties were in conflict: the one, taking him as its figurehead, believing that the only possible course of action was to make a treaty with the Mongols, the other, relying behind his brother Izz al-Dīn, seeking to organize resistance with the aid of the Turcomans of the West and in alliance with the Byzantines. Successive schems resulted, leading on each occasion to a division, temporary at first, between the territories in the east, triouing the Mongols who were close by, awarded to Klidlj Arslan, and those of the west, left to Izz al-Dīn. United for the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa; the latter, an enemy of the Byzantines, had established diplomatic relations with Klidlj Arslan who, indifferent to Syro-Palestinian affairs, was inclined to promise him free passage. But Izz al-Dīn's Turcomans attacked the Germans, who converged on Konya (1190). Shortly after, the old sultan succeeded in escaping from the semi-captivity in which his son was holding him, and took refuge with another of his sons, the son of a Greek mother, who was established on the western borders. It was there that he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

**Bibliography:** Sources include the Byzantine writers Cinnamos and Nicetas Choniatus, the Armenians Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, Michael the Syrian, and the Arab authors cited in the preceding Bibliography. References to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Tiran cited in *ibid.* and in N. Blissfield, Nūr ad-Dīn, Damascus 1968. (CL. CAHER)

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KILIFI, headquarters of Kilifi District in the Coast Province of Kenya, in lat. 4° S, is a small port and capital of an independent town of about 15,000, including the present Kiool, Kitoka and Mnarani. The large Friday mosque, the wealthy déor of the adjacent tombs, and the walls and gatehouse, show that Mnarani was the chief amongst these settlements in medieval times. The cemetery is noteworthy for eleven inscriptions in 15th century Arabī script. Excavations by J. S. Kirkman in 1954 showed that the site was occupied from the end of the 14th century until some time in the 17th century when, as Capt. W. F. W. Owen recorded in 1835, it was destroyed by Galla tribesmen. The Sultan of Kilifi sent an ambassador to greet the Turkish commander Abd Allah at Mombasa in 1588, and in 1590 joined him against the Portuguese in Mombasa. Following a long feud with Mallindi, Kilifi was razed by the Portuguese with local allies in 1592, but recovered. It was to Kilifi that Sultan al-Hasan b. Ahmad of Mombasa withdrew in protest against the Portuguese Captain of Mombasa’s actions in 1612.


(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

KILLAWRIYA, Calabria (in Yâkut is found Killawriya, and in Ibn Dīnawar Rihla, Kalawriya, both of these close to the Byzantine Kalawriya, Kalavria, in Italian Calabria). It is very likely that the Arabs, coming probably from Spain, launched attacks across the sea against certain coastslands of Calabria even before Abd al-Furar (263) landed in Sicily in 229/847, thus providing the Muslims with a base for military operations against the Italian mainland, mainly the Marches.

According to Ibn al-Azhâr b. Idrīs, 158, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ‘Airīn and ‘Ayn al-Aqabāt. This place is apparently known to the Assyrarians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town Killiz b. Nīkār. In Roman times, Killiz was called Killi or Killi, a town in the region of Samosata. In the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by P. Demys of Tell-Mahre at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 872. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebræus, Hist. eccl., ed. Abbeacus-Lamy, 4, 329, 342, and Killiz instead of Half in Michael the Syriac, Chron. syr., ed. Chabot, iii, 11, 23.

The Arab geographers do not seem to mention Killiz. Yâkut is somewhat confused. His Killiz (iv, 158, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places near Sumaysat or Samosata, but his Killiz (iv, 299) really does mean our Killiz, a town in the nākhash of al-Azâz (A’azāz) between Aleppo and Antich, and he believes that it should be written Killiz. The place in the region of Samosata is probably not Killiz but al-Kallis or al-Kalis, which Kudama lists among the frontier settlements of Dīyār Bakr and which Ibn Hawshal, 156 (1st edn., 157) places on the May-

KILIZ, a town of northern Syria, situated to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ‘Afrin and Kuwayk, north of A’azâz and on the road from Aleppo to ‘Ayntab. It was apparently known to the Assyrarians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town Killiz b. Nīkār. In Roman times, Killiz was called Killi or Killi, a town in the region of Samosata. In the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by P. Demys of Tell-Mahre at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 872. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebræus, Hist. eccl., ed. Abbeacus-Lamy, 4, 329, 342, and Killiz instead of Half in Michael the Syriac, Chron. syr., ed. Chabot, iii, 11, 23.

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KILLIZ — KILWA

which stretched from the Rutifi River to Sofala in mediaseval times and was the greatest of the Islamic trading states in East Africa.

Barros, Da Asia, 1532, preserves an anonymous abbreviated Chronica dos Reys de Quilwa, composed perhaps before 1507; an independent 16th century Kiliz al-Sulha fi Adbilh Quilwah, by an anonymous 5th author, survives only in B.M.ms. Or. 2666, dated 1562. Neither survive examples. A 15th century Swahili History is of little value. Currently the rulers are certain, and with them, Ibn Bațtuta and Muhammad al-Fāīl sustain the historicity of the documents. After 1500, numerous accounts occur in Portuguese and French sources. In 1560-5 H. N. Chittick excavated the chief buildings.

The chronology is controversial. Chittick's definition from the text of Barros of some fifteen rulers must be regarded as unacceptable. He dates the earliest occupation to ca. 800. The finds agree well with the documentary sources as they stand. They describe a dynasty of "Shīrat" settlers from the Gulf established ca. 957. The founder, Ali b. al-Husayn, bought the island from the preceding pagan ruler, carrying his wealth and two towns of slaves. The expanding trading centre was often at war with neighbouring islands. In the 15th century it acquired the monopoly of Sofala's gold trade with its hinterland; its former governor, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, was Sultan of Kilwa ca. 1311-70, and "master of the trade" of Pemba, Zanzibar, Māfīa and the mainland. Essentially, it was an entrepôt serving Arab Indian Ocean routes, in gold, ivory and some slaves, against imported textiles, beads, and Near and Far Eastern ceramics. Under Sulayyān b. al-Husayn, ca. 1370-85, many important buildings were erected in a new style. Ali b. al-Husayn, otherwise unrecorded, issued the first coinage in the late 14th century. About 1394 Mubarrad al-Fāīl succeeded the original dynasty, possibly by female descent. Ibn Bațtuta visited Kilwa in 1351: the people were black, orthodox Shī'īs, and devoted to 任期 against mainland unbelievers.

Vasco da Gama sailed past Kilwa in 1498. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to levy tribute. Francisco d'Almeida took it by storm in 1505. Contemporary accounts attest its wealth. A Portuguese fort controlled it until 1512: its economy was ruined by the Portuguese seizure of the Sofala trade in 1505. A population of perhaps 10,000 in 1500 had already dwindled to about 4,000 by 1587, when marauding Zimba massacred 3,000 inhabitants. Kilwa never recovered. After the Umān capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1598, Kilwa also was made tributary to Umān. In the 18th century the slave trade developed greatly, but Zanzibar was the main entrepôt. Zanzibar finally absorbed Kilwa in 1840, depriving the last sultan. When Germany acquired the mainland in 1886, some surviving royalties threw their records in the sea, lest they fall into infidel hands.

al-Kili, also al-Kila, according to Abu 'l-Hasan al-Libyani also al-kayfa (see al-Dinawari, The book of plants, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 170, § 643); the word is derived from aramaic *katlal, potash, potassium carbonate (K₂CO₃), but also sodja, sodium carbonate (Na₂CO₃) (both materials were not clearly distinguished, therefore the Arabic term is kept in what follows). Al-Kili thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye. As synonyms are given *shabb al-‘usfur and *shabb al-asbaflja (Ibn Maymun, Shahr aṣṣṣīl al-‘ajāb, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 345). The plants or families of plants *rimafl (Haflyzxon articulatum Cav.) and *barm (Chenopodiaceae) serve as the standard plants employed. According to Abu Hanifa al-Dinawari (op. cit. 104, § 67 = LA, s.v. *kayfa = Ibn al-Baytār, Dā’imī, IV, 31) the best potash is won from al-burul (Atrhemum c.q. Siedlitza), the so-called *potash of the dyers (*kayf al-ḥabbīna). The other sorts sufficed for the manufacture of glass. The extraction of *kayfa is concisely but accurately described by al-Layth, the editor of the K. al-*ṣṣīl of al-Khallī b. Ahmad al-Farāḥī (ed. ca. 170/786): the plants al-qhādā (Atrhemum c.q. Salicornia) and al-*rimta are burnt while giving; the ashes are slaked with water which then consolidates into *kayfa (see LA, s.v.).


A prevalent part is played by al-kili in the manufacture of glass. It is melted together with sand and magnesia and thus produces the *substance of glass (*qaynak al-suflal-dājīn, Masūdi, Murādī, ii, 407). Above all, it happens that the glass easily absorbs the various colors (see Dimasqī, Nubket al-dahr, ed. Mehren, 80; J. Ruska, Das Buch der Alten und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätiranischen Alchimie, Berlin 1933).

Because of its burning, burning and purifying effect al-*kili is used in medicine to treat skin diseases like vitiligo (*habba), leprosy (*bara), seakles (*djarāw) and also wounds and sores (*dirāh, *burāh). Morbid growths are also stiched with it (Masīh al-Dīnawari, who lived in the time of Ḥarūn al-Raṣīl, in Ibn al-Baytār, iv, 31; *All b. Ṭabban al-Ṭabarī, Fīridas al-Iṣna, Berlin 1928, 322; Pseudo-Ṭabrī b. Kūsa, Kīlawa, Al-Dīnawarī, ed. G. Sahnū, Cairo 1928, 114; Ibn Sīna, Kūsin, Rāmān 1993, i, 248; The medical formulary of al-Samargandi, ed. M. Levey and N. al-Kharidy, Philadelphia 1967, 148; Kayma, 244-245, 253). Many people apply al-*kili and vinegar on scorpion stings (Ibn ‘Urayba, *Uyun, ii, 102).

KIMAR — KIMAR

KIMAR, the name given in Islamic geographical and travel literature to Kîmar or Cambodia. The geography and political organisation of South-East Asia early became of interest to Islamic scholars because of trade links with Further India and China, and information was brought back by, inter alios, Arab and Persian merchants and navigators. Some of this information relates to the Khmer kingdom, to which there is a passing reference in the Kitâb al-mushtâq fi ʼl-Khitaṭ, al-ʻAdâf of al-Sharîf al-Idrîsî, Lektern 1960, 29, 142.

The Hudūd al-ʻAlamat (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 86-7, mentions three great kingdoms of South-East Asia, i.e., Kâmarûpa, Assam (see ASSAM and KAMROJ), Sânt (Campâ, southern Annam or South Vietnam) and Kîmar, and it states that two of the most precious products of Kîmar were elephants' tusks and aloes wood. The aloes wood of Kîmar (Wd-kîmar) is much mentioned in Islamic sources, as is that of Campâ (Wd-panji), but there is considerable confusion in the sources about the origins of the different kinds of aloes wood stemming from eastern India and South-East Asia, with a particular uncertainty over the wood of Kîmar and that of Kâmarûpa. Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, iv, 240-1, 241-2, when speaking of Diâwa (possibly Sumatra), since Sumatra and Java were frequently confused or even regarded as one island by the Muslims) mentions Kîmar as part of that land (mīn bâl-bâl biḍḍâhâ) and the Kîmârî variety of aloes wood as being particularly fine.

In regard to these problems, the discussions about the various varieties in Yaḥyâbî, Buldûn, 367-8, tr. Wiet, 236-9; and also Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., commentary, 212-5, and J. Marquart, Indochine et Indonésie* (in addition to the references given in the article), see Hudūd al-ʻAlamat, commentary, 240-1; Minorsky, Sharâf al-Zamān Tâhir Moorvâsî on China, the Turks and India, London 1942, text 39, tr. 51-2, commentary, 132-4; G. Ferrand, Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles, Paris 1913-14, i. 229-30 (= Abû Dulaf al-Khârazmî's information on Kîmar), and index s.v. "Kîmar".

KIMAR is the most common Islamic term for gambling, which is strictly forbidden according to Muslim law. The prohibition goes back to the references to musâfîr (see) in Kûran, II, 179/180, and V, 109/112. Musâfîr was expressly equated with kîmar in general, supposedly already by ʻAbd Allah b. ʻUmar (cf. al-Bukhârî, al-Adâf al-musfîrî, Cairo 1375, 325). Voices querying this assumption, and the assumption that the Kûran had the legal classification of "forbidden" in mind, were rarely raised, and then only for the sake of argument. For all we know, the Muslim ban on all gambling has existed since the time of the Prophet in the same form as later on, and has remained in force throughout. Gambling was conceived as a transaction in which property changed hands arbitrarily and unproductively, something falling also under the injunction of Kûran, IV, 29/32, against frivolous and worthless (bi̇-du) business transactions. Economic theory, and economic realities, tended to favour a strict view of what constituted gambling.

According to Muslim sources, universal and reckless gambling was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the Muslim attitude toward the Dîjudîlya no doubt contributed to this view, gambling was probably widely practised, and in a variety of ways, among which the drawing of arrows and the stake racing of horses and camels were the most prominent. The actual musâfîr game, as painstakingly reconstructed from stray verses of poetry by later scholars, principal among them Ibn Kûtabî, al-Musâfîr wa-l-bîdâh (Cairo 1345), is presented to us as a kind of ceremonial lottery organised for charity.
Several gambling stories lead into the time of the Prophet. Thus, wagering with unbelievers by Abu Bakr "before gambling was forbidden" is mentioned in the Kur'an commentaries in connection with Kur'an, XXX, 14-15; it appears to be a rather old story, though hardly historical. Another, no less famous story, reported in connection with the battle of Badr, that of Abu Lahab gambling with al-'A'ishah, may also be old, but its connection with gambling can be shown to be mostly a later elaboration. The Kur'an clearly indicates the social and religious undesirability of gambling: it is something causing quarrels, and it interferes with the performance of worship and prayer. However, the commentators were at a loss to cite any particular occasion for the prohibition. While there is much room for speculation, no convincing historical explanation can be offered, unless there is some significance in the fact that the as-sahih literature credits a contemporary of the Prophet, al-Maghrib b. Habis (q.v.), with being the first to forbid gambling.

In spite of its being prohibited, gambling, or what was considered as such, seems to have always flourished everywhere in the Muslim world and at all levels of Muslim society. Lotteries proper appear to have been unknown in Islamic times. Wagering on chance events is not much attested (cf. for instance, al-Raghib al-Ishash, al-Mukhtasar (al-asba'ah), Bulaq 1887-91869-70, i, 127, 147). Favourite cutlets for the gambling instinct were, among board games, backgammon (nard (q.v.), played with six-sided dice, and, among sports, horse racing (see PURUQYA). Other board-games, such as merals (sahra' and "fourteen" (shahara'dar/sahara'at sahirata), could involve stakes; chess (shaharaq (q.v.) and draughts (see KHARCA), when played for stakes, fell into the category of gambling. Important sports suspected of being devices for gambling were archery (rumsy al- Mudallal (q.v.) and pigeon flying (see MAMRAN), as well as competitions such as footracing, swimming (tikhab), or, more significant as an organized activity, wrestling (mukhabara'). Fighting games of animals looked upon with disapproval on the basis of the Prophetic warning against inciting animals against each other (tabhib, Concordances, i, 445b, 64-66) and humanitarian principles, included cock (see kalb) fights. Playing cards (hadanija (q.v. in Suppl.) are attested since Mamluk times (cf. L. A. Mayor, Mamluk playing cards, ed. R. Ettinghausen and O. Kurz, Leiden 1971). All these activities, of course, could be, and were, undertaken and enjoyed for their own sake without any accompanying gambling, and the gambling habits connected with them differed considerably. According to Ibn Taymiyya, Faidawi (Cairo n.d. 1584-6), iv, 398, nard was mostly played for stakes, while chess usually was not. The gambling that did take place was commonly in the form of stakes put up by the participating players themselves or, in the case of sports competitions involving animals, by the owners of the animals. However, although our information on this point is most deficient, it is clear that spectators, too, engaged in gambling on the outcome of the games and sports they watched.

While gambling by outsiders was clearly and indubitably illegal, the main problem for jurists was the determination of what constituted gambling by virtue of the manner in which the stakes were put up. The bi'dah expressly permitted competitions with camels (khaff), horses (hafir), and arrows (mish) (Concordance, i, 480a, 16-18), and there are stories establishing precedents set by the Prophet. Later jurists were inclined to deny the legality of stakes in connection with any other kind of sports contests and, in particular, board-games (of which nard was often declared illegal, even when played without stakes, because of its dependence upon dice). However, the permissibility of the legal sports was rationalized on the ground of their usefulness for military preparedness, an argument which, in practice, could be extended to other sports, even though jurists were usually hesitant to do so. The crucial question of how stakes, where they were at all admissible, could be legally established, was considered under three basic aspects: the establishment of stakes by a non-participant such as, for instance, the government, by one of the participants, and by both (or all) participants. The first two cases were legal (with some doubts in the second case as to what is to be done with the stake if the donor himself is the winner). The third constituted illegal gambling. In order to make it legal, the presence of a "legaliser" (mudallal (q.v.) was required, i.e. the participation of someone who did not contribute to the stakes. There exists a bi'dah to this effect (Concordance, ii, 402a, 15-17, etc.). However, the legality of this procedure was debated. Malik personally did not admit the device of the mudallal, with the consequence that later Malikis differed in their attitudes. The Hanbal Ibn Taymiyya and his followers rejected it forcefully. Legal attitudes towards potential gambling games in general can be said to cut across social lines. Shafi'ism, whose basic text on games was Kitab al- Umm (Bulaq 1934), vi, 273, was sometimes attacked, with little justification, for its alleged somewhat more lenient attitude. It should also be noted that by and large the legal literature paid comparatively scant attention to gambling, the reason being not so much the scarcity of gambling activities as the clear-cut stand of the law as to its illegality. Occasionally we come across interesting statements, such as the one by the Hanafi Kadi Shihab, Fathali (Calcutta 1851), iv, 587, suggesting that a Muslim could legally gamble with non-Muslims in non-Muslim territory.

The official handling of gambling offenders was determined by the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which gambling took place. Sporting events were mostly held in the open, but much other gambling went on in private. In the larger cities, there were gambling casinos (dar al-bim, kina-dakha, and other terms), where gambling was encouraged even to the extent of tempting losing gamblers with offers of loans (cf. Ibn Sa'id, Muqtid, ed. and tr. K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden 1899, 3063). Ordinary taverns, as later on the coffee houses (see KANWA), also had the reputation of allowing gambling (in connection with board-games) on their premises. If one could, it was also possible to do so. However, unless public annoyance resulted, or complaints were lodged, the legal authorities, presumably represented primarily by the office of the mutalbas, had little power or incentive to interfere with voluntary activities undertaken by mutual consent in the privacy of the home. If brought before the authorities, gamblers were liable to discretionary (ta'sir (q.v.) punishment. Jurists considered habitual gamblers as having forfeited their ta'dil and their capacity to function as witnesses, thus decisively downgrading their social and legal standing. Social degradation was commonly associated with gambling, at least in literature and theory. In real life, this probably affected only those who were unable to afford the losses incident to their gambling.

Excessive gambling, though evidently not un-
common, is not frequently attested. We hear about the gambler in moderate circumstances who brought ruin upon himself and who neglected his family (cf. Ibn 'Abba, *Umud al-fáid*, al-Najdi 138/1992, 210), or the poet al-Tallu'atari (q.v.), whose compulsive gambling made him a liability in court circles and kept him from advancement, or the—fictitious—Safi who intentionally freed himself from all worldly possessions by gambling them away (cf. F. Ritter, *Das Meer der Säule*, Leiden 1955, 202). Most gambling probably involved the minor losses that the losers were somehow able to absorb. It lies in the nature of gambling activities, especially where they are illegal, that reliable statistics with respect to them are unobtainable, and we have, of course, nothing to go on.

In addition to the legal injunction against it, the social stigma it carried, and its unsuitability for the Muslim Middle Ages. We can only guess that gambling as such, common as it was, was nevertheless in no way a major economic factor or disruptive social force.

In the way of statistical information for the Muslim world no information is available, and we have, of course, nothing to go on.
say, The origins of alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, London 1970) date a number of writings disseminated under the names of Hermes, Thoth, Agathodaimon, Cleopatra, Moses, Solomon, Mary, Jesus, Democritus (or Democrats), Zaraathustra, Astanes etc. At the beginning of the 4th century these pseudographs are joined by the writings of Zosimus of Panopolis (+ A.D. 229), the genuineness of which is better vouched for. In the 6th century the Stoic philosopher Alymiodorus and emperor Heraclius wrote also on alchemy. A not inconsiderable amount of these Greek writings were translated into Arabic, but we have no exact information about times and places of these translations. It seems however that the first were made towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and that the greater part of these writings came to the Arabs in the 3rd/9th century (D. M. Dunlop, in JRS (1974), 5 ff., makes it clear that the assertion according to which a work of Zosimus was translated into Arabic already in 38/659, is false). It is possible that in some cases there may have been intermediary translations in Syrian (for Syrian alchemy, see R. Duval in M. Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, ii, Paris 1893), but it is not clear which of these (if any) and his pupils took part in the work of these translations. Most of the Greek writings have only been preserved in very poor and fragmentary way. The oldest codex is Marciarius 299 dating from the 11th century (see M. Berthelot and Ch. E. Ruelle, Collection des anciens alchimistes grec, i-iii, Paris 1887-89; J. Bidez, F. Cumont et al., Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grec, i ff., Brussels 1927 ff.). Since the Arabic translations are thus two or three centuries older, and the Arabs at that period still knew an essentially greater amount of Greek writings than we do at present, the oriental tradition is of the greatest importance. It is certain that the study of Arabic alchemical literature will bring to light Greek works which have been lost in their original language.

Unfortunately, Arabic alchemical literature has remained until now still a moles indigesta. Very many manuscripts have been preserved, but only an extremely small part of their contents has been disclosed through catalogues or published. Consequently, it is not yet possible to sketch out a history of Arabic alchemy. In particular, the beginnings of this science in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries are still largely wrapped in darkness. It may however be stated that already in the period in which the Corpus Gabriulianum (end of the 3rd/8th—beginning of the 4th/10th centuries) and the works of Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Badr [969] were compiled, an important literature must have come into being, whose authors might have been Greek, Jewish, Christian, Persian or Indian wise men and philosophers. This pseudographic literature uses to a great extent the same names that served early Greek alchemy as designations. Some writings are in fact translations of Greek works; others were composed directly in Arabic but were imitations of Greek examples. It should however not be assumed that all sentences of Greek wise men, quoted by the Arabs, are taken from specific writings which are ascribed to these wise men. It seems rather that some of them originate only from zoological collective works.

Nevertheless, a great number of Greek notions are found in these writings. The etymology of the terms al-khimya, al-sab' a al-tahdhibiyya etc. have already been mentioned above. The metals are called al-adibat, corresponding to τά σιδήρα, quicksilver and sulphur are al-arab ah tā nuqumata. Elixir, al-khâs is the loanword to ἴχθος, the distilling apparatuses al-nilât and al-awsîh are derived from τό αὖδανον and ὅ ἀμβλέα, the processes tâbad, tâzidd, tâshm, tâsharr, etc. are adaptations from λοχέων ὑλῶν, ἰγκρήσεως, τωσ. In the same way a number of pseudonyms are imitations of Greek models, e.g. τίθας ἱερος from ὁ ἱερος ἔνοικος, zahhâd al-hanwar from ἀρχισελήνη, laban ba l-ladi'irâs from ὁ θεὸν ἐρμόνων and laban al-sâdhirâs from γόλα παραγων [for other pseudonyms formed with laban, see WKS 4, ii, 25 ff.]. To these are added whole theorems: al-litâfah al-nâshir bi-I-litâfah is the innumerably repeated ḥaflâna ṣaḥîhâ tâkàrah, and lam l-tâf al-litâfah ṣi̇fâta \(\text{litâfâta l-litâfâta l-litâfâta} \) corresponds to ḥaflâna ṣaḥîhâ ṣaḥîhâ ṣaḥîhâ. All this shows without any doubt the origin of Arabic alchemy.

We thus possess a great number of Arabic writings, fragments and quotations in great number which in our attention is caught by the names of Pythagoras, Arcelaeus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Galen, Democritus, Zosimus and Theosebeia, Secundus "the silent philosopher" and many others. Often Hermes Trismegistus [see marâs] is mentioned, who in the opinion of the alchemists was the first to speak about alchemy ([ilm al-sa'da, see Flinders, 381]). The writings attributed to him, al-Risâla al-salafiyya al-bulbul, Risâlat al-Sirr, Tadbir Hirmis al-Harmisâ, al-Dahkhira al-iskandariyya, etc. have introductions in which in a legendary way is described how these texts were found in temples, caves and sepulchral vaults. The "Emerald table", a brief text full of symbols, was considered to be the key to the ultimate secrets of nature (see J. Ruskâ, Tabula smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschicht der hermetischen Literatur, Heidelberg 1926; M. Piessner, Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina, in IS., xvi (1947), 27-73). Sentences by Hermes are to be found in almost every Arabic alchemical work (see e.g. H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis, F. Sherwood Taylor, The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Mi' al-Wafa of Ibn Umail, in Ambix, vii (1949), 69-90). Apollonius of Tyana [see râatîs] is considered to be the intermediary of the hermetic wisdom. Under his name a big commentary on the "Emerald table", the so-called Kitâb Sirr al-khalîlah, an allegorical book on the seven metals, the Kitâb al-'Aynâm al-sabba, and other writings were disseminated. Agathodaimon [see al-ghâthiyya] is also associated with Hermes. In the Risâlat al-ḥadîr he communicates before his death to his pupils the secret of alchemy. Finally they are joined by Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, Koopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation, in WZKM, tâlîf-hâv [1921, 192-73]. Mary the Jewess, the Persian wise men Dyânsâliyâd and Qântâs, Mani, the Indian cabbala, the Syrian Akhâmâd, Ar-Râzî, al-Khâfî, and many others, whose writings and sentences became known to the Arabs at a relatively early period. This largely still uninvestigated complex of the pseudographs was enlarged by the Arabs since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and rendered even more opaque by stamping as alchemists the Umayyad prince Khâlid b. Yazid, the son-in-law of the Prophet, All b. Abî Tâlib, the 'Imâm Dîa'âr al-Sâlik [99-0] and the mystics al-Hasan al-Bâgri, Sûfîyân al-Thawri, Dhu 'L-Munâ al-Mîjri and Abu 'U-kâism al-Dînayy [99-0]. The alleged writings and doctrines of all these Greek, Persian, Jewish and Arabic authors form the groundwork for the two large alchemical corpora which came into being at the turn of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, namely the Corpus Gabriulianum and the writings of
Muhammad b. Zakariyya\textsuperscript{a} al-Rāzī (the mutual relation of these two cycles has been discussed by J. Ruska and E. Garbers, \textit{Vorschriften zur Herstellung von schwarzen Wässern bei Gebirr und Rāzī}, in \textit{Isl., xxx} (1930), 1-34). Dāhib b. Hayyān \textsuperscript{[q.v.]}, who may have died ca. 196/812, is considered to be the author of the first work. Meanwhile, F. Kreuss has proved that these writings cannot have originated before the second half of the 3rd/9th century and that a team of authors must be involved in their production (see also F. Rex, in \textit{Isl. xlix} (1972), 305-10; idem, \textit{Deutsche Orientalistik aus Beuteck Tübingens}, Tübingen 1974, 86-9). Accordingly, the writings of the so-called Ibn Wābah, the Muṣḥaf al-dījama\textsuperscript{a}, whose Latin translation carries the title \textit{Turba philosophorum}, may have originated at the turn of the century. In the \textit{Turba} a congress of alchemists is pictured, in which Pythagoras takes the chair and Archelaus records the minutes, while nine pre-Socratic philosophers present their doctrines (J. Ruska, \textit{Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtc der Alchemie}, Berlin 1931; M. Plessner, \textit{Die österr. Umschreibung des Hieroglyphenschatzes}, in \textit{Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Alchemie}, Berlin 1923, xi). They introduced a process which leads via Arnold of Villanova, the Latin "Geber" and Paracelsus to Robert Boyle (1627-91), Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) and finally to the miracle of modern chemistry. But they also gave important impulses to European cultural history; it may suffice to mention Jachet Böhme, the \textit{Vorschriften und Geschichten der Alchemie}, Goethe, the alchemist. A study of alchemical symbolism in \textit{Goethe's literary and scientific works}, Cambridge 1952.

This concise historical survey makes it clear that Arabic alchemy holds a key-position in the development of chemical thinking as a whole. However, in glaring contrast to its importance, it has been regrettably neglected by research until now. Most of what historians of science have written on the Arabic alchemists is second-hand, based on obsolete literature and disfigured by gross errors. A vast and fertile field lies here open to research; access to it, however, is not easy.

Alchemy is an extraordinary complex phenomenon which combines many divergent trends. Muhammad b. Zakariyya\textsuperscript{a} al-Rāzī in his \textit{K. al-Asrar} exerted himself in particular to build up a sober system. As a whole, it was a natural philosophy \textit{as a "natural, spiritual, divine science"} (\textit{Futuhat}, ii, 337) can indicate alchemy to It, however, is not easy.

Science and depth-psychology have therefore bound to happen that the "Aufklärer" rendered the writings apparently abstruse. It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, \textit{Das Buch der Alume und Salze. Ein Grundzüge der spätmittelalterlichen Alchemie}, Berlin 1925, xi).
smoothed the way for a more justified and significant explanation of alchemy, J. Evola, C. G. Jung and M. Eliade in particular have rightly shown how alchemy is dominated by mythical, mystical and gnostic ways of thinking. There remains, however, the task of decoding the Arabic texts through exact historical-philological studies, and thus laying foundations which will no longer permit rash conclusions and approximate assertions.

Until now it has not been possible to say much about the theoretical foundations of Arabic alchemy, and even this little only incidentally. The way theories are built up differ considerably from one author to the other, and even in the corpus of writings known under the name of Ḥābir b. Hayyān and thus claiming unity, they show quite varying concepts. Hence only a few basic notions can be given here, which cannot be generally applied.

Transmission is possible because the various sorts (anwād) of metals form only one single species (djinns). They are differentiated only in accidents (fard al-ṣawād, or occasional) (sardiyāt). The accidents, however, are not stable but changeable, as can be seen in nature. Indeed, the metals grow in the bowels of the earth over long periods. In a sort of maturation process they change from base into precious metals until finally they become gold. According to some scientists, this conversion comes about under the influence of the stars. The alchemist is able to hasten this process in his retorts and to achieve by his skill in one day that for which Nature needs a thousand years. The literature gives hundreds, even thousands of recipes for making gold. Basically three methods can be distinguished.

The first method is based on the quicksilver-sulphur theory. In quicksilver water and earth are present; sulphur contains fire and air and thus both substances together hold the four elements. When the particles of sulphur and quicksilver are mixed and enter into a close compound, the heat generates a process of maturation and cooking which result in the various kinds of metals. If the quicksilver is clean and the sulphur pure, if the quantities (makādār) of both substances stand in ideal relation to one another and if the heat has the right degree (ludūl), pure gold (dhahab ibris, ṣafūq) comes into being. If before maturation coldness enters, then silver is formed. If dryness, then red copper. The more disturbing factors enter, the more low-grade the metals become: thus originate tin (kāfšat kāzā), iron (hadid aswad), plum-bag (ṣura) and antimony (kūh), see al-Khwārizmī al-Safi, Beirut 1957, ii, 106 ff.; Kāzānī, "Adhūdīs, 204 ff. The alchemist, then, exerts himself to imitate nature. He tries to discover how much sulphur and how much quicksilver is contained in gold and how great the heat must be to bring about the maturation process. If he succeeds in establishing these conditions, he is able to synthesise gold. It should perhaps be added that "quicksilver" and "sulphur" did not necessarily mean for the alchemists the chemical elements Hg and S, but that by these terms they understood rather the basic principles of fluidity and inflammability (they speak of ṣibaḥ ṭajārijā and ḥibbā muḥlrāh).

2. The second method is based on the doctrine of the relations of quantities (ṭil al-anwād) propagated by the authors of the Corpus Cabrianaum. The alchemist tries to establish the mutual relation of the metals according to volume and weight (hājīm wa-wasām) and to construct on the ground of these data a body with corresponding volume and weight (for details of these strongly speculative doctrines, see P. Kraus, Ḥābir b. Hayyān, ii, Cairo 1942, 187-303, ch. "La théorie de la balance").

3. The most important and most recommended method, however, consists in projecting an elixir [see Al-Ṭaṣṣal]. An elixir can be made from metallic, but also from vegetable and animal matter. It is thrown upon a base metal which precociously has been transposed into the passive (or black i.e. without any quality) condition; it permeates it like yeast pervades dough, and transmutes it into gold which is more valuable than mineral gold.

All these theories were based on premises which could neither be proved nor refuted. Therefore no real progress could be recorded in the dispute of the Muslim scientists about the possibilities of alchemy. It was significant that among the arguments advanced against the alchemists the reference to the de facto failure of all endeavours played only a small part. The alchemists admitted the difficulty of their undertaking, but emphasised that it must be possible to rediscover the secret of making gold, undoubtedly known to the wise men of old. The dispute was above all enacted in the theoretical field. Philosophical and theological arguments were put forward and conclusions based on analogy were often drawn.

'Amr b. Buh īr Dājīb's [gu] standpoint towards alchemy is not completely unequivocal. He is sceptical, but poses the question whether once in five thousand years it could be possible to make gold, when the various factors, like the quality of the elements, the right period, the correct position of the stars etc. would coincide accidentally (R. al-Ḥaṭwānī, Journal für prahistorische Chemie, xxv-xxvi, 1956-57). It should be pointed out that it is possible to make glass from sand, but that it is impossible to transmute brass and quicksilver into gold and silver, although quicksilver more resembles molten silver than sand does pharosian glass.

Yaḥyā b. Ishāq al-Kīndī composed the K. Ihbāl al-waṣīf 'l-musādla 'l-dhahab wa 'l-fidūs min ghayr maḏānim, a refutation of those who pretended to be able to win gold and silver otherwise than from ore. According to him mankind is unable to achieve acts which are reserved to nature. This polemic writing was immediately contested by Muṣannaf al-Zakariyyā' b. Ṭāhāb and al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). Was of the opinion that transmutation of metals is possible because, according to Aristotle's [see also the Latin translation of P. Kraus, La thdorie de la balance, c. 93], the various sorts (anwād) of the metals belong to only one single species (djinns). But it was indeed extraordinarily hard to realise the transmutation, and a thorough study of logic, mathematics and natural sciences was a prerequisite. The alchemistic texts were rightly veiled by pseudonyms and symbols, because otherwise, anybody might be able to find out the secret of making gold, and gold would become useless as means of payment. This economic argument was repeated again and again by later authors (L. Wiedemann, Journal für prahistorische Chemie, clxxii (1907), 125-235; A. Sayili, Fībdīsān 'l-dhahāb wa 'l-wasām, in Turk Tarih Kurumu, Del belen, xv (1951), 65-79).

The geographer al-Hamālī (d. 334/945) worked with obvious analogies taken from metallurgy, of which he possessed a thorough knowledge. In the same way as iron and steel could reach various degrees of good quality and pureness through metallurgy, i.e. through the skill of man, in the same way man is able to make in an artificial way gold that otherwise matures in a natural way in the bowels of the earth
The theoretical expositions and speculations of the alchemists were partly complete in themselves, and partly completed by experiments in the laboratory. The experiences gained in such experiments gave again rise to new writings and theories. It is probable that alchemy had a greater part in the development of experimental science than medicine, pharmacology, physics and astronomy (see L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, i-viii, London-New York 1929-39). An important experimental achievement was the oxidation of quicksilver which had been exposed continuously to a very slow fire for forty days. Pseudo-Majidi describes the process in his *K. Rutbat al-hakim* and emphasises that the weight of the matter was the same before and after the experiment (E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 70). The furnishing of a chemical laboratory is very impressively pictured by Ibn Shihāy (382-426/992-1035) (see J. Dickie, in *Andalusi, xix* (1964), 243-310). There were many apparatuses: the *ugdāl* (Latin *aludē*), used to distil and to sublimate, the *gāf* (*curusel*), a receiver over which was placed an alembic (*al askāb*), distillation-pots (*bādak*, *bādak*) or timber, *lūṭa* (*lūṭa*), *khums* (*tāmsīr*, *pl. tāmsīrats*), *Latin aether* to generate high temperatures, phials (*bima*), thezez (bīdr, *tablīg*), pans (*suburjūgā*), and mortars (*lāwīm*). Many apparatuses are named after their alleged inventors, like *al-ṭaḥīr* (*Fīhāghūrās*), the "oven of Pythagoras", the *bār* "Zāsim", the "pit of Zosimos" and the *hammūn Māriya*, the bain-marie (see A. Sigel, *Verzeichnis der Apparate und Geräte, die in arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften vorkommen*, in *Deutsche A. d. Wiss.* zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 1, Berlin 1950, 92-100; E. J. Holmyard, *Chemical equipment*, in Ch. Singer ed., *A history of technology, ii*, Oxford 1955, 731-52).

With such apparatus, vessels and ovens the procedures (lādābir) of certain chemical processes, were achieved. The methods of these procedures were essentially the same as those of Greek alchemy, and most of the Arabic termini technici are translations of Greek notions. The "solution" (lādābir, *lāmūc*) of a matter is achieved by water, acids or lyes; the "putrefaction" (lāfīn, ṣafīqūc) is a process of decomposition furthered by water. Distillation and sublimation are indicated with lādābir and lādābir, calcination with *talū* (*talū*. A substance is consolidated and fixed by water and heat. "Blanching" (*lādīyīd, *tānūcīgūr*) indicates the making of silver, "reddening" (*lāfīt*) the making of gold. Many alchemists, however, use these and many other expressions only symbolically or in a completely different meaning for fear that they might reveal their secret. Thus the understanding of alchemical texts is made extraordinarily difficult. Since the alchemists were obliged from the earliest times to keep their esoteric knowledge secret (see *Papyrus Leidenensis*, ed. C. Leemans, Leiden 1843, 1, 10, 9: ἀλεξάνδρου ἔγγει Περσον οὐκ ἔχεται, *Platos* *Timaeus*), they used innumerable "pseudonyms", not only for the processes but also for the matters and elixirs. The same matter was often indicated with dozens of different names, and conversely, one and the same name was used to designate different matters. These pseudonyms also have a Greek tradition. Thus the names of the planets serve as designations of the metals: *al-gams* is gold, *al-kamar* is silver, *al-mirtīg* is iron, etc. Certain words contain the characteristics of a matter: *al-fartār* "the fugitive" is quicksilver, *al-gābar* "the reddish" is copper. Often names of animals are used: *al-wūhīb* "the eagle" may designate sal-ammoniac, *al-ṣabāb* "the scorpion" and *almal al-bayyya* "the snake-neck" can stand for sulphur, *al-farīb al-barī" the peacock of the Egyptian temple" for copper. The
meaning of such pseudonyms varied from one author to the other and from one workshop to the other; they had no general validity.

The first endeavours to solve this lexical problem were undertaken by the Arabs themselves; they composed glossaries or added to bigger theoretical works lists in which the meaning of the pseudonym was explained. But the value of these lists is small.

Only careful critical editions and competent lexicographical revisions of the sources may enable us to travel further in this thorny field, but in not a few cases it will probably be impossible to uncover now the original meaning of the alchemical recipes.


BIHAA [see RUNA].

KINALIZADE, 'ALĀ? AL-DIN 'ALI CELEBI (916-6 Ramadan 975/1510-22 January 1572), Ottoman scholar. His grandfather, 'Abd al-'Lādi from Isparta, was one of the tutors of Mehemmed the Conqueror, while his father was the Kā'īmi Amīr Allāh, known also as a poet. His grandfather used to dye his beard with henna, hence was by-named *binnālī* (*"the one with henna"*). This nickname was applied to other members of the family as well. Kinalizade 'Ali was born in Isparta in 975/1570 where he had his elementary education. His first tutor was one of his relatives, the Kāftā-tashar Kadır Efendi. Then, he went to different madrasas and completed his education under such scholars as Mālīl Ṣūrī, Sīnār, Ṣanībāb, Ṣūrī Allāh, and Ghiyaṭī Mubārak al-Din. In 983/1574, he was assigned by the Shaykh al-Talīm Abu 'I-Su'ēd (Ebusius'od) to the madrasa of Husam al-Din (the Husamīyya) in Edirne as *muallāri*. He next taught in the madrasa of Ḥamza Beg and Wali al-Dīn-oghlu Ahmed Pasha—both in Bursa—and in the two madrasas of Rūstam Pasha, one in Kütahya and the other in Istanbul, and in madrasas of Khājahī and Sāmānīyya, also in Istanbul.

In the year of 996/1589, when the construction of the madrasa of the Sīleymaṇīyya Mosque was completed, he was assigned to one of them as *muallāri*, thereby reaching the highest of the academic ranks. In Dhu 'l-Hidjja 997/July-August 1598, he was appointed as *hāji* of Damascus to succeed Kūrā Celebi. He remained in Damascus nearly two years, after which he was assigned to Cairo and then to Bursa. Two years later he was appointed *hāji* of Edirne, after which he became *hāji* of Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, in Muharram 1000/June 1597 he became Kāftā-tashar of Anatolia. This same year, while in Edirne with Selim II, he died (6 Ramadān/22 January 1572) from an attack of gout, a complaint he had contracted during his earlier residence in Edirne. His funeral, attended by many of the statesmen and scholars of his time, took place at the ʾEsāl Djinān, and he was buried in the so-called Nāẓir cemetery on the road to Istanbul. In his youth, 'All Efendi was famous for his memory and knew by heart numerous *šahāds* and poems in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was versed in most of the branches of the liberal studies and most of the sciences, such as astronomy and rhetoric; and while in Egypt his mastery of the Arabic language was admired by all.

His son, Ḥasan Celebi, informs us that he wrote marginal notes to the *Kashf al-Bayyānī* on alchemy and that he corrected other versions of these manuscripts. According to his son's *Tadhkira al-sa'ādar*, *'Atāyū's Dīwān al-Shāhak and Qumārāt min al-šīrīn li-l-bayānī*, his works may be summed up as follows: (1) the *Abāhha-i 'Alāt*, his most famous work and an important source for the study of Ottoman culture. He completed this work on 23 Safar 973/21 September 1565 when he was the *hāji* of Damascus and dedicated it to *'Alī Pasha*, the Beqerisiyya of Syria, hence its title *'Alī Pasha, *CABY* (For an analysis of the work and its sources, and in particular for its dependence on the *Abāhha-i Naṣīrī of Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, cf. the article by A. Ahmad-Advari in *IA*, iv, 710-11). (2) His *Dīwān*, which includes his poems in Turkish, Arabic, and Persia; (3) the *Hājiqāt-i ṣadīrād*. He taught ṣadīrād when he was *muallāri* at the Ḥamza Bay Madrasa at Bursa, and wrote these marginal notes at that time; (4) *Hājiqāt-i Durar u ghurar ta niṣfī*, the *Kutāb al-Kuntūl min al-Hidjja*; (5) *Ridālāt al-ḥāj al-mu'ājīf*, written as a reply to Shīh Mehmēn Celebi who had criticised one of his poems when *'Alī Efendi* was *hāji* of Edirne; (6) the *Eṣāf*; (7) the *Ridāl al-sayyīfyya wa l-ıbānīyya*; (8) the *Hājiqāt-i Ḥasan Celebi* ii *Shāh al-Mu'āfī* (10) his *Miṣgār...*
Abd Manat was a strong group, the latter was further reckoned a separate tribe; Milik (or Malkin); Asad. There were six main subdivisions of the tribe, TihSma on the south-west, where they were next to sulfdns, ghuz&de and the third to though more are sometimes mentioned: al-Nadr (or Hudbayl, to the north east where they bordered on territories of Kinflna were around Mecca from the logically related to Asad (b. i&uzayma) fa.p.j. The his work a particular value.

For these by Sehl, La (if I, *Ahdl and 'Ashlfc Celebi. Though, ESB CELEBI was known as a supporter of 'All, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844 5 al-Tabari mentions some Kinflna as still of the movements of Kinflna after this. A prominent member of the tribe, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ali [g.o], is known as a supporter of 'All, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844 5 al-Tabari mentions some Kinflna as still near Mecca but apparently weak. They are also recorded in the Hawrin, and, in the 5th/6th century, in Upper Egypt and the western delta.

Bibliography; Ibn Hish&m, 79 f., 439-2, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, Histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme, index; al-Kaljashgnd, Subb al-ash, i, 350 f.; idem, Nikayy al-arab, mentions most subdivisions; Yakht, Ma'jum al-bulldn, index of tribes; Witt, Muhammad al-Matin, index; Ibn Habib, Mu'dambar, 156 f. (intercalators of months from Kinflna), 151 f. (al-Barr&d), etc.; idem, Munamarin, index; al-Arazki, ed. Wilsteflen, 61-4. (W. M. WATT)

KINAYA (A), a technical term of rhetoric corresponding approximately to "metonymy" and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another word which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by opposition etc.). Etymologically, this term implies a sense of dissimulation found also in the word basra [g.o], which is considered by such a grammarian as al-Mubarrad (Kamil, 677) to be derived from kina"ya. Kina"ya constitutes a particular type of metaphor (siyās [g.o]) and it is distinct from trope (madjdaz I, q.d) in that the latter is only to be understood if taken in its figurative sense (e.g. ra'sayn 'l-thaykh "we have caused the rain to feed", where ghayth can only mean the grass appearing after a fall of rain). For some theorists, kina"ya covers allusion (of which the various forms are called ta'sir, ta'khb, raml, imla and igkdax), but this is not so because, if it may be
taken both in its proper and its figurative sense, it demands, if it is to be genuinely understood, an effort of imagination on the part of the listener, who may otherwise turn a deaf ear; after al-Thuqaili, Ibn al-Athir saw fit to put together kindiya and taridj in mawadda, al-Mahdi al-Sufi, so as to condemn the errors made by his predecessors in this regard and to make plain the differences which exist between the two concepts. On the other hand, euphemism, antiphrase and other methods of dissimulation of a more popular nature are to be included under the heading of kindiya.

In general, if we are to follow Ibn al-Athir, kindiya describes a word or a group of words which may be interpreted either in their literal or figurative sense and are used to replace other words which are to be rejected, sometimes simply for considerations of style, sometimes out of respect for decency, avoiding the use of words likely to shock or judged to be of bad omen; a logical relation must however exist between the literal and the figurative, the kindiya and the makbu tanak.

This is not the place to examine the other definitions proposed by the theorists and to take into account their disagreements regarding classification and nomenclature. We will simply observe that al-Sakkak distinguishes three types: (1) tamthi or assimilation of one thing to another (e.g. nabi al-thabeb “clean of clothing” meaning “ exempt from moral vice”, (2) irdaj “implication”, a term which Kucama (Nabed, 88) invariably uses to the exclusion of kindiya (e.g. tawil al-matjud “with long crossbelt”, meaning “tall in stature”, because the one cannot go without the other); in certain cases it is by a series of implications, more precisely of ridjd “pillow-riders” that the intended sense is reached (khallir al-rumoud “having a great quantity of ash” to express generosity, hospitality: in fact the abundance of ash implies succession abundance of fire, then of wood and of cooling for a large number of guests). (3) mudjatandra “proximity” or “association” (e.g. the container for the contained: sudjddia “bottle” = “wine”).

Studies and chapters devoted to kindiya contain first a number of quotations from the Kur'an and from hadith which may be interpreted as metonimies; thus LXXIV, 4: wa-thiyaba ha fahshir and your clothing, purity where thiyaba may be understood as meaning the soul, behaviour etc. Another characteristic example is provided by XXXVIII, 22/23: la-hdi isiwa wa-tistiwa na’dla 0 na’dla 0 na’dla na’dla which is translated as “he has ninety-nine sheep and I have only one sheep”, but where some, influenced no doubt by popular usage according to which the wife is called na’dla (al-Di’shi, Bukhald, 23, ir. Pellat, 40; Haydn, I, 221), see a kindiya.

There seems little purpose in providing extensive examples of the ways in which the followers of allegorical interpretation (awatd) can take advantage of this concept of kindiya in order to justify all kinds of daring interpretations.

It must be said that the fahshir themselves are sometimes obliged to take it into account where they have to use verses directly concerning the Shari’a. This is the case for example with IV, 146/34, 76 where two kindiyas appear: wa jala ahdad = min al-guwar min al-lanauma l-knsed “if one of you has come from the place hidden from view or if you have touched women”, then washing is obligatory; ghul comes to mean latrines, then excrement, and lanauma may be taken in a literal sense of “touching” or in the figurative sense of “having sexual relations with a woman”. So this verb is of a type which provokes discussions. Another notable example is the text which demands, for the application of the legal penalty to the fornicator, the presence of witnesses testifying that they have seen al-nil f’l-mushaka “the needle in the container for Ich”; but here the context leaves no doubt as to the true sense of the expression.

In these last examples it is a case of euphemisms whose purpose is to “palliate the ugly” (fahshir al-abhd), as al-Tha’alibi says (Kindiya, 53), and it is the examples of this genre that the authors most often quote, borrowing them from the Kur’an, from hadiths, from poetry; generally they concern woman, the sexual organs, defecation, various forms of uncleanliness and everything which is of bad omen. Some kindiyas testify to great finesse, notably quoted by al-Mas’udi (Munfudh, vi, 350-4 = § 2550), where, in a letter addressed to al-Rashid, the word Mayyadim “bamboo”, but also the name of the caliph’s mother, is replaced by bukhah. Others however are criticised, notably the use of Aba Asw to describe a stone (hadjar), because the father of Aws was called Hijja (al-A’si, Kindiya, 97). There was thus an ample scope for the making of puns, and the humorists did not hesitate to take advantage of this.

In the introduction to the Kitab Mufkhdharat al-dayar tawadd, al-Di’shi makes fun of the hypocrites who cover their faces upon hearing a crude word, recalling that the most pious of the Muslims and the Prophet himself did not hesitate to use such words, and he adds that these words were created in order to be used and that it would be necessary to withdraw them from the Arabic language if one were not allowed to speak them. In the Kitab al-Maywak (I, 33), he notes the unwillingness of his contemporaries to use the specific term for excrement and their habit of utilising a number of euphemisms to describe latrines: mshdhir, mshdb, khall, kindya, Kindyal, mutadda and, and excrement: rajif, sibi, ahdal; others could be added to this list. An anecdote probably invented for specific purposes figures in several sources (al-Mas’udi, Munfudh, VIII, 350-3 = §§ 2490-2; al-Tha’alibi, Kindiya, 32; al-Shafi’i, Sahib, ed. Cairo 1374, ii, 270-1; al-Ibrahim, Munfudh, ii, 125-6; etc.): a man is the victim of a joke in bad taste, in that he is asking for the latrines and appealing to a group of singing girls who pretend not to understand him. He tries one by one about eight different terms supposed to belong to various regions of the Arabic-speaking world (but the variants are too numerous to permit the drawing up of a linguistic map on the basis of this anecdote); to the words quoted by al-Di’shi we may add here at least karn, mustardh and mshdhr.

In this regard, W. Marais (Euphemismes, 355-6) comments that in classical Arabic “the plurality of nomenclature sometimes contrasts with the simplicity of the items described. If the latter are by nature liable to shock, one’s tendency is to attribute this discrepancy between means and ends to the practice of euphemism.” It is quite possible in fact that, independent of dialectical variants, the abundance of synonyms is sometimes due to the listing, by the lexicographers, of euphemistic terms whose origin is not indicated. It is thus for example that Ibn Manzur lists, according to Ibn Khallawayh, eight verbs meaning “to menstruate” (s.v. root j-y-x): hadat can in fact be replaced by nasifust, darasat, famlah, da’bat, akbarat and jamat. It is not impossible that certain of the euphemisms which figure in the dictionaries belong to the language
of slang, but it is not always easy to determine the degree of decency of such and such a term of which the satirists make considerable use. In this connection, we quote only one epigram of Dhit (‘Abd al-Karim al-Ashtar, Shïr‘ Dhit, Damascus 1384/1964, 204) where the sixth verse contains the word khesibi‘, “cucumber” the sense of which is all the more readily understood because of the appearance in verse four of ihšîn “ninetly which means the ants. This last kindiya is borrowed from dactyloonomy (štáb al-‘išš), which supplies a large number of less obscure examples (e.g. “91” or “90” = miseur’); see now Ch. Fellut, Textes arabes relatifs à la dactyloonomy, Paris 1977, 21-2 and passim.

As a result of its undeniable expressiveness, to which the numerous examples cited by rhetoricians bears witness, the kindiya preserves all its force in colloquial Arabic, for not only do slang expressions abound here, but also convention demands a strict caution in circles where superstitions continue to be strong. To antiphase (šfr “clear-seeing” for “blind”, already found in the name of Abū ‘All al-Baṣir [see al-Baṣir], who lost his sight; with this may be compared Kūrân, XI, 95-97; inuwa-la-anî ‘l-kaltum ‘l-baghd, “you must be interpreted in the contrary sense”), to designation by a verb without subject: loudû ayuda lâyka “the situation was lamentable”), by an adverb or a pronoun (and-hā hindik “she is having her menstrual period”); cf. in a verse of Abū Nuhkhaya, Agðhi, xx, 382, barrakü-hu, where the pronoun refers to an obscure word not expressed (likewise adh-‘u-hu, in Yūkât, Irkād, XVI, 209, I. 3 from bottom), and to euphemism pure and simple (in Moroccan, fâšr “glorious” to describe coal (fâšr because of its black colour), there are to be added voluntary alteration (tashî́d [tawûd] “you shall be happy” for the number “nine” because tawûd also means “you shall be a beggar”), borrowing from other languages (the Turko-Persian, gishkâ “for the latrines”), the refusal to specify (“those who are not to be named” — the djinn) and other procedures.

On this subject, one can only refer to W. Marçais, Nouvelles observations sur l’épithéminé dans les paroles arabes maghrébin, in Ann. de l’Inst. de Philol. et d’Hist. Or. et Slaves of Brussels (Mélanges Isidore Liéry), xii (1953), 331-98. For Berber, see E. Destaing, Interdictions de vocabulaire en berbère, in Mbl. Revue Berbère, Paris 1928, 1, 177-277.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see Kudàmâ, Nadj al-Mur, 88-90; Mubarrad, Kâmî, Cairo 1356/1937, 472-4, 614-8; Ibn Ra‘šid, ‘Umda, passim; Ahmad al-Durjânî, al-Munâkhah wa hadâd al-tu‘dah wa i‘shkâr al-bulâgha, Cairo 1356/1938, Thâlîbî, K. al-Kindî, wa l-‘išš, at the end of the preceding item; ‘Askari, Sinâmûta, 526-70; Sakîkî, Mîşāf al-Kâmî, Cairo 1356/1937, 189-95; Nuwayrî, Nîshâya, vii, 59-60; Mehran, Rishîrî, 41-2. See also Khatma, ‘AwwaRA and the bibl. to ISTÈRA. (Ch. Fellut)

**KINDA**, a South Arabian tribal group, whose descent, real or imaginary, from Kahlûn correctly identifies them as Arabs and distinguishes them, as it does the Azd, from Himyar and other non-Arab inhabitants of South Arabia. The tribe spread all over Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., from the south to the centre to the north, and played a decisive role in the military, political, and cultural history of the peninsula before the rise of Islam.

1. **The pre-Islamic period.**

From Kinda (a štáb, nicknane for Thawr) are descended Mu‘awiyah and Aqbar, and from the latter are descended al-Sakân and al-Sakâsîk. The more distinguished branch was Mu‘awiyah, and within Bana Mu‘awiyah, the house of Hudîr, nicknamed Akit al-Murâ, became the most illustrious.

**Genealogical table of the Bana Ākit al-Murâ**

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It was this Hudîr who, in the second half of the 6th century and supported by the power of Himyar, moved into central and northern Arabia, and assumed supremacy over the Arab tribes of Ma‘add. One of the celebrated Ajyâm, battle days of the Arabs, Yahwâ, which was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Julian and Nonnosus, 530 A.D., to ldimyar, where the power of Kinda was killed. Then the tribe of Asad rose against Kûjûr and killed him. It was at this juncture, after the violent death of al-Hârîth when the power of Kinda was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Julian and Nonnosus, ca. 530 A.D., to Himyar, Ethiopia, and Kinda for an alliance against the Persians. The services of Kinda were indispensable, and Byzantine diplomacy was finally able to compose differences between the Himyarâls and the Kindâls by withdrawing Kâys (probably the son of Salama) from central Arabia and arranging for the division of his dominion between his two brothers, Yazîd and ‘Amr. Kâys visited Constantinople and was given a command in Palestine.

In the second half of the 6th century, the power of Kinda in central and north Arabia was clearly disintegrating. In addition to the fratricidal wars among the sons of al-Hârîth in Nadjî, the Banu
...branch in al-Yamānā allowed themselves to be involved in the inter-tribal feuds of Tamim and 'Amir; these resulted in the two battles of Shīb Diabala and Dhā Nadjar, which proved disastrous to the Banu 'l-Dhawān. So precarious had the position of Kinda become that the tribe, according to the sources, decided to go back to its original home in Ḥadramawt.

A century or so of rule over such a vast area in the Arabian peninsula calls for an assessment of the role of Kinda in Arab history: (1) The dominion of Kinda represents the first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia, but this unity could not have been achieved without the support of Himyar. (2) Kinda brought from the Himyarī South a tradition of sedentary life; it ruled the Arabs from such urban spots as Ghamr Dhi Kinda, Bāṭaʿ Akil, and Haḍjar. (3) The house of Aḥjīl al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating it in central and northern Arabia. The most important Arabic Christian inscription of pre-Islamic times, commemorating the erection of a church in al-Hīra, is that of Hind, daughter of al-Ḥārith. (4) Kinda in al-Hīra and to have taught it in Mecca,

The Arabic sources corroborate the Sabaean inscriptions on the importance of Kinda in pre-Islamic Arabia. Through Al-Simt b. al-Aswad, a member of Muʿāwiyah, vividly aware of his Kindi background, it is clear from the many personages listed in the pages of such works as Ibt Hamzah’s Dījarara. They appear at critical junctures in the history of Islam, displaying the same unalloyed spirit of independence that had characterised their tribal ethos in pre-Islamic times.

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finally beaten at the battle of Dayr al-Djamal in.

It was, however, in the Islamic Occident, in far-away Spain and as late as the 5th/11th century, during the period of the Malikite Isma'ilis, that the Kinda were potent and rebellious as they achieved various illustrious victories such as Ibn al-Asyutih in the Orient had been unable to achieve, namely, the carving out for themselves of an independent political existence, however shortlived this proved to be. The Tuğjibdis settled in Sarakusta (Saragossa), Darawsha (Daroca) and Kal'at Ayubih, in which cities they ruled, as they did also in al-Martya (Almeria), if the Banu Sumudid were indeed Tuğjibdis, as is probable. Claims made by such historians as Ibn Khalid in that the Dhu 'l-Nu'ans (Far. of Toledo and the Attakids (Far.) of Badajoz were Tuğjibdis, do not seem to have been substantiated by recent research, which affirms them rather to a Berber ancestry.


Appendix. The relations of Kinda with Saba and Himyar.

Pre-Islamic Sabean inscriptions furnish us with some useful references to Kinda in its epigraphic South Arabian form Kal. Unfortunately, one of the earliest of those references is not at present securely dateable, since the precise chronology of the Sabean texts is still in dispute; however, a date in the 3rd century A.D. seems possible. This text, Ja 570 (published in full by A. Jamne, Sabean inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis, Baltimore 1962), according to a recent re-interpretation offered by A. F. L. Beeston (Notes on Old South Arabian insciptography VII, in Le Musée, xxxvi (1973), 448-51), depicts us in a situation in which Malik king of Kinda was head of a conference in which a certain Imam al-Kays b. 'Awf, called "king of the KHUST" was a subordinate member; the latter committed an act of aggression against Saba, as a result of which the king of Kinda and his dayâws were forced under duress to surrender the person of the actual offender, to pay an indemnity, and to give hostages to the Sabaeans.

In two other texts of approximately similar date (Ja 660 and 669) we find Kinda and Madhbîdîb together with other bedouin groups, placed under the overall control of a Sabean official with the title "labbir of the Arabs of the king of Saba, and Kinda, and Madhbîdîb etc.", and evidently acting as bedouin auxiliaries of the Sabean army. In an inscription published by Sharafaddîn (Yemen, Ta'if' 1961, 44. bottom left), a mixed force of Sabaeans, Kindi Arabs and other elements, was commanded by two individuals bearing the title "wâsh of Saba".

In the early 5th century A.D., the Himyarite king Yâsul (Far. of Nuwask [q.v.]) was similarly employing Kinda, together with members of the Murâb and Madhbîdîb tribes, under the control of a Sabean commander belonging to the Yâzân (Far. in Islamic sources Yazen) family, as auxiliaries in his campaigns in central Arabia; see Ry. 508.7. (G. Ryckmans, Inscriptions sud-arabes XIX ser., in Le Musée, xxxvi (1953), 296) from Kawkab, an isolated rock north-east of the Kâra mountains and on the edge of the Empty Quarter.

In the mid-6th century, the Himyarite king Abrahân (Far.) claims to have installed a certain Yazlî b. Ka'bân as "his bâlî over Kinda"; it appears that this Yazlî later revolted, but was defeated by the Himyarites and forced to renew his allegiance in the year 653 of the Himyarite era (Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, iv, 514). Five years later, in 659 of the Himyarite era, Kinda was again campaigning in support of the Himyarites, this time being given the particular mission of pinning down the 'Amir b. Sâ'â/a tribe (Far.) while the king was engaged on military operations elsewhere (Ry. 306, op. cit., 277).

(A. F. L. Beeston)

AL-KINDI, ‘ABD AL-MAŠIH (Far. of Iskân, the name given to the author of a defence of Christianity presented in the forms of a letter written in response to that of a Muslim friend, named 'Abî Aldân b. Isâmî al-Hâshîmî, who invited his correspondent to embrace Islam. The names of these two characters are supplied only by the Abî 'Aliî [Far. after 441/1050 (Far.)] in a reference that he makes to this defence in his Chronology (ed. Sachau, 205). In fact, the author of the two letters, who states in the prologue that he does not wish to mention the names of the correspondents ("for a certain reason", speaks only of a Hâshîmî and a Kindî. But it should also be noted that the headings of certain manuscripts supply the name of Yaqûb b. Iskân al-Kindî, not to be confused with the name of the first Muslim philosopher (d. 258/870 (Far.)).

The authorship of this defence is the object, among orientalists, of serious disagreements concerning his period and his sect. Taking as evidence the historical data supplied by the text, mention of the caliph al-Ma'mûn (186-210/903-39), of the sack of Mecca by Abu 'l-Sârîbî (190/805) and of the revolt of the Banû Khurram (204/818), W. Muir believes that the date of the composition of the letter can be fixed at 214/830. But L. Massignon believes the composition to be later than the year 300/912, seeing that the author has borrowed from al-Tâbâtabâ (d. 210/923) his criticism of an opûnion of the Hanbîlî al-Barbâhâî (d. 329/941), similarly, observing a parallelism between certain criticisms contained in the letter and in a work of the Muslim heretic Ibn al-Râwání (d. 298/910), P. Kraus concludes that the Christian author borrowed these criticisms from the latter and therefore the letter can only have been composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

As for the sect to which the author of the apology belonged, the majority of orientalists make him a Nestorian, as is moreover indicated explicitly by his Muslim friend in his letter. The fact that he himself mentions the convent (mawârîn) of al-Kârkh, a suburb of Baghdad, and Sâkût al-Mudâla'în, near Sevilâ-Cresphion, confirm this idea. But Massignon, considering that the distinction between the essence and
the attributes of the act is an "adaptation to Christian theology of the tenets of Islamic kalām," is led to identify the author with the celebrated Jacobite philosopher Yahyā b. 'Adī (d. 364/974). Similarly, M.-Th. de Alverny, on the basis of a passage in the Latin translation which treats the Nestorians as heretics, makes the author of the letter a Jacobite philosopher who, according to a concluding passage figuring only in the Latin version and a Karshūl manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 204), must have composed a work against Arīsūn.

Now the multiplication of the work of a Jacobite theologian of the beginning of the 6th century, Abū Rāśīl Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ḥāmid, shows that, contrary to the opinion of Massigun, this distinction between the divine attributes dates from a period considerably before that of Yahyā b. 'Adī, since it is found in the work of Abū Rāśīl, from whom the author of the letter borrowed it, as well as the whole of the philosophical-theological section dealing with the unity of God (ed. G. Graf, SCSCO, xxx, 5-70).

As for the fact of a Nestorian author borrowing from a Jacobite a discussion of the unity of God, this is not surprising, since there was no difference of opinion between them on this point.

Similarly, the publication of the Latin version has shown that in this version, conforming to the original Arabic, the Muslim tells his correspondent that of all the Christians, the Jacobites possess the worst doctrine while the Nestorians, his friends, are closer to the Muslims (379); and it is clear that the passage in the Latin version which describes the Nestorians as heretics (413), and which is nowhere corroborated by the Arabic text, arises from the fact that the translator has "revised" the text in a "Catholic" manner (408); as for the concluding passage where there is mention of a work against Arīsūn, it seems, judging from its content and style, that it does not belong to the original text, and that it is a later addition.

Finally, it should be noted that in a Karshūl manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 203), the text of the letter of the Muslim has been revised in manner favourable to the Jacobites; the name of the Jacobites being replaced by that of the Nestorians and vice-versa, and the writing of the name of Cyrilus being distorted (fol. 3b).

Presented as the work of a Nestorian Christian, a senior official at the court of al-Māmūn, this defence of Christianity is also a refutation of Islam, the East as well as in the West, in the polemic between Christians and Muslims.


**Bibliography:** Given in the article, and Brehbheim, 1, 135 ff.; 1, 239 ff; Sezgin, i, 358; Nasan A. Mahmoud, *al-Kindi al-mu'taṣīlī*, Cairo 1971 (F. Rosenthal).

**AL-KINDI, ABū Yusuf Ya'qub b. Ishākh.** "The philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd/8th century and died in about the middle of the 3rd/9th (perhaps approximately 285-292/805-66).

An eminent universal scholar and philosopher, he lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of *halām*; the period of the translations, and of the controversies concerning Mu'tazilism.

He was a companion of the caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim. To the latter he dedicated notably his *On first philosophy*, and to his son Ahmad, who was a pupil of his, he dedicated a number of other treatises. His association with these two sovereigns, plus the fact that he fell into disfavour during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (and was even deprived temporarily of his extensive library), lead one to suspect at least a tendency towards Mu'tazilism on his part. This hypothesis is supported by several passages from his known works (where there are references to the negation of the divine attributes or to the excellence of the works of God), as well as by the titles of works which are known only from the bibliographies. The latter show the extent and the variety of the work of al-Kindi; almost 250 titles (according to the *Fihrist*) concerning all the sciences cultivated in his day (these include astrology but not alchemy, which he regarded as a form of trickery), also technical subjects of particular interest to the ruling classes with whom he was associated: the manufacture of glass, jewellery, armour and perfumes.

It is impossible to give a complete account of al-Kindi's thought because of the relatively small number of documents which has survived (less than 40 extant titles, as many of them philosophical as scientific; the task of editing and evaluating a number of unpublished ones is as yet incomplete).

In the meantime, one can sketch the general outline, or at least note certain significant features, on the basis of the available texts.

His general philosophical position is best expressed in the introductory chapter of *On first philosophy*. Besides certain definitions and technical statements concerning philosophy, etc., the principles of philosophy, the four "causes", the four "scientific questions", there is to be found there what is in effect both an advertisement for, and a defence of, philosophy (it should be remembered that this treatise is dedicated to the caliph).

Taking as his inspiration, and sometimes borrowing literally from, the opening of a book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, of which he quotes a passage (without, however, acknowledging his source), al-Kindi describes the progressive accumulation of true knowledge which has come about in the course of time, thanks to the efforts of the philosophers; from this he infers that "the truth must be acquired, from whatever source it comes", and the statements of the philosophers must be re-examined and completed. He violently criticises the opponents of philosophy who attack it in the name of religion, while they themselves, he says, are without religion.

The content of "the science of things and their true nature", that is to say philosophy, is identical to that of the message of the prophets: the science of divine sovereignty and divine unity, the science of morality and ethics. Finally, a brief quotation from Aristotle's *Protevístik* (again not acknowledged), according to which it is logically impossible not to be a philosopher, is followed by a prayer invoking the assistance of God in the pursuit of knowledge.

Thus al-Kindi sets forth an intellectual orientation doubly opposed to that of the traditionalists; according to him, knowledge can come from various sources and can still be expected to develop; but equally, he claims to respect the prophetic message. In precisely the same spirit his epistle Concerning the number of Aristotle's works compares human knowledge ('ilm insānī) with divine knowledge ('ilm ilāhī); whereas the first depends on prolonged effort and preparation regulated according to a precise scheme, God inspires the prophets, when He so desires, and without them having recourse to the methods of "human knowledge", with a type of revelation condensed into a few phrases whose sense the philosopher can only explain at the cost of a lengthy process of elucidation.

This position of al-Kindi's, with regard to the sciences and to philosophy, derived from various sources on the one hand, to revelation and religious speculation on the other, emerges also in some ways from the information supplied by the bio-bibliographers. These emphasise that al-Kindī had an unequalled acquaintance with the ancient sciences (Ibn al-Nadīm), that he of all the Islamic philosophers was closest to Aristotle (Ibn al-Dīdīlū), that he studied in depth the various branches of Greek, Persian and Indian wisdom (Kīfī); but also that he combined in his works the principles of the Law and those of the rational sciences (Bayḥākī) and that he wrote an essay on *Tanbih* according to the methods of the logicians (Ibn al-Dīdīlū). Also, in a schematic list of his works such as is first to be found in the *Fihrist*, one notes the section of "books of dialectic" or of "controversy" (*altaf al-halāl al-ilāhīya*), many of which must have dealt with specific problems of *halām*, such as prophecy, *tākitā*, divine unity, the creation of the body, of the atom, etc.

As regards the Greek philosophers, al-Kindī mentions by name Plato and Aristotle and hardly any others. We know on the one hand that he used the *Treatise on the heavens* of Aristotle, that he commissioned a translation of his *Metaphysics* and revised the translation of the *Theology* which was attributed to him. But careful scrutiny of his works shows that he must have been acquainted, directly or indirectly, with certain others, such as Epictetus, Proclus and probably John Philoponus; we find also echoes of the last phase of the teaching of the school of Alexandria as it is expressed notably in the writings of David. These various references to other authors and implied borrowings pose many problems, both historical and critical, which are far from being solved. Without doubt there are questions still to be asked.

The variety of these borrowings poses in addition a philosophical problem, which could only be solved by examining the entire corpus of works of our author and his precise chronology, and examining the con-
sistency and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

Without attempting to enter into the details of the philosophy of al-Kindi as it is known to us, we can say that he adopted from the Aristotelian tradition a certain number of concepts (the four causes, the categories of change etc.) and of propositions (the finiteness of the world, the impossibility of a corporeal infinitude as an act, the mechanics of intellectual perception etc.); from the Platonist tradition, he takes speculations on the soul in its relationship with the body and with the divine light and on its ascent to and beyond the heavens. Parenthetic and semi-mystical in this last case, his style and method are by times extremely precise, very abstract, strained, proceeding freely and methodically by means of axioms and deductions of a geometrical regularity.

On the other hand, al-Kindi, who ceases to follow the Greeks where they are in disagreement with the Qur'anic revelation (i.e. with regard to the creation, and the life-span of the Universe), is interested in establishing or formulating agreements between certain philosophical ideas and certain articles of the Islamic faith, even Mu'tazili ones.

Thus the On first philosophy; after some reflections on the ‘one’ and the ‘many’, where we detect echoes of Proclus, concludes that it is to say, the first part of the book, which is all that has survived, concludes with a kind of philosophical ta'addad and with criticism of those who give attributes to God (the same theme is used in the essay On the unity of God and finite nature of the world). The epistle Concerning the number of Aristotel’s works contains a philosophical commentary on verses 78-82 of Sura XXXVI and the epistle On the lowest prostration of the body another on verse 6 of Sura LV.

There are other detailed references to other works which could be quoted. It would appear that al-Kindi uses the same method in his choice of language where certain words or verbal roots are common to the vocabulary of religion and to that of the Greek tradition (as he refers to God by the name al-wahid al-bah, which is both Qur'anic and Neo-Platonic; he uses the word rabihbiyya, which belongs to the language of religion, in the title of the Theology attributed to Aristotle). It is important to analyse these various agreements and differences at this early stage of the history of falsafa.

In so far as one is able to judge from the bibliographical lists and the few treatises, of various lengths, which have survived, the scientific work of al-Kindi follows the same scheme as his philosophical work, sc. to revise and develop the findings of the ancient scholars in the light of new interests. He writes essays on Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, on the astrolabe and on Hippocratic medicine; he also draws inspiration and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

$r_{109}$

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ished up to the Mongol invasions of the 7th/8th century. At about that time, most of the Saltık remains were destroyed by fire, and there seems to have been virtually no building on the site from Iğniş or Timurid times, and little under the Safawids and Qajars.

In general, the Islamic geographers refer to Kangavar as the habitat of al-Luṣūf ("Robbers' Castle"). Al-Tabarî, i, 2649, says simply that it acquired this name because the Arab army on the way to meet the Persians at Nihâwând (2/642) had some of its baggage-animals stolen there. Centuries later, this reputation of the people of Kangavar still prevailed: Ḩamd Allâh Mustawfî, Nushâ' al-buhîh (ed. M. Dabîlî, Tehran 1335/1957) states that they were "first-class thieves" (Le Strange's translation in Hamd Allah Mustawfî, Nusha, 107, is inaccurate). From the name Kangar al-Luṣūf derived the nisba "Kâsrî" (see Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, Paris 1851, 450).

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KENNASRÎN, an ancient town and military district in Syria; the name is of Aramaic origin and appears as Kenassarîn in the Syriac texts. Composed of inînîd "nest" and nasîn "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud in the form Composed of "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud in the form hinnd nasrin and appears as Kenneshrîn Li the Syriac texts. In the Middle Ages called the area Canes trine. A distinction was made between the town and the junkîn.

1. The town. At the present day, Kinnasrin is nothing more than a little village surrounded by ruins, a day's journey to the south of Aleppo, on the right bank of the Kuwayk which flows into the Euphrates. The Arab geographers place it in the fourth climate. Yâhîyâ, who gives various explanations for the origin of the name, says that the place was already populated in the period when the Amalekites, coming from the south, sought refuge there, and that the town had once been prosperous and strongly fortified, but that in his time (beginning of the 7th/8th century) it was nothing more than a village, owing its survival to its position in the centre of a district where a number of highways converged. In ancient times the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator, was called Chalîcis al-Belum, and gave its name to the Syrian-Arab times.

In the 4th century A.D. Kinnasrin was a commercial centre and a prosperous agricultural market-town. Set at a highway intersection and with a much-frequented khalîf, the town occupied an important position in the defensive system of the Syrian frontier from Antioch to the Euphrates and from the junkîn toward Tadmur. It played a strategic role of some importance for the Byzantine empire and at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A.D. it came under attack from the Persians.

After their victory on the Yarmûk [q.v.], the Muslim Arabs went on to conquer northern Syria. At Kinnasrin, the garrison of local militia offered some resistance to the troops of Ħubayra, [q.v.] and in Shâ'âbun 17/August-September 658, the town was taken. Under the reign of Yârîd b. Mu'âwiya, the town's defences were dismantled. Evolving from the experience of the Byzantines, the Umayyads, in their turn, installed a military headquarters at Kinnasrin, which rapidly became the capital of the rich agricultural region of which it was the centre.

Until the 4th/5th century, the history of the town was not marked by any event of importance. In 537/945, it was one of the most solidly constructed localities of the region. Two years later, in the spring, the Ḥamdânî prince Sayf ad-Dawla, was defeated there by the troops of the Ilkhan of Cilicia. In the second half of the 4th/5th century, Kinnasrin became the object of contention in the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ḥamdânîs. At the approach of the Byzantines, in 554/963, the inhabitants fled into the marshes, and in 557/968, when the Ḥamdânîs reached the town, after the Byzantine period, Kinnasrin began to decline to the benefit of Aleppo. In 558/966, when Nusephorus Phocas advanced against Aleppo, Sayf ad-Dawla fell back upon Kinnasrin, but being unable to defend it, he evacuated the town and the Byzantines came and burned the mosques. Part of the population settled to the East of the Euphrates and the rest took refuge in Aleppo. Shortly after, the town was repopulated, but in 589/998 it was burnt down and reconstructed once again. In 622/1030, it was again sacked by the Byzantines. Rebuilt at the end of the 5th/6th century by Saltâyân b. Kûlmûnî, the town was destroyed by his enemy Tâdîl ad-Dawla Tâtûshî, [q.v.] brother of the sultan Malik Shâh [q.v.]. It remained virtually uninhabited. Near Kinnasrin, passing that way in Radjîh 438/January 1947, saw nothing but a poor village.

In the period of the Crusades, Kinnasrin was to play only a strategic role and was scarcely populated at all. In Muhammîr 513/April-May 1119, without occupying Aleppo, Bâghîrî installed himself in Kinnasrin, made it a depot for military equipment and made raids against Бâhîn, the Rudi and Dâbâl Surma'a.

Some years later, Tabûqîn of Damascus joined forces with Asânkarî and together they attacked Aleppo, Sawâr, anîr of Aleppo in the name of Zâln, made Kinnasrin an operational base. In 529/1134-5 Pons of Tripoli laid siege to the place, which was relieved by Zankî, arriving in haste from Hûmûn. The traveller Ibn Dîbâyîr (end of the 5th/6th century) describes the town as being in a state of abandonment and rain.

From the time of the Ayyûbîd period (7th/8th century), Kinnasrin is no longer mentioned as a town, but its khalîf is noted as being a halting-place for caravans journeying from Aleppo towards the south, and, beyond the crossroads of al-Âshârib ______ towards the west. Pilgrims continued to make their way to Tell Nabi 'îsâ, one of the hills of the town, to the torab (maṣlûn, habû) attributed to the prophet Šâhî [q.v.], which is in fact the burial-place of the anîr Šâshî b. 'Abd Allâh b. al-Âshârib. In the Ottoman period, Kinnasrin was nothing more than an impoverished village, bearing the name Eski Hâlîb. At the present day, it has returned to its original name.

2. The junkîn. Around Kinnasrin there extends a
t uncertainties of northern Syria, with the aid of irrigation, cisterns, fruit trees and vines are cultivated. In 375 Saint Jerome, visiting the province where at that time monasticism and asceticism were developing, testified to its agricultural prosperity. On the horizon, there are visible to the south the Diabal Zawiyah, to the west the Diabal Barfeha, to the north the Diabal Sam'an and the plain of Marj Dabik punctuated by tella, while to the east there are the shining salt-marshes of Diabull. The Arabs penetrated at an early stage the territory of Kinnasrin, which corresponded to one of the Byzantine administrative divisions of Syria, representing the Roman "Syria Prima" of which Antioch was the capital. In the 6th century, Arab tribes were encamped in the eastern part of the region between the Euphrates and Kinnasrin. Among the battles which took place on this territory, one may note the victory won in 554 A.D. near the source of the Udghaya by the Ghassanid al-Harith over the Lahghmid al-Munghfeh al-Hira. After the Muslim conquest, Syria was divided into four ajdads: the ajdad of Urdunn, that of Filasin, that of Dimashq and that of Hims. The creation of the ajdad of Kinnasrin is attributed by some (al-Tabari and al-Dimashki) to Mu'awiyah, who installed refugees from Ba'qra and Kufa there in 32/643, by others (al-Baladhuri, Yildef) to Yazid b. Mu'awiya, who detached some districts from the ajdad of Hims. In the 'Abbasid period, following the conquests of Harun al-Rashid (170-92/786-809), the ajdad of Kinnasrin paid 350,000 dinars while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the ajbad of Kinnasrin was deprived, to the west, of the territory stretching from Antioch to the coast, to the east, of the region lying between Aleppo and Manbij, and to the north, of the Diabull, districts which were to constitute the region of the Awadh (q.v.). The ajdads of Kinnasrin, therefore, was then limited to the area lying to the south of Aleppo. This was the end of its period of military importance, but economic activity continued, as is shown by the increases in taxation and in the tribute paid to al-Mafarr. In the 3rd/9th century, the ajdad of Kinnasrin paid 350,000 dinars while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the ajdad of Kinnasrin paid 350,000 dinars of kharaj, the same as Dimashq, and 370,000 of simayia (q.v.). The capital was then Aleppo, and the principal cities Antakya, Kinnasrin and Manbij. Its limits were to the west, the coast from Lahghiya to Bayas, to the north, Marash and the Ajwad, to the east the Euphrates between Sunayyat and Babis, and to the south, the region of Hamah with Shayyar and Rafa'inyaya, a region claimed by both Kinnasrin and Hims. In 349/662, Nicephorus Phocas attacked the region of Aleppo; he returned two years later to sow the ruins, and the population went in search of refuge elsewhere. The intervention of the Basileus led to the disappearance of the Ajwad, to the advantage of the Byzantines who occupied Antakya. The reconstruction of northern Syria under the Saljukys scarcely touched the ajdad of Kinnasrin. In the 12th century, the latter came under pressure from the Franks of Antioch, especially in 495/1002 when Bohemond demanded tribute. In Safar 557/Dec. 1158, Fulko of Jerusalem and the armies of Antioch attacked the territory of Kinnasrin and imposed a truce with the addition of tribute upon Sawar, the Aleppo representative of the Al-Abbe Zanki. At the end of the 7th/11th century, the ajdad, which retained its name in spite of the dominance of Aleppo, retrieved from the Franks the province of Antakya and the lands of Sarmin. Under the Ottomans, in the mid-11th/18th century, Hadiji Khalifa still speaks of "the province of Kinnasrin of which the capital is Aleppo". Later, the ajdad of Kinnasrin disappeared and was integrated into the liwa of Aleppo.


KINTAR [see MARATIM].

KIPÇAK, a Turkish people and tribal confederation; usually also written Kipchak or Kitchak; the forms Kizhák, Kizhach, Kitzhach and Kitchoch are also found. The etymology of the name is uncertain: the origin of the Old Turkish word kipçak (kipčak), which is known only in the form kipčak "hurt" is "unlucky" (Claswion, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 581), is conjectural, as well the connection with the Saged word kipčak "irate, hot-tempered". The proper name Kipcak is recorded in the Uyghur texts, See Radiofi, Versuch einer Worterbuch des Türkischen, St. Petersburg 1893, ii, 843-5. In later popular and learned etymologies (Iafat in Raghial al-Din, Diwan al-Dawr, ed. Beccari = Trudv Vest. Osl. Arkh. Obhø, vii, 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghazal, ed. Desmoulin, x), Kipcha is connected with kobbuk or kobli and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khan (ct. Kizak) and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. The relation of the tribe Kipčak, emerging in the Western Siberian steppes, to the other Turkish tribes is unclear. Garež (text in W. Barthold, Občh v pozadí v Šediny u Ani,
The Kipčak (Kuman) language is the Codex Cumanicus. From the Kipčak Mamluks, several linguistic monuments are known. From the Armenians in Poland and in Ukraine, speaking a special Kipčak dialect, several literary and other documents have come down to us. One section of the Turkish languages, according to the ethnic and historical relation of these peoples to the Kipčak tribes and regions, is also called Kipčak. The Kipčak are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Karlaḵ, Uyghur, Nayman etc.) the name Kipčak is found as the name of a family or of a minor tribal unit among the Bashkirs, Nogai, Kipčaks and Uzbek. The Kipčaks are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. M. Korad.

transportation, the term *kira* is used for these last and for immovable property. Hence in practice, *kira* may be a contract for transporting something. According to Ibn 'Arafa, it is in this case the sale of the beneficial use of an animal or of something else like a ship for purposes of transport. But the transporting of objects must be distinguished from the transporting of persons. Malik sees there a locatable ageris. Other Māliks pronounce in favour of a hiring out of services. The Shafi‘is consider this contract as a hiring out of objects. But in any case, the hiring out of beasts or burden and ships (*kira* al-rudhāl wa-l-su’un) is perfectly admissible, whether the beasts are individually determined or not.

Hiring out can cover land (*kira* al-arḍ), and the leasing of rural properties existed before Islam, under two forms: (a) *kira* involving payment of money; and (b) *kira* involving the making over of a proportion of the produce of the property (*mushahdama*). This last form must have been the commoner one, in view of the scarcity of coinage.

The last type of hiring out of an object is *kira* mu‘abād or *khirāt prospeus*, the lease referred to for a quit-rent of ancient French law. It is the equivalent of our emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, this institution is known under the name of *mudād* ‘awlia, in Algeria as *tani*, and in Morocco as *kira* kar‘a 1-i-i-bābiya; all these names indicate the idea of a perpetual lease.


(A. M. Delcambre)

**KIRA**, reading. Applied to the *Kurān*, *kira* also means recitation. In the present article the term *kira* is used as follows: 1. in the general sense of the recitation (a) of single parts of the *Kurān*, as prescribed for the ritual prayer (*salāt*); or the recitation (b) of the entire *Kurān*, which has become, in the course of years, an accepted spiritual exercise (*kira* = recitation); 2. to indicate a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the *Kurān* (*kira*, pl. *kira* = variant); 3. to indicate a particular reading of the entire *Kurān* (*kira* = reading). In the third case one speaks of the *kira* of Ibn Mas‘ūd or of the *kira* of the people of Kūfa as opposed to the *kira* of other authorities or to the recitation authorised by ‘Uthmān.

The recitation of texts proclaimed by Muhammad as revelation played from the very beginning a prominent part in the Muslim community. This is already evident from the fact that the collection of these revelations was designated as *Māhān* (recitation). However, the *Kurān* had not yet been collated at the death of the Prophet and the form of Arabic letters used to note down single parts of it and later on the whole collection was very incomplete; in a group of consonants a choice between two or more readings was possible. Consequently, disagreements soon arose on exactly how to read the revealed text. The promulgation of a canonical reading of the *Kurān* under the third caliph ‘Uthmān (soon after 30/650) was intended to remedy this evil. Copies of this rendition were sent from Medina to Kūfa, Basra and Damascus, the most important cities of ‘Irāq and Syriā. After a relatively short period, this rendition seems to have been generally accepted as the official text, finally even at Kūfa where Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 33/653), the distinguished Companion of the Prophet, who maintained a “reading” of his own, had at first called upon his followers to resist.

On the whole, the text of ‘Uthmān had a strong unifying influence, which was felt to an increasing extent. But a really uniform *kira* was not thereby guaranteed. During recitation, which was essentially based on oral tradition, readings deviating from the official text were mentioned to be followed. Thus thematic renditions were sent to recognised authorities of the early period and to trustworthy witnesses, they were also noted by commentators on the *Kurān* and philologists, and turned to exegetical or linguistic account. Thus variant readings of Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubayy b. Ka‘b (d. 29/649 or 34/654) and other early “readers”, which deviated from the official text, were transmitted in early scholarly literature and have therefore come down to us, at least in extracts. The *kira* of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) was later even inserted among the “Fourteen readings” (see below).

Further development was on characteristic lines. The untramelled freedom with which the text had been treated in the earliest times was followed by a period of systematic opposition and the possibilities of the “readings” which the consonant text and the oral tradition offered. However, complete unification was not achieved. People neither would nor could simply set aside the power of tradition. Thus the free choice on the *kira* was limited, but not entirely forbidden. While reading the officially accepted consonantal text (already in itself constituting a limitation), the “reader” could still make a choice between a certain number of authorities. In its detail the history of *Kurān* reading is very complex. The scanty and sometimes unreliable sources leave much uncertain. In general, however, the course of development is clearly recognisable, thanks in particular to the penetrating studies of G. Bergsträsser (in collaboration with O. Protsa) and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). In this article only the essential aspects will be briefly mentioned.

Important progress in the standardisation of the “reading” was achieved by differentiating the letters *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, *y* etc. by means of strokes (later dots) and by introducing vowel signs. The recitation of ‘Uthmān, being officially recognised, gained in importance by this clarification. With the passage of time, other differences were gradually eliminated. Such a levelling seems at first to have been accomplished within single cities (*umār*) and later on through the influence of one city on another. Majority readings tended to prevail over minority readings, thus lending towards a general consensus. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 343/956), the influential ‘Imrān of the “readers” in Baġhdād, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He imposed further use of the *kira* of Ibn Mas‘ūd and other uncanonical readings, such as those of Ibn Shanabādūh, a contemporary and fellow-reader of Ibn Mudjāhid, complied with this ban only after he had been arraigned and flogged. In addition, Ibn Mudjāhid declared the reading of the ‘Uṯmānī consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Mīkṣun, another fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalisation of the text. As authorities on the traditional reading of the ‘Uṯmānī text, Ibn Mudjāhid recognised seven “readers” belonging to the 2nd/8th century, among whom were *Aṣīm* of Kūfa (d. 283/895) and Nāmil of Medina (d. 269/885), whose readings have both remained authoritative.


(A. M. Delcambre)
to the present day, that of ʿAsim in the east and centre of the Islamic world, and that of Nāfiʿ—
with some exceptions—in North Africa from Egypt westwards. To the seven "readers" recognised by Ibn Mūjahid were added later on three others, and afterwards another four, but these never attained the same standing as the first seven. Furthermore, since Ibn Mūjahid, in mentioning ʿAsim—one of the Seven—had often named two others, Abū Bakr Shuʿba (d. 208/823) and Hafs (d. 190/786), who transmitted ʿAsim's readings independently of one another, it became customary to add also the names of two other traditionalists to each of the other six and of the Three after the Seven. Thus originated the bewildering number of names in the list of readers recognised as canonical (Gesch. des Qor., iii, 165-6; Blachère, 118-19; Bell-Watt, 49 ff.).

After the readings had been limited to the "Seven" recognised as canonical, and to the other "Three after the Seven" and "Four after the Ten", all the others were eliminated in the practice of recitation. The "readers" henceforward had to keep exclusively to the canonical readings. This however did not completely rule out the uncanonical "deviant" (ṣawādād) readings. They were later added as useful evidence in the practical interpretation of the Qurʾān and in the elucidation of linguistic problems. Besides his "Book of the Seven" (Kittāb al-Saḥā, ed. Sh. Dayrī, see Bibli.), Ibn Mūjahid also composed a "Book of deviant readings" (Kittāb al-Ṣawādād), which is not extant. The debate on the uncanonical kirdāt was carried on throughout the centuries in a scholarly literature of growing importance. Ibn Abī Dawūd al-Sigjistanī's (d. 316/928) taktiik—ta'dlw (tartil, a rapid and a moderate tempo

—had often named two others, Abu Bakr Shuʿba (model), forms of the pause (kaft), pronunciation, including the theory of assimilation (tdākm [q.v.], tdākhlim), the modification of a into e (imla), extension (maṣlīn), and the conservation or alteration (labīl) of hamma

(1) Pretzl's analysis of a typical treatise on the ṣawādād, in Islamica, vi (1934), 236-53). The time required for private oral instruction is greatly increased by the fact that, since Ibn Mūjahid, several different Imāms and Schools of Readers have been officially recognised. According to a distinctive method known as "assembling" (ṣawādād) the Qurʾān verse is divided into small fragments, each one of which is recited as often as there are variants of it, each time with another variant (see the instructive passage, "Koranlesungsuntersicht", by Bergsträsser, in Isl., xx (1932), 38-42). When the whole of the Qurʾān is recited, the separate readings must be considered as self-contained units; the "readers" are thus not free to combine the text of their recitation from different ḥarāt (Bergsträsser, loc. cit., 20 ff.). However, these are details which concern only an elite of "readers". The great mass of the "readers", consisting largely of blind men, would in any case limit themselves from the start to the study of a single reading (Hafs or ʿAsim, in the west Warṣ ʿan Nāfiʿ). In general, the originally large number of readings has given way in the course of centuries to a far-reaching uniformity both in the practice of recitation and in the theoretical ʿim al-bīrāt.

The history of the text of the Qurʾān and of the ʿimāl has also been studied by European and American orientalists, notably Nöldeke and Goldziher, followed by A. Jeffery, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl and E. Beck (see Bibli.). Important sources have been published, and separate stages of development reconstructed. Jeffery, and likewise Bergsträsser in association with Pretzl, planned an apparatus criticus for the Qurʾān. Bergsträsser and Pretzl had begun a systematic collection of photographs of early manuscripts of the Qurʾān in the hope of discovering variants not registered in the literature. Because of their untimely death (1933 and 1941), this research came to a standstill. Jeffery also died (1939) without having realised his vast project. The task, however, remains to evaluate the known and still unknown variants for the study of old Arabian dialects and in general for a future historical grammar of Arabic. Whether much will emerge to the profit of the historical interpretation of the Qurʾān remains to be seen. The harvest so far obtained by Bergsträsser and Beck is rather meagre and promises no new results of any importance. During the last part of his life, Pretzl himself had apparently "retreated from the generally high appreciation of the manuscripts and readings of the Qurʾān", August Fischer, who noted this in passant in a posthumous article (Isl. xxviii (1948), 5 ff. n. 4), also cited a passage from Spitaler's obituary of Pretzl (ZDMG xcvi (1947), 163 ff.). In Fischer's opinion the Qurʾānic textual variants "for the most part (emphasis by Fischer) consist of no more than attempts at emendation made by philologically trained Qurʾān specialists on difficult passages in the "Ulmicmic" reduction".

a commercial arrangement in which an investor (ṣāhiḥ al-nādī) or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent-manager ( yawmi, mukārib, mudāhir) who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed-upon share of the profits. As a reward for his labour, the agent receives the remaining share of the profits. However, in case of a loss resulting from an unsuccessful business venture, the agent is in no way liable for the return of the lost investment. He loses his expended time, effort, and anticipated share of the profit, while it is the investor who exclusively bears the direct financial loss.

The bihād combined the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership ( sharī'a) and while containing elements characteristic of both contracts, cannot be strictly classified in either category. In all Islamic legal writings, it is treated as a distinct and independent contract with a separate section or book ( Kitāb) devoted to it. As in partnership, profits and risks in the bihād are shared by both parties, the investor risking capital, the agent his time and effort. However, in the bihād, unlike a partnership, no joint capital is formed and the investor does not become directly or jointly liable with the agent in transactions with third parties; instead, third parties need not ever be aware of the investor's existence. As in a loan, the bihād generally entailed no liability for the investor beyond the sum of money or quantity of commodities handed over to the agent; and in the event of its successful completion, the agent returned the capital plus a share of the profits (the latter, corresponding to the interest in an interest-bearing loan).

The agent's complete freedom under normal trading circumstances from any liability for the capital in the event of partial or total loss and the disjunction between the owners of the capital and third parties are novel and distinctive features of the bihād which made it a particularly suitable instrument for long-distance trade.

Although commercial arrangements resembling the bihād were known in the Western and Mediterranean world from the earliest times, it appears very likely that its direct origins were indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, having developed in the context of the pre-Islamic Arabian caravan trade. With the Arab conquests, it spread to the Near East, North Africa and ultimately to Southern Europe. Its introduction in the form of the commenda in the Italian seaports of the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. was germinal to the expansion of mediæval European trade. The bihād was the subject of lengthy and detailed discussion in the earliest Islamic legal compendia (late 2nd/3rd century). Its legal treatment in these early treatises bears the hallmark of long experience with the bihād as an established commercial institution. Although not mentioned in the Kur'ān, numerous traditions attribute its practice to the Prophet and his leading companions (e.g. Sbīrīn, Mūqāṣṣ al-muṭāfāid, ii, 309; Sārāqīs, Muṣaff, xxiii, 18-19; Shāykhān, 'Aṣī madarašt, fol. 421).

From the sparse indications available, it appears that this form of commercial association continued through the early centuries of the Islamic era as a mainstay of caravan and long-distance trade in one of the very few mediæval Arabic treaties of commerce, Dimashqī's The beauties of commerce (probably 5th/6th century), the bihād is cited as one of the three methods by which trade is carried out;
Gharâl lists it among the six commercial contracts, "the knowledge of which is indispensable to anyone seeking gain in trade" (Iṣâd, ii, 65). The documents from the Cairo Geniza (9th-11th/10th-13th centuries) are replete with numerous examples of commercia agreements which account for a considerable share of the commercial activity reflected in these documents. Thus we may conclude that not only in law, but in practice as well, the kâriḍ constituted one of the most widespread instruments of commercial activity.

Three Arabic terms are used to designate this contract: kâriḍ, muddâraḍa, and muddâraḍa and the terms are interchangeable with no essential difference in meaning or connotation among them. The divergence in terminology was probably originally due to geographical factors. The terms kâriḍ and muddâraḍa apparently originated in the Arabian peninsula, and the term muddâraḍa was of 'Irâd provenance. Subsequently, the difference was perpetuated by the legal schools, the Mâlîks and Shâfi'is adopting the term kâriḍ and, to a lesser degree, muddâraḍa, and the Hanafis the term muddâraḍa.

As in the case of several other commercial arrangements, Islamic law justifies the liberty of the kâriḍ contract on the religious grounds of traditional practice (usûna), the consensus of the community (iżma') and, more interestingly, on the practical grounds of its economic function in society. After quoting a series of traditions describing the bird's use in trade by the Prophet and his companions, Sarâkhût adds that it is also allowed: "Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained" (Sarâkhût, Mabstî, xxii, 19).

Sarâkhût's summary of the kâriḍ's economic function highlights one of the most important aspects of this contract's role in Near Eastern commerce, and helps explain its widespread use in mediavial trade. For the investor, the kâriḍ served as a means of hiring trading skill, and for the agent-manager, as a means of hiring capital. Since, in the mediavial commercial contract, profit should be realised only by the combination of capital and trading activity, the kâriḍ, especially for the purposes of long-distance trade, became an ideal instrument to attain a profitable goal.

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**KIRÁN, in Islamic astrology "the conjunction"**. Without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunctions of these two planets were combined, apparently by Sasanid astrologers, with the Hellenistic doctrine of the triplicities to form the basis of one of several methods of predicting the course of history available to medieval astrology.

The four triplicities were associated with the four subbinary elements as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fire</th>
<th>Earth</th>
<th>Air</th>
<th>Water</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aries</td>
<td>Taurus</td>
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<td>Leo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sagittarius</td>
<td>Capricorn</td>
<td>Aquarius</td>
<td>Pisces</td>
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Mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter occur once in about every 20 years with a longitudinal increment of about 242°; for twelve or thirteen conjunctions, then, or about 240 or 260 years, they stay within the same triplicity, and it takes about 360 years (i.e. approximately a millennium) for the conjunctions to return to the triplicity in which the cycle started. The return of the conjunctions to the triplicity of fire (to Aries) in about a millennium was thought to indicate the appearance of a new prophet; the transfer of the conjunctions from one triplicity to the next in about 240 or 260 years was taken to signify a possible change in the dominant dynasty; and the occurrence of each individual conjunction was believed to portend lesser shifts in political, military, or economic status. The details of these predictions depended upon the horoscopes of the beginnings of the solar years in which the conjunctions occurred.

This theory of conjunctions usually appears in consort with various other elements of political astrology, all of which seem to have originated in the Zoroastrian millennarianism of Sasanid Iran. These other methods are: the revolutions of the worlds; the cosmic cycles—i.e. the mighty, big, middle, and small varieties of the kîsma, the intîlîd, and the fardars of the planets; the mighty years of the planets; and the planetary lords of the millennia, centuries, decades, and single years. These elaborate systems for predicting religious and political change, together with the related theory of the conjunctions of the maleficient planets, Saturn and Mars, in Cancer every 30 years, appealed strongly to dissident groups in the early 'Abhâsid period and later, and especially to those with Iranian connections; in particular, one may mention the Karmâjans and the Ismâ'îlîs. Many leading astrologers wrote expositions of the significance of the conjunctions, especially Mâhâlîbâd and Abû Ma'shar; through their writings, this form of political astrology was transmitted to Western Europe, where it became extremely popular during the Renaissance.

**Bibliography:** References to the earlier literature and descriptions of some of the numerous Arabic texts on kîsma will be found in D. Pingree, *Historical horoscopes*, in JACOS, lxxxii (1962), 487-
in the bosom of Islam, in spite of categorical refutation of "monkey", but representing in fact, among some of the builders of the tower of Babel; their Sanhedrin in the minds of men the legend, of Talmudic origin, which was still going on, causing grave annoyance to the inhabitants.

In spite of a fundamental quality of mischief, encouraged by captivity and a sometimes extreme lawlessness, stigmatised by the usage of the term "rascal monkey", the Arabs recognised in the monkey qualities lacking in other animals, such as a concern for cleanliness expressed through a continuous and methodical process of defecating, its extreme agility, its astonishing ingenuity and above all its exceptional talent for imitation; these qualities were defined in proverbial expressions such as: "As a monkey is more cunning than a baboon", "aknas min hadhafa "more sly than a she-monkey", "amalab min rubah "more pleasing than a baboon", "ahhaba min hir "more imitative than an ape", and they summed all of this up in the antithesis al-hird habib ibninanu maith "rascal though he is, the monkey is agreeable!"

The maritime trade of slavers and of Arab and Persian merchants in the Indian Ocean made known to the Muslim world a number of new species of cercopithicus and a considerable trade in monkeys developed in the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The hunters, sea-farers from the coastal region of the Jazan peninsula, went by preference via the island of Socotra to the coast of East Africa (the country of the Zanj and the country of the Swahili) in search of the magnificent genera celebes (Colobus abyssineus) with its fine black pel, an item of great luxury, exported at that time as far as Central Asia and Europe. Al-Idrisi (Nuska...), in his work, section 7) speaks of an "Island of Monkeys" (al-atassar al-hurid), in the Indian Ocean (perhaps the island of Pemba or that of Mafia?), where the hunters from Khurj Muria and of Socotra went to trap monkeys (that is to say, the green monkeys Cercopithecus callithrix, the vervets Cerc. pygerychus, the mousacks Cerc. cephus, the grivets Cerc. aethiops and the nisas Cerc. pyrochrous) with the aid of small boats propelled by the tribute of the coast by the tide and the currents. These boats contained delicacies for bait and on the gunwales
there were towing ropes manoeuvred by cords attached to the ship. Attracted by the food, the quadrupeds soon crowded together in the boats and it was necessary only to operate the recovery ropes to bring on board the teeming cargo; depending on the species, some were killed and their pelts sent to the fur market, and others, with collars on their necks, were sold at a high price either to merchants or to aristocratic collectors of rare beasts or to itinerant animal showmen.

It is known, from the chroniclers, and al-Ma'sūdī (Murādī, 1, § 485) confirms it, that princes of India and of China kept trained monkeys, whose role was to detect poison in food and drink; the 'Abbasīd caliph al-Mahdī was advised by Chinese ambassadors to avail himself of the same precaution. But, a century earlier, the Umayyad caliph Yazid b. Mu'āwiya already had his monkey which accompanied him in processions, mounted on an ass (al-Dāmarī, op. cit.). The 'Abbasīd caliph al-Mutawakkil received, from a king of Nubia, two monkeys, of which one could sew and the other model in clay. On the other hand, the sea-farers of Sicily and of 'Umān, maintaining commercial links with India, the islands of Indonesia and China, were the principal source of information on Asiatic fauna and flora, information exploited by Arab geographers and encyclopaedists from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/13th century; these hardy adventurers brought back, on their return, specimens of quadrupeds native to these regions, such as rhesus macaques (Macaca mulatta) and crab macaques (Macaca irus) and semnopithecines or langurs, including the hanouman entellus (Presbytis entellus), all of these being untouchable beasts to the Indians. Certain of these monkeys were offered, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, by the amir of 'Umān, to the 'Abbasīd caliph al-Mu'taṣimbid biliith to complete his menagerie (Murādī, 1, § 467); with hunting dogs and falcons, monkeys were regarded as princely gifts and they were to figure among the presents sent by Hārūn al-Raschīd to Charles the Fat on the occasion of the two exchanges of ambassadors between the two sovereigns (181-5/797-801).

For its part, the Maghrib was well acquainted with monkeys through the numerous colonies of apes, known as Barbary macaques (Macaca sylvanus) in the Atlas. Very tame and friendly animals, they are a tourist attraction in the valleys of the Chiffa, in Algeria, and it is well known with what vigilant care the British keep their few specimens imprisoned on the Rock of Gibraltar.

The monkey has always and everywhere had, with its grimeas its mimicry, its mischief and its agility, the power of amuse crowds; among showmen and jugglers, the exhibitor of monkeys (karrad, karradīt, karradhīt) was assured, in the Islamic countries, of success in the company of strolling players, in public places, at fairs and in markets. Yemenis and Somalis were the experts in this profession, which, while relatively lucrative, was held in considerable contempt by the upper classes; so, according to Ibn al-Faḍl, Khālid b. Sa'fāwī, in the course of an oratorical contest between the people of North and South Arabia, threw this insult at Tibrīhī b. Mağhrama al-Kīndī: "You other Yemenis, you are nothing but exhibitors of monkeys..." In spite of this disapproval of public entertainers who were, it must be said, in many cases rogues, the mass of the people, both rural and urban, were attracted to open-air entertainments and to exhibitions of rare and "clever" animals, whether these were monkeys, dogs, bears, or goats. As trained quadrupeds were a source of hilarity, the people readily abandoned the term kīnd to designate them, substituting expressions of a happier psychological effect; thus, in Syria and in Lebanon, the monkey was called qandān "lucky charm" and his trainer became the sa'dādī, while in Iran, 'Irāk, Turkey and Egypt it was nāmiynī nāmān "fortune" which prevailed and which by a coincidence perhaps not fortuitous could quite well be linked to the Greek μυάς "ape" from the verb μοιάομαι "imitate, mimic". In the same spirit, the entire Maghrib instinctively adopted, in parallel to the classical substratum, karradīg (pl. karrādī, karrādīd, grradī, grradās) and the Berber ibn (pl. lkkdrin) and idā (pl. idādwin), the archaic Persian adjective shādī (pl. shāvda, shāvda, shāwādī) "gay, joyous" which must have been introduced by the Turks and which 'Irāk also made its own. Also in the Maghrib, the popular negro Bā Sa'dīyāyya, parroting black magicians, to the terror of small children, is often accompanied in his acts by a trained monkey, which he makes dance to the sound of the tambourine or of the gīfūrī [gūrī].

Arab authors have said very little about the tricks which the exhibitors of monkeys trained their pupils to perform. Al-Ma'sūdī notes simply that the Nubian grivet exhibited in the fairs astonishes the audience by his surprising agility in climbing to the top of a spear fixed in the earth. As for al-Dūṭāyī who, as an objective naturalist, enquired into the behaviour of monkeys employed by the aṣhād al-ḥirāda (Hayawan, passim), he makes no mention of the kinds of acrobatics that were displayed in public. It is nevertheless easy to imagine them for anyone who has witnessed the displays given in Morocco by the wandering troupes of the Ulūd Sīdī Ajmed b. Mūsā, the native showmen of the Sun, with their performing monkeys, and this on the occasion of local patronal festivals like that of Laila Kasaba (see E. Locut, Noms et cérémonies des jeux de foire, in Hesperis (1921), 44).

In addition, the ambience of these travelling shows with their dense crowds of curious onlookers has been finely caught by Hārūn al-Zāmīn al-Haḍāmī [g.v.] in his delightful maḥāmārī ḫirādīyya (Maḥāmāt, Cairo 1923, 104-6; Fr. tr. S. de Sacv, Christomathii Cairo 1923, 104-6; Fr. tr. S. de Sacv, Christomathii Paris 1953, 240-1). In Itrīkiya, under the Aghlabī dynasty, the ḫādī, in his zeal for ḫādī [g.,] enjoined upon Jews and Christians the care to brand those whom they were attacking; this was

In Islam, as elsewhere, to liken a man to a monkey was one of the most degrading insults. Among the Muslims of the Far East, in periods of friction between the communities, while the pig and the dog were used as epithets for the Christians, the name "monkey" was generally reserved for the Jews, in reminiscence of the Kur'anic verses quoted above (see H. Pērēs, Pērēs undacuas, Paris 1953, 240-1). In Itrīkiya, under the Aghlabī dynasty, the ḫādī, in his zeal for ḫādī [g.,] enjoined upon Jews and Christians the care to brand those whom they were attacking; this was
done by the Andalusian Ishaq al-Hasani in referring to the famous *Amur al-Mansur* Iba Abi ʿAmir (Pèrs, op. cit.), as was done before him by Abi Nuwas, proclaiming his hatred of the Barmakids [see *Barunma*] in this opening *verso hādāh namāni l-kurādī*... "This is the age of the ape..." ([Dīzāin, Cairo 1953, 552; Beirut 1962, 475].

Under the scheme of Kur'ānīc law, eating the flesh of the monkey is forbidden, since the animal is omnivorous and has canine teeth; an additional and fundamental reason for this prohibition is the instinctive revulsion, which is natural to the primitives, the family to which the human race belongs, for the idea of devouring another member of the same family.

For the evolved human being, eating the meat of the ape would be close to cannibalism. Nevertheless, ancient medical opinion held the flesh of the monkey to be an effective preventive agent against elephantiasis (*djūghān*). Certain other parts of the animal, such as the teeth, the hair and the skin, possessed "specific qualities" (*bawādī*) (see ʿAl-Darnī, loc. cit.), which modern science has relegated to the rank of absurdity.

Finally, regarding the term *bird*, it should be noted that in astronomy the astrotomic ζ, λ Canis majestis and ζ, η, ζ, μ, λ, α, *colubras* is wrongly called *Al Kurūd* "the Ape" in some treaties, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *Al Kurūd* the *Hermits* (see A. Benhamou, *Les mons arabes des étoiles*, in *ATEO*, Algiers, loc. cit., in 1861).

With *bird*, there has not so far been any reference to other than colobids and cercopithecids; it might also be asked what conception the Arabs had of the large anthropomorphic, or anthropoid, apes. These number no more than eleven species world-wide, seven gibbons, two chimpanzees, one gorilla and one orang-outang; none of these species exists in the first clime, (Nutha, *Rihla*, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone.

**Kird**

In fact, in historical times, the Arab peoples, having never encountered this fabulous *nasnds* in their own countries, quite naturally applied the term to all the small long-tailed flat-faced African monkeys with which the missionaries brought back from their explorations two authentic *nasnds*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

Modern philologists, like P. Anastase-Marie, have gone so far as to see in the term *nasnds* the Greek *mous* "mouse" (see ʿAl-Darnī, *Majāmul al-Kurūd*, Cairo 1953, s.v. *Ape*...); it cannot be denied that the two words have the same sense and one would thus be led to see, in the origins of *nasnds*, besides the gibbon, a human pygmy. Al-Dīhīzī, while not believing in them, lists a number of these fabulous beings which really existed in the popular imagination, and, this being an interesting fact, he assimilates the *nasnds* to the *wāh-madj* and to the people of Gog and Magog (*Fayyāsīn, i, 189; vii, 178). Now the Arab geographers recognised three countries jointly said to be the land or the island of the *Wāh-Wāh* (or the *Wāh-Wāh*), the first situated below the country of the *Zand* (*pl.*). beyond *Sulfā* "of gold" (Mozambique); the second in the most eastern islands of Malaysia (the Philipines, Celebes, the Moluccas); and the third in the extreme north of the Sino-Asiatic continent; it is found that these three countries correspond quite closely to those inhabited by anthropomorphic apes observed by sea-faring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean, and only the gibbon (Hylabates lar), found in Malaysia, Indochina, Burma and the Himalayas, corresponds fairly accurately to this description. Iba al-Pākhbī, who is quoted by al-Kazwīnī (*450*), in the margin of *al-Darnī*, op. cit., i, 191 and Muhammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (*pl.*); say, with reference to Sumatra (*Qisrāt al-Rāzī* = Lambri), that "there are found there human beings of both sexes, who go bare-footed and without clothing. Their speech is incomprehensible and they live in the tree-tops. They are entirely covered with hair and they live on a diet of fruit; they constitute an innumerable people who flee at the approach of man... these beings are four spans in height, their language is a kind of whistling and their faces are covered with russet-coloured down..." Al-Īrūsī (*Nūrān, 1st edition, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone and no use is made of the feet, which gives the impression that they are flying from one branch to another. In the 8th/9th century, Ibn Bāṭīṭa (Rīkī, ii, 136) writes of the colonies of siamang gibbons (Symphalangus syndactylus) with black fleece and white mask which he encountered on the southern coasts of the Indies. As for the recently-discovered Asian *orang-outang*, the gorilla and the chimpanzees of Africa, they remained on the peripheries of knowledge until the 13th/14th century. Besides, in so far as they were known, their height, greater than that of man, meant that they could not be identified with the half-man which the *nasnds* is, by definition; the root n.-s.-m.-s. evokes in fact the idea of smallness and weakness. The reports of those who saw gibbons were rapidly distorted by the imagination of those who transmitted them to the point where the *nasnds* became a monstrous semi-anthropomorphic creature, one-eyed and one-legged, running with successive bounds at a tremendous speed, in times past hunted for its meat in the Yemen. With the *gībb*, another half-human monster, the *nasnds* is not without analogy with the *monocolus* and the *stātwus* of Pliny. Understandably, sceptical minds demanded visual proof of the existence of such phenomena and to this end the ʿAbbasīd caliph al-Mutawakkil, according to al-Maqdīṣī (*Muṣāf*, i, § 491), instructed the famous doctor and translator Ḥunayn b. Ḥishāk (*pl.*; to find for him some of these curiosities; it seems that the scholar brought back from his explorations two authentic *nasnds*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

**Kird**
familiar (see al-Danø, op. cit., ii, 353-4), and modern systematic practice has simply ratified the von populii in retaining the name ‘tinsas’ and applying it to the Somalian Ceropithecus pygerythrus. In conclusion, having been born out of confused images of the gibbon and a pygmy in travellers’ tales, to become subsequently a monstrous human mutation, a pygmy in travellers’ tales, the name has finally been placed, by common logic, in one of the families defined by ‘Gibbini’.


KIRENSUN (see omor-wôk).

KIRGIZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the 2nd century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (J.A., Ser. 6, vol. xvi, 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singularшибн. The lands of the Kirgiz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a very reliable source, the land of the Kien-Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K’ang-Kiu, i.e. of Sogdiana. The name Kirgiz first appears in the Orkhon inscriptions of the 8th century; at that time the Kirgiz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Venisei (Turkic Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kükimân) is also mentioned in Gardîzi (W. Barthold, Oldei o poedte o Sredneyas Azii, 86 = ed. Abd al-Hâvy Jabibi, Tehran 1347/1928, 262); according to this source, the capital of the Khan of the Kirgiz was 7 days’ journey north of these mountains. There is also said that the Kirgiz had red hair and a yellow colour of skin (surbût-i miy wi sapist-i piist), which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgiz, are mentioned in the Chinese T’ang-shu, linguistically, the Kirgiz were in those days already Turkicised. They did not come to the fore politically until about 850 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Yughur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart’s endeavoure (Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streif- sçige, Leipzig 1903, 91-2) to connect with this the story in Dâhûl of the defeas of the Toghzaghus, can be utterly rejected; like Kudâma (ed. de Goeje, 262, l. 13) Dâhûl only refers to the hostility between the Toghzaghus and the Khabûlû (Karakul, […]). Istakûr (ed. de Goeje, 9-10) and others mention the Kirgiz (Khirkhû) as eastern neighbours of the Kimâk (see kîmâk) and as northern neighbours of the Kharûlû and Toghzaghus; in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The ethnic and historical continuity between the Kirgiz and the people living today under the same name in the USSR is supposed but not proved. The Kirgiz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the Khân in the beginning of the 12th century. See GANSA UNGA. The Mongol peoples; on the other hand, a body of Kirgiz must have migrated as early as this century northwards to the present abode of the genuine Kirgiz (Kara Kirgiz); according to the Hudûd al-halâm (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 98, comm. 203-4, even the town of Pândîl (the modern Aksu in Chinese Turkestan) was in possession of the Kirgiz. The Kirgiz are not mentioned again in this region till the 16th century; what the Chinese C’ang-Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgiz (especially on the use of dog-sledges, cf. Breu Schneider, Material, recherche, i, 129), he had only been told, and did not see himself, and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he had passed through. The main body of the Kirgiz had probably remained on the Upper Venisei; the Kirgiz Khan when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgiz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgiz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According to the Hudûd al-halâm (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 97, comm. 286) there was only one town among the Kirgiz, called Kanimgî, where their Khan lived, and no other towns or villages, but only tents; on the other hand, Rashîd al-Din says (ed. Berezin, Trav. Orient. Odd. Archh. Obgh. viii, 168-9) that the Kirgiz had “many towns and villages”. From these and similar statements Rashîf has drawn the conclusion (J.A., Ser. 6, vol. II, 328) that the present state of Kirgiz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the 16th century the Kirgiz on the Venisei had to submit to the Mongols under Cîngî Khan […]. Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1507, but it was only settled in 1518 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Cîngî Khan the Kirgiz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians; in 1607 they recognised the suzerainty of the Kazakh; but by 1609 we find them killing a tax-collector sent by the Kazakh. In 1642 they said they were described by the Kalmuck Khan Bâtur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniîl Arabînskî as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks, by arrangement with Russia, southwards to the region of the modern Semirechye; they are then said to have numbered 3,000-4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgiz had migrated at a much earlier date; shortly after 1544 a certain Muhammâd is mentioned as being invested as Khan of the Kirgiz by Sâîd Khan the ruler of the Mongols (Turîhî : Rashîd, tr. E. D. Ross, London 1895, 141); in the 16th century the Kirgiz were for the most part under the rule of the Khân of the Kazakh. The Kirgiz were called Darut by the Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semirechye to Farghâna and Karatêgin; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758-9) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semirechye. At this date the name Kirgiz was transferred to the Kazakh by the Russians; to distinguish them from the latter, the true Kirgiz were called Kirgiz.
Black Kirghiz (Kara Kirghiz). The term “Kara” was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated. Prior to the 17th century, the Kara Kirghiz, or “White Kirghiz”, were the inhabitants of the western steppes from Orenburg to the Caspian Sea. Their name is derived from the white horse, which takes its name from the principal hero Manaa, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the Kazak, the Kara Kirghiz had neither princes or nobles; the elders, called monap, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war, the tribes of the Kara Kirghiz did not break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the Kazak; an aul (camp) of the Kara Kirghiz comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an aul of the Kazak. In the 18th century authority over the Kara Kirghiz was exercised by the Chinese, in the 19th first by the Cossacks in Farghana and later by the Russians; the first establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the Kara Kirghiz has been seriously affected by the Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved—but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917—to take from the Kara Kirghiz all their grazing grounds except the valley of the Terek and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation.

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name “Kirghiz” meant particularly the Kazak; they are sometimes called also “Kirkiz-Kaisak” (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Kazak from the Qbash, cf. “kau” or “qashak” and war. The whole of the Kazak people was for long under the rule of one Khan who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khan Kasim (d. 924/1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Cossacks in the 16th century, the Kazak still had a strong nomadic kingdom at the end of this century—under the rule of Khan Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khan Abul Allah, the successor of Khan Kasim, was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warâ al-Nahr, and later still even held the town of Tashkent. In the 17th century the power of the Khans only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tashkent and Farghana were usually in the possession of the Kazak, sometimes under nominal rule claimed by the suzerainty of the Khans of the Cossacks. At this time must have taken place the division of the Kazak into three “Hordes” (called by the Kazak themselves djas “hundreds”); the great horde (masludja) occupied the most easterly, the little (kbsli djas) the most westerly part of the so-called “Kirghiz steppes” and between the two the central horde (orta djas). Towards the end of the 17th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khan Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistan and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks, still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1737 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1725 the towns of Sayram, Tashkent and Turkistan were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this, the suzerainty of the Khan of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Kazak and the agreement embodying this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse; but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu ’l-Khayr negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the 18th century; but it was not till the 19th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirghiz steppes on the Sir Darya, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Kazak were published in 1822 and again in 1858. Even after the abolition of the Khan’s authority, the descendants of Cingis Khan or “Sultans” exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Kazak called “white bones”, and again in 1882). The last popular leader of the Kazak was Kenesar, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842 in the mountains of Alma Taï; several risings were stirred up until 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Şiddiç). Another son, Ahmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesar and of his brother Sadik, entitled: Sultan Kenesar i Sadik, Biograficheskije ocherki sultan Allah-Verdi Kenesariu, Obratotno dil ralel i snableno primenljami E. T. Smirnovim, Tasjicent 1889 (review by V. Rosen in Zap., iv, 222-3).

The most southern part of the Kirghiz steppes was conquered in the 17th century by the Cossacks of Farghana and Khiva and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted—by the Kazak. After the foundation of the general-government of Turkestan (1867) and the general-government of the Steppes (1882) (Semireči belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestan), the government of Kirghiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand, after the Revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the “Kirghiz Republic” and by the people themselves “Kazakstan”. Today the Kirghiz form one of the Union Republics of the USSR. The number of the population in the Kirghiz Socialist Soviet Republic was 3,145,000 in 1953 (43.6% Kirghiz, 24.2% Russians, 10.7% Uzbeks, etc.). The whole number of Kirghiz living in the USSR was 11,332,000 in 1970. The number of Kirghiz living in China and Afghanistan is over 100,000. The Kirghiz language belongs to the western (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages.

The peninsula, inhabited by the Scythians. From the 6th century B.C. onwards, Greek colonies existed on the coasts. Around 480 B.C. these formed the Bosporan State, whereas in the 1st century B.C. they belonged for a short time to the Pontian kingdom. From 63 B.C. onwards, the Roman Empire wielded supreme rule (see Faustus Realeszympolide der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, new ed. by G. Wissowa, vii. Halbband, Stuttgart 1899, cols. 2254-69; E. G. Gundel, Die Krin im Alterthum, in Das Gymnasium, 1942, 117-58). In the 4th century A.D. the Byzantine Empire held the Chersonese (Old Russian Korsun?), while the main part of the peninsula belonged to the territory of the Khazars [q.v.].

During the latter's reign, Samuel had gained a firm footing among the Tatars of Khir, like among the rest of the Golden Horde. From Egypt shortlived influences of the fatimids [q.v.], asserted themselves.

Next, there existed at old also Jewish settlements, but little is known of them in these centuries except from tombstones. Karaites or Karfit [q.v.] were found at Cuit Kail, and the Orthodox Christians had a bishopric of Gothia at Old Khir. Western or Latin Christianity, supported mainly by the Franks, was represented by the Genoese until the downfall of the latter in 1475. Already in 1261 a Latin bishop is mentioned, and in 1328 the bishopric of Kaffa was erected at Old Khir (also Sollchal/Sevastopol) and at present there is also all kinds of industry.

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(Mamuliks) were sent to that country, while all kind of goods (fine shawls, perfumes and the like) found their way from there to Krim, and further to the Volga along the road of Sughdak, Old Krim, and Perekop. Trade with Anatolia was also important. The traffic was later taken over by Trebizond, which had remained Byzantine until 1462. The Genoese brought European goods (linen and ceramics) to Krim and to further on. In the 15th century especially, the commercial highway ran along the bank of the Bug via Lutsk and Lemberg to Breslau.

Both in Old Krim, the peninsula's seat of government in these centuries, and in Eski Yurt, many goods were warehoused. The currents of trade manifested themselves also in the artistic construction of buildings and in ceramics. These showed influences from Saray, Sadjak Asia Minor, Egypt and the Genoese colonies, as we know since the excavations of 1924-6. Besides trade, a part was played by the manufacture of salt, the gathering of honey (which went as far as Ksara and grapes, and by horse-breeding and tanning.

Despite all the activities, all these developments, Krim remained until the 15th century only an amanuensis of the Golden Horde and occasionally sought refuge for ambitious claimants in their struggle for power, like Nokhay in 1329 and Manay in 1339. Around 1341-5, 85,000 persons allegedly fell victim to the Black Death, and in 1395 the peninsula was ravaged by Timur. Attempts of the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to push further to the Black Sea and to endanger also Krim were foiled in 1396 by the victory of the “mayor of the palace” Edigii (Russian Yaghier) on the Vorskla. The latter had his base here during his struggle with Witold of Lithuania, until he died in 1449.

During the civil wars which ravaged the Golden Horde from 1399 onwards, princes of the Mongol ruling dynasty who were descendants of Chingiz Khan and his grandson Togha Temir (the son of Jochi), had settled on various occasions in the peninsula. At the beginning of the 15th century they had apparently adopted the family-name of Giray (q.v.) or Kerey. Relying upon the noble family of the Shirin, Devlet Berdi had established himself in Krim after 1426, and in 1427 he tried to enter again into relations with Egypt. But he (and since 1427 also his brother Hadjji Giray (q.v.) encountered opposition from the ruler of the Great (until then, the Golden) Horde. In August 1449 Hadjji formally declared himself ruler of Krim. With the help of the Turkish sultan and the Polish-Lithuanian king Casimir IV, he was able to hold out until his death in 1466, first in his residence Kik Yer and later in the valley of Bakhchisaray (q.v.). He and his son again and again took in fugitives of the decaying Great Horde and they thus became rulers of the strongest among the Tartar states that came into being. On the northern shore of the Black Sea a strip of land where the Nogays (q.v.) lived, and since 1481 also the Bajgjaks (q.v.), came gradually under the rule of the Krim Khans.

After rather lengthy succession disputes, Mengi Giray I (q.v.), one of Hadjji Giray's eight sons, got the upper hand. He was to become the real founder of the independent Krim state, in spite of the fact that he had to recognise Ottoman supremacy after the conquest of Kaffa in 1475 by the Sultan's troops. The Giray family was then recognised as enjoying in Krim the sole rights of succession and immunity. Since Isfan Giray II (992-6/1584-8) (q.v.), their name was mentioned in the 1469-74 after the Sultan's; they had the right to strike their own coins; and they could grant asylum. They remained independent in internal policy and had at their disposal a richly-ranitied officialdom which followed more and more the Ottoman Turkish pattern. Under the continuous political preponderance of the Sultan, co-operation between the two states generally passed off without too much friction, in spite of many dangerous tensions at times. Joint military expeditions were regularly organised; in 1476 and 1538 into Moldavia, in 1495 for the first time into Hungary. From the time when the Turks had conquered Kilia and Ak Kirmar (1484) and the Poles had been defeated in Moldavia (1497), the khanate of Krim was in direct contact with the Turkish dominions in the Balkan peninsula. In the north-east the Cerkesi (q.v.) and Kabadars (q.v.) were subjects of the Krim-Khans, and thus the Black Sea became until 1739 a Turkish-Tatar inland sea.

Relations with the Christian powers in the north changed when, from 1479 onwards, Casimir IV decided to co-operate more and more with the Great Horde. The Krim Khans turned to the Grand Dukes of Moscow, who between 1468 and 1574 were excluded from paying tributes. With certain fluctuations in details, both states remained loyal to this alliance until the fall of the Great Horde in 1502, and even extended it, while the kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1580 and later repeatedly neglected their commitments to the Horde. From that period onwards, this double kingdom was exposed to attacks from both the Muscovites and the Krim-Tatars, who again and again invaded Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia and more than once laid Kiev, Cernigov and other towns under contribution (for the Tartar incursions between 1474 and 1569, see J. Ochman, Organizacja obrony przed Tartarami w Wielkich Księstwach Litewskich ("The organisation of the defence against the Tartars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), in Studia i materiały do historii zjednoczenia ("Studies for the history of the army"), v (1960), 349-98, esp. 352-4). Under these circumstances, the Krim Khans had to struggle against great difficulties, especially after the death of Khan Ahmad in January 1481. Until the very end of this state, officers, soldiers and even princes of the ruling house continued to desert to the Krim-Khans (see M. Malowski, Kaffa: Helenina genicka na Krymu i problem wioseki w latach 1453-1475 ("Kaffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the eastern problem in 1453-75"), Warsaw 1947 [Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego ("Publications of the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw"), 10]. Even after a temporary treaty of peace between the Grand Dukes of Moscow and Lithuania in 1493, the latter's contact with Krim remained to close ties. The Khans were able to maintain in 1497 for the establishment of relations of the Turkish Khans, Turkish relations, initially in the main for commercial reasons (see V. B. Sverkozhevsky, Pasi i nasledstvo Moldavii s Krimom na russke xv-i yu toka ("Ways and relations of Moscow with the Crimea at the turn of the 16th century"), in Inzixiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, ii (1932).

When in June 1502 the Great Horde was finally defeated to the east of Kiev and close to where the Desna joins the Dnieper, and their last Khan was forced to flee to Lithuania (where he was executed in 1503), the Krim Khans, in accordance with his claim, assumed the rights of the former Golden Horde and demanded tribute "without subterfuge" from Moscow and Lithuania. To the Grand Duke of Lithuania he offered a treaty "after straightening
out relations". In addition, Mengli Giray felt himself responsible for the security of the khanates of Kazan (q.v.) and Astrakhan (q.v.) and thus ran into increasing difficulties with Moscow (K. Peulecki, "Mengli-Giray (sic), chan Turanov persakschik" ("Mengli-Giray, Khan of the Perekop Tatars"), Warsaw 1882). Under these circumstances, a treaty with Sigismund I of Poland and Lithuania was of great importance to Mengli Giray. But the negotiations had not yet been concluded when the Krim Khan died at a great age in 1515 (J. Fajerski, "Projekt przyjmowania polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta" ("A project of treaty between Poland and Turkey under Sigismund Augustus"), in Tygodnik Kresowy, 1935).

Under Mengli Giray I, Krim reached its cultural zenith. The area was opened up to Ottoman Turkish culture. Artists from the Islamic cultural environment and also Italian, often Genoese, artisans who had remained in the country after 1475, such as Augustino da Garbaldi and Vincenzo da Zugli, found work here, especially as architects and stone carvers. Intellectual and literary circles came also into being. Of special artistic importance was the Kham's palace at Mihhe Sarsky (q.v.), whether Mengli Giray had transferred his residence from Old Krim. It is actually in ruins today, but the Zendjiri Madrasa has been preserved.

In view of the position of power which Mehmmed Giray I (1517-24 [q.v]) had inherited from his father (V. E. Syroyeckovskii, "Muxammad-Giraj i ego vasaloi" ("Mehmed-Giray and his vassals"), in Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, iv (1940)), the new Khan also aspired to the position of the Golden Horde and wanted to unite all Tatars under his rule. His son Shahb Giray (q.v.) in 1521 succeeded in driving away a Khan of Kazan who was friendly to Moscow and, in spite of the resistance of Astrakhan, in incorporating his territory into that of his father. Having become Khan (1523-52) after his father had been murdered and Ismail Giray I (q.v) had been put aside, he did not however succeed in holding out after a defeat inflicted on him by Moscow on the Oka in 1531 (O. Gökbelgin, "Turk-İ Sahib Giray han (1532-1552)," in Ataturk Universitesi yayinlari 212). On the contrary, Ivan IV the Terrible (1532-84) who had been the title of Tsar since 1547, carefully collected his forces for a campaign which brought under his control Kazan (q.v.) in October 1552, and Astrakhan (q.v.), firstly in 1554 and definitively in 1556. Thus the Volga valley was opened up to Russia right down to the Caspian Sea, the waterway to Caucasus and the north coast of Persia lay free and the Russians got an extensive new region for settlement. Dawlat (Dewlet) Giray I (1551-77 [q.v]) finally saw himself confined to the Krim Khanate and its northern hinterland. After the manifold disturbances of the preceding decades he tried to collaborate again with Poland-Lithuania, which saw itself more and more threatened by Moscow and both of which merged into one single state in the Union of Lublin in 1569 (O. Gökbelgin, 1532-1577 yilların anınnda Kırım Hanlığı'nın ışıması durumu, Ankara 1973 [Ataturk Universitesi yayinlari 289]).

However, the Khan was dissatisfied, as was Sultan Süleyman II, by the fact that so many Muslims had become subject to Orthodox Christian sovereignty. The two sovereigns entered upon a close treaty of alliance and for the time being supported Tatar revolts against the supremacy of Moscow; these revolts are echoed in the legends around the bright star Sadr (Sadr, Cora Batyr, Elne Legende in dobudradas-tatarischer Mundart, Cracow 1935). Dewlet Giray attempted to relieve them by marching against Russia in 1555. But his fear that the Sultan might enlarge his influence in Khan by stationing his own troops there and undermining the position of the Krim over Ottomans effectively. Thus the Sultan received little help from the Krim Khan for his attempt to conquer with a canal the Volga and the Don, at the place where they draw the nearest to each other (near modern Volgograd). He could rely only on the Nogays (q.v.). Consequently, when in the winter of 1559 the Turkish troops were defeated between Astrakhan and the Sea of Azov, the enterprise of Selim II fell through. He had hoped to establish in Krim a base for his campaign against Shi Safawid Persia, and to activate from there economic relations with Central Asia (H. Inalcik, Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin merkezi ve Don-Volga kanalı toplulukları (1559), in Billetten xii 145 (1949), 349-402; Eng. text in ACDICFD (1967), 47-106; A. N. Kurat, Türkiye'nin batı boyunca daimi bir kınanıte, Ten-Ili kázélav xvi-xvii yüzyılı Osmanlı-Rus mınasabaltarı, Ankara 1966 [ADTDY Yayınları 151]), P. A. Sadikov, Pojed Tatar i Turk na Astrakhan v 1569 godu ("The campaign of the Tatars and Turks against Astrakhan in 1569"), in Istoricheskiye Zapiski, xxii, Moscow 1947, 132-66. When in 1571 the Turkish fleet became decisively weakened by the defeat at Lepanto [see Avn-a-Dagirli], any plan of a Turkish advance against Russia had to be abandoned.

On the other hand, Krim was thus freed from the dreaded guardianship of the Sultan, although it also lost his direct protection.

The Khan availed himself immediately of this freedom at his rear to march against Moscow. In 1571 the city fell for the last time into Tatar hands and was burnt down. The Tsar was forced to declare himself prepared to resume paying tribute ( Fitzgerald ). It was only Peter the Great who was able to free himself decisively from this obligation. At this point, the Tsar was unable to counter-attack, as a result of his military engagements in the west in regard to Livonia.

Kazan and Astrakhan thus remained in Russian hands. In order to change this situation, Khan Mehmmed II, the Fat (Semiz; reigned 1577-84) made new endeavours (Kurum Abdulla oglu Hasan, Khane Mehmmed Giraj Han' Kham Mehmmed Giraj II, in Azerbaycan Yurii Bilgisi, ii (1934), 1). Since Turkish help failed to come because of the war with Persia (1578-90), the Kham sought an alliance against Moscowl Poland, Lithuania and even with Pope Gregory XIII. He held out a prospect of conversion to Roman Catholicism, which caused the Poles to send several ambassadors between 1571 and 1583. A Krim embassy was honourably received at Vilna in 1579 (Stanislaw Kryczynski, Niósuna misja katolicka wśród musulmanów litewskich w XVI w. ("A failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century"), in Preglad Islandski (1935), 3. 14-14).

But not even in this way could Mehmmed Giray II achieve a real success. He was forced to put at 5,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Sultan for the war against Persia. When the successor to the throne, the Kalghay (q.v.), was taken captive by the Persians, the Khan himself interfered in the war against the Shah. This led to friction with the Subitime Porte and in the course of the ensuing unrest in Krim, the Khan was murdered in 1584.

The new Khan, Châzî Giray II (1568-1608) [q.v],
got the upper hand after lengthy disturbances. He also came forward as a poet (H. Ertaylan, Gazi Geyre Han, hayat ve eserleri, Istanbul 1936; C. M. Roste
teger, Gazi Giray II, Khan of Crimea, and Ottoman policy in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1388-1594, in The Slavonic and East European Review, xlv/102 (1966), 139-66). His attack against Moscow in 1591 failed, and during the Turkish campaign against Hungary of 1592-1566 he had, in the same way as his predecessor, to provide troops for the Sultan, which on various occasions led to friction (B. Kocowski, Wyprawy Tatares na Wegrzy przez Pa
ał 1594 r., Lublin 1946; M. A. Klokberi, Borba Ukrainskago naroda protiv tsatskago agressii v storoz polovine XVII pervoy polovine XVII rechov ("The struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Turkish-Tatar attack in the end and half of the 17th and the 1st half of the 17th centuries"), Saratov 1961).

During these various wars, Kırım itself remained free of military incursions, and so the administration there could follow its own course. Public roads and lanes were secure, and documents which survived the conflagration of the Khan's palace (in 1735) testify to well-organised archives and the regular proceeding of the Islamic law concerning justice, inheritance and marriage. Customary law ("Kuda [q.v.]") also played a rôle. The horse trade and rates of exchange of foreign currency were officially supervised. As in other Islamic countries, the dinar [q.v.] was the supreme coin of justice. There were 48 judicial regions in the lowlands and 29 in the mountains, where, except for the infliction of the death penalty, convictions could be pronounced without right of appeal "insofar as the conviction was in accordance with the laws". However, in the administration of justice, corruption as always played a rôle that could not be disregarded.

The Tatars enjoyed personal freedom and, as in earlier centuries, passed for a friendly and hospitable people. Women were entitled to personal property, and took part now and then in public life, diplomatic negotiations or even in military expeditions; and occasionally they devoted themselves to poetry and literature.

Until the age of fifteen, the education of children of the ruling house was often left to Cerkes [q.v.], who taught them riding and the use of weapons. (Up to the 17th century other Caucasian peoples, including the Ossetes, also had their children brought up by Cerkes.) The hardships thereby endured were supposed to influence many khans up to their old age and to counterbalance Ottoman urban culture. In the course of time, however, rulers and high officials turned more and more to Istanbul for the education of their children; also, many a Giray prince lived there as a hostage. Thus Turkish cultural influence became more and more important during the 17th and 18th centuries. Ottoman Turkish gradually began to supersede Kırım Tatar as the written language; Turkish melodies (played on drums, clarinets and later also violins) may well have merged into local musical tradition; but confinement of women in harems increased.

In this way, the ties with Turkey were strengthened, but they also reinforced dependency upon the Sultan, who more and more intervened, by depositing, and occasionally reinstating, many a khan. Thus the stability of the regional government was undermined both by the power of Istanbul and by the growing independence of the Beks, who possessed wide powers within their fields and fought out among themselves many a personal feud. The noble families, the prominent ones being the Khrim, the Kuljuk, the Birm, the Mangur and the Sulish, enjoyed tax freedom. The state revenues consisted largely of certain customs duties, payments by individual governors, indirect taxes (mainly on salt) and an annuity of the Sultan. Direct taxes, as far as they were levied, consisted (at least officially) of the skhur [q.v.] and askal [q.v.].

The interventions of the Sublime Porte bound Kırım the more closely to Turkey because no other policy of alliance was now possible with any power to the north (B. Baranowski, Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624-1629 ("Poland and Tartary in 1624-49"), Lodz 1948). Bad harvests in the Crimea, whose agriculture normally assured the subsistence of its inhabitants, may have caused the Tatars to plunder again and again the south-western regions of Poland and Lithuania (W. Czapski, Sprawa najazdów tatarskich na Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVII w. ("The problem of the Tatar incursions into Poland in the first half of the 17th c.")), in Kwartalnik Historyczny lxxix (1963), 723-26; M. Horn, Studia ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1625-1633 na Red Carnown ("The economic consequences of the invasions in 1625-33 in Red Russia"), Kraków 1964; J. Coldberg, Chronologia i aszaj najazdów tatarskich na ziemię Ruska,polskiej w latach 1602-1649 ("Chronology and reach of the Tatar invasions into the land of the Republic of Poland in 1600-47"), in Studia i Materiały do Historii Wszechświeta, vi/l (1937). Proper speaking, these incursions had no political motivation, but they were to such an extent prejudicial to relations with the neighbours to the north-west that there could be no more question of combined action against the common enemy, Moscow, which now became more and more threatening to both parties; also, the Kırım Khans themselves suffered repeatedly from the unrest of the nomads. When at the treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytski, who had been supported by the Tatars, changed sides and joined Moscow, the Tatars became a direct neighbour of the Crimean Khans. Now at last the Polish-Lithuanian king sought alliance with Istanbul Giray III (1644-51 [q.v.]). They undertook a common military expedition against Moscow, which ended in 1655 with the victory of Ochmatów (J. Rypka, Aus der Korrespondenz der hohen Pforte mit Buhlan Chmelnytschi, in Festskrift für Jar. Bidlo, Prague 1948; idem, Weitere Beiträge zur ... , in Archiv Orientalní, ii (1939); idem, Daijah přesvědčené korespondence Vysoké Povstí s Bohdanem Chmelnychym ("Further contribution to the correspondence.")."

C. M. Kortc

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Istanbul 1958; C. M. Kortc

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The alliance between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean khānate came to an end when Mehmed Giray was deposed in 1656 and the announcement of Andranouso, between Poland-Lithuania and Moscow, was confirmed. The political situation changed again when Peter Dorošenko (1655-70), the hetman of the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnieper, submitted to the Sultan out of dislike for the equalising policy of Moscow. (D. Dorošenko and J. Rypka, Hjajtan Petr Dorošenko a jeho turotska politika ("Hetman P. D. and his Turkish policy"), Časopis Národního Muzea, Prague 1935: Ch. Hilbert, Osteuropa 1648-1662 bei den Zeitenössischen osman. Historikern, typewr. thesis, Göttingen 1948.

At the instigation of the Turks, Khan 'Adil Giray (1669-71) had to collaborate with the Cossacks and therefore fell out with Poland-Lithuania. The ensuing war made Podolia in 1672 into a Turkish province, and thus the Sultan's empire reached its greatest expansion ever to the north of the Black Sea. Attempts by Khan Selim Giray I (1671-73) at mediation failed because of the Sultan's uncompromising attitude (J. Wolinski, Południowa tatarstwo wojna polsko-turecka 1654-1675 r. ("Tatar mediation in the Polish-Turkish War 1654-55"), in Polityka narodów IV (1954):4). The new Khan, Murad Giray (1678-83), tried to free himself from subordination to Turkey and wanted to replace the Shari'a by "the Law of Çingiz Khan" (Ture, Yuna), a daring enterprise which naturally angered the 'Islamî. In accordance with his political principles, he remained aloof during the Turkish march against Vienna in 1683, and his army corps did not take part in the battle of the Barren Mountain Kahlenberg. As a punishment, he was banished to Bulgaria (Kurum Abdullah oğlu Hasan, Viyarna anında Kırım swarileri, in Asıbaycan Yurt Bilgileri ii (1935), 21-2, 348-51). Nevertheless, relations between the Tatars and Poland-Lithuania remained close until the Peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see KARŁOWA].

The Tatars availed themselves of this dissension. After the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnieper had come again under their control, two Russian armies marched against the Crimea in 1686 and 1687. While Khan Selim Giray (who reigned for the second time in 1684-91) succeeded in defending the peninsula itself, Azov was lost to Peter the Great in 1699, and thus the khānate was divided for several years into two parts, i.e. the peninsula and the region towards the Caucasus. In order to counterbalance Azov while it was in Russian hands, the fortress of Yeidl Rače was founded near Kerč (E. H. Sumner, Peter the Great and the Ottoman empire, London 1949).

During this turbulent period, the cultural significance of the khānate declined. Artistic creativity was small, although Islamic influences from the Crimea and from Turkey are clearly recognisable in contemporary Poland (T. Mańkowski, SATUH Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku ("Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries"), Cracow 1933; F. K. Spuhler, Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: die sog. Polenmatt-, doctoral thesis, Berlin 1965).

The victory of the European coalition over the Sultan in the great war of 1689-99 was of serious consequence for Kırım. Pressure from the north made itself more and more felt. The planned cooperation with the Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) and with the hetman of the Cossacks Ivan Stepanović Mazapec, in which Gazi Giray III (1704-7) was very interested, failed owing to the Russian victory near Poltava in 1709. It is true that the allies succeeded in forcing Peter the Great, hemmed in by Turkish troops near the Pruth, to retrocede Azov, but this was all that could be achieved: a protest of Khan Dwiet Giray II [who reigned for the second time 1708-14] remained unsuccessful (A. N. Kurat, Prut refer or lacer ("The Pruth campaign and peace"), Ankara 1951. More and more the Tatars began to fear and reject the adversary from the north (G. Veinstein, Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński, in Cahiers du monde yugoslave 10 (1970), 7-10), especially when the Russians invaded Kırım in 1737 and 1738, destroying many cultural monuments, among them Bâghîe Saray [q.v.]. In 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azov definitively to the Russians (T. Veselî, Turecko-tatarskij traktat ob osmanskim krepost'î yakh severnoj Pričernomor'ya v xalq XVI veka ("A Turkish treatise on the Ottoman fortresses on the north coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the 18th century"), in Vostochnye istoshiki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy Evropey 1, Moscow 1960: 98-136). As in Poland-Lithuania, the strength of Kırım was diminished by the heavy toll of human life, the demonising defeats, the increasing interference of the Porte in Crimean affairs, the manifold struggles among the princes of the ruling house, and a fairly protracted revolt of the Noghays (F. J. Obice, Us den Aufzeichnungen des Süßî Giray Şah. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschicht der Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Freiburg i. B., 1972). An attempt at a new alliance between Poland-Lithuania, Kırım and Turkey remained without further result during the 18th century (W. Konopczyński, Polack a Turece ("Poland and Turkey") 1683-1792, Warsaw 1936; D. Oljaniyn, Odesănna ukраїnskî yuropî v struktu ("A treaty on the trade between the Ukraine and Kırım 1754-1769", Lemberg 1913). An offer of peace made by the Crimean khān by Frederick the Great in 1761, at the most difficult moment of the Seven Years' War, led to no result either (H. Schelm, Ein Schreiben des Krim Giray Khan an den Fürsten Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrîchs des Großen, in Jean Deny Armajani, Aklara 1958, 253-260).

On the other hand, the devastations of the war years stimulated the zest for living of the Crimean Tatars which, during the last decades of their freedom, flowered into a second cultural bloom, and which found its most important expression in the reconstruction of the khānate's palace at Bâghîe Saray in 1740-3. The Sultan made a present of a valuable library, and in 1763 a new state room (Duma) was erected, richly decorated with paintings and sculpt-
But already in 1771, Russian armies had again marched into the Crimea. Khan Salim Giray III (second reign 1770-71) tried to make a stand against them, in vain, because the Sultan himself pressed hard by a war (1768-74), against the Tatars of the Crimea, was unable to render effective help. Many people perished and many places were destroyed. The Russians marched as far as Kaffa and the Khan had to fly to Istanbul (A. Matanov, "Amerikan v Rusiya se'arelnamesi *76) 75, 599 (with continuations in later issues); Mubadcle. An Ottoman-Russian exchange 0/ ambassadors (1773-75), annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz (second reign 1770-74); F. A. Unat, "Istanbul ve 'Uskudar'" in Tarih-i Turlsi 11 (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); Mubadcle. An Ottoman-Russian exchange 0/ ambassadors (1773-75), annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz). Thereupon the nobility decided to appoint a khan who was friendly to the Russians and to accede to the Russian occupation of the fortresses of Kerch, Yehei Kaffa and Kaffa. Thus the independence which the Sublime Porte was forced to grant to the Khan at the peace of Kuchuk Kaynardjije (1774) in 1768-74; F. A. Unat, Kirson tarih ve iktisadi ifade edenin Rusya se'arelnamesi 1768-73, in Tarih-i bagdatlar i (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); Mubadcle. An Ottoman-Russian exchange 0/ ambassadors (1773-75), annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, with the movement of the population on the Crimea (M. Pinson, /Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, with the movement of the population on the Crimea), Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR (1928), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, with the movement of the population on the Crimea (M. Pinson, /Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, with the movement of the population on the Crimea), Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR (1928), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, with the movement of the population on the Crimea. The annexation of the peninsula to the Russian empire (first as the Tauris region, and then from 1796 onwards as the New Russia Government) brought about shifting of the population which must be mentioned here. Already in 1779 the Orthodox Christians of the Crimea, for centuries subordinated to "the Bishop of Gothia", had been removed to Southern Russia at the latter's instigation: 31,280 people from 6 towns and 60 villages settled around Mariupol' (A. L. Bertihler-Deigurde, K istori krimskikh tatars v Turtsiyu (the history of Christianity on the Crimean peninsula) in Zapiski Imperatorskago Odeschago Obshchestva istori i drevnostey, xlii (1883), 132-35). The Russians were only fictions, the more so because Kert and Yefikyan were at that time already directly subject to Russia (V. D. Smirnov, Shkernik tarih ve iktisadi ifade edenin Rusya se'arelnamesi 1768-73, in Tarih-i bagdatlar i (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); Mubadcle. An Ottoman-Russian exchange 0/ ambassadors (1773-75), annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mete, Chikag-London 1970). Even the Russian concession at the treaty of Aynaul Kavak in 1779 to declare the Sultan "in his capacity of caliph" to be the head of all Muslims could not prevent Crimean independence from coming to an end. Already two years earlier, the successor to the throne, Shalim Giray, had succeeded as Khan with the help of the Russians and the Nogays (F. F. Lashev, Shagid-Girey, postoldny krimsyh khans ("Sh. G., the last Crimean Khan") in Kiyevskaya Starina, Sept. 1886, 36-80). He was educated in Salonica and Venice, had become acquainted with Russia while living there as ambassador, and was open-minded to European and especially to Italian culture. Like the last Polish king, he thought about reforming the state, mainly after the Russian example. He thus transferred the capital to Kaffa, on the sea coast, probably after the example of the Russian transfer of their capital to St. Petersburg. He invited foreign instructors to train his army of 6,000 troops, limited the uahfa (fiefs) [q.v.] while indemnifying the "landlords" with a pension, and introduced under foreign supervision a new silver coinage. A council of ministers consisting of 12 members was created, and finances were set up anew by introducing financial registers. These reforms burdened the country with considerable debts, and Russia availed itself of the ensuing discontent. Besides, the khanate became upset by a new revolt of the Nogays in 1781 and a rebellion of two brothers of the Khan, who saw himself forced to flee to Grigory Alekseevich Potemkin, the governor of the regions newly conquered by the Russians in the south (the Ukraine). After the Khan had returned to his country with Russian help, Catharine II pressed him under deceitful promises to abdicate. Shalim Giray saw no escape from giving in to this pressure and from abandoning his country to Russia, to which it has belonged ever since (A. W. Fisher, The Russian annexation of Crimea 1772-1782, Cambridge 1970; N. Dubrovin, Prisodineniye k Rossii Krimsy. Reskripfi, pis'ma, relatsii i doneseniya ("The union of the Crimea with Russia. Rescripts, letters, accounts and notes") i-iii, St. Petersburg 1855; idem, 775 (1779-1783); F. A. Unat, Kintn tarihi toya Necah ("Selection of the most important reports and official documents from reference to Turkey, Russia and the Crimea"), St. Petersburg 1855, bearing mainly on the period 1758-74; F. A. Unat, Kirson tarih ve iktisadi ifade edenin Rusiya se'arelnamesi 1768-73, in Tarih-i bagdatlar i (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); Mubadcle. An Ottoman-Russian exchange 0/ ambassadors (1773-75), annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mete, Chikag-London 1970).
De moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moscovium, Basel 1615 (written in 1550); H. Ortekin, History of the Crimea in Jagellonian history (in Polish ed. Warsaw 1930); A. Z. Soysal, The Ukraine and the Crimea in their interrelations (in Polish ed. Warsaw 1938); V. Dubrovsky, Barakat Türkleri, in Istanbul, ixxviii (1936), 235, 269). The Byzantine name of Kirk Kilise was apparently Sarante Eklekia, and the name Kirk Kilise must mean the church of forty saints and not forty churches (F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Ottomans, Oxford 1929, ii, 392-2).

The later writers Käthi Celebi (Dörtlün-nâmé), Rumeli section, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi, Hazine küttübhanesi, no. 443, f. 17b) and Münnedjdje-Bashli (ii, 295), record the date for the conquest of Kirk Kilise as 770/1368-9 (see Feridun Bey, The conquest of Edirne (1361), in Archivum Orientalium Et Orientales, i (1927) and idem, Antiq. and... in the 18th c.), St. Petersburg 1896; idem, Kanunun Sultan Suleyman Mişrileti, Istanbul 1890; A. A. Vasiliev, Karaimi w slubie u chason krymskich (“Karaites in the service of the Crimean Khans”), in Myjit Karaitamska tii, 4, 1905, 5-22.

During the 9th/10th-15th/16th centuries as “the city of Edirne” in 1226/1807. Nomads (yörügs) brought to western Anatolia were settled in the region of Kirk Kilise, and were during the 9th/10th-15th/16th centuries known as “the Tatars in the Crimea”. (M. Tavty CötlügĐn, Rumeli’di yetikler, tatarlar ve edd-ı Edirne, Istanbul 1937, 94, 180 and passim). Kirk Kilise was first attached to the Vize mosque (Eski Djamii), the covered market, the Kâpruşt fountain, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djamii), the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370; this building was in a ruined condition in 1226/1807). Nomads (yörügs) brought to western Anatolia were settled in the region of Kirk Kilise, and were during the 9th/10th-15th/16th centuries known as “the yörügs of Kirk Kilise” (M. Tavty CötlügĐn, Rumeli’di yetikler, tatarlar ve edd-ı Edirne, Istanbul 1937, 94, 180 and passim). Kirk Kilise was first attached to the Vize mosque (Eski Djamii), the covered market, the Kâpruşt fountain, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djamii), the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370). During the 11th/12th century, Kirk Kilise was a small town with a few shops and red tile-roofed houses set among the vineyards, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djamii), the covered market, the Kâpruşt fountain, and the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, situated by a fountain (Ewliya Celebi, Seyhâni-nâmé, Istanbul 1315, v. 79-80). For the remaining monuments of the town today, see Süllüname-i vilayet-i...
Ancient Iraq, 247, Loudon 1964, d'Assyr, el'Arch. Or., xxiii (1926), 64, and by Sidney (1880), 267 ff.). This name could have come from rer, in vflf3 mann, raids by the mountain peoples from the north-east, and its surrounding territories were very exposed to 25*. 312, 3x2). From the time of the ancient Babylon¬

...
of Nabû Dâniyil on the slope of the hill of Kirkûk; it was known as the Great Martyrion, but during the Turkish retreat of 1918 it was being used as a powder magazine and was blown up (C. J. Edmonds, Kurds, Turks and Arabs, 267; Fisht, Assyri, ii, 54).

Kirkûk, position as an administrative centre has varied through the ages: “In the 18th century Kirkûk was the chief town of the eyâlet of Shahrûzir which included the modern iitelâ‘ of Kirkûk, Irbîl and nominally of Sulaymânî under a mu'allâ‘îm appointed by Baghdad. With the reforms of Midhat Pasha, edil of Baghdad from 1856 to 1872, the name of Shahrûzir was given to the sanâ‘î of Kirkûk, corresponding to the present-day iitelâ‘ of Kirkûk and Irbîl, whereas the historic Shahrûzir remained outside, in the new sanâ‘î of Sulaymânî. The vilâyet of Mosul was formed in 1859 and Kirkûk remained an important garrison town” (Edmonds, op. cit., 265-6). Under the Turkish régime, the vilâyet of Mosul was divided into three sanâ‘îs or iitelâ‘s: Mosul, Kirkûk and Sulaymânî; in 1918 three baydîs situated to the north of the Little Zab were detached from Kirkûk to form the iitelâ‘ of Irbîl. In the constitution of 1925, the new Iraqi state was composed of four sanâ‘îs: Kirkûk, Irbîl, Cânûmânî and Gilî-Tabî. The iitelâ‘ of Kirkûk was composed of four baydîs: Kirkûk, Irbîl, Cânûmânî and Gilî. Today, the muhâ‘aja of al-Tamâm, with a baydî at its head, includes five baydîs, as follows: Kirkûk, Tur Kharmûtû, Cânûmânî, Huwayîja, and Irbîl. Each baydî has at its head a hâfiz or a muhâ‘ij. The baydî of Kirkûk has five hâfizûn, as follows: Tûm Kharmûtû, Kârî-Hasan, Altûn Köprî, Dîlûn and Sûwâmî, and each hâfizûn is administered by a muhâ‘ij. Kirkûk is the seat of the regional court and of a court of appeal, and it possesses a garrison and an airport. There is also an association of Turcoman writers.

Kirkûk is an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for the cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood. It is well served by good roads to Baghdad through Ta‘balî and Irbîl to Mosul through Altûn Köprî and Irbîl, to Sulaymânîyûn through Cânûmânî with branches to Samânîyyûn and Hamadân in Iran. A narrow-gauge railway links Kirkûk with Baghdad in the south and with Irbîl in the north. The region around Kirkûk is undulating and it is populated mostly by Kurds. The Mesopotamian steppe begins to the west of the town and it is inhabited chiefly by Arabs. The immediately-surrounding district produces much fruit.

The region of Kirkûk abounds in sulphur and bitumen products and it is especially rich in petroleum deposits, extensively exploited even in ancient times. It should be noted that the petroleum had a
of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings extracted petroleum were payable. Before the end of 1925, geological work was begun and roads were constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings were installed in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally inaugurated in April 1927 by King Faysal I, and the first oil gushed forth on 27 October 1927 at Bābā Gurgur, near Kirkūk. The years 1927 to 1931 were given to preparing the whole region of Kirkūk for production by test drilling, scientific observation and arranging the necessary services; production units, reservoirs, workshops, housing etc. were established and at the same time negotiations were conducted with the Iraqi government to extend the period for selecting areas, according to the convention of 1923. In March 1931 the company, which had become the Iraqi Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) in 1929, was able to operate in the whole territory in the north-east of Iraq, on condition that by 1935 they constructed a pipe-line to the Mediterranean with a capacity of 5,000,000 tonnes, with a branch at Hadduja on the Euphrates to Ijayfah and Tripoli, and that they make an annual payment of £4,000 as an overall payment to the government. It was also in 1931 that the operational headquarters of the I.P.C. was moved from Tuz Khurmatu to Kirkūk, and the headquarters for pipe-line operations was established at Ijayfah. The drilling for crude oil at Kirkūk began at the end of 1934 and, from 1935 onwards, the annual production of 4,000,000 tonnes put Iraq in the eighth position among the oil producing countries. In January 1935 the double 16" pipe-line from Kirkūk to the Mediterranean was formally opened, but because of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the branch leading to Ijayfah was closed. This caused a loss of almost 7,000,000 tonnes and the corresponding royalties. The Tripoli pipe-line was, however, doubled by a second (16") pipe in 1949 and this trebled the export figure. In 1952 a third (30") pipe-line was brought into service between Kirkūk and Banias (Syria). From then on the world market for Iraqi oil was to increase to 14,000,000 tonnes per year. On 3 February 1952 a new agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the I.P.C. for the distribution of personnel, production and revenues. A minimum production of 22,000,000 tonnes was expected annually from 1953 and a revenue of £50,000,000, in 1952 to teach £60,000,000 in 1953. The profits gained from the oil workings would be shared equally.

The Iraqi revolution of 1958 did not change the agreements between the government and the petroleum companies. The objective was to obtain exports worth 100 m. in revenue from a capacity of 70 m. tonnes per year. This target was reached in four years, but a few problems of interpretation persisted. In April 1961 negotiations were begun and, after different interruptions, they finally reached deadlock. They were concluded by Law 80 of 12 December 1961 which dispossessed the company of 99.5% of the territories where they had prospecting rights and left I.P.C. with only 22 sites, 12 of them at Kirkūk in an area of about 478.75 sq. kms., 6 at Bay Hassan of about 182.5 sq. kms., and 4 at Dinarbahr, of about 86.5 sq. kms. (Verniers, L'Irak, p. 435). New installations were planned between May 1964 and June 1965 and were completed, with future plans taking into consideration the Iraqi National Oil Company (I.N.O.C.) which had recently been founded on 30 October 1964. More new laws were enacted as a consequence: Law 97 (6 August 1967) forbade any new concessions to foreign companies and Law 123 (October 1967) authorised the I.N.O.C. to exploit the remaining sectors, which seemed to put an end to the monopoly of oil production which the foreign I.P.C. enjoyed. On 14 June 1972, the I.P.C. itself was nationalised, and thus Iraq gained for itself all the profits from its rich petroleum deposits. The annual production of crude oil in Iraq has regularly increased from the 47.5 m. tonnes in 1966; by 1975 it had reached more than 110 m. tonnes, 60 m. of which were from the Kirkūk region. In 1973 the Iraqi reserves of crude oil were estimated to be 4,743 billion tonnes.

If the petroleum industry with all its subsidiary operations gave a favourable social status to its workers, for their standard of living is superior to that of other workers in the country, it did not suppress all the other social forms. Several important strikes were called in Kirkūk among the oil workers. The most notable were those of 1937 which coincided with the workers' strikes at the Kīt barrage, the drillers of the B.O.P., the railways, the stevedores at Basra and the weavers of Najaf. These showed a hardening of class-consciousness and the discovery of a new political weapon (Longrigg, Iraq, p. 252). In July 1947 a serious strike aggravated by politicians of communist leanings broke out at I.P.C., and it claimed several victims (ibid. 338).

Other demonstrations have had a more political tone. The more announcement of the Treaty of Portsmouth (15 January 1945) produced a general strike for three days. At Kirkūk the British consulate was attacked, but the most tragic of these events was the so-called "purge of Kirkūk". On the occasion of the first anniversary of the republic (14 July 1959) Communist elements helped by bands of Kurds massacred the Turcomans of the town, for they were considered to be anti-Communist. There were probably 120 killed and about 100 wounded. The participation of the Kurds in the affair was interpreted not as a sign of an antagonistic nationalistic rivalry against the Turcomans, but one of social competition. The Turcomans, who are more socially and culturally advanced, occupied more high-ranking positions in the I.P.C., while the Kurds had to content themselves with more subordinate work (cf. M. Khadduri, Republican Iraq, p. 125).

It must not be forgotten that one of the obstacles to a definitive solution to the Kurdish problem is precisely the claim of the Kurds to the territory and the revenue of the Kirkūk oil-fields, which they would like to see included in the territory of an autonomous Kurdistan. These claims are categorically refuted by the central Iraqi government. In October 1970 a plebiscite was set to settle this point of contention, but it was adjourned indefinitely (E. O'Ballance, The Kurdish revolt, 161 f.). This at least in part provoked the outbreak of hostilities in...
March 1974, just as the Kurdo-Iraqi agreement of 11 March 1974 was being implemented. The law of 11 March 1974, awarding autonomy to the region of Kurdistan defined this region in terms of the 1957 census, carried out under the monarchy. At that time, the Kurds were afraid to declare themselves as such, and thus the census did not give a Kurdish majority to Kirkuk; hence the town and the wālehā fars were accordingly excluded from the autonomous area.

A well-known personality of Kirkuk was the Kurdish poet Shāykh Rūdāl Tašābādī (c. 1840-1910). More-or-less an agnostic character, but at the same time fanatical also, he had gifts of satire and improvisation, and composed poems in Kurdish, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. They were published in Baghdad in 1915 and 1936 and he is remembered as one of the most popular poets of Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. E. B. Sloane, op. cit., 134-5; Edmonds, op. cit., 57-8, 290-5; Edmonds, A Kurdish lampoonist: Shāykh Rūdāl Tašābādī, in JRCS, xxii (1932), 111-27).


J. H. KRAMERS—TH. BOIS

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv, 4, 14), and which is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmania (Ptolemy. Geography, vi, 8; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii, 6, 48. See further Marguer, Œdipe, 58, on the name Carmania, and Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, ii, 145, for the later popular etymology of the name).

The Province.—The province of Kirkūn is situated to the south-west: of the great central desert of Persia, the Dasht-i Lut, which narrows to some 100 miles in width where it divides Kirkūn from Sistān. It is bounded on the north by Yezd and Khurāsān, on the east by Sistān and Makrān (Baluchestān), which was regarded by most of the early geographers as separate from Kirkūn, though Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it paid tribute (kharḍī) to Kirkūn (Nuzhat, 141), on the south by Makrān and Fārs and on the west by Fārs. Its boundaries have varied slightly from time to time. Ibn Rusta states that Fāhrāj was part of the tax district of Kirkūn but that the ruler of Makrān claimed that it belonged to him (386). Khvāsh, which is today included in Baluchestān, and Rīgān were both reckoned by Ḫalīlī to belong to Kirkūn, though the former was, he states, part of the tax district of Sistān (164). Idrīsī, on the other hand, includes Khvāsh in Sistān (417). Shahr-i Bābak was at various times included in Fārs, at others in Kirkūn. In 1268-1269 it was placed, for revenue purposes, under Yezd (Aḥmad All Wazīr, Dīvān-šāhī yā mamluḵāt-i Kirkūn, ed. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Bāštānī Pirzāl, in Forhang-i Irān Zamin, xxv, 1-4, 165). Bālīk, which had earlier belonged to Kirkūn, was also placed under Yezd about the year 1774 (Wazīr, 175), though Kirkūn's inclusion in one of its districts continued to belong to Kirkūn. During the reign of the Saḵḵār mālik of Iran, Arslān Shāh (1943-1950), Kirkūn and Tabās appear to have been under Kirkūn (Aḥmad All Dīn Abū Ḥamīd Kirkūn, 'īdal all-ʿidd, ed. All Muḥammad Ṭāhir Nāṣr, Tehran 1311, 70). Fūr and Tūrūm, both placed in Fārs by the Ḥudud al-ʿulūm (129), were considered by Aḥmad All Dīn to belong to Kirkūn ('īdal all-ʿidd, 75). Ibn Bālīk states that Rūdān, which had belonged to Fārs, was put on the Kirkūn side of the frontier in the reign of Alp Arslān (Farīdun, ed. Le Strange, 121), but according to Idrīsī, although it formed one of the dependencies of Kirkūn, it was under Fārs for tax purposes (140). Hūrmuz (Hūrmūz) was sometimes counted as belonging to Fārs, sometimes to Kirkūn, and has often been in different hands to its hinterland.

According to the Arab geographers, the western part of the province, which included Shahr-i Bābak, Sīrjān, Urūya, Ṭūshī, Sījamī, Ardabīl, Bīrūn, and the eastern part, including Anār, Khūtān (Ḵūtān) Zandān, Gwāshahr or Gwāshār (also known as Bardīr and later as Kirkūn), Rūvār, Khabīb, Rūzān, Sārdūṣa, Bān and Nāsrāzhr, in the fourth tribe, while Hūrmuz, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, was in the second tribe (Nuzhat, 141).

In the vicinity of its topography the province is not dissimilar from Persia as a whole. A series of mountain ranges, with a general trend from north-west to south-east, runs through the province. Much is tangled broken country, but there are many fertile upland districts, pastures and mountain valleys with orchards, cultivated places, and many streams. Some of these have a high elevation: Sīftābād, near the site of the old city of Sīrjān, lies at an elevation of 5,000 ft. and Fārs at over 7,000 ft. There are also numerous arid waterless mountain districts and desert tracts. The main desert area is in the north and north-east on the borders of the Dasht-i Lut, and is encroaching on the neighbouring fertile districts. The Lūt is defined in the south by the Bām-Zāhklān road and thus excludes Nāsrāzhr and the desert regions of south-eastern Kirkūn and Rīgān, though physically these belong to the Lūt proper. There are also some stretches of arid land between the south-west highlands and the Dībāl Bāriz which run south-east from Sīrjān to east of Dīfrūt. Salt swamps (hāfa) are found in isolated depressions, notably the Kafā-i Kārū near Sīrjān (for a description of this, see K. E. Abbott, Geographical notes taken during a journey in Persia in 1849 and 1855, in JRGS, xvii (1855), 56-7). In some parts of the province the towns and villages tend to be separated from each other by broad stretches of uncultivated land (cf. Ḫalīlī, 165; Ibn Ḥawwāl, li, 509). Along the nor-
northward littoral of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman there is a narrow coastal plain.

The most northerly of the mountain ranges stretches from the neighbourhood of Yazd to Khābās (the modern Shahrābād) and south-eastwards towards Sarvistān. The fertile upland district of Kubānān in the north, and, further south, the arid district of Rawār lie along its eastern base. A second range, further west, runs south-eastwards from north of Shahr-i Bābak through Strījān and Bāft, and contains Mount Chīltān (17,000 ft.) Mt. Čahārgūn (13,000 ft.) and Mt. Laíázār (14,350 ft.). A lesser range, with Mt. Čahāhzār (9,480 ft.), lies to the south of Sarvistān, while the Mount Dīūrīl fold of Fars is prolonged in a south-easterly direction to near Bandar 'Abbās. South of Sarvistān and to the east of Dīūrīl, lies the Dīūlīl Barīz range [see Dīūlīl Barīz in Suppl.], which also trends from the north-west to the south-east and rises to a height of about 1,350 ft. in the south. The Dīūlīl Kuφī region of the Arab geographers (see Ḫstampkhā, 164; Yudhāl al-Šam, 124; al-Muqaddasi, 477; Ibn Hawqal, iii, 309-10; C. E. Bosworth, The Kūfīshī or Qūfī in Persian history, in Ittan, xiv (1976), 9-13) probably lies in the south-west of Dīūlīl Barīz, on the borders of Makrān and Rūdbār.

In the upland districts, notably in the Dīūlīl Barīz, there exist remnants of a dry forest, consisting mainly of thin stands of pistachio trees, several species of almond, maple, celtis, juniper and other shrubs; stands of pistachio trees, almonds and other drought-resistant species are also found at lower levels. In the garmīs the vegetation tends to be scattered trees and shrubs with a steppe-like ground cover. The kūnār tree (tībizkhāqānī āshva Cristis) has a wide distribution, as also do several species of acacia, myrtle, tamarisk and oleander. Deforestation from charcoal burning and animal grazing has taken place, and present day cover, though in places still considerable, would appear to be appreciably less than the "forests" of both the early and medieval geographers and the 19th century writers.

There are no important rivers reaching the sea. The largest of them, the R. Mīnāb, rises in the hills of Kubānān (which, he states, had been administered during the year 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts: Guwāshīl, Kūnār and Kubānār. (which, he states, had been administered during the year 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts: Guwāshīl, Kūnār and Kubānār. The Kūfīshī or Qūfī in Persian history, in Ittan, xiv (1976), 9-13)
Narmashir; Bâbîr was transferred to Yazd, the district of Khûnamân only remaining with Kîrmân, Pâriz and Rûbûr, which had formerly belonged to Sirdjân and Aţlî respectively, both became separate districts, while Rûdûr was now called Rûdibar and Bashâkhurd (Houtum-Schindler, art. Kirmân in Encyclopædia Britannica, 1912, xv, 756). Under Rûdî Shah the province was divided into six ghâsîs: Kîrmân (which included the sub-district of Zarand, Kûhpâyâ and Kûbûranî), Bam (which included the sub-district of Rûfû, Djirûfîr which included the sub-district of Sardûrî, which in turn included Rûbûr, Bandar Abbâs (which included the sub-district of Rûdhîn, Sirdjân (which included the sub-districts of Pâriz and Bâft, which in turn included Urtûyâ, Rûbûr, Kûshk and Sawghân) and Rasûdîjân (Husaya 'All Razmârâ, Farhang-i ghiyârât-yi Iran, vii).

Agriculture and Livestock.—The Arab geographers describe Kîrmân as a rich and prosperous province. The Persian translation of I斯塔khrî mentions that the province included all kinds of fruit (139). While Yâkût states that it was rich in date palm, cereals, cattle and beasts of burden and that it produced fruits belonging to both the cold and the hot regions in great variety, including an abundance of walnuts and dates (Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Persia, 483). The author of the Hûdâd al-USâm notes that Djirûfîr, Bâft and the mountain country between Djirûfîr and Mandalân, known as the Kûhûshân-î Abû Ghânîm, were prosperous and pleasant places (124). According to Mûkaddasî, the last-named district had many date palms (467). Rûdûrî is described by the Hûdâd al-USâm as consisting of woods, trees, and meadows (224). The mountain region between Sirdjân and Bardslîr was also very prosperous and pleasant according to the same authority, and contained 360 populous places. Mûkaddasî mentions a multitude of orchards and an abundance of fruit in Sirdjân (464), and many orchards and citrus trees in Mugghân (467). Aqalîn al-Dîn speaks of the excellence of the pastures of Rûdûrî and states that animals thrived in them (70). He also praises the fertility of Narmashir and states that it produced fruit of both the garmir and the sardîr (72). Mûkaddasî notes the great quantity of fruit belonging to the sardîr and the garmir—dates, walnuts and citrus fruits—in Djirûfîr (466; cf. I斯塔khrî 166). Plenty prevailed in the Dîjîbîl Barzî, which, like the Kûfs Ms., were difficult of access (I斯塔khrî, 164; Ibn al-Hawkal, ii, 310). Bam and Kîshrî had many date palms (I斯塔khrî, 166; Ibn Hawkal, ii, 313), which also grew in great profusion in Hurmuz (I斯塔khrî, 165; Ibn Hawkal, ii, 314) and in the Kûfs Ms. Honey was also produced there (cf. Idrîsî, 249). Indigo and cumin were cultivated in Djirûfîr and the district which extended from Mugghân and Walashgîrd to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz, and also sugar cane (Mûkaddasî, 467; I斯塔khrî, 167; Ibn Hawkal, ii, 312). Idrîsî mentions the excellence of the indigo and states that the inhabitants of Mugghân and Walashgîrd occupied themselves much in its cultivation and took a great deal of trouble over it because it was a source of considerable profit to them (424). Wheat and barley were grown in the sardîr, but in Hurmuz millet was the staple crop and the food of the inhabitants (I斯塔khrî, 165; Ibn Hawkal, ii, 317; Husaya 'All Razmârâ, 124, Idrîsî, 424). Cotton, as well as grain and dates, were grown in Sirdjân and Shahîr-î Bâbîr (Nûshâ, 141). Silk was produced in Bam (I斯塔khrî, 71). Asafoetida and gum tragacanth were found in parts of the province.

In the Middle Ages, apart from a period of prosperity under the Saljûqs of Kîrmân, agriculture suffered a decline. There were temporary fluctuations and local variations, but in general the agricultural recession continued until the second half of the 19th century. At that time a wide variety of crops were cultivated. Wheat and barley, though grown in most parts of the province, were not important in terms of the amount grown and some districts had a deficit. In the province as a whole, the yield was low. Some millet, and a small quantity of rice was also grown. Pulses, roots and edible gums were also produced. Cotton was grown in Rasûdîjân (which was later, in the 1930s, to turn much cotton land over to the cultivation of pistachio trees), Kûhpâyâ, Dârzân (Dârkîn), Bam, Narmashir, Djirûfîr, Sarand and Anâr. Dates were still one of the most important products of the province and came from Bâfîk, Khâbîs, Bam, Dârzân, Rûdûrî and to a lesser extent from Kûshk and Sawghân. Rûwar was noted for its figs, Bâfîk for its apricots and Khâbîs for its citrus fruits. Cumin was grown mainly in Kûshk and Sardûrî, and almonds (mainly from Sirdjân and Shahîr-î Bâbîr) and walnuts (from Sarand, Dârzân and Aţlî) were important products. Sugar and indigo were no longer grown except on a very small scale, though an attempt was made by Wakil al-Mulk to re-introduce sugar cane together with indigo, pepper, ginger and various other Indian plants into Khâbîs (Houtum-Schindler, Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879. . ., in ZG Erztl. Berlin, xvi (1881), 377). Dye plants included henna in Narmashir, Khâbîs, Djirûfîr, and Urtûyâ and madder in Sirdjân, Rasûdîjân, Bâfîk, Kûbûranî, Anâr and Sarand. By 1880 the cultivation of henna in Bam had brought about in some measure a revival of prosperity in that district (Fliriiz MirzA Fârman, Safarnâmâ-i Kirmân ma Bâlûstân, ed. Manşûra Nişân Mâh, Tehran 1963, 9). Silk, though a little was still produced in Bam, Rasûdîjân, Bâfîk, Djîpar, Bâshîn and Kûbûranî, had also lost its importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1834-48) (R. C. Watson, A history of Persia, London 1866, 354). Tobacco was grown in Sarand and Bâfîk, and potatoes in the district between Sirdjân and Pâriz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Mâhân, Djîpar, Narmashir, Sirdjân, Bâfîk, Kûbûranî and elsewhere. Honey came from Aţlî, Dârzân and Sarandî. (See further Wazîf, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (bulûk), and also references in E. Stock, Six months in Persia, London 1882, i, 284-288).

Sheep and goats were important throughout the province. There was much movement of flocks from the mountain districts to the plains in winter. Those from Rûbur, Isfandaka and the neighbouring districts went mainly to Rûdûrî and Djirûfîr. Much wool was produced, including a fine soft wool (burak) produced by a special breed of goat. In Rûdûrî there were also many herds of cattle. Buffaloes were found only in Djirûfîr.

Minerals.—Various minerals existed in the province and many of these were exploited. Ibn al-Fâkhî states that there were mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, sulphur, and zinc oxide (206), but their importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1834-48) (R. C. Watson, A history of Persia, London 1866, 354). Tobacco was grown in Sarand and Bâfîk, and potatoes in the district between Sirdjân and Pâriz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Mâhân, Djîpar, Narmashir, Sirdjân, Bâfîk, Kûbûranî and elsewhere. Honey came from Aţlî, Dârzân and Sarandî. (See further Wazîf, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (bulûk), and also references in E. Stock, Six months in Persia, London 1882, i, 284-288).

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of the tuyut makers' as follows: the crude ore was brought out from the mine, moistened and made into bars [mil] one gas long, dried and put into a furnace, the action of the fire then causing the tuyut to form in a thin film (Nusht, 205). Marco Polo, who locates the mines in Kūbānān, gives a somewhat similar account. Mukaddasī also states that there were iron and silver mines in the province (476), the latter present in the Silver Mines which are the main district of Dīrūf (cf. also Ḫudūd al-Salām, 63). The Ḫudūd al-Salām mentions lead, copper and lodestone in the mountains between Dīrūf and Bān (65).

Hamd Allah Mustawfī states that there was a turquoise mine and a lapis lazuli mine in Kūbānān, but that the turquoise were immature and unformed and therefore not of much value (Nusht, 204, 206). Marco Polo also mentions turquoise in the mountains of Kīrmān, while Wazīrī states that there was a turquoise mine near the mountains of Maymand in the Shahr Bābāk district (164). He also mentions lead mines in Sīrdjān and Zaranj, of which the former produced the best quality lead (156, 178).

Abbott records the existence of a lead mine in the mountainous region near the village of Tugrājda and states that the government took 10% of its produce (op. cit., 29). Wazīrī mentions a sulphur mine in Kūbānān, which was in operation when he was writing (172); Le also states that there were copper mines in Sārdāyā (131), a copper mine in operation in the mountains of Baţindjān in Aḥtā' (139), and many disseminated copper mines in the mountains of Rābur (143-4). Salt was obtained from deposits near Khābīš, Sīrdjān, Ra'īn and elsewhere. Curzon mentions coal north of Kīrmān city and in Kūbānān, manganese oil in Kīrār, borax in Shahr Bābāk and asbestos in Kūbānān (Persia and the Persian question, II, 519). Extensive mining operations are being carried on in various parts of the province at the present day. Coal and other minerals are mined in the mountains between Rawār and Zaranj and copper in the Pādrā district.

The cities of Kīrmān. The main city of Kīrmān under the Muslims until the middle of the 4th/10th century was Sīrdjān (the form Shīrjān is also found), which was situated some five miles to the east of the modern town of Sa'dībdāb (Le Strange, Lands, 300). It was here that the governor (edlīf) resided (Ibn Khurraŷāhī, 49). Ibn Rusta describes Sīrdjān as the greatest city of Kīrmān (286), as also does Ibtāfī (167), Ibn Ḥawfkal (ii, 512) and the Ḫudūd al-Salām. The last-named states that it was the capital of Kīrmān and the seat of the king (199), though by the time the Ḫudūd al-Salām was written, Ibn ʿIyās, the Būyid governor, had, in fact, moved the capital to Bardsr. Mukaddasī states that it was the biggest town in the province (although no longer the capital) and more extensive than Shīrāz (464). Ḫāria Abrū refers to Sīrdjān as the second city of Kīrmān (Qaṣaṣiyyā, i, 494), although it had, in fact, been destroyed in 708/1316 (before he wrote) after a long resistance by the armies of Timūr. After the city was laid in ruins, the name Sīrdjān was nevertheless still applied to the district of which it had been the centre. Towards the end of the 18th century Sa'dībdāb was founded near the site of the old city. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, describes it as one of the most flourishing towns in Kīrmān (op. cit., 63).

In Sīrdjān and the Silver Mines were Mandjān, Zaranj and Narmandjān. Many of the towns and villages mentioned by the early and mediaeval geographers have disappeared or have not yet been identified.
Communications.—In the early centuries Sīrjān was the main centre upon which the principal roads converged. This, no doubt, in part accounted for its importance until it was destroyed in the 8th/14th century. Three roads led from it to Fārs, one via Ṣahr-i Bābak, another through Ṣālšīz and a third to Nayrāz. Other roads went south to Furg, Tarūm and Šūrū on the Persian Gulf, south-east to Bālti, Dīruth, Mundūm and Humrūz, north to Unās in Kārdān, north-east to Māshā, Bālān and Kirmān, north-north-east to Māsān, Ḳhābīs and Khuṟūsān, and east to Ṣāmūk and Ḳuṭīn. From Kirmān (Gwāṣāt) two roads went north-west to Yazd, one via Zaraqd, Rāwar, Kūbānān and Bālti, and the other via Rafašīn and Anār. From Rāwar and Kūbānān roads went north-north-east across the Great Desert to Tabas and Khūr respectively. South-east from Kirmān a road went to Māhān, Rāʿīn, Dīrūz or Dārūz, Bām and Nāmaṛūz, where it bifurcated, one branch going to Farādž and Zarand in Sīsīn and the other to Ṣīnān, where it again divided, one road going east to Kahrīsh and the other south-west to Mundūm. From Dīrūz another road went south to Dīruth (see further Le Strange, Lands).

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries communications were still very backward. Generally speaking, the roads were fit for pack transport only. Moreover, many were often shut for months at a time owing to the activity of bandits. In 1901 a convention was signed between Britain and the Persian government for a three-wire telegraph line on iron posts from Kāshān to Bālti, for a discussion of the arrangements for ob¬ taining Carmanian wool. Al-Ṣālīḥ states that swords and cavalry arms in Kirman. Al-Ṣālīḥ also states that swords were made in Kirman (Maṭbāk al-argument, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirman. According to Du Man, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (Estai de la Perse, Paris 1890, 197).

There was considerable trade, local and long-distance, in agricultural produce. Indigo and cotton were exported to distant regions (Istāfī, 167; Mukaddasī, 470; Idrīsī, 444). Nāmaṛūz had trade with Ḳhūrūsān and al-Ṣālīḥ and that girths were exported to 'Irāk and Deux sayyids de Bām au XVe siècle, Wiesbaden 1956, 91-2). Idrīsī states that there were leather workshops in Zarand and that girths were exported to 'Irāk and Egypt (432). Marco Polo mentions the manufacture of saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, quivers and other arms in Kirman. Al-Ṣālīḥ also states that swords were made in Kirman (Maṭbāk al-argument, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirman. According to Du Man, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (Estai de la Perse, Paris 1890, 197).

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ch Mona was reported to be of the south of Persia. Trade report. Notes on the Trade, skins. There was also, included shawls, woollens, wool, opium, lead, soap, henna, indigo leaves, figs, gums and wild ass' skins (Notes on the Trade, etc.). There was also, according to Waziri, some internal movement of wheat from Zarand to Yazd and Rawar and sometimes from Urzuya to Kirman; Shir ij also exported wheat to Yazd and Kirman. Peaches were exported from Gawk to Kirman and other districts, dried apricots and dried mulberries from Bafk to Kirman, and dried figs from Rawar to Yazd, whence they were exported to other parts of the country as anjir-i-yazdi; dates from Khabis to Yazd and Kurusan; peas and lentils from Shah-i Bâbak to Yazd and Kirman; henna and rang from Narmâghir to Kirman, whence they were distributed to neighbouring regions; sometimes henna was exchanged in Sitân for clarified butter and swansdown.

Milk products were an important article of local commerce. Râdbir exported clarified butter (rawgân) to Kirman. Bâdbir also supplied Kirman with clarified butter and hâk (a kind of whey). Shah-i Bâbak supplied Yazd, Râfsindjân, and Shir ij with clarified butter, hâk, and cheese, while Bâbanan exported hâk to various districts beyond the bounds of Kirman. Lastly, wool was exported from Aktâ (a kind of coarse cotton weave) to the surrounding districts and to Fârs (see further Wazir). In 1904-5 a British commercial mission visited south-east Persia in order to encourage British trade in the area. Russian efforts were also made to increase their trade, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirman, Bâni and Râfsindjân.

Population.—The settled population appears to have been mainly of Iranian stock. Strabo states that the customs and language of the population of Kirman were similar to those of the Medes and Persians (xvi. 2, 14). Idrisi describes the inhabitants of Kirman (apart from the tribal population) as inhabiting a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirman, namely the Kufs, (Kâdijû, Kâd (see kors), Balâs (Balâs, Balî (see balâstân), the Dâbâls, the Kâhâshâ, and the Kâhâshâ, all of whom were harbmed and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Safâtârs, Bâydâs, Sâmâindâs and Sâlânjûs. When Mas'ûdi refers to Kurs (Akhâd) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic tent dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Kufs were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (dârâ) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Kufs mountains in which they lived consisted, according to [Istân], of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of Urân on the north by Birkût, Râdbir and the Mountains of Abâ Ghanîn, on the east by Kâhâsh and the desert of Mârân and on the west by Mârân and Hormuz. There were seven different mountains here, of which Bâhân, chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Kufs leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sitân and Fârs. [Istân] mentions that they were reported to

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/roth centuries mention a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirman, namely the Kufs, (Kâdijû, Kâd (see kors), Balâs (Balâs, Balî (see balâstân), the Dâbâls, the Kâhâshâ, and the Kâhâshâ, all of whom were harbmed and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Safâtârs, Bâydâs, Sâmâindâs and Sâlânjûs. When Mas'ûdi refers to Kurs (Akhâd) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic tent dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Kufs were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (dârâ) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Kufs mountains in which they lived consisted, according to [Istân], of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of Urân on the north by Birkût, Râdbir and the Mountains of Abâ Ghanîn, on the east by Kâhâsh and the desert of Mârân and on the west by Mârân and Hormuz. There were seven different mountains here, of which Bâhân, chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Kufs leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sitân and Fârs. [Istân] mentions that they were reported to
have accumulated much wealth. He states that they were lean and swarthy; and that some said that they were, by origin, Arabs (163-4; cf. Ibn Haukal, ii, 310; MukaddasI, 427). The muddal al-Islam add that the government tax-collector (Jāmi‘u sulhun) did not go into the Kufs mountains and that their chief's were responsible for the collection and payment of the government tax, which would appear to have been assessed by a muqtaba's contract. It also states that they spoke a special language (65).

The Balús were, according to IstāfārI, hardsmen and tent-dwellers living along the western base of the Kufs Mountains and were rich in flocks (164; Ibn Haukal, ii, 310; MukaddasI, 427). IstāfārI, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, however, states that they lived at the base of the mountains to the north of the Kufs (429). They were the only people whom the Kufs feared. IstāfārI's claim that they were peaceable and did not commit highway robbery like the Kufs (164) is not born out by the hadith al-Islam (121) or MukaddasI, who couples them with the Kufs in the matter of brutality and bloodthirstiness and in their propensity to raiding the caravan routes (468-90). MukaddasI states that the Balús had been very numerous until the Buγd qādul al-Dawla [9.9.] destroyed them. The language of the Kufs and Balús, according to MukaddasI, was incomprehensible and resembled Sindhi (471).

It would seem that, in general, Muslim writers made no clear distinction between the two groups, and frequently mention them together. Miskawayh states that the Kufs and Balús, together with the people of Manfīqlan, joined Sulaymān b. Muhammad b. Iyās when he attempted, with help from the ruler of Kāturān, to seize Kirmān from the Buγids. They were defeated by a Buγid force in 360/970, with heavy losses, and suffered further casualties when the Buγid forces pushed down to Hurnuz. The Balús, however, did not remain quiet for long. Spreading into the districts of Sīrğān they made All b. Muhammad al-Bāriz their leader, and began to commit disorders. 'Adud al-Dawla then marched against them in person. They retreated into the Djufrūt Bāriz, but were defeated in 361/972 (ii, 298 ff.). Miskawayh states that those who were not killed were removed from the mountains by 'Adud al-Dawla, who replaced them with peasants who received the land on a crop-sharing agreement and with persons who were not well-off (al-akāna al-maslīha wa l-nastārān min aγīda al-ma‘yīya) belonging to various races among his subjects (ii, 300). There is mention of a detachment (dāqiq) of Kufs in 'Adud al-Dawla's army in 360/970 (Miskawayh, ii, 306, and see further C. E. Bosworth, The Kufšūls or Qufs in Persian history, 9-18).

The decline in the power of the Kufs and Balús as a result of 'Adud al-Dawla's operations was only temporary. By the beginning of the 12th century they were again in control of the desert from Djufrūt to the Gulf of Ummān, though, according to Muhammad b. Ibrahīm, their main location was in the Djiubal Bāriz (Jalā‘ al-Dīn, 66; Muhammad b. Ibrahīm, 6 ff.). They were reduced by Khwāja b. Ǧaghib Beg (Ibn Iṣḥāq al-Ǧumshūdī) who was the ruler of Djufrūt (Ibn Iṣḥāq al-Ǧumshūdī, ed. Dr. Mihūst, 1, A.H. 1326, 6 ff.). By the end of the 12th century they were again operating in Djufrūt and the great region of Kirmān (Muhammad b. Ibrahīm, 5 ff., 189; Tārīkh-i Afdu, 5 ff.). There are no references to the Kufs in the later Middle Ages, though there are, of course, many references to the Balús, who were established in Makrān from the 5th/11th century and who may or may not have been the descendants of the Balús (see KALÔQISTĀN).

Waziri claims that the Mihnī tribe were the descendants of the Kufs, but produces no evidence in support of this claim. When he was writing, the Mihnī numbered some 700 families. They had a separate assessment, i.e. they were not included in the assessment of Djufrūt and Isfandārā, where they had their winter quarters—and this, perhaps, suggests that they had at one time been more important. Waziri states that: up to fifty or sixty years before he was writing the Mihnī leaders had enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. In 1259/1843-4, the government seized Fath 'All Khan, their leader, and confiscated the many estates which he held in Isfandārā and Djufrūt (Djufrūt, 56, 112-14, 121). According to a tradition current among the tribe, however, the Mihnī came originally from Kirmān to Isfandārā in Safawid times, when a number of tribes formed a federation under their leadership. This would seem more probable, and would suggest that at most only some of those reckoned as Mihnī today are the direct descendants of the Kufs. Their leaders claim to be descendants of Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī l-‘Khayr (q.v.). In 1260 the Mihnī consisted of the following eleven sub-tribes: the Sūlānīmīn, Lūr (who are alleged to have come to Kirmān from the Mamassān in the reign of Nādir Shāh) or, according to another account, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Bahr Āṣmān, the Martīk, Muḥṣīl, Sā‘īr Bākhurī, Lūr, Rāḥī Bākīr, Iskandārī, Kāhīrī, Fīghūkīlī, and Mūzafrī. Waziri gives a list of twenty-three sub-tribes (199), which differs slightly from the above list.

The Dijubal Bārizīs, according to IstāfārI, were even worse robbers than the Kufs. They did not adopt Islam until 'Abbāsī times and he alleges that they persisted, in spite of their conversion, in their evil ways. They were eventually pacified by Ya‘qūb b. Layḥā and ‘Amr b. Layḥā and their leaders destroyed. They too had a special dialect (IstāfārI, 164, 167; Ibn Haukal, ii, 310; MukaddasI, 472). Whether as a result of the operations of the Safarīds or because of the movements of the Kufs and Balús, they appear to have been pushed out of the Dijubal Bāriz region. About the beginning of the 19th century the Mihnī Tasawur Anchīsra (tribe of the Dijubal Bārizīs) apparently moved to Bāzinjīn, where they numbered some 4-500 persons in 1960. Waziri mentions Dijubal Bārizīs in Fāriz (199), but whether they were the direct descendants of the earlier Dijubal Bārizīs is not clear. Waziri states that their prosperity and the numbers of their sheep, cattle and horses had decreased, especially from about 1860. They were engaged to some extent in trade, taking ḥārāt, wool and cotton mainly to Bandar 'Abbās for export to India and clarified butter and qāshqā to Kirmān (120). The Gauṭās of Persia records the existence of 50 families of Dijubal Bārizīs in Akbār in 1903 (iv [Calcutta 1910], 338). In 1960 there were a few families of Dijubal Bārizīs who had summer quarters between Bālt and Rabur and winter quarters near Gūshtaghīr (Walaghīr).

The Aḥbār, the fourth of the tribes mentioned by the early geographers, centred on Shāhāb, were said to be semi-nomads. They had camels and date palms and raised their crops in gardens made of reeds (IstāfārI, 168; Ibn Haukal, ii, 313). They are not separately mentioned in later times.

Although there appears to have been some immigration of Arabs into Kirmān before the Islamic conquest (Nöölke, Geschichte der Perser u. Araber, 57)
there does not seem to have been widespread settlement by Arabs in the province during the early Islamic conquests. For the most part, the Arab armies pushed through the areas of Khorasan and Khurāsān. So far as settlement took place, those who settled became, as in other provinces, largely assimilated to the local population. Small groups may have also settled in the province after the period of the conquests. Yāqūt records the existence of descendants of the Banū Azd [see azt] and Banū Muhallab in Dīrūj (Barbier de Meynard, 183). Waziri mentions the survival in Dīrūj of a few families who still spoke Arabic (Dījāghrāfīyā, 119). The village known as Kārayt al-‘Arab, near the city of Kirmān, is believed to have been originally settled by the ‘Abbāsī tribe, who came there from Simnān. In some of the coastal districts, such as Banīdar ‘Abbās, however, much of the population was of Arab origin, though not necessarily Arab-speaking (cf. Hourton Schineller, ‘Reisen im südlichen Persien 1829, 244).

Turkish tribes, Ghuzz and others, came into Kirmān from the 5th/6th century onwards. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to trace the changes in their locations and numbers. Whether the Salāqīya, who today are to be found in Rābūr, are descendants of the Salāqīya is extremely doubtful. They do not appear to have any tradition among themselves of such an origin and are now Persian-speaking. They are mainly engaged in trade and for the past forty or fifty years have ceased to move from summer to winter quarters. The Rābūr, centred on Rābūr with winter quarters in Shastflud, whom Waziri reckoned to be fifty families (Dījāghrāfīyā, 195), are related to the Salāqīya. They are so-called because of the Rābūr, the largest of the Ghuzz tribes, known as Rābūr by the ‘Abbāsī tribe, who came there from Sīrjān, to whom they attest their descent. In 1903 (Iv. [1910], 337), but by 1960 they numbered some 2,000 families. Some of their ītras were Turk-comprising, others Persian-speaking, and some of them were settled. The Shīl, who formerly belonged to the Afšār federation, had by 1903 joined the Bušār and numbered some 100 families (Iv. [1910], 338). In 1960 there were some fifty families of Shīl Turks settled near Sīrjān, who claim that their forefathers had come from Fārs at the beginning of the 19th century. The Gazetteer of Persia mentions 150 families of Kārāikūyunī in Aštār in 1903 (Iv. [1910], 337). It is possible that they were descendants of families left behind in Kirmān by the Kārāikūyunī in the 9th/10th century. They appear to have been subsequently absorbed into the Afšār and in 1960 were reckoned among the Afšār ītras.

In the early 16th century a number of Lak tribes moved from Fārs to Kirmān and established their winter and summer quarters in Urdūyā and Aštār respectively (Waziri, Dījāghrāfīyā, 144). They numbered some 2,000 families in 1903 (Gazetteer of Persia, iv [1910], 338-9). Shell put the Aštār īlabī, whom he described as Lak, at 3,000 tents and houses (Note on tribes by Sir Justin Sheil, op. cit., 398). According to Waziri, the Aštār īlabī had cultivated land and cattle in Sīrjān and Shībār; they were Ismā‘īlīs and numbered some 250 families (Dījāghrāfīyā, 157, 156). In 1900 there were some 2,500 Lak in the neighbourhood of Bāshījūn. There are, or were, various other tribes and sub-tribes in the province whose origins are difficult to establish. Most of them are semi-nomadic and their numbers very small.

The internal organisation of these various tribal groups appears to have been broadly similar. Most of the tribes had a ra‘is or leader, whose office appears usually to have been hereditary within a family. Larger tribes or federations, such as the Afšār, had an īlabī. Each tribe was composed of a number of ītras, under a hādīlūd, whose office was sometimes hereditary but more often subject to election by the elders (riṣh sajid) of the ītra. The latter were composed of īlāqāt, i.e. groups of, perhaps, 5-12 families, each under a riṣh sajid. The
number and size of the bānas varied widely with the prosperity of the tribe. Success brought new followers, while failure or weakness caused the dispersal of its existing followers. The collection of taxes from the tribe and the decision of disputes were usually carried out by the a'yān, though not infrequently an outsider became responsible for the payment of the taxes to the government. Thus Muhammad ʿIbrāhīm Khān, the grandson of Zahir al-Dawla, became responsible for the taxes of the Mihni tribe and for those of Isfandāya and Kābor (ibid., 56), while Muhammad ʿAṣār al-Dīn Wazīr was charged with the collection of the taxes in the Afshār of about 1270 and had the title Ḥāqi (ibid., 51). In recent years the tribal structure has largely broken down.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give a breakdown of the population at different periods. From time to time, conquest brought about a transfer of power from one group to another, redistribution of land and the emergence of new factions, but we are ignorant of the details of these events. It would seem likely, in view of the flourishing trade of Kirmān in the early centuries that the merchants formed a prosperous community, but that their importance declined with the decrease in trade. Aubin in his monograph entitled Bānas sayyids de Bam au XV° siècle has studied the functions and influence of local religious leaders in the Timurid period. Some information on the leading families in the 19th century is to be obtained from Wazīr (op. cit.). In Kirmān, as elsewhere, in Persia, the a'yān were composed of landowners, tribal leaders, religious dignitaries and merchants. The dividing lines were not always clearly drawn. Marriage alliances between them were common. Governors and local officials were also included in the a'yān, and often used their official position to acquire wealth and land. In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the leading officers of the bureaucracy were rich and influential. It is not always easy to decide what was the basis of a family's influence, whether it was government office, trade, landownership or religious leadership, for all might be combined in one family. But government changed frequently and though there were settled in the province, the government of which they had held, the system did not make for the emergence of families who retained their pre-eminence over a long period. Some of the local sayyids were among those who could perhaps trace their influence back further. Wazīr states that there were families of sayyids in Bam and Narmāghir who had held property there for over 400 years (ibid., 202). One, the Khādi family of Bam, had held the office of hādi there from generation to generation (ibid., 97). There appears also to have been some movement among sayyids. Thus, the Mīrāz sayyids, who came to Bam about 1270, were by origin from Tabrīz. One of their number, Ḥādīdī Sayyid All Khān b. Ḥādīdī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was made ḥādi of Bam and Narmāghir by Muhammad ʿAṣār al-Dīn Wazīr al-Mulk (who became governor of Kirmān in 1856) and put in charge of diverse taxation and the khaliṣādārī of Bam. This, however, proved disastrous for the family: he was a spendthrift and was dismissed, and all his estates and those of his nephews were taken in lieu of arrears. But their fall was only temporary, and when Wazīr was writing they were again a rich and respected family (ibid., 100-1).

As elsewhere, it was not uncommon for the religious classes and the merchants to be closely allied, either through marriage or by actual participation in trade, Thus, Ḥādīdī Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Ḥādīdī Sayyid ʿAbd al-Maʿṣūm, a Rīḍāwār sayyid, who owned numerous villages and hamlets and many herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats, had agents and partners in Bandar ʿAbbās, Yazd and elsewhere, who traded on his behalf (ibid., 138-9). There was also movement from merchant families and craftsmen into the religious classes. Ḥādīdī ʿAbd al-Muḥammād b. Ḥādīdī ʿAbd al-Wāḥab, who belonged to a merchant family, staked aya and became a mu'ājiz. He owned much property in Rafsanjān and elsewhere (ibid., 44-5).

Two families were especially prominent in Kirmān in the 19th and 20th centuries, those of Zahir al-Dawla ʿIbrāhīm Khān b. Miḥāl Kūh Khān b. Muḥammād Ḥasan Khān Ḥaḍāj Khurānī and Muḥammād Ismāʿīl Khān Wazīr al-Mulk Nūrī, both of whom had been governor of the province. Their fortunes illustrate the ease with which government officials were able to acquire wealth and property and become part of the local a'yān. The first, Zahir al-Dawla ʿIbrāhīm Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who became governor of Kirmān in 1210/1801-2, settled in the province, where he and his descendants acquired property (ibid., 54 ff.). He himself bought some of the estates of the heirs of Aḥār All Wazīrī (see below) in lieu of arrears due from Mīrzā Husayn b. Aḥār All (ibid., 170). His grandson, Muḥammād Ismāʿīl Khān, acquired villages in Isfandāya and Yūzūrat through marriage to a daughter of Fath ʿAll Khān Miḥānī. He also founded new estates in those regions (ibid., 56). Ḥādīdī Muṣṭafā Khān b. Zahir al-Dawla's daughter married Mīrzā Ḥussain b. Ḥaḍāj Khurānī of the Mīrzā Husayn Khān family. Wazīr alleges that whoever in Kirmān married into the Zahir al-Dawla family tended to become puffed up with pride because of the wealth of his wife (ibid., 69-70). The second, Muḥammād Ismāʿīl Khān Wazīr al-Mulk, whose family came from Nūr in Māzandārān, was sent as ḥādi to Kirmān and Bālūcīstān in 1275/1858-9. In 1277/1859 he became governor of the province, holding office until his death in 1284/1868-8. He exerted great efforts in the development of Kirmān and Bālūcīstān. He made a number of purchases of much hālīṣā land which had fallen out of cultivation or into a bad state of repair. He rented these for a lump sum, which transaction proved extremely profitable. He was also a great builder and made many caravan sarais, hamāmāns, riabāts and other buildings. His son Murtaḍā Kūh Khān Wazīr al-Mulk was governor from 1266/1869-70 to 1275/1878-9 (see further Asad Allāh Nūrī Isfandārī, Tūbīh al-Khānawāda-Isfandārī, Tehran A.H.S. 1329). Both Muḥammād Ismāʿīl Khān and Murtaḍā Kūh Khān acquired extensive estates in the province and established links with the local a'yān through marriage alliances. Muḥammād Ismāʿīl Khān gave one of his daughters to Mīrzā Ḥusayn Husayn b. Ḥaḍāj Khurānī, who owned estates round the town of Kirmān, and Muḥammād Husayn belonged to a family of sayyids originally from Yūzūrat (Wazīr, op. cit., 69), and his maternal grandfather was a sister of Mīrzā Husayn Wazīr (see below).

In the local government offices there was often a hereditary tendency. For example, the office of kalīmatār (q.v.) of Kirmān had been in the Kašfārānī family since the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. From towards the beginning of the 19th century they also held the office of ḥādir of Khābīs and Gawk and from about the middle of the century the collection of taxes of the environs (baḥmān) of the town of Kirmān was also entrusted to them. Muḥammād Zādīn Kašfārānī.
The former apparently died in Shiraz shortly afterwards. Towards the middle of the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah, Mirza Husayn was appointed wāsī of Kirmān, which office he held until about the middle of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He had many estates in Aḵtā, Urdūya, and Kūshk. The office of māndil (tax-collector) of the districts of Aḵtā, Urdūya, Kūshk and Sawghān remained in his family for many years, and his descendants owned villages, gardens, flocks and herds in these districts. Muhammad 'Alī Khān, Aḵtā's grandson, was 'āmil of the districts of Aḵtā, Urdūya, Kūshk and Sawghān and of the Afghān tribe for over twenty-five years. From about 1870 he bad the title of Shāhi. In addition to the properties he inherited, Muhammad 'Alī founded many villages in Urdūya and Aḵtā. His position as tax-collector enabled him to usurp the estates of his uncle Mirza Husayn Wazir and his cousin 'Alī Muhammad Shāh after their deaths (ibid., 68). His brother, Abu 'l-Kasim Khān also usurped some of the properties of 'Alī Muhammad in Aḵtā and Urdūya. He founded other properties as well and gradually grew into a wealthy man. A third brother, Murtuza Khān, had numerous estates in Urdūya, Aḵtā, Kūshk and Barfār, some usurped, some bought and some founded by himself. He put money cut with merchants and others. He owned herds of horses and flocks of sheep (ibid., 58 ff., 68).

A grandson of Aḵtā 'All, 'Alī Muhammad Khān, married his cousin, Bihtār Kūshk, a daughter of Mirza Husayn b. Aḵtā 'All: their son was Ahmad 'Alī Khan Wazirī, the author of the Dīwān dīvān namālahāt-i Kirmān and the Tābrīz-i Kirmān. Ahmad 'Alī Khan is said to have bought back six fāwā in Sawghān into a flourishing condition (ibid., 72). Ahmad 'Allī Khan Wazirī, unlike his forebears, did not enter government service, but occupied himself running his estates. He appears, however, to have received a government pension (mubārārāt) (Wazirī, Tābrīz-i Kirmān, ed. Bāstānī Pārizī, Tehran 1964, introduction).

Wazirī mentions another old family, the Aḵtā'īs of Anār, who traced their origins back to Bahādur Idrīs Barjās, who had been governor of Kirmān in the time of Timūr. For years this family had held the office of ūsī of Anār, but by Wazirī’s time they had fallen on evil days and become poverty-stricken (Dīwān dīvān, 183). For the rest, most of the families mentioned by Wazirī had risen to prominence in recent times.

In the middle of the 19th century, partly as a result of the increase in the price of agricultural produce and the revival of long-distance and local trade, there appears to have been a revival in the prosperity of the merchant class and also a strengthening of their links with the landowning class. This was notably the case in Raśīndān. Wazirī relates that a certain Hādījī Āḵtā ‘All of Raśīndān had landed estates worth over 100,000 tunmans and partners and agents in Bombay, Yazd, Isfahān, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabrīz and Istanbul, whereas thirty years before he had not owned property worth 1,000 tunmans (ibid., 165-9, 172). Among merchant families in Kirmān city, Wazirī mentions that of Hādījī Muhammad ‘All Amīn al-Raśīndān b. Hādījī Muhammad Ibrāhmī b. Hādījī Allāhvardī Kirmānī, who was the ūsī of the Raśīndānīs of Kirmān. His father and grandfather had built many caravanserais, baths and mosques in the city of Kirmān and elsewhere. He himself had acquired many estates in the district of Kūshk and in Māhān. According to Wazirī, he
showed little care for the poor and the deserving (Ibíd., 78).

Wažirī asserts that between about 1844 and 1874 there was a great increase in the wealth of those holding land, due, he states, to the high prices for cotton and madder which had prevailed for several years in India and for grain in Persia. Persons whose property thirty years before he was writing had been worth 1,000 šāmāns were then receiving an income of 2,000 šāmāns from their estates, and those who had formerly been prepared to sell a hamlet or piece of cultivated land for a song to pay their tax demands would not then sell for 3,000 or 4,000 šāmāns. This was especially the case in Sīrāj Ān, Rāsīndān and Urdānī. He alleges that the condition of agricultural labourers had also improved, so much so that they were better off than had been the owners of hamlets formerly. Many of the agricultural labourers of Rāsīndān had become hādīqīs. Flockmasters, because of the rise in the price of kurkh, had also become rich men (ibíd., 103-9, 125).

Religion.—In Sasanian times, there were in addition to Zoroastrians a number of Nestorian Christians in Kirmān. The bishop of Kirmān was under the metropolitan of Fārs. Conversion to Islam after the Arab conquest was slow. The province was exposed to Ḥ̣aḍirjī influence in the 1st century and some Islamīl activity in the late 5th/6th and early 6th/7th centuries (see below). Mūkaddasī states that the Khawārīd had a Friday mosque in Bām. According to his account, the dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī one except in Ḏūltuṭī. The Šafīʿīs were not numerous; among them were the Šahī al-Ḥadīth who formed the majority except in Ḥumra (408-9). Aṭfāl al-Dīn praises the good religion and orthodoxy of the people of Bārūst. He alleges that Kirmān had been free from every kind of heresy and that the people were either Ḥanafis or Šāfīʿīs. Yaqūt states that the inhabitants of Kirmān were virtuous, honest, and very attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy (483). Under the Shaṭāwīs, Kirmān, like the rest of the empire, accepted Šaḥī ṣāḥī Shāfīʿī. In the 16th century the Shāfīʿīs (q.v.) gained many adherents in Kirmān, as also did the Bābīs (q.v.). The office of šayḥ al-šīʿa in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 12th century by Ṣāhī ḡawā sunyāda, who was Shāfīʿī (Waẓirī, Diwān 33, 52-3). Fratricidal strife between the Shāfīʿīs and Ḍūlqaraš was common. Under the Ḩanūfīs the Niẓāmat Allāhī dervish order, founded by Šayḫ Niẓāmat Allāh Wall (d. 84/1432), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Šayḫ Niẓāmat Allāh’s shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

Zoroastrians appear to have maintained themselves as a community in Kirmān city, though in greatly reduced numbers, until modern times. Tavernier puts their numbers at 10,000 in the middle of the 17th century. In the reign of Šah Šulaymān (1077-1100/1667-94) they were removed from the city at the demand of the ‘ulamā’. They built a suburb to the north of the town. They were plundered by the Afghāns in 1133/1720-1 (Waẓirī, Diwān 38; Tārīkh-i Kirmān, 259). Khānīkī states that there were 12,000 Parsi families in Kirmān before its destruction by ‘Aṣṣ Muḥammad Ḵān in 1794. Thereafter, their numbers declined. According to Abbott, there were only 150 families in Kirmān in the middle of the 19th century. Of these some 40 families lived in the villages around Kirmān, and the remainder in the town (‘Notes on the trade’, etc.). Waẓirī put the number at 200 families (Diwān 34, 40). In 1903 the total number of Zoroastrians was said to be 1,700 persons (Gazetteer of Persia, iv (1910), 349). A small community of Hindus from Shīkarpūr appear to have settled in Kirmān some time after 1810. They were engaged in banking and trade with Karakhi, Bānpay, Sīnd and the Punjab (Stack, i, 215; Curzon, ii, 244). The export trade of Kirmān was largely in the hands of the 19th century (W. M. Floræ, The merchants (fuṣūda) in ‘Īrān, in ZDMG, cxvii (1910), 34-11).

History.—Kirmān in many ways developed along different lines from the rest of Persia. It was distant from the early capitals of the caliphate. Its mountain fastnesses could not be easily controlled and local leaders were often able to assert their independence. Thus each of seven mountains which constituted the Ḏībāl Kūfs region had a separate leader in early Islamic times. The Lūt prevented easy access from Khurāsān and Sītān, while the inhospitable country to the north-west discouraged expansion from and into the Ḏībāl. It was ideal country for dissident groups and was one of the regions where the Azārīk (q.v.) carried on their resistance to the caliphate. Its abundant pastures attracted tribal groups, but the inhospitable nature of the country militated against the formation of large tribal kingdoms. Look of communications tended to isolate the province but trade with Central Asia, India and the Far East and with other parts of Persia was, nevertheless, important, though subject to interruption by local outbreaks of disorder.

The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balḵidjīrī (Fuṣūda, 315, 391 ff.) was begun about 170/688 by al-Raʿībī b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Asghārī (q.v.), then governor of Bāṣra on behalf of the caliph ‘Umar. Al-Raʿībī conquered Sīrāj Ān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bām. Another Arab expedition was sent about the same time by the governor of Bāyrān, ʿUṭmān b. Abī ʿl-ʿĀṣ al-Ṭurāṣī, who killed the ʿArmān of Kirmān in the island of Abarkāwān. The conquest of Kirmān was not, however, completed. In 29/650-6 Fāsūdardabī, the governor of Fārs and Kirman, as also did the Bābīs (q.v.). The office of šayḥ al-ṣīʿa in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 12th century by Riḍāwī sunyāda, who was Shāfīʿī (Waẓirī, Diwān 38, 52-3). Fratricidal strife between the Shāfīʿīs and Bālānsār was common. Under the Ḩanūfīs the Niẓāmat Allāhī dervish order, founded by Šayḫ Niẓāmat Allāh Wālī (d. 84/1432), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Šayḫ Niẓāmat Allāh’s shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

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Under the Umayyads, Kirmān became a theatre for the activities of the Khārījīs. In 58/678-8 the Azārīk fled to Kirmān. About 75/693 they reassembled and under Kāṣīrī b. al-Fūbahī (q.v.) seized Fārs and Kirmān, being joined by a number of the local inhabitants. They extended their activities to Trāk. Harried by al-Mahallab, they withdrew again to Kirmān. By about 79/698-9 they had been exterminated by him. Kirmān nevertheless continued to be a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Ibn al-Asghārī (q.v.) took refuge there briefly ca. 82/701-2 or 83/702-3. In 101/719-20, the rebel Yazid b. Muḥallab, who, during his father’s lifetime had for a period been governor of Kirmān, appointed a governor over Kirmān. After the failure of his rebellion, from about 102/720 the Umayyads (in whose name several coins struck at Kirmān survive) seem to have exercised control over the province, often through the governor of Khurāsān.
who would administer the province through a deputy. In 320/932 Muḥarram b. Mūṣa, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwya b. Dīṯf, who had turned out Marwīn's governors from Fārs, made inroads into Kirmān but was later routed by the supporters of Marwān. In 317/934–5 an Umayyad army set out from Kirmān to oppose the ʿAbbasīd army under Kaḥfaḥ, which had advanced on Ray, and was defeated near Ḫiṣbān.

Under the early ʿAbbasīds, governors were appointed over the province, which continued for the most part to fall under the general control of Khurāsān. ʿAbbasīd coins struck in the province in the year 105/721–2 and 107/723–4 survive. During the reign of Ḥārūn al-Raṣīl rebellion spread to Kirmān when Ḥārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣḥāḥ occupied Harīt in 179/995 and extended his authority to Fārs and Kirmān, where there were still a considerable number of ʿAmīrids, who appear to have recovered from the defeats inflicted on them in later Umayyad times (see further Gh. H. Sadighi, Les mouvements religieux au IIIe et au IVe siècle de l’Hégire, 1958, 34ff.).

Ibn Balḥṭī gives figures for the revenue of Kirmān at this period. In 297/811–12 Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān were assessed at 2,600,000 dinārās, a new assessment having been necessary because the registers had been destroyed in the civil war. Another assessment made by ʿAbī b. ʿĪsā in the reign of al-Muḵṭārīd was rather lower, namely 2,311,880 dinārās, of which Kirmān and ʿUmān accounted for 444,380 dinārās. After various deductions the net sum going to the dinārās was 304,380 dinārās (Ibn Balḥṭī, Fārsānān, 171).

A succession of governors, some of whom from the time of al-Muḵṭārīd onwards were Turks, ruled the province until the caliphate of al-Muḥtārīd, when Muḥammad b. Wāṣīl al-Tamlāmī rebelled in 250/864–5 and seized Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Muḵṭārīd on his accession to the caliphate sent an army against Kirmān and when he reached Shīrāz, it appears that Muḥammad b. ʿĪyās returned to Kirmān. He acknowledged the Sāmānīs in the Ḡūbā and received in 348/959–60 a banner and robe of honour from the caliph al-Muṭṭaṣir. Somewhat later, quarrels broke out between Muḥammad b. ʿĪyās and his sons, and he was finally persuaded to abdicate in favour of ʿĪyāsā. In 356/967 ʿAbd al-Dawla took ʿUmān and invaded Kirmān. Bardīr fell in Rāmān 357/968 and ʿĪyāsā fled to Khurāsān. ʿAbd al-Dawla, having received a diploma for Kirmān from the caliph, then appointed his son ʿAbd al-Ḥawsdārī ʿAlwāsī (later Sharaf al-Dawla) governor and returned to Shīrāz. In 359/969–70 an abortive attempt was made by the Sāmānīs to regain possession of Kirmān with the help of Salāyūm b. ʿAbī b. ʿĪyās. In 357/967–55 al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd b. ʿĪyās, governor of Kirmān b. ʿĪyās placed himself at the head of a group of malcontents in the garmsir but was defeated and captured (see further E. Bosworth, The Banū ʿIyās of Kirmān (320–57/932–68), in Islam and Iran, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 107–24). The period of the ʿĪyāsā was a time of disorder during which the revenues of the province were dissipated (Ibn Hawsāl, ii, 315). Under ʿAbd al-Dawla the province appears to have been highly taxed compared to the reign of al-Muḵṭārīd. According to Ibn Balḥṭī, the total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān, together with ʿĪyās, levied at Shīrāz and Miḥrūbān on goods imported by sea (?ʿaqīrī ṣalāḥa-ya ṣalāḥa), in the time of ʿAbd al-Dawla was 3,466,000 dinārās, of which Kirmān, ʿĪyās, and the coastal districts of Fārs (Fārs-ndtna) accounted for 750,000 dinārās (Fārs-ndtna, 172).

After the death of ʿAbd al-Dawla in 373/982–3, his descendants began to fight among themselves for the province and a period of some confusion followed. Malmūd of Ghazna in 407/1016–17 attempted to install his nominee in the province but without lasting success and in 444/1053 Masʿūd b. Malmūd temporarily occupied it (E. Bosworth, The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world, in Cambridge History of Iran, 1, 73; see also KĀHLĀR).

In 431/1040 the Sahābīs defeated Masʿūd at the battle of Dandšākān (q.v. in Suppl.), and some two years later in 433/1041–2 KĀẕWĀR ʿARĀLĪN BENG b. ʿABD AL-DĀWLA, BENG b. ʿABD AL-DĀWLA, and ʿABD AL-DĀWLA, a supporter of ʿABD AL-DĀWLA, and his son ʿABD AL-DĀWLA, assumed the rule over Kirmān and when he reached Kirmān in 432/1043–4 the Sāmānīd amīr, ḪIHĀM b. ʿṢINNGUṯ, who was besieging Muḥammad b. ʿĪyās, withdrew to ʿĪyās and when Muḥammad b. ʿĪyās retired to Khurāsān. Muṣṣī al-Dawla then undertook operations against the Kūf and Balāc, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). In 435/1045 he was defeated by the governor of Baḥrūn, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). KĀẕWĀR, who established his rule in Kirmān, made two attempts to usurp the sultanate. On the first occasion in 459/1066–7, alp Arslān marched against him and defeated him, but reinstated him in Kirmān in his former position (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 56–7). After alp Arslān left the province, KĀẕWĀR went to Balūcfātān, repaired the port of Tīz and appointed governors over Makrān. He also conquered ʿUMĀN, which remained in ŠALĀDĪ hands until the death of Arslān Shīb in 367/977. When alp Arslān died in 465/1072, KĀẕWĀR made his second attempt to claim the sultanate. According to one account, he wrote to Nāʾīl Shīb stating that he was more fitted to succeed on the
grounds that he was Alp Arslan's eldest brother (Sāyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Aḥḥār al-dawla al-Salṭaniyya, ed. Muhammad ʿAbdī, Lahor 1933, 36). According to another account, some of Malik Shah's amirs invited him to come (Muhammad b. İbrahim, 22-23). He was defeated near Hamadan and taken prisoner and killed. The Saljuqs of Kirmān did not, however, come to an end with Kāwūr. The dynasty founded by him was to last some 150 years, during which the province enjoyed, on the whole, prosperity and peace.

The Saljuqs of Kirmān had a reputation for justice and caring for their subjects. Kāwūr took measures to ensure security on the roads, and erected pillars at intervals along the Ban-Fahraj road so that travellers would not lose the way; he also built caravanserais and water tanks (Muhammad b. İbrahim, 10-12). Kāwūr, Turān Shāh b. Kāwūr, Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh and his wife Zaytun Khatība, and Muhammad b. Arslān Shāh were all great builders. The latter had built a library for the 'Turān Shāh gūrās', which contained 5,000 books on different branches of learning. Some of them were also patrons of the religious classes. In the reign of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh, the 'ulama' are alleged to have come to Kirmān from far and wide. His son, Muhammad, gave pensions to the 'ulama' and during his reign there was, according to Muhammad b. İbrahim, a spread of learning and a tendency for craftsmen to send their sons to study ʿiḥā (29). Some of the officials and amirs of the Saljuqs were also builders and patrons of the religious classes. Asatār, Muʿayyid al-Dīn Raybān, made many charitable foundations and constituted amāli for their upkeep (Ṭarīḫ-i Afḍal, 30).

Although the Saljuqs of Kirmān were familiar with city life, their existence was closely bound up with the well-being of their flocks. They habitually spent seven months of the year in Bārdisr and five (from Adhār [Nov.-Dec.] to Urḍī Bilāḥ (April-May) in Dhūrūt, their flocks moving with them. Their financial position seems to have been favourable until the end of the dynasty, and Bahram Shāh b. Muhammad, under whom the decline of the dynasty set in, succeeded to a well-filled treasury. Throughout Kāwūr's reign of 34 years the value of the coinage remained stable (Muhammad b. İbrahim, 4). Trade probably contributed to this favourable situation. Kānānī, even towards the end of the period, was still an important centre of trade and was "a place where strangers from Anatolia and India and travellers by land and sea lodged, and was full of wealth" (Ṭarīḫ-i Afḍal, 40). Some of the amirs owned considerable estates. Muʿayyid al-Dīn Raybān appears to have lent his money out to merchants and others, who presumably worked it for him (cf. Ṭarīḫ-i Afḍal, 40). The pay and allowances of the military following of the ruler (kāṣarān) were controlled from the centre (cf. Ṭarīḫ-i Afḍal, 34). The troops were mainly Turks, but there were also some Daylamīs. They received allowances and ʿasābā, mainly, according to Afḍal al-Dīn, in the district of ʿArḍān, where "a great amīr with a large force was always stationed because it was on the frontiers of Fārs" (Ṭalʿal-ʿulā, 74). The total number of the military following of the rulers and their amīrs was not large. Kāwūr, when he came to Kirmān in 433/1042, had, according to Muhammad b. İbrahim, a force of 5,000 or 6,000 (2). The civil groups who disputed supremacy in the province at the end of the period and during the period of Ghuzz ascendancy were on the whole not large. Malik Dīnār is said to have ruled over 20,000 men (Ṭalʿal-ʿulā, 20). Muhammad b. İbrahim credits Kūth al-Dīn Mubārak and Nizām al-Dīn Māhmūd, the Shāhānšāh's amirs, with having a force of 10,000 men, horse and foot, when they came to Kirmān in 596/1199-1200 (797).

Kāwūr was succeeded by his brother Turān Shāh, whom he had appointed to act in his stead during his absence on the campaign against Malik Shah. Sultan Shāh, who had been taken captive with his father Kāwūr, escaped from captivity and was brought to Kirmān. His brother had meanwhile died, and in 467/1074 he ascended the throne in Kirmān. In 472/1079-80 (or according to some sources rather earlier), Malik Shāh went to Kirmān and besieged Sultan Shāh in Bārdisr. After some seventeen days the siege was raised, Sultan Shāh was confirmed in his government and Malik Shāh returned to Ḥamrān. Sultan Shāh was succeeded by his brother Turān Shāh in 477/1085. His reign was on the whole uneventful. In 577/1181, he made an abortive expedition into Fārs. He was followed by his son, Ibrāhīm Shāh in 599/1097. The latter appears to have been won over to the Ḥamrānīs. A number of amirs had recourse to the Shāyḵ al-ʿĀlim, the Ḥāfiẓ Dīmāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh ʿAlī Shāh, who issued a fatwā for his death. Iran Shāh fled, but was overtaken and killed, and Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh placed on the throne in Ḥamrān in 495/1099 with the joint support of the amirs and the kāddās. He reigned for 42 years and under him the dynasty reached its greatest heights. He married a daughter of Muhammad b. Malik Shāh. He appointed, as had his predecessors, ʿulama over Ḥamrān and attempted also to extend his dominion over Fārs. He defeated Cawī Bilāḥ in 505/1111-12, and on the death of the latter in 510/1116-17, Muhammad b. Malik Shāh appears to have considered the threat posed by the Saljuqs of Kirmān to Fārs to be a real one ( Ibn al-ʿAthir, v, 365). Towards the end of Arslān Shāh's reign, disputes arose between him and the ʿulama over that city for some time. In 537/1142, Muhammad b. Arslān Shāh set his father aside because of his advanced age and seized the throne, in spite of the fact that another son, Kirmān Shāh had been appointed ʿulā. A third son, Salāṭik Shāh, after making an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom, fled to Ḫumān, where he continued to constitute a potential threat to Muhammad. The fact that the Imam Shāh had to have appointed suḥrā ʿulama in the towns within his kingdom and to have had an excellent information service perhaps suggests that there was unrest or hidden opposition to him. However that may be, Kirmān continued to prosper under Muhammad. He extended his rule over Tabas and his successors continued to appoint ʿulama over that city for some years. There was also a proposal by Rashīd al-Dīnār, the governor of Ḫumān, to hand that city over to Muhammad, but the death of both parties in 551/1156 brought the plan to nought.

Muhammad was succeeded by his son Toğrull Shāh, a somewhat frivolous character, and there was during his reign a decline in public morals. However, Kirmān still enjoyed security and prosperity under his rule (Ṭalʿal-ʿulā, 7; Ṭarīḫ-i Afḍal, 30; Muḥammad b. İbrahim, 35). There was a total eclipse in the month of Urḍī Bilāḥ in 557/1161/April-May.
in 575/1180-1 there was a severe famine in Bardsir (Tārīkh-i Afdal 90). In the winter of 577/1182-3, the Ghuzz again set out for the garmirs. Afdal al-Din states that since they had now come to stay, they began to develop and cultivate the districts of Dirlurt and Narmšahr and paid some consideration (murad-i nāz) to the peasants (bādawīy) and from Isfahan, Sistan and Fars goods, beasts and booty which they took from caravans and accumulated in the garmirs and the sardirs. (Tārīkh-i Afdal 95). They also took several fortresses into which the remnants of the Turkish forces had retired. The sardirs, however, to which the nominal rulers of the province were confined, remained in a state of distress. In 579/1184-5 Tūrān Shāh was killed by a group of amirs, who released Muhammad Shāh b. Bahram Shāh from the fortress where he had been imprisoned and placed him on the throne. In 580/1185-6 famine again broke out in Bardsir. In the following year 581/1185-6, Malik Dinār came with some 80 men to Kāwar and Khābās from Kūbānān, intending to join the Ghuzz in Narmšahr. Some 300 men from Bardsir set out to prevent his advance, but did not dare to join battle with him (Tārīkh-i Afdal, 103). In 582/1186 Muhammad Shāh set out for Irāk to seek help against the Ghuzz. The following spring, Bardsir surrendered to Malik Dinār. Muhammad Shāh, who had failed to obtain help from either Irāk or Tekkele in Fars, returned briefly to Bām. He then went to Sistān and from there to the court of the Khwarizm-Shāh Takī. He finally took refuge with Shihāb al-Dīn, the ruler of Ghur and Gharān. In 583/1187-8 an abortive attempt was made to read the kūhba in Bardsir: in the name of a Saljūq princess, Khūţūn Kirmānī, a daughter of Toqtūn (Muhammad b. İbrāhīm, 146).

Malik Dinār, having established himself in the district of Dirlurt, struck coins and read the kūhba in his own name. In Dūrādād I 894/July-August 1186 he set out for Bardsir, but lack of pasture and the ruin of the countryside appear to have prevented him from establishing himself there, and the town remained for some time in the hands of the Saljūq forces until it surrendered on 3 Rābi‘i 583/11 September 1187. During the next two years, Malik Dinār was occupied in extending his power and putting down local pockets of opposition. He then made an expedition to the south, took Mandīrijan and extracted from the district of Harda subsidies from Muhammad b. İbrāhīm, 154). Revenue was also collected from the Makrānī, (al-Mudaffāf, 5). Bām, which had been in the hands of an amir, Sāhil b. Aflāt, did not however submit until ca. 588/1192. In 589/1193 Malik Dinār was again in the south and met the ruler of Kays, who promised him tribute. The death of Malik Dinār in 591/1195 was followed by new outbreaks of disorder. He was succeeded by his son Farāgh Shāh, who rapidly dissipated the contents of the treasury which Malik Dinār had laboriously accumulated (ibid., 164). Unable to establish himself, he had recourse to the Khwarizm-Shāh for help, but died in 592/1196 before this could arrive. Meanwhile, on the one hand the Ghuzz began to commit disorders and pillage on an unprecedented scale while on the other the amirs were rent by faction and dissunity.

The period of Ghuzz ascendancy, was a time of misery and distress for the people of Kirmān. The province was in a small degree the theatre of the ravages of the Ghuzz, but also to incursions by the rulers of Fars and Khurāsān, or their amirs, who from time to time established a temporary ascendancy in different
of plague (?) which spread from the south to Bardsir and was accompanied by heavy loss of life (al-Muḍaff, 80).

Among the amirs of the Khwārezm-Shāh was a certain Abu 'l Fawāris Kūṭlehū Sultan Bārāk Ḥājjīj (see awakhir nāmīs), who had been in the services of the Ġūr Khān of the Karš Khāyīt [q.v.]. He rose to the position of ḥājjīj to the Khwārezm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and became atabeg to his son Ġiyāṣī al-Dīn Pīr Shāh. The latter, after the fall of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, appointed him governor of Isfahān, but he, seeing the disorder into which the affairs of the Khwārezm-Shāh had fallen, set off with his followers for Kīrman intending to proceed to Ḵū드. Having reached Kīrman, he joined battle with the governor of the province, Shu'ayb al-Dīn Abu ʿl Kāsim, defeated him and besieged his son in Bārdūṣr. When Djiṣlāl al-Dīn, who had come as embassies to Kīrman six months later, Bārāk Ḥājjīj requested from him the governor of Kīrman, Djiṣlāl al-Dīn, having little choice in the matter, agreed and gave Bārāk Ḥājjīj the ḥāṣab of Kutlūgh Khān (for which reason, the dynasty which he founded is sometimes known as the Kutlūgh-Khānī dynasty), and went himself to Ṭrāk and Āḏābarbījān. Bārāk Ḥājjīj later apparently demanded and received from the caliph the title of “sultan,” and the sources refer to the rulers of the dynasty as sullān and their rule as sullānad. When Ghiyāḥī al-Dīn subsequently came to Kīrman and sought to establish himself there, Bārāk Ḥājjīj, after first temporizing, finally seized and killed him. He then sent an envoys to ʿOġāḏey offering submission and was in return confirmed in his possession of the province of Kīrman, which he held for fifteen years. He had four daughters, the eldest of whom, Sevīn Khāṭṭīn, was married to Caghatay, while the other three were married into the family of the Atabegs of Yaʿzūl. His son, Rukn al-Dīn Khwāungeonsī, was sent to serve at the Mongol court and was with ʿOġāḏey at the time of his father’s death, which took place on 20 Dhu ’l Ḥajjah 632/H September 1235 (the accounts of these events given by Nāṣīr al-Dīn Munkī Kīrmanī, Sim̱ al-Makāl, ed. ʿAbbās Ḥaẓīḥ, Tehran A.H.S. 1327, 22 ff., Duwāyīn, Diqānūn-gūrgān, and Nāṣīr, Histoire du Sultan ʿOḡāḏey al-Dīn Munkūbūr, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1895-8, somewhat vary).

After the death of Bārāk Ḥājjīj, the Kutlūgh sultans, although their status was that of local rulers rather than governors, had no real independence. The Mongol amirs, who had come as embassies to Kīrman six months later, are mentioned at the court of Kūṯb al-Dīn in 655/ 1257 (Sim̱ al-Makāl, 38). All the contenders for power among them appear to have found it necessary to obtain the support of the Great Khān or the Il-Khan for their cause. Many of them made marriage alliances with the Mongols. Bārāk Ḥājjīj was succeeded by his nephew, Kuṯb al-Dīn, who shortly after his accession, married Bārāk Ḥājjīj’s daughter, Kuṯlūgh Terken. However, when Ruḵ al-Dīn, who had obtained a yaṯrīg for the province of Kīrman from ʿOġāḏey, approached the province, Kuṯb al-Dīn felt it necessary to set out himself for the Mongol court to seek support. Ruḵ al-Dīn, having reached Bārdūṣr in 653/1256, took possession of the province and ruled for some fifteen years. Kuṯb al-Dīn, unable to oust his cousin, who was supported both by ʿOġāḏey and Caghatay’s wife, Sevīn Khāṭṭīn, remained for a while at the court of the Mongol Khān, and was finally sent to Muḥammad Yawāḏū, the Mongol governor of Kīrman. In 649/1253, when Muḥammad Kašānī succeeded Ghiyāḥī, Kuṯb al-Dīn obtained a yaṯrīg for Kīrman.
and set out for the province. On his approach, Ru'ik al-Din abandoned the province. After appealing in vain for help from the caliph al-Mustas'in, he went to the wādī of Mengi Kā'ān, where the case between him and Kuṭb al-Din was referred to the Mongol court (yargāh). After examination, Mengi handed Ru'ik al-Din over to his cousin, who killed him and then returned to Kirman. Djuwayni mentions that he saw Ru'ik al-Din in Almāghī in Ramaḍān 651/December 1253-January 1254 (Dhikār-ugāḥ, ii, 217). When Hūlegū crossed the Oūrūs in 654/1257, Kuṭb al-Din came to his camp at Tūa and was given permission to return to Kirman provided he be come back with an army to join the Mongol forces in their march on Baghdād. He fell ill, however, in 655/1257 and died the following year.

Terken Khatūn, Kuṭb al-Din's wife, was put on the throne in Kirman amid general acclaim, and subsequently received, after she had had recourse to Hūlegū in person, a yarlīgh authorising her to act for Kuṭb al-Din's sons, who were still children. She ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirman prospered. Many learned men among the 'Utāma and ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirman prospered. Many learned men among the 'Utāma and,:ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirman prospered. Many learned men among the 'Utāma and

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him back to Kirmān as governor with a number of other officials. The siege continued for ten months. The defenders were reduced by famine and finally, according to Wassāfī’s account, the city’s defences were destroyed by siege engines brought from Fārs, where they had been made by experts summoned from Mawṣīl, and the city fell. The ringleaders were put to death and Shīrūkhšāh was sent to Tabāzī, where he was executed (Šīr al-Sulṭān, 85 ff.; Wassāfī, 426 ff.). The province was in a miserable condition and the treasury empty. The Karāvān meanwhile renewed their attacks. A substantial remission of taxation was given (Šīr al-Sulṭān, 94), but the ensuing improvement was cut short by the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 702/1303 (Wassāfī gives the date of his death as 1 Jumādā 1 702, 431). Shāh Djiāhān, Shīrūkhšāh’s son, was at the time at Ghāznā’s court, and was appointed to succeed him. At some time during the reign of Ghāznā or Ōdqaytī, Rāshīd al-Dīn’s son Mahmūd appears to have been governor of Kirmān and to have committed extortion against the people of Bām (cf. Mūkdlī, 10 ff., and also 261). On the death of Ōdqaytī, Shāh Djiāhān attempted unsuccessfully to establish his independence. He was dismissed as a reign of some two-and-a-half years, and with him the dynasty came to an end. He was replaced by Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Muhammad b. Būḥān, a descendant of Shīhāb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, in 704/1305 (Kīdūrī, Ta’rīkh-i Ūrgīyān, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1960, 45).

Kirmān was ruled for the next few years by Mongol governors until it was taken in 740/1340 by Mubārzī al-Dīn Muḥammad Muqaffārī, who was married to Kutlug Khūn, the daughter of Shāh Djiāhān’s son Nūr al-Dīn. An attempt made by Kūtb al-Dīn b. Djiālāl al-Dīn b. Kūtb al-Dīn to regain the city with the help of reinforcements from Harāk was repulsed and Mubārzī al-Dīn, who had temporarily withdrawn, retook the city in 741/1340. Bām, which was ruled by a governor appointed by ʿAbī Saʿīd, held out and was not captured until three or four years later. Meanwhile, the Ilkhan empire was rent by war and faction. In 743/1342 Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Shīh, the Ilkhanid ruler of Ghūzān, attacked Singān and destroyed the town, but left the citadel unreted. After continuing his march on Kirmān, he then retired to Shīrūkhz without joining battle with Mubārzī al-Dīn. During a second expedition, he was defeated by Mubārzī al-Dīn and again retired to Fārs. Meanwhile the Dīnārīs and Ughānān, some of whom may possibly have been the descendants of the Mongol detachment which had been sent to Kirmān in or about 683/1284 under the leadership of Ughān (Šīr al-Sulṭān, 59), were committing renewed disorders in the south of the province. Mubārzī al-Dīn marched against them. The campaign was inconclusive and the Ughānān and Dīnārīs continued for many years to disturb the province, in spite of the fact that they frequently served in the ruler’s army (in which they proved to be an extremely unreliable element). In 751/1352 renewed encroachments into Kirmān by the Ilkhanids were repulsed near Rafsinda. Mubārzī al-Dīn then extended his power over Fārs and appointed his son Shūdūṣ al-Dīn governor of Kirmān in 754/1353-4 (though he did not reside permanently in the province, taking part in military expeditions in Fārs and ʿIrāk-i ʿAṣlām). In 757/1356 Mubārzī al-Dīn was again briefly in Kirmān and undertook a campaign against the Ughānān and Dīnārīs, who had been committing disturbances. Mubārzī al-Dīn’s death in 769/1364 was followed by a period of interminable strife and faction. In Kirmān, the governor Pahlawān Asad rebelled. After an inconclusive battle with Shāh Shujā’ī near Kirmān, Pahlawān Asad retired into the city, but submitted after a siege of several months (Ramādān 775/Radjab 776/March–December 1374). On the death of Shāh Shujā’ī (780/1384), his son, ʿṢalṭān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, went to Kirmān as governor. In 787/1386-7 he received the title of Ūrgīsh in the name of Timūr. When the latter set out for Fārs in 789/1387, ʿṢalṭān Ahmad repaired to Timūr’s camp, was favourably received and given the governorship of Fārs, ʿIrāk and Kirmān. Intermittent strife, however, continued among the Maʿṣūfarīs in Kirmān and elsewhere, until finally they were overwhelmingly crushed by Timūr in 793/1393 and Idgū ʿBaghdādī was appointed governor of Kirmān (see further, the supplementary chapter on the Maʿṣūfarīs in the Ta’rīkh-i Ṭīmūrān). The province was in a state of disorder, and Idgū had to establish his authority by a series of military operations. On Timūr’s death in 807/1405, he recognised ʿṢalṭān. The province was nevertheless subject to pillage and disorder in the struggles which ensued between the various Timūrid princes. ʿṢalṭān died in 810/1407 and was succeeded by his son ʿṢalṭān ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was assassinated almost immediately on the instigation of his brother, ʿṢalṭān Uways. Disorders continued (see further, J. Aubin, Deux sources de Fars au XIVe siècle, 20 ff.). Agriculture declined; ʿHāfīz ʿAbd allāh states in the Ta’rīkh al-awālid-i Baysungīrī that wherever the army of Mirzā Iskandār (d. 818/1415-6) passed through, no building or cultivation was left, and in the Diyarabīyāt he says that wherever Mirzā Iskandār went he sacked everything, destroying buildings, cutting down trees and sending troops into all districts so that there was not a single comer of Kirmān which was not devastated (quoted by Aubin, op. cit., 35-6). In 829/1420 ʿṢalṭān Uways was besieged in Kirmān by a Timūrid army, and in the following year there was a severe famine in Kirmān accompanied by a heavy loss of life. ʿṢalṭān then sent Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀkhdān to the province to restore agricultural prosperity. He devoted his efforts to the revival of agriculture which had fallen out of cultivation. In the first year 250,000 mātins of wheat were sown. Various tax reductions and remissions were also given to the peasants (ʿHāfīz ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, Diyarabīyāt, f. 77b, quoted by Aubin, 50). On the death of ʿṢalṭān in 830/1424, there was renewed anarchy until Djiāhanābād ʿBārā, ʿṢalṭān Yūsuf, the Kard Koyunlu, sent his son Abu ʿl-Hassan Kāsīm Mirzā to take possession of the province. Conditions showed little improvement (see Aḥūd Bakr Tirmānī, Kīdūrī-i Diyar Bakriyya, ed. F. Sānānī, Ankara 1954, ii, 334 ff., and Aubin, 86 ff.). Heavy taxes and dues were imposed on summer and winter crops and irregular levies made on the peasants; many properties were usurped by the government and wealth revenues seized for the payment of the military (Aubin, 69-70). Abu ʿl-Hassan Mirzā adopted the practice of billeting his followers on the province with all the attendant evils of such a practice (Kīdūrī-i Diyar Bakriyya, 306). On the death of Djiāhanābād, confusion and disorder prevailed in Kirmān until the Ak Koyunlu succeeded in establishing their rule. For a time Kirmān was governed by Zaynal, the third son of ʿUrūn Ḥasan. In 909/1503 the province came into the possession of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Some six years later, Kirmān, was invaded by the Uzbegs and suffered much damage (ʿAṣālāmār-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl, 326 ff., 333). According to ʿAṣwānī, the first Safawīd governor of Kirmān was Muḥammad Khān ʿUstādī (Ta’rīkh-i Kirmān, 265;
In the city and elsewhere in Persia, Ali Khan, though during that period he was frequently absent from the province with the Kirman army on military campaigns with the Shah. During his government he built a number of caravanserais and bazars in Kirman city and elsewhere in the province.

During the reign of Shah Sultan Husayn, Kirman was subject to renewed incursions by the Baloch. In or about 1233/1818 the Kirmanis appear to have appealed to the Afghan Mahmoud for help. He came to Kirman and stayed for nine months, when he returned to Kandahar because of disturbances there. In the following year he came back, but it seems that the people were not prepared to receive him on this occasion and resisted his entry. He laid siege to the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Akh Khan was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with the Baloch, and so he went via Bam and Narmashir to Bandar Behzad, seized Kirman and assumed the title of Shah. From there he went to Faris, where he was defeated. He came back to Kirman, but whatever support he may have had there had disappeared, and so he went via Bam and Narmashir to Bandar Abbas, which he temporarily occupied. Eventually, after further adventures, he was captured by the Afghans and executed in 1218/1803 (Mirdashari Sayyid Alavi, Isfahan, 1240, 12).}

It was not until 1237/1822 that the last Safavids, the last of the Zands, and the Kadjars until 1205/1790, when Lutf Allah, the last of the Zands, marched against Kirman. Its governor, who had been appointed by Akh Muhammad Khan, agreed to submit but refused to come to Lutf Allah’s camp. The latter thereupon besieged the town. Lack of supplies forced him to raise the siege and leave the district. Subsequently, having been defeated by Akh Muhammad Khan near Shiraz in 1206/1790, he fled to Tabas. Offers of support from some of the khans of Narmashir induced him to return to Kirman. He attacked the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Akh Muhammad meanwhile advanced and laid siege to the city. After some four months, the population were reduced by hunger and a group of the defenders opened the gates on 25 Rabi’ I 1209/24 October 1794. The surrender of the city was followed by a general massacre—the culminating disaster in the long series of calamities which the province had suffered during some few centuries. Lutf Allah escaped, but was captured in Bam and handed over to Akh Muhammad Khan. Meanwhile Akh Muhammad Ta’iz b. Akh Allah (see above) became governor of Kirman and held office until the death of Akh Muhammad Khan.

There appears to have been some fear that the disaffection caused by Akh Muhammad Khan’s brutality towards the people of Kirman, coupled with the failure of the government to control raiding and disorder by the Baloch might give rise to a desire for secession from Persia. Because of this, and partly, perhaps, as a result of the influence of Sunbul Badali, Fath Ali’s Kirmani wife (see above), Fath Allah Shah appointed Ibrahim Khan Zahir al-Dawla (see above) governor in 1226/1809. He held office until his death in 1240/1824-5 and was the first of a number of Kadjar princes to be appointed governor of Kirman. Under him the province enjoyed for the first time for many years a period of security. He repaired the province from Bahrayn, Khurasan, Faras and elsewhere (Shahid Yahya Ahmad Kirman, Farmandhane-i Kirman, ed. Bostani Pirtz, Tehran A.H.S. 1344, intro., 31). He also made a successful expedition into Baluchistan. This favourable situation did not, however, last. His son, Abbas Kuli Khan, who succeeded him as governor, attempted to throw off control, and in the succeeding years there were a number of disturbances and perennial outbreaks of disorder by the Baloch. In December 1835 Abbas Mirza was sent to the province to restore order. His efforts were only partially successful. After he left the province there were more determined disturbances by governors and others, and in 1835 further incursions by the Baloch. Meanwhile, Muhammad Shah had succeeded Fat’h Allah Shah and in 1835 or 1836 appointed Akh Khan Mahallati, the leader of the Isma’iliis, as governor of Kirman. On his withholding revenue from the central government, a force was sent to collect arrears. Unable to resist, Akh Khan fled in 1837 to Bam, where he was besieged by Fath Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla. He surrendered and was sent to Tehran. Later he was allowed to return to Kirman in 1840 and renewed his rebellion. After a number of skirmishes he was defeated, and took refuge in Afghanistan and later India, whence, it was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with his supporters in eastern Persia. His brother, Muhammad Bahir, made a movement into Baluchistan in 1844 or 1845 but was repulsed. Baluchistan was
meanwhile gradually reduced by the governors of Kirman, and by the middle of the 19th century Persian control had been extended southwards from Bamčşir over the Makran east of Đišak.

From about 1858 Kirman once more had a period of security and good government, this time under Muhammad Ismail Khan Nuri Wali al-Mulk (see above), first as píghar during the nominal government of Gayarínara Mirza, and then as governor from 1860 until his death in 1863/67-8. His period of office was marked by an increase in prosperity which continued during the subsequent decade.

During the government of his son, Murtaḍa Kuli Khan Bâkâi al-Mulk, Western Kirman, and especially the towns and villages of this part, gradually fell under the control of the Persian government. In 1877 there was an outbreak of factional strife between the Shaykhis and the Bâlesârs, which led to the resignation of Murtaḍa Kuli Khan and the despatch of a force from Tehran to restore order. Towards the end of the reign of Nâṣir al-Din Shâh there appears to have been considerable intellectual activity in Kirman, and when the movement for reform became overt towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, a number of Kirmanis, notably Mirzâ Āqa Khân Bârdârsî Kirmanî (who became the editor of Akhtar), the Persian newspaper published in Constantinople) and Nâzîr al-Islâm, played an important part (see above).

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al-KIRMANI, AbWAD AL-DIN HAMID b. AbI 'LFAMIR (not to be confused with RuhUN AL-DIN ABWAD) OF MARAGHA in AfgHARABIDJAN who was also called ABWAD AL-DIN AL-IHSANI AND who died in 735/1337-8 was an eminent IRANIAN MYSTIC (cf. HAMD AL-THAB THAMM). His works, TA'RISIqH LYIA, edited, 'AbD AL-HUSAYN AL-NAWR, Tehran 1350/1960, 667-8; DIJAM, NAJAFIjAT AL-UN, ed. MAHMUD AL-THAVDWI, Tehran 1337/1959, 386-92. He was a pupil of RUKN AL-DIN AL-ABHARI AND AL-'ARAFI AL-SAHRAWATI. On his numerous travels, he came to DAMASCUS where he became acquainted with MULYI 'L-DIN B. AL-'ARAFI, who mentions him in his FIhTAbI AL-MAKBIIYA (CH. VIII) and was deeply influenced by his ideas. ABWAD AL-DIN knew SHAMS AL-DIN TABRIZI (CF. B. FURZANDAR, RIJALI DAR TARHIBIAT AL-ASWAL WA ZINDAGI-I MUSLIM AL-DIN MUHAMMAD NASIRI AL-MASHAD, TEHRAN 1313/1935, 33-5), and probably met also DJILAL AL-DIN RUMI, 'UGMAN RUMI, 'SHAD AL-DIN AL-KINAWI AND FAKHR AL-DIN AL-KAUBAB; KIRMANI left many of his works to them in the last present of his life as a well-known MYSTICAL TEACHER IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF BAGHDAK AND was honoured by the 'ABBASID CALIPH AL-MUSTANSIR IN 637/1241-1242. He died probably on 5 SHA'BI 652/1351 MARCH 1258. ABWAD AL-DIN BELONGS WITH ABMAH GHAZALI AND FAKHR AL-DIN AL-IRAQI TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DIVINE BEAUTY IN EARTHLY FORMS, PREFERABLY IN BEAUTIFUL BOYS. THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF HIS MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY ARE SHARAT (OUTER FORM, IMAGE) AND MANAD (INNER MEANING, ESSENCE), IN CONFORMITY WITH IBN ARABIS KEY TERMS DATH AND BAHA. THE FAMOUS MAHYQI.'IPOEM MAHYQ AL-WISTAL, OFTEN ATTRIBUTED TO HIM, WAS ACTUALLY WRITTEN BY SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD BADRAlI SUBERI. THE POETICAL HERITAGE OF ABWAD AL-DIN IS MARKED BY SHORT FORMS (I.E. ONLY SOME BRIEF BANDS AND A FEW GHAZALS, BUT A LARGE NUMBER OF MAHYQIYAT WHICH ARE GROUPED INTO 32 CHAPTERS), AND IS OF A Gnostic-Mystical CHARACTER. THE 'RUDI']IYATI, WHICH ARE SOMETIMES INFLUENCED BY 'UNAR KHAYYAM, ARE NOT ALWAYS OF THE LITERARY QUALITY, BUT THEY SHOW A DEEP MYSTICAL THOUGHT AND EXPERIENCE, AS IS FOUND IN VERSES OF DJILAL AL-DIN RUMI, ABMAH GHAZALI, 'AYN AL-KU'DAT AL-HAMGAHI AND FAKHR AL-DIN AL-IRAQI.


AL-KIRMANI, HAMD AL-DIN AHMAD B. 'ABBAS ALLAH, was a prominent dA'I or THE BATTLEMS DURING THE REIGN OF AL-HAKIM BI-AMIR ALLAH (385-412/996-1021) AS WELL AS THE AUTHOR OF MANY WORKS ON THE THEOLOGY OF THE IMAMATE AND ON ISMA'ILI PHILOSOPHY.

The life of al-Kirmani is known only in its main outlines, which can be traced on the basis of statements contained in his own works. Some other details can be derived from unpublished ISMA'ILI sources, as has been done notably by Muqtada GHALIB (OP. CIT., 411) who, however, does not specify these sources. His claims point to his origin from the IRANIAN PROVINCE OF KIRMAN. It is evident from his works that he continued to be in touch with the ISMAILI community in this area. It is not very likely that he was a pupil of the well-known dA'I 'AbD YAZID AL-SHIJFI [G1], as GHALIB states, for 'AbD YAZID was not only al-Kirmanis senior by half a century but there appears to have been a difference of opinion between the two on many doctrinal points. As well, AFRASIABI has come to have been spent in the service of the FATIMID CALIPH AS THE MANSIONARY DISTRICT OF TABRIZ. The title RUSLIJAH AL-IRDAKHA, which is often added to his name by way of an honorific rather than as a designation of his rank (CF. I. I. M. IBN ABBASS, KIRMANI, BOMBAY 1948, 44; W. BADE, OP. CIT., 61, N. 127), implies that this district also included the parts of IRAN known as 'IRAQI-'ADJALI. At least one of his longer works (KU'DAL AL-MADDAH) WAS COMPOSED IN IRAN, while two shorter rUSLAIJAS (AL-HAWH) F.T L-YARL WA L-YAKHAR, DATED 395/1005, and AL-KULLYA F.T RADD 'ANL V-HARIMI AL-HAYNI AL-HASANI WERE ADDRESS TO A SUBORDINATE IN DIRAT (KIRMAN). The title of his KU'DAH AL-MADJA'I AL-BAQADDACIYAH WA E-BASSIIJAH, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN PRESERVED, REFERS TO HIS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP TO HIS SUPERIOR, GHALIB, AND THE TITLE KU'DAH AL-YARL WA L-YAKHAR, OF TAKING PART IN WINNING OVER THE UQAYLIDS OF MOSUL TO THE CAUSE OF THE FATIMIDS. IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE 5TH/11TH CENTURY, AL-KIRMANI CAME TO CAIRO, WHERE A SERIOUS CRISIS HAD DEVELOPED AMONG THE FATIMID DAI'S CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE IMAMATE AS IT WAS REPRESENTED AT THAT TIME BY AL-HAKIM. A FEW OF THEM, AMONG WHOM ARE THE FOUNDERS OF THE RELIGION OF THE DHURU [G2], PROCLAIMED THE DOCTRINE OF THE ABSOLUTE TRANSCENDENCE OF GOD. THE RUSLIJA CALLED MAHASAN AL-BIDJFALI UPON THE TACT THAT THE IMAMATE OF AL-HAKIM WAS, IN SPITE OF ITS EXCEPTIONALLY BLESSED CONDITION, OF AN ORDINARY KIND AND THAT THE THEORY OF HIS DIVINE NATURE WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE ISMAILI DOGMA OF THE ABSOLUTE TRANSCEENDENCE OF GOD. THE RUSLIJA CALLED AL-WAL'IYA F.T MUAFI AL-DN ASHAB AL-HAKIM BI-WASIR AL-LAH (ED. M. KANSI HUSAYNA, IN MAJALLAT KULLIYAT AL-ADAB (CAIRO), AIS/1 (1952), 1-20), COMPOSED IN 408/1017, WAS A REPLY TO A PAMPHLET BY AL-HASAN AL-AKHMAM AL-FARHANI, ONE OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THE EXTREME POINT OF VIEW. APPARENTLY, AL-KIRMANI RETURNED afterwards to IRAQ WHERE HE COMPLETED HIS MAJOR WORK, RUSLIJA AL-FAZI, IN 415/1022-23. THE LATTER DATE PROVIDES ALSO A DATING POST QUMFOR HIS DEATH. WORKS. THE LIFE OF AL-KIRMANIS WORK AFTER HIS DEATH HAS BEEN DETERMINED BY THE FURTHER DETAILED HISTORY OF THE ISMAILIYA. THE LATER WRITERS OF THE FATIMID PERIOD APPEAR TO BE BROADLY INFLUENCED BY HIM, HE LEFT A LASTING IMPRINT ON THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF THE TWELVE ISMAILIYA [G3] WHICH CONTINUED A PART OF THE FATIMID TRADITION IN THE YAMAN AND IN INDIA. THIS INFLUENCE CAN BE TRACED FROM THE TIME OF THE SECOND DAI MU'AYYAD AL-SHAFI AND THE CALIPH OF HIS TIME, UP TO THE PRESENT DAY (C.F. E.G. STRUHMAIER, GENSIS-TESTE DER ISMAILITEN, GOTTINGEN 1943). THANKS TO THIS CONTINUOUS TRADITION OF KIRMANI STUDIES, THE MAIN PART OF HIS WORKS HAS BEEN PRESERVED, ALTHOUGH ALL THE COPIES THAT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO LIGHT SO FAR ARE VERY RECENT.

The defence of the THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE FATIMID IMAMATE, WHICH AL-KIRMANI REGARDED AS ONE OF HIS MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS, WAS NOT ONLY DIRECTED AGAINST THEOCRATIC PRINCIPLES WITHIN THE MOVEMENT ITSELF. HE ALSO ATTACKED THE CLAIMS OF THE 'ABBASIDS IN'MARJAM AL-KUBI, A REFUTATION OF AL-DHABAHS KU'DAL AL-ULG,
and those of other Shi'i pretenders (in al-Kufiya, being a warning against the propaganda of the contemporary Zaydi Imam Abu 'l-Husayn al-Mu'ayyad bi 'l-lah al-Haruni). In his Kitab Tahab al-Hasil wa 'l-mushaddi, the polemics against these opponents are combined with a plea in favour of the authority of the religious books. The work, written without exception, addressed towards the antinomian strain in the Ismaili movement. Its fullest treatment of the theory of the ismami, constructed as a support of the claim of al-Hadi, is contained in the Ma'suddi fi 'l-ghabi al-isma. In the course of his argument, al-Kirmani frequently resorts to Jewish and Christian scriptures, which he quotes in Hebrew as well as in Syrian (cf. Paul Kraus, Hebrosche und syrische Zitate in ismaelischen Schriften, in Isl. xix (1930), 243-59, and A. Baumstark, Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmans, in Isl. xx (1937), 306-15).

Of equal importance in the work of al-Kirmani is his preoccupation with metaphysical speculation, to which his most important works are devoted. In the Kitab al-miyad fi 'l-baham bayn al-sulayhiyya sahhabay al-Isla'am wa 'l-Nu'ma (ed. by 'Ali Tarni, Beirut 1960), he attempts to settle the debate over a great number of philosophical questions which had been going on among the Isma'ili's in Iran during the preceding generations. The starting-point of this discussion was the Kitab al-Mahsuli, a work by al-Nasafi (d. 351/964), to whom the introduction of neo-Platonism in the speculations of the Isma'ili's has been attributed. Al-Nasafi had been criticised on several points, which according to al-Kirmani are of fundamental importance, by Abu Hātim al-Warsamī (fl. about 322-349/934-46) in his Kitab al-Ifāl, but the tenets of the former had been defended by Abu Ya'qub al-Sijde (d. after 360/971) in a work entitled Kitab al-Nu'ma. Kirmani, who on most issues takes the side of Abu Hātim, approaches these problems from a point of view to which he attributes an authoritative weight and which he denotes as "the canon of the guiding mission" (bārān al-daw'a al-adila), see further W. Ivanov, An early controversy in Isma'ilism, Leiden 1948, 115-39, and ed. Bombay 1955, 87-122.

The Kāhāt al-'afl (ed. by M. Kāmil Husayn and M. Muṣṭafā Hilmī, Cairo 2371/1952; ed. by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1967) contains a summa of Isma'ili philosophy written for adepts who have prepared themselves for the study of the fundamental truths both morally, through the fulfillment of the commands of religious law, and intellectually, by the study of less abstract works of earlier Isma'ili authors and of al-Kirmani himself. The subject-matter has been arranged in chapters and paragraphs which have been styled "tafsīr" ("interpretation") and "crossroads" (maqādīr) according to the allegory of a city of gnostic knowledge. By travelling along the fifty-six crossroads enclosed within the seven walls of this city, the searching soul acquires an awareness of the real structure of the universe, which consist of four separate but fully congruent worlds: the world of Divine creation ("ālam al-ḫāli"); the world of the purely spiritual beings, the world of bodily existence or the realm of nature ("ālam al-djinn, dār al-futūb"); the world of religion ("ālam al-dīn"); which is the hierarchy of the Isma'ili da'wa, from the nāfi' up to the lowest delegate (maqādīr); and, finally, the world of the bā'itān where this universe returns to its primordial one-ness in its second perfection (al-kamal al-ḥānī). In complete analogy to this macrocosmic process, the individual human soul, which by origin is only a virtually-existing first perfection, through acquisition of this metaphysical knowledge, can realise itself completely as an intelligent being. The Kāhāt al-ṣalīq is the earliest attempt at a complete and systematic exposition of Isma'ili philosophy. In comparison to other works, and even to al-Kirmani's Kitab al-Riyāḍī, it shows a pronounced influence of the metaphysical theories of the falsafya. This is particularly evident in its concept of the world of creation as a decade of intelligent beings which has come into existence by way of "being sent out" (insābat) from the universal intellect, the first created being (see further Isma'iliyya Doctrine).

Like many other Isma'ilī dānis, al-Kirmani attacked the writing of the arch-heretic Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zaidariyya al-Rāzī. In the Kitab al-Baqī al-dhahabiyah fi 'l-bib al-naṣfānī, he supported the criticism of his predecessor Abu Hātim on al-Rāzī's ideas about the theory of the mind, espounded in the latter's al-Tifib al-râhānd (cf. P. Kraus, in Orientalia, v 1930), 301; idem, Rasīl falsafiyāliša metapsychica, i, Cairo 1939, 93-13, and the excerpts from the first part of al-Kirmani's Kattāb in the notes to the edition of al-Tifib al-râhānd.

**Bibliography:** The editions of al-Kirmani's works mentioned in the article all contain more or less extensive introductions to his life and work. Surveys of his works and of the manuscripts known to exist are given in W. Ivanov, A guide to Isma'ilī literature, London 1935, 45-8; and ed. Isma'ilī literature, Tehran 1963, 40-5; Brockelmann, S1, 325-6; Mu'izz Jorwalwa, A descriptive catalogue of the Fazyce collection of Isma'ilī manuscripts, University of Bombay 1965, 37-52, nos. 51-65; Sezgin, GAS, i, Leiden 1967, 260-2. Fragments of some of the works of al-Kirmani are contained in the great Isma'ilī compilations of 'Imad al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 672/1276), Kābū 'Uqūs al-adhār, and 'Hasan b. Nāh al-Bahrāl, Qābū al-adhār (written 933/1525), which are still unpublished. Excerpts from his al-Rasāl al-dāmīma fi sawm ḥabar Rāmādān have been edited and translated into Urdu by M. H. Aqā'īl, Nafūt al-sawm 'inda l-Rāmādāniyya, Karachi 1961, 18-60. A work of doubtful authenticity has been edited by 'Aff Tarmi, Arba' rasālī al-dānīfiyya, Beirut 1952, 59-66. On the Khasiat al-adila, which is really the work of a pupil of al-Kirmani, see W. Ivanov, A creed of the Fatimids, Bombay 1936, 10-2. See further: P. Griﬃn, in ZDMG, lviii (1905), 87; H. F. Manhész, in FRAS, lxxxii (1933), 375-7; Idem. and H. S. Mabīnī, al-Sunhūqiyah wa 'l-ḥarakaq al-Falsafiyah fi l-Ya'qūn, Cairo 1955, 258-61, and passim; W. Madelung, in Isl., xxxvii (1961), 219-27; Henry Corbin, Trilogie ismaïlienne, Tehran-Paris 1961, passim; idem, Histoire de la philosophie islamique, Paris 1964, 130-7; S. H. Nasr, in Cambridge history of Iran, iv, Cambridge 1975, 436, 440. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

**KIRMĀNĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN [see also KIRMĀNĪ KIRMANĪ]**

**KIRMĀNĪSHĀH, a town and province in western Persia. The province is situated between lat. 34° N. and 35° N. long. 45° E to 48° E. It lies to the east and north of 'Irāq and Luristan-i Kūk (or Fugh-i Kūh) and to the south and west of Kurdistan and Asābābd. In the early 20th century the province was divided into sixteen butās. These were Bākādī, Ḩusain, Miyan Darband or Bitawar, Pugh-i Darband or Bāb Darband, Dānvar, Kūlīyā, Shāh, Kanguwar, Asābābd, Haršūn, Camcāmāl, Dūrā Piramān, Maḥdīyā, Hārūnābād, Gūrān,
Kirind, Zuhâb, Aywân and Hulaylân (Government of India, General Staff, Army Headquarters, Intelligence Branch, Gazetteer of Persia, ii, Simla, 1914, 338). At the present day it is bordered by Sanaandâd on the north, Asadibâd on the north-east, Shâhâb on the south, Niânâwân and Tûsirânâd on the east, Khurramâbâd on the south-east, and Kâş-i Shîrin and Rawânshân Dîwânârê on the west, and contains the following districts: Sunkur and Kirîlîbâd; Kanguwâr, Sa’nah, Harshik, Sangîibâd, Gîrân and Thâllâbî (Razmârâ, Farhang-i dinârâfí-yi Írân, A.H.S. 1329-32, v). The town of Kirîmânshâh (also known as Kirîmânshâh, a name which appears to be used first in the 18th/19th century) is situated approximately at lat. 34° 19' N. and long. 47° 5' E. at a height of 1322 m. on the Kâr Dîv River, which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction until it joins the River Gâmastiây (Gawmâsâ) (also known as the River Sâyman) which flows into the River Kabû. A series of mountain ranges, trending from north-west to south-east, run through the province. Between them there are extensive plains and valleys, containing pastures and cultivated lands. From Asadibâd, with an elevation of 2,540 m., there is a gradual descent through a succession of pales and valleys to Kâş-i Shîrin, which is at 575 m.

The climate is mild in summer but cold in winter, except in the Zuhâb district and the plains near the Irâkî frontier and in the lower parts of the Kalhur country (in the region of Manâd) where it tends to be hot in summer. Snow on the mountains is heavy in winter and spring rains are normally plentiful. The maximum July temperature of the town of Kirîmânshâh is 37.2° C. and the minimum January temperature -3.5° C. Annual rainfall is 372.7 ram (H. M. Ganji, Climate, in W. B. Fisher, ed., Cambridge history of Iran, Cambridge 1968, i, 247).

Parts of the province in the south, notably districts in Hulaylân, Bîlawar and Gîrân, are wooded. Oak, elm, sycamore and some coniferous trees and walnut trees are found in the mountains; willows, poplars and oriental plane trees and cypress are plentiful in the province; palm trees are found in Sar-i Pal-i Zuhâb and Kâş-i Shîrin. Fruit is abundant in some districts, especially in Kandûla, Harshik and Sa’nah; Kirinda produces excellent seedless grapes, Rîdîbâd is famous for its figs and Gahwârî for its apples. Gum tragacanth was formerly plentiful in the province, but indiscriminate tapping has caused supplies to diminish. Gum mastic (safouh) is obtained from Hulaylân and was formerly exported to Russia (Government of India, H. L. Rabino, Gazetteer of Kirîmânshâh, Simla 1907, 163, 165).

Dry farming is practised in most parts of the province. In the valleys river water is used for irrigation. Kandîs are not numerous. The province is rich in grain land. Formerly, in a normal year the province had a large grain surplus, though from time to time this would be cut by insufficient rainfall, ravages by locusts and other pests, and by disorders. Surplus grain was exported to other parts of Persia, Ottoman Turkey and, later, to Irâk. The proportion of wheat to barley was usually two-thirds wheat to one-third barley. Both are grown as unirrigated crops. Grain land is left fallow in alternate years or in many districts for longer periods. Rice is grown in some of the river valleys, including Rezîyân, Bîlawar, Dînawar, Camcânâl, Zuhâb and Kalkur. It is of inferior quality and mainly consumed locally. Peas (nakhûd) are produced in quantity and exported to other parts of Persia. Sugar beet has been an important crop since the 1930s and is grown especially in Mâhklâsh. Cotton, castor oil, tobacco, saffron, opium, the cultivation of which on a significant scale probably did not begin until the late 20th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual series, 3189, Report on the Trade of Kirmânsâhsh and district for the year 1903-04, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 172 ff.). Indigo, maize, clover, alfalfa, and vegetable crops, such as melons, water melons, cucumbers, egg plants and tomatoes, are, or were, grown for local consumption (see further Rabino, 155 ff.).

The province has rich pasture lands. Transhumance is widely practised. Formerly, nomadic tribes commonly migrated annually across the Ottoman-Persian frontier and later across the Irâkî-Persian frontier. Animal husbandry is of great importance, not only among the nomadic tribes but also among the settled peasants. After grain the most important product of the province is wool. Part of the spring wool crop was formerly exported. The autumn wool was less in quantity and inferior in quality and mainly used for the manufacture of felts (nomads). Formerly, the manufacture of carpets was a thriving industry in the villages and among the tribes, but declined towards the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century it had virtually disappeared. Goat’s hair was made into tents, saddle bags, ropes and yarn. Goat skins were dried and exported and were used for coverings for clarified butter and water skins. The markets of Tîhrân, Hamadân, Kûrmân and Baghâd were largely supplied with sheep from Kirîmânshâh (see further Rabino, 158-9).

Mules and horses were bred in considerable quantities in the 19th century. The horses, which had much Arab blood in them and were well adapted for both draught and saddle, were highly esteemed (cf. J. P. Ferrier, Cazame journeys, London 1856, 26; Gazetteer of Persia, 341). Apart from some tribes near the Irâkî frontier, who are Sunni, most of the Kurdish tribes and Province of Kirmânsâhsh for the year 1903-04, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 172 ff.).

The province is mainly inhabited by Kurds, nomadic and sedentary, and Lurs. Most of the tribes have their own winter and summer quarters (see further 11. A. T.). A rough estimate of their numbers in the early 20th century put them at some 60,000 families. Among them were the Kalhur, partly settled and partly nomadic, who were estimated at 6,000 families. They owned large stretches of irrigated land in the fertile plains of Mâhklâsh, Gillân and Kalkh Shâhân, the two last named purchased by the Kalhur chiefs from their Turkish proprietors at the beginning of the 19th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular reports, Miscellaneous Series, 590 (1903) Report on the Trade of Kirmânsâhsh and district for the year 1903-04, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 172 ff.).

Apart from some tribes near the Irâkî frontier, who are Sunni, most of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmânsâhsh are Shî’a. All tribes are also...
The town of Kirmānshāh or Kirmānšāh (var. forms Kirmānā, Karmānā, Kirmānšāh, Karmānšāh) as it was known by the early Arab geographers was founded in the Sāsānīd period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes the title Kirmānshāh to the governors of the province of Kirmān (cf. Bīrūnī, 1055), who had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān (cf. Nūshā, 1055). The town founded by him was, however, more probably the small town of Kirmānshāh situated between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Tabarī, in Nūshā, Gesch. des Persen. u. Araber, 74). Another tradition attributes the foundation of Kirmānshāh to Kawāsh b. Fīrūz (488-534 A.D.; cf. sp. Mukaddāsī, 277 ff.). The Sāsānīd kings often resided there, and their example was from time to time followed by later rulers, notably the caliph Hārūn al-Raṣīl and the Būyādīs 'Āqūd al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Mukaddāsī, 399). The province is rich in monuments of the Sāsānīd and Sāsānīd, such as the residence of Tāk-i Bīsān, three miles east of Kirmānšāh, the rock inscriptions at Bīsān (cf. Nūshā, 1055), and various remains at Kangāvar (see Kirmānshāh).

Kirmānshāh was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the capture of Hīwān in 21/640 (Bagdādī, Futūb, 302). It became part of the province of the Dībāl and was known, together with Dinawar (cf. Nūshā, 1055) as Māh al-Kūfā. Although situated on the great Khurāsān road almost midway between Baḡdād and Hamadān, it was less important in the early centuries than Dinawar or Hamadān. It is likely not to mention it among the best known towns of the Dībāl, though he describes it as a pleasant place with running water, trees and fruit, in which living was cheap, and as having abundant pastures, where numerous flocks grazed, and much water. Many articles of commerce were also to be found there (ib., 359). Later, Kirmānshāh with Hamadān, Ray and Isfahān became one of the four great cities of the Dībāl, though it did not rival them in importance. It was ruled successively by the Būyādīs, the Bāyids, the Ḵurāshīs (see Ḵurāshīs) and the Ḡāzūrūdīs (see Gāzūrūdīs).

In 951/1547-8 Kirmānshāh was laid waste by the Khāvarazmshāh amīr Miḥāliḏuk (Ḵrāndi, Ḵārbāl al-qadār, 398). After the Mongol conquest, the Dībāl appears to have been divided into two unequal parts, the larger in the east being known as Persīn Ṭīfāq and the smaller in the west, which included Kirmānshāh, as Kūrtānī. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Kirmānshāh (which, he writes, was known in books as Kirmān) had been a medium-sized town (ḵārīj waṣāṭ) but that in his time it was a mere village (Nūshā, 1055). Camīnḵāl near Bīsān, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments, and, according to Ḥamd Allāh, ʿΩḏiḏyū b. ʿArghān built a town (ḵābāb) there (ibid., 1107). It would seem from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī’s account that there was a decline in production in Kūrtānī as well as in the neighboring provinces after the Mongol invasions (Ṭāhirī-i qanīda, 371).

During the 7th/12th century Kirmānshāh lay outside the main course of events in Persia, but with the rise of the Ṣafawīs Kirmānshāh became a frontier province facing the Ottomans. Many of the Kurdish tribes enjoyed a degree of local independence, and it does not appear that central control was established throughout the region in the early Ṣafawī period. The sources make little mention of Kirmānshāh, though there is mention of Ṣafawī governors in Dinawar—Solugh Ḫusayn Tekkūdī in the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl and Ǧirāb Ṣalāḥ in the reign of ʿAbbās II (Bīḍūlī, Ṣhārašt-nāma, Tehran A.H.S. 1343, 410, 276). Intermittent warfare with the Ottomans kept the frontier regions of Kirmānshāh in a state of instability and often disorder. The town of Kirmānshāh was retaken by the Ottomans in 1136/1723, the province is rich in monuments of the Sāsānīd and Sāsānīd, such as the residence of Tāk-i Bīsān, three miles east of Kirmānshāh, which it occupies at the present day.

About the middle of the 17th/18th century, the Zangāna family began to emerge as the most powerful of the local leaders, and from then on frequently held the government of Kirmānshāh. The Zangānas included Sunqur and from the reign of ʿAbbās II (1098-1197/1687-1787) the province was again occupied by the Ottomans in 1136/1723. The ʿAbbāsīs became governor under printed (in or about 1160/1748) Rūdī Kātī Ḥādī yādī, Rawdāt al-safā-yi Nāṣīrī, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339, viii, 271). Members of the family also held important offices at court, which further strengthened their position. ʿṢayyīk Āl Ḵᵛā contentViewed himself virtual independence. In 1779/1786 Karim Ḵān took the town of Kirmānshāh after besieging the fortress for two years. The defenders were finally reduced by famine. Āl Ṣurūq ʿAll Ḵᵛān was then made governor of Kirmānshāh. (See further Ābū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Gulištān, Muqāzāt al-tawdīrī, ed. Muḥammad Ṣadūqī, Tehran A.H.S. 1341.)
In the 19th century the commercial and strategic importance of Kirmanshah increased. It became the capital of Persian Kurdistan. The latter formed a separate province from Ardalan [48]. The capital of Ardalan, which was also known as Kurdistan, was Sinna. Already in 1800, Sir John Malcolm noted the importance of Kirmanshah as a mart for trade between Turkey and Persia (Melville papers, quoted by C. ISSAWI, The economic history of Iran 1860-1914, Chicago 1971, 269). Sir John Macdonald-Kinneir states that it was a flourishing town in 1861, containing about 12,000 houses (Geographical memoir of the Persian empire, London 1813, 132), which would have given a population of some 60,000 persons.

Fath 'Ali Shāh appointed his eldest son, Muhammad 'Ali Mirzā, as governor-general of Kurdistan and Luristan on his way to Karbala and Najaf in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered. Various Kadjār princes held the government of Kirmanshah after Muhammad 'Ali Mirzā. The first was his son Muhammad Husayn Mirzā Highmat al-Dawla, who held office for some ten years. Another of his sons, Isām Kull Mirzā 'Imād al-Dawla, also held the governorship for some twenty-one years under Muhammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. In 1842 relations with Turkey again became critical, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit the frontier, an operation which was not finally completed until 1914 (see further C. J. Edmonds, Kūrdi Turks and Arabs, London 1957, 115 ff.). When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh passed through the province on his way to Karbala and Najaf in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmanshah markedly increased (Gazetteer of Persia, 347-9). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Baghdad, but was forced to abandon his advance on Baghdad, while Ferrier, writing in the early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually also Zayn al-'Abidin, (loc. cit.); and in 1872 floods washed away about one fifth of the populated area with heavy loss of life (ibid.). These disasters, coupled with the rapacity of the governors, reduced the province to a low ebb. Consul Abbott, writing in 1849-50 states that there were some 5,000 inhabited houses (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F. O. 60: 185, K. Abbott's report on the commerce of South Persia . . .), which would have given a population of about 25,000. Another report written in 1868 estimated the population at 30,000 (Report on Persia, accounts and papers 1867-68, 19, quoted by ISSAWI, 23). By the end of the century there had been some degree of recovery, and in 1914 the population was put at 60,000 (Gazetteer of Persia, 355). This figure, which was probably a conservative estimate, was the same as that given by Sir J. Macdonald-Kinneir rather over a century earlier.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmanshah markedly increased (Gazetteer of Persia, 347-9). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Baghdad, and coming from England and India via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. By the end of the century the province equalled, if it did not excel, any other province in its general state (Gazetteer of Persia, 336-7). Consul Fries wrote in 1859 that "There are but few towns in Persia which show to-day so flourishing a condition, from a trade point of view, as Kermanshah, and this in spite of oppression by the local Governor, and badness and unsafety of the roads radiating from it" (quoted by Rubino, 206).

There was a customs post at Kirmanshah, which was normally farmed. In 1882 the sum paid was 20,000 kran. For the year ending 20 March 1897 the figure had risen to 480,000 kran and for the year ending 20 March 1899 to 670,000 kran. On 21 March 1899 the customs were taken over by the Belgians (see further Gazetteer of Persia, 350 ff.).

Kirmanshah also benefited greatly from the pilgrimage trade, lying as it did on the direct route from Persia to Najaf and Karbala. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually
added to the well-being of the town (Gasulce. of Persia, 344).

In 1914 there were about 200 merchants in Kirmānshāh dealing mostly in Manchester goods obtained direct from Manchester or through Bābdāh, in sugar from Marseilles, and in opium, gums, goat skins, carpets and wool, which they exported. Bābdāh, Eisenach, and Tashkent were the principal centres of these trade. [Abd al-Rahim Waddi al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership for the career of his father and the rise of the family to wealth and influence, see Silberman, 207]. There were about twenty Ottoman Jews, who had in their hands the greatest part of the foreign and export trade. Kāshī merchants imported from Kāshī tobacco, native silk goods, copper-ware, to a total amount of some 100,000 ráman. They covered by exports to Kāshī of prints and foreign goods received from Bābdāh. Yazd merchants imported henna and Yazd silk from Yazd to the amount of 20,000 ráman, and exported an equal amount of foreign goods to Yazd. Isfahān merchants imported Russian prints and cotton goods, such as hājilamāba, prints, hājdak, šāhā, etc., and carpet and glass from Isfahān, and exported to Isfahān Manchester prints, iron, tea, cowhides, wool and gilma. Their imports came to 100,000 ráman, but were exceeded by their exports. Hamadān merchants imported naphtha, rice, Russian prints, glassware and hardware (coming from Rāz), and exported to Hamadān dates from Mandafl, gall-nuts, grease, glue, raw hides, tea, spices, iron, lead, Manchester goods and window glass. The exports exceeded the imports. Some Hamadān merchants worked exclusively as commission agents for releasing goods from the customhouse and forwarding them to Hamadān (Gasulce. of Persia, 355-9). There were also a few Persian Jews, who lived by small trade and hawking, and a very small number of Chaldean Christians, some engaged in trade and some living by the manufacture of arak.

Kirmānshāh played little part in the constitutional revolution, but in 1917 Sultan al-Dawla entered Kirmānshāh in the name of the ex-shah Muhammad ‘All. In the following year he advanced on Tehran with a force of Kalhurs, Sandjābs and other Kurdistani tribes. He was defeated near Hamadān and government troops retook Kirmānshāh. Operations continued until the autumn, during which time Kirmānshāh repeatedly changed hands. In the first world war Kirmānshāh was one of the centres of the mohājdīn movement. A local committee for national defence was set up (A. K. S. Lambton) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Kūm and Isfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmānshāh. A provisional government had barely been established when the mohājdīn evacuated Kirmānshāh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yahyā Dawiātābādī, Haydār Yahyā, Tehran, n.d., iii, 53 ff.; Husayn Samī‘ Adīb al-Salāna and Anār Allāh: Ardāfār ‘īz al-Mamālik, Asr al-dawālaīn-i muqaddas-i mūsā, Tehran A.H. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, History of Persia, London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).


KIRMĀSTI, chel-lieu of a kada in Anatolia, 15 miles south-east of Miğdāh (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in ZDMG, lxxv [1921], 101) and 40 miles S.W. of Bursa with about 16,000 inhabitants. The town lies on both banks of the Edremos Cay (Rhyndacus), now called the Mustafa Kemal Paşa Cay. The origin of the name, often wrongly written Kirmāstī, which points to a Greek *Kerma* or *Kermas* is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kirmāstī in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 743) mentioned in Xenophon, Hyst. iv, 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here, where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kymeles were defeated in 1066 (cf. Anna Comnena, ii, 279 ff.). In any case there is close to Kirmāstī a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edremos Cay at Kestereuk and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ullab (Lopadium) and Bursa to keep back the advance of the Ottoman army. In the town, which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a minaret, and 14 mosques, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliya Celebi (v, 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, London 1842, i, 77, 80, ii, 93) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was in 1923 named Mustafa Kemal Paşa in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i ‘Abdu’llah (Abdul Hamid), who combined trade with banking and landownership. One of the most prominent Jews of Kirmāstī was Ḥaḍīri ‘Abd al-Rabbīm Wakll al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership (cf. W. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, London 1842, ii, 93) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Kūm and Isfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmānshāh. A provisional government had barely been established when the mohājidīn evacuated Kirmānshāh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yahyā Dawiātābādī, Haydār Yahyā, Tehran n.d., iii, 53 ff.; Husayn Samī‘ Adīb al-Salāna and Anār Allāh: Ardāfār ‘īz al-Mamālik, Asr al-dawālaīn-i muqaddas-i mūsā, Tehran A.H. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, History of Persia, London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).

of the Anatolian collateral line of the Saldjukids, the overlords of the town until the end of their power in the so-called Rum-Saldjukids who resided in Konya. However, has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient cultivation in the centre of the town, which, how¬
hundris, some 15 km. to the Kesik Kopril, a long bridge over (wildyet)
the town was attached to the tiwd (sanatift), eydct
the territory of the Rum-Saldjukids, who remained the
danisfemandlds of north eastern
the Saldjukids period, indicates the original site of the

Kirsehir is certainly an old settlement, as may be
deduced from the kayeb (a hill indicating ancient
cultivation) in the centre of the town, which, however,
has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient
name of the town is not known; the denominations
proposed for antiquity are disputed. So far as is
recorded by inscriptions and architectural monu¬
ments, its history starts only in the early Turkish
(Rum-Saldjukid) period. Then and shortly after¬
wards, from the middle of the 7th/14th until the middle of the 9th/14tth centuries, the town must
have been an important cultural centre. After the battle of Malazgird (1071), the Turks
occupied great parts of Anatolia, and Kirsehir became also Turkish, but the control of the
city changed more than once: sometimes it fell to the
amir of the Danisfemandlds of north-eastern
Anatolia (Sivas and Malatyai), sometimes to a
devil of the Anatolian collatellar line of the Saldjukids, the
so-called Rum-Saldjukids who resided in Konya.
Under sultan Kilit-Adil II, the amirate of the
Danisfemandlds was incorporated (ca. 1273) in the
territory of the Rum-Saldjukids, who remained the
overlords of the town until the end of their power in 1307. Then governors of the Mongol Ul-Khans of Iran started to rule the whole region, including Kirsehir, which served as a place of coinage for them until 1288/1280. In his Viz穐t al-kuliib (ed. G. Le Strange, I. Text, London 1915, 99, 113 11, Jr. Tr. London 1919, 99, 12 ff), Hamd Allah Mostawfi designates Kirsehir as "a big town with high sacred constructions (yraman), which enjoys a fine climate; the revenue of its Danisfendar amounts to 57,000 dinars."
After the disintegration of the Il-Khansid state, Kirsehir again became a controversial issue between independently-beloving governors, like those of the Ertanids (see ERTINA) and other dynasties, until it was taken by the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I. After the latter's defeat near Ankara in 1402, the town was at first added by the conqueror Timur to the territory of the Karamankids (Konya and Laranda), but afterwards changed masters several times until it became definitely Ottoman when Selim I incorporated the principality of the Dulсадde, to which Kirsehir had belonged ultimately. As capital of a livah (sandjak), the town was attached to the eyadet (wildyet) of Karaman.

When the wildyet system was reorganised in the middle of the 16th century, the sandjak of Kirsehir was assigned to the wildyet of Ankara. The town became a wildyet in 1524 when the former wildyet was abolished and the sandjak raised to wildyets. But in 1544 the wildyet of Kirsehir was suppressed; parts of its territory were added to the wildyets of Anlorwa and Vosgd, but the greater part was as¬signed to the newly-formed sanjaks of Nextap and Of.

The heyday of Kirsehir was the late-Saldjukid and Il-Khansid period between ca. 1240-1340. The town must then have been really important; it was in any case an active intellectual life of a mystical-religious character, as may be seen from imposing architectural monuments which have survived until today (see Ali Saim Oleyn, Kirsehri'de Tbr ne asileri, in Vakiflar Dergisi, li [Ankara 1942], 553-61, figs. 1-25; Hafiz Bakti Kunter, Kirsehri hikayeleri, in ibid., 432-36, figs. 4-23; W. Ruben, Kirsehri'nin dikilitasresten zaman tawindiileri. A, in Beilaten, xi [Ankara 1947], no. 44, 603-40, pls. CX-CXCV; idem, B, in Beilaten, xii [Ankara 1948], no. 45, 173-93, pls. XXVII-XLV; idem, Eigenartige Denkmaler aus Kirsehir, in ibid., 254-205; Celal Halko Tarim, Kirsehri limani sierinde ornamalar, Kirsehir 1938; idem, Turbe ve Kirsehri - Gulbahere ve Babaster - Ailesi - Beketiler, Istanbul 1948).
The oldest cultural institution in Kirsehir is possibly the madrasa of Malik Mizaffar b. Bahram- shah, called Malik Ghazi, of the Manggikid dynasty, whom sultan 'Ali al-Din Kaykubad I had invested with Kirsehir as compensation for the principality he had taken away from Ghazi's family. Of the madrasa as built in 644/1246, only the relatively simple portal has been preserved. When the ruins of the madrasa were carried away, the portal was used in 1312/1893 for the reconstruction of the 'Ali al-Din Mosque on the hillock of the town. The still-standing graceful mausoleum of Malik Mizaffar, the Malik Ghazi Kumbedi, constructed by his consort in the style typical for the high-Saldjukid period, indicates the original site of the madrasa.

For the next period, the madrasa of the amir Nur al-Din Djibril b. Baha al-Din Djagha, served as a centre of intellectual life. It belonged to an extensive foundation on which a deed of foundation (malafiyeye) in Arabic and Mongol, dated 670/1272, provides information (see Ahmed Temir, Kirsehri emiri Cacağhlu Nur al-Din Kaykubad'ta tarihi Anka Mozafa vafiyesi, Ankara 1959). Of the constructions belonging to this foundation, only a group of buildings in the centre of the town has survived. It consists of the madrasa, built in 670/1272-3 and presently used as the Friday mosque, its minaret and the town of the founder. The tomb is included in the northern wall, of the same style as the portal of the madrasa.

To the north-west of the Malik Ghazi Kumbedi, at a distance of ca. 200 m. from the Djagha Beg Madrasa, lies the Lala Cami ("Tulip mosque"). A tale has it that its name is derived from a tulip of particular beauty, which the builders received from a pupil of the Djagha Beg Madrasa; proceeds of its sale then allegedly enabled him to build the Lala Cami. The building, which lies in ruins and does not bear any inscription so that nothing is known about its construction and original use, apparently was not a mosque at the outset; during the Il-Khansid period it served as the mint, but was used as a mosque later,
probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its
in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of Shaykh Suley-
sect, and one of his followers, Baba Ilyas, had been
probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its
so nothing is known about its construction or about the
tomb of Shaykh Suleymân, nothing of which has survived.
The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about
its construction or about the death of the man
who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb
gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this
cannot be correct since there exists a foundation deed
of Shaykh Turkomand, dated Muharram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tamm, Kurshehir tarhi, 82-83). The biographical work Nafahiit til-tins
Al-Mewlewi community in Kîrshehir was
The identification, however, is in no way proved and Aral
the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been
in its own. It has nothing in common any
Before
this sanctuary in the economic life of Kîrshehir, see
Ankara 1968, 577-92. (F. TAESSLER)
KîRSHEHIR — KîRTAS
I. 7, and in the plural, larifis, meaning "written" papyrus" (Suru VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used: warab al-basab, "reedy sheet", and warab al-bard, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" (see KASAN, PAPYRUS). The Arabs attribute the invention
of the kirfa, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Kula$h, Ma'ârif, Göttlingen 1859, 274 etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the Fihrist
of Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 890/900, 21), and in al-Ebrîni's
India, 81, completed in 142/1039, are there two statements: that kirfas is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (basab al-bard), or else from its pulp (ubab al-bard). Only in the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the
out the split of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even
pad made of wood, spread saw on them which they
got an even [piece].

Kirfas was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as
rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces
could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which
were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in
trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a jumaa
(Greek τομάκον) or jumaa kirfa (Greek τομάκον τομάκον)
on the front surface [reco], the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the
writing, while on the reverse surface [here], the strips ran vertically. In the early 'Abbasid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet [kurı-
rise]. Because of the high price of the material, it
was usual to write on the reverse surface as well as
to wash the written papyrus and write on them again
(thus forming an epitograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same
as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was
30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width
later was increased. The manufactures producing
the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government
and were under governmental supervision; it
means that this governmental control was certified
by an official note on the back side of the first
sheet of a roll.

The word kirfas did not remain confined to

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned
in the article): Râthâ Celebi (Hadîli Kütâfa) 32, 117-120, 134-135; Ali Dede, Dîwânî gülserâgî laflârîl, Derâs. Er-sâdet
1113, 645; Shemseddin Siâlî, Kûrîsîni al-ulâm v, Istanbul 1334, 2705; V. Cunit, La Turunc d'Asie, I, 323 ff.: E1, Kirshehir (Ch. Huart); A Kirshehir (Besim Darkot); F. TAESSLER, Kîrshehir, im altes Kulturzentrum aus spät- und neuseltsch-

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as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was
30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width
later was increased. The manufactures producing
the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government
and were under governmental supervision; it
means that this governmental control was certified
by an official note on the back side of the first
sheet of a roll.

The word kirfas did not remain confined to
with respect to the school of Kufa and in al-In$df
acknowledged and suppressed. Three or four generations
were also associated by other scholars and therefore con¬
firmed by direct association; he took care not to squeeze into a
particular to al-Kisa'i's teachings, see also Tha$mab.
partly prevailed among the Arab grammarians.
the material preserved in the
arabic speech or dialect; he took care not to squeeze into a
more independent treatment of the Arabic language
from the general rule (against Yakut,
it is in any case certain that he
himself to the grammarian Mu
"analogous" one of the school of Ba$ra, which has
as was indicated above—in controversial questions he
as he was in ideas, was all the more welcome as
and "rag paper" [sec scoridcs, Galen, Ibn Sclus, etc.), or else was applied
it is evident that the opinion of al-Kisa'i's col¬
and "parchment" [sec parchment, "papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used (or "bag"
and was aspired to by
also that of his pupil al-Farra
improved, probably in Rayy in the
towards to go to al-Ba§ra; at his advice, al-Kisa'i promoted his teacher al-Kisa'i among his personal companions and confidants (al-dusadu* ou "lemamini*"
advancements, as indicated above—in controversial questions he
rarely, probably in Rayy in the
in speculativc assertions of the learned
in this method preserved for us
more concerned with a description of reality than with scholastic systematisation,
apparently sprang from a basic attitude, which must also have enabled him to maintain for
the reading of his teacher Hamza al-Zayyat [q.v.], another pupil of al-Khalil, who laid
this down in his voluminous al-Kulah. Even if al-
appreciated is shown by the fact that it became the
the reading of his teacher Hamza al-Zayyat [q.v.], another pupil of al-Khalil, who laid
this down in his voluminous al-Kulah. Even if al-
thousands of an elegy on
and not least that of his pupil al-Farra [q.v.], became straightway the method of the gram¬
and his teacher al-Ra§id [q.v.], have entered the history of Arab
as "papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used for "bag"
and, in medical science, for "dressing", "a kind
of absorbent gauze", and things like that (cf. Ibn
Bay$arb, op. cit., i, 87, and his sources, etc. Dic¬
sorides, Galen, Ibn Sin$a, etc.), or else was applied to
writing paper obtained from other materials, e.£. "parchment" [see biблиор. and rag paper"
[see KSHADA].
with respect to the school of Kufa and in al-In$df
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[see KSHADA].
with respect to the school of Kufa and in al-In$df
acknowledged and suppressed. Three or four generations
were also associated by other scholars and therefore con¬
firmed by direct association; he took care not to squeeze into a
particular to al-Kisa'i's teachings, see also Tha$mab.
al'KISA’1 — KISA’I
Probably his reading was as little established by its
reader, al-Kisa'I, as were the others by their
readers. This was first done by al-KisiYs pupil
AbG ‘Ubayd
when he compiled 32 bird35t.
As in parallel cases, the Mufradai al-KisaH, which
exists in Ms. Tehran University 4867,1 (M. T. DanishPazhuh, xiv, 3897), could be a later extract from
the Shifibiyya, the Taystr or a similar work (see
R. Sellheim, MaUrialien sur arabischen LiUraiurgesehickte, Wiesbaden 1976, i, 38 f.).
Of al-KisiTs 14 or 15 works enumerated in the
Fihrist, 63 ff., 163—for some of them, see Azhari,
Tahdhib, 13 ff. and Zubaydt, T^ba^ai, 278 (or should
wc read Slbawayh here instead of al-Kisa’I?)—noth¬
ing apparently has come down to us. According to
the titles, they were devoted to questions of gram¬
mar, lexicography and the Kur'Sn, and also of poe¬
try, of which he allegedly dkl not have much know¬
ledge (YikOt. Udato', v, 193; Ibn Khallikan. ii,
457)- According to Brockclniann, 1, xi8, S I, 178,
three other treatises which are connected with his
name and are lacking in the enumeration of the
Fihrisi, have been preserved: Kisalafi lafrii al-ldmma
Th. Ndldeke, ibid., 111-15, *Abd al-‘AzIz al-Maymanl,
Cairo 1925, and R. ‘Abd al-Taww&b, Latin al-'atntna,
Cairo 1967, 111 f.)l Kitdb al-Mutaskabth fi 'l-Kur’dn
(other niss. e.g. in £ihiriyya ('Izzet Hasan, Rurtn,
391], Chester Beatty (A. J. Arberey, 3165,1] or Bagh¬
dad, Awkaf [*A. al-i>iuburl, i, 144, no. 43;]; a remark
on the faliik formula in a verse (British Museum
(Ch. Rieu, Supplement 1203, 12]), preserved in detail
in Zaijgji&I, op. cd., 338-42 (for similar traditions,
see e.g. Marzub&nl, Muklabas, 285, Ta>i*£ Baghdad,
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(R- Sbixheim)

KISA* (see libAs]
KISAT,
al-DIn Abu ’l-Hasaw, a Persian
poet of the second half of the 4th/ioth century. In
some later sources his kunya is given as Abu Isfc5k.
but the form given above can be found already in an
early source like the Tahir makdla. The Dumyai
al-kaft by al-Bakharr.1 contains a reference to the
"solitary ascetic” {al-mudflahid al-mukim bi-na/sihi)
Abu '1-Hasan CA11 b. Muhammad al-Kis&’l of Marw
who might very well be identical with this poet (cf.
A. Ate?, gmf to his edition of Kildb Tarcuman al
balaga, 97 <•). The pen name Kisa*! would, according
to ‘Awfi, refer to the ascetic way of life adopted by
the poet, but it can also be explained otherwise,
c.g. as a nisba derived from the trade of tailoring.
From the very beginning the title al-Uahim has been
attached to his name.
His origin from Marw is confirmed by the early
sources. It is also certain that he made at least a
part of his career as a poet in that city. In one of his
poems, a lament of old age, he has inserted a precise
dating of his birth: CahArsfcamba, 26 hhawwil 341
(Wednesday, 16 March 953) as well as the statement
that he had reached the age of fifty. From this
poem, the conclusion has been dra vn that he
must have died in or shortly after the year 391/
rooo-x. The actual date of his death is, however,
unknown.
The diwan of Kisa^i was still extant in the 6th/i2th
century. After that time, its transmission appears to
have been discontinued. Hardly any complete poem
has survived. The fragments that have been collected
so far from a great variety of sources are generally
not longer than a few lines. It is, therefore, difficult
to assess the statements concerning the nature of his
work that have been made both by ancient and mod¬
ern writers. It can be regarded as certain, anyhow,
that Kis4*I did enjoy a great reputation as a religious
poet during the two centuries following upon his
death as well as in his own lifetime. *Awfi describes
him in the first place as a poet who practised the
genres of devotional poetry (zuhd) and religious admoniticn (ua'jj. and quotes a few specimens of his
eulogies {nuxndbib) on the members of the House of
the Prophet. The Kildb al-Nahd, an apology of the
ImimI §hl‘a written about the middle of the 6th/
lath century, establishes Kisa*! with some emphasis
as a Shin poet.
The Ismanil poet NA$ir-i jvhusraw (died ca. ±bsl
1072), who cultivated the same genres as KisS^i,
acknowledged his indebtedness to this predecessor,
indirectly, by using u claim to the superiority of his
own poems over those by Kisi*! as a topes of the
epilogue in a number of bapidas. As E. G. Browne
has pointed out, these instances of poetical fakhr
need not be takon as evidence of a sectarian contro¬
versy between these two poets (as it had been sug¬
gested by H. Eth6). The opposite conclusion reached
by Sa(Id Nafi&l—namely, that they both belonged to
the same branch of the $hlca—is equally untenable.
The exchange of poems between KisaT and Nk$ir-i
Khusraw quoted by Rida-Xull Khan Hid4yat from
tiie Khuldfol al-a^dr by TakI Ka-ibl, is an ana¬
chronistic forgery made up from poems that actually
belong to the diwdti of the latter only.
The paucity of the primary sources available now
does not permit us to estimate how far Kxsi^ spe¬
cialised in the writing of religious poetry. It is also
impossible to define the social groups to which he
addressed himself in these poems. It is evident, on


The other hand, that he did not stay slow entirely from the prose frame of practice of poetry. He was patronised by a minister of the Sāmānīd a-mīr Nūḥ b. Mansūr, and in his latter days he wrote at least one panegyric ode to Sultan Muhāmād of Ghazna. Āhwī praises his descriptions and quotes several specimens which show that Kībāt used all the poetical themes current in his age.


**AL-KISĀT, ṢĀHIR KĪSĀT AL-ARABIYA**, unknown author of a famous Arabic work on the lives of the prophets and pious men prior to Muḥāmād. Some minor passages of this manuscript were first edited in 1898 by I. Eisenberg in his thesis on Muḥāmād b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kīsāt. A complete edition was published in 1922.

In his thesis, Eisenberg tried to prove that the author of the *Kīsāt al-arabiya* was the well-known philologist al-Kīsāt, to whom Hārūn al-Raḍādī had entrusted the education of his sons al-Āmīn and al-Māmūn. But what renders this identification impossible is that Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not make any allusion to any book of the philologist, the contents of which could have been the legends of the old prophets; furthermore, the name of al-Kīsāt the philologist is Abu 1-Hāsān ‘All b. Hāmūz, and not Muḥāmād b. ‘Abd Allāh, as indicated in the text edited by I. Eisenberg. Thus the identity of the author of the *Kīsāt al-arabiya* remains an enigma.

Moreover, recent enquires into the subject have proved that the legends of the poets as written down in the numerous manuscripts of al-Kīsāt’s *Kīsāt al-arabiya* belong to the popular narrative tradition of medi eval Islam and can be compared with works such as the romance of ‘Antar, so far as the narrative style is concerned. So it would be of little use to search for an individual author al-Kīsāt who could have compiled the *Kīsāt al-arabiya* at a certain date; he is as vague a figure as the narrator al-Aṣmāt in the romance of ‘Antar. The medieval story-tellers (*bīsyyā* [see *Kīsāt*]) apparently held al-Kīsāt’s *Kīsāt al-arabiya* in high esteem; but they were not anxious to preserve one standardised text of the legends. It is for this reason that the manuscripts, the oldest of which date from the early 13th/14th century, differ considerably in size, contents, and even arrangement of the stories.

The legends of the pre-Islamic prophets as related in these compilations under al-Kīsāt’s name, or handed down unto us in many other anonymous manuscripts, must be considered as the vivid expression of the religious feeling of the average medi eval Muslim. It is in this respect that al-Kīsāt’s *Kīsāt al-arabiya* are sources of great value for scholars who want to carry on further investigations of the popular religious life of the Islamic world, a task which has been somewhat neglected up till now.


**KISANGANI**, the former Stanleyville, is a city now of well over 250,000 inhabitants, the third city in Zaire, and the capital of the province of Upper Zaire, formerly Province Orientale. The most important urban centre in north-eastern Zaire, it is situated on the bend of the river Zaire, formerly called Luapula (upstream) and Congo (downstream from the city), just where it turns west and a few miles north of the equator.

In 1877, Henry Morton Stanley set up camp here to rest from the exhausting weeks during which he negotiated the seven cataracts still called Stanley Falls. In 1882, Hamed Muhammad al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tith [q.v.], founded a town on the northern shore of the island in the Zaire river that was formed by a creek called the Abibu. The new settlement, about 1500 in number and all nominal Muslims, called their town Kisangani, Swahili for “On the sandbank”. In 1883, Stanley returned with instructions from King Leopold II to found a government station at the upper end of the navigable part of the Congo river. This became Stanleyville, with its centre on the right bank just north of the original Kisangani. By that time the Muslims (called “Les Arabias” by the administration) had settled on the left bank, calling their new town Kisangiti, Swahili for “On the threshold”. Their language of culture and literature is Swahili; their tribal background is mainly Kusu, Teetea and Genia, the Genia (Wagenia) being the original inhabitants of Wangi Rusari and Wanye Lesali, the island of which Kisangani formed part. Stanleyville became an important trading centre, exporting coffee, cocoa, palm oil, timber and ivory. Moreover, Kisangani has a university; it was part of the polity of authenticity of President Mobutu to replace the name Stanleyville by Kisangani as the name for the whole city.
The Muslims flourished with the city. More adaptable to urban culture and more conscious of their cultural dignity than the tribal peoples, they were more self-confident in their attitude vis-à-vis the Europeans, since their religion claimed equality with Christianity. The Belgian Congo government tried to restrict the activities of the Muslim missionaries, but could not prevent Islam from spreading to the country districts south of the city. The Muslims called themselves Waungwana "free men," the name by which all the Swahili peoples once called themselves. Their language is called Kiswahili, a dialect of Swahili (q.v.). This Swahili became the lingua franca of the entire country east of the Lomami river.

Always rebellious against the colonial administration, the Muslims were among the first groups to form a nationalist party about the time of independence, sc. the Mouvement National Congolais, from which the late Patrice Lumumba drew an important part of his support (he was a Tetela himself). No longer isolated, the Muslims in Kisangani, although they number only some 10,000, are in contact with, and receive support from, those in Egypt, Arabia and Pakistan. Two neighbouring states, Uganda and the Central African Empire, have been ruled by Islamic governments until 1979.


**Notes:**


2. Muhammad takes it for granted that the bloodvengence of Arab paganism—in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Froekobs, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 5)—is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Kur'an XVII, 35; XXVIII, 63; VI, 152 (cf. 6141, i, 1; in these passages only the *justice talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in XVII, 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one); II, 173 ff. (before Ramaçan of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *ki dads* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother, he shall haveendum... pardon is the abandonment as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *ki dads* you have life, you of understanding..." (the first verse says that a free man can only be slain for a free man, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a free man, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally, of course, only the guilty one, and that in all other cases the payment of compensation (*diya*) takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the free man in relation to the slave is a matter of course, according to old Arab views, and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muhammad's based on them (there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Froekobs, *op. cit.*, 23 u. 5). The commentators have difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments (cf. below, 4). Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 (see below). By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *ki dads* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved; v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medinan Jews, but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for you (the Jews) in it (the Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *ki dads* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins)..." (this verse of course does not cancel II, 173). In the years 3-5, with IV, 94 ff. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (cf. 6141, i, 1); in this the application of *ki dads* is excluded. In II, 190 (before the campaign of the year 6), *ki dads* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sira*, the records of the life of Muhammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called constitution of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medinan period, it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority—Muhammad—is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *ki dads*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the
murderer and must take an active part against him. Here the hikay is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (umma), which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood split for the sake of Allâh; but it is also throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, and no-one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of hikay, legal from the standpoint of the umma, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions, when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muhammad, he did not allow hikay to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community), and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of hikay a propos of the second of these cases is, however, illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to hikay, but in one case he cursed the murderer—again an illogical attitude. Muhammad in his turn added the blessing for the murder of heathens, in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection, he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. katti, i, 2). But Muhammad also intensified the operation of hikay, and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between hikay and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also mu'addid (v.g.: cf. katti, ii, 5), is however to be interpreted differently; from everything, it is clear that Muhammad also supervised the carrying out of hikay.

Taking the evidence of the Kur'an and the Sîra together, it is evident that Muhammad did not recognise the blood feud, but allowed hikay to survive as personal vengeance. Moreover, he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muhammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (hadith) is one that must be genuine, according to which Muhammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim hikay (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Kur'ân, ii, 173 (cf. 2. above) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as hikay for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Kur'ân passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this Kur'ânic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azîz, al-Hassan al-Basîrî, Qatîb and al-'Itrîna are quoted as representatives of the Kur'ânic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (al-Zamâkîshârî's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-sCHOOLS, the following is important. For the view that hikay could be inflicted on several, on account of an alleged murder, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the hikay is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muhammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by kasdima (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muhammad wished to apply basâima in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed basâima as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only hikay and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Kur'ân, ii, 174) and that Muhammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to hikay, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are marked that traditions expressing the rejected view are not quite accurate); at the same time it is clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up. (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which hikay cannot take place, a tercer intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the wali of one who has no wali; therefore anyone who kills a dhimmî, mudâhâd (unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a mudâhâdîn

Katâda had held the opposite view (ibid.), and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (al-Zamâkîshârî's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that hikay could be inflicted on several, on account of an alleged murder, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the hikay is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muhammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by kasdima (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muhammad wished to apply basâima in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed basâima as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only hikay and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Kur'ân, ii, 174) and that Muhammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to hikay, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are marked that traditions expressing the rejected view are not quite accurate); at the same time it is clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up. (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which hikay cannot take place, a tercer intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the wali of one who has no wali; therefore anyone who kills a dhimmî, mudâhâd (unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a mudâhâdîn
Sharfa; and this is the case with a Muslim, for the killing of one, according to Abu Hanifa, in the Shafi'i school. Several may be put to death if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant, and this view is also admitted in the Shafi'i school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abu Hanifa, Malik and al-Shafi'i, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Malik alone excluded hadāma [cf. below] on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to hadāma; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Kifsī can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in Kifsī fi 'l-nafa there is however also the old Arab institution of the hadāma [cf. hadāma and Goldhauzer, Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, viii, 421 ff.; Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, 187 ff.], which Islam allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Malik, Ahmad b. Hanbal and al-Shafi'i's earlier opinion, hadāma can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Malik on one only) if the hadāma is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled; according to Abu Hanifa and the later view of al-Shafi'i, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation (among the Shawfields with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict hadāma does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with ta'zir.

The execution of hadāma is open to the avenger of blood, and according to Abu Hanifa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with ta'zir, but not imprisoned. According to Malik and al-Shafi'i, the guilty person, with certain limitations, is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Ahmad b. Hanbal.

Kifsī takes place—among other conditions—only when the rest of kin (soul) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it. If there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood, all must express this desire; if one of them remits hadīs, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The wall, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the hadīs and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. Kifsī fi-mal dān al-nafa according to the Shar'i'a. If any one deliberately (with 'amal, opposite of hadīs; cf. Kifsī, i, 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellow-man, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without permission) has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the Fiqh books), he is liable to hadīs on the part of the wounded man, (except that Malik makes it be inflicted by an expert), if the conditions necessary for carrying out the hadīs fi 'l-nafa are present with the following modifications: according to Abu Hanifa, hadīs fi-mal dān al-nafa is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is accord-
to Málik, al-Shafi’i and Ahmad b. Hanbal; Abū ɻanḍāl and Málik further allow no کیشا = "story", see 51859. Very famous and widely-spread books on this subject were the أردو الكودياس by Abū ɻabd Ahmad al-Tha’labī (d. 427/1036) and the different versions of the کیشا written down in the name of a certain Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kiṣa’ah (see کیشا al-anbiyā’). The origins of this type of literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge of the stories of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yathrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sasanid empires, but also on the shores of the Red Sea and in South Arabia (see Pfister, in Islamica, iv (1931), 506 ff.; Altheim and Steinhöfel, Die Araber in der Alten Welt, iv, 306 ff.; v1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. ɻ-Salh, a poet of al-Athrī and contemporary of Muhammad, seems to have made use of some of these oral traditions; there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

It was the Prophet of Islam who gave to these legends an entirely new meaning, finding the events of his own life reflected in them; his vocation for prophecy, his being rejected by his own people, the impending punishment, which might have meant the destruction of his own people. All these psychological implications of the Kur'ānic legends, and their didactic aspects, were studied at length by Khalafallāh in his book on the Kur'ānic art of storytelling. From the Muslim point of view, the lives of the pre-Islamic prophets are awful examples (کیشا) warning against the evil fate of those who are disobedient to God and His messengers. Thus the کیشا al-anbiyā’ became part of universal history, as history in general was often considered as a series of کیشا (cf. ɻabh, ɻilāt, preface and pre-Islamic period).

The edifying character of the legends became even more strongly pronounced; they now served for didactic aspects, for the religious feeling and thinking of the average mediecal Muslim. The historical sources allude to the activities of the کیشا since the first Islamic century, but the oldest manuscripts of the popular legends date from the 7th/8th century. In certain circumstances, the activities of کیشا and the legends of the prophets could acquire a political significance; thus the story about Moses and Pharaoh was used in the anti-Umayyad propaganda, and the early Shīʿīs held that the history of the Muslim community was similar to that of the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, the Shīʿīs being the equivalents of those few who did not apostatise from the true faith when Moses was up on Mount Sinai.

Bibliography: al-Tha’labī, ‘Arōd al-mudālidīs fi ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’, Cairo 1321/1902-8; al-Kiṣa’ah, volved (on the etymology of کیشا = "story", see 51858). Very famous and widely-spread books on this subject were the أردو الكودياس by Abū ɻabd Ahmad al-Tha’labī (d. 427/1036) and the different versions of the کیشا written down in the name of a certain Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kiṣa’ah (see کیشا al-anbiyā’). The origins of this type of literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge of the stories of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yathrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sasanid empires, but also on the shores of the Red Sea and in South Arabia (see Pfister, in Islamica, iv (1931), 506 ff.; Altheim and Steinhöfel, Die Araber in der Alten Welt, iv, 306 ff.; v1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. ɻ-Salh, a poet of al-Athrī and contemporary of Muhammad, seems to have made use of some of these oral traditions; there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

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Kīšāš al-anbiyā'- Kīsh


Kīsh, the later Sādr-ī Sārūsh, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, now in the Uzbeki- stan SSR and known simply as Shahr, but in early centuries given various Chinese renderings of the town's name. (see Dar-ī Amānīn[), which guarded the approaches to the Oxus. Further down the Kījafrākhka Darya lay Našal or Nasāf or Buldūn, (see Kāšān), a town with which the fortunes of Kīsh were often linked.

Kīsh was clearly an important town in pre-Islamic Soghdia, and had its own prince. According to Yaʿqūbī, Buldūn, 299, tr. Witf, 122, at the time of the Arab conquests in the early 8th century, Kīsh was the chief town of Soghdia and was accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Soghd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiucn-Tsang as Kie-siang- kaksi, Karšī (see a town with which the fortunes of Kīsh were often linked.

When the Western Turks were defeated in Central Asia by the Chinese invasion of 615-8, the Chinese forces are said to have penetrated as far as Kīsh and London 1888. i, 82, and accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Soghd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiucn-Tsang as Kie-siang-kaksi, Karšī (see a town with which the fortunes of Kīsh were often linked.

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Haydar Türe, his son Náhir Alláh and the latter's son Múzaffar al-Dín all repeatedly tried to reduce Shahr-i Sabz, and in 1856 temporarily captured it. It only lost its virtual independence in 1870, when the Imperial Russian General Abramov was sent by Kaufmann against it. He besieged Shahr-i Sabz, and captured it after fierce resistance. The Beg fled to Khókand, and the Russians landed over Shahr-i Sabz to the Khán of Búkhárá. See E. Schuyler, Turkestan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khókan, Búhkara and Káldája, London 1876, i, 245 ff., ii, 62-76 (who estimated the population of Shahr-i Sabz at approximately 20,000, and that of Búkhárá 15,000), and F. H. Skrine and E. D. Roso, The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from the earliest times, London 1899, 314-5, 220-2, 256.

In the 20th century, Imperial Russian and then Soviet scholars have shown considerable interest in the place and its antiquities, and a full-scale archaeological and architectural survey was commissioned in 1947; special attention has been directed to the imposing ruins of Timúr's Ağ Sarày, to a mosque built by Ulugh Beg and to the two buildings known as the Dár al-Siyâd and the Dár al-Tiilâwa. For a detailed description of these and the other surviving monuments, see M. E. Masson and G. A. Fugačenkov, Khâshë Siyâh pri Timûr' i Ulug Šubâ, in Trudi Sredneasiatskogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, xlix (Tashkent 1935), 77-96, Eng. tr. J. R. Rogers, in Iran, Jnl. of the Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies, xvi (1976), xvi (1980), and also BSE, xlvii, 557-9.

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(C. E. Bosworth)
the name for the Umayyad palace in Jordan. It is presumably that of "winter residence", mushtatta.

In Persian, approximate synonyms to highâh and yâyâh are sarâsâr (in "coast region") and sarâsâr (in "sea region"). But as well as denoting the seasonal pasture grounds of nomads, these Persian words were early used as geographical terms to denote, on the one hand, cooler, temperate highland regions, and on the other hand, hot, desert-type or subtropical lowland climates. Already by the time of the classical Arabic geographers, these topographical terms had been borrowed into Arabic, e.g. Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddasi. Thus the geographers use garmsâr or its arabised form djârm, pl. djârîm, for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert, and sarâsâr, arabised form sard, pl. sardîr and masâîrîd, for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fars and Kirman (cf. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 249). This distinction is carried further into the realm of their characteristic products, called by e.g. Mukaddasi al-sarâsâr al-mutaddâda "products of the two opposing regions" (cf. A. Miguel, Ahsan al-taâqâm, traduction partielle, Damascus 1963, Glossary 390, 404-5), and of local populations (cf. the Djurumiyya, inhabitants of the part of the former region). Khalîr is mentioned as the name for the Umayyad palace in Jordan, Mufcat, or in Arabic, Diazlra-vi Kishm, in Muharrara 1354/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Rida Shah.

In 1229/1814-5 the Mas'âkat garrison was evacuated from Kishm by the Banâ' Ma'ânî and the Kawâsîm in combination. Subsequently, the Banâ' Ma'ânî joined the Kawâsîm in piratical attacks upon British-Indian shipping, and in reprisal their stronghold at Lâf, on the northern coast of Kishm, was attacked and destroyed in Shawwal 1224/November 1809 by the British expeditionary force sent from India to subdue Ra's al-Khayma and the other Kasîm ports. After the reduction of Lâf, Kishm island was returned to the authority of the ruler of Mas'âkat, now Sa'îd b. 'Alî, and his sons, however, maintained that his father, Sultan b. Ahmad, had acquired title to Kishm by right of conquest, and that the island had passed to him in full sovereignty. It was not listed among the dependencies of Bandar 'Abbâs in the original firmân granting the island to Maskat; nor was it mentioned in any of the annual receipts for the rental of Bandar 'Abbâs. When the British detachment was withdrawn from Kishm—because of the island's unhealthiness and the danger of the detachment's becoming involved in military operations on the Arabian mainland—the sovereignty issue was left unresolved. In Rabî' II 1239/December 1823 a stores depot for the Gulf squadron of the Bombay Marine was established at Basidu, at the western end of Kishm, without protest from the Persian government.

The Mas'âkat: lease of Bandar 'Abbâs and its dependencies was renewed in Shawl 1274/April 1856, shortly before Sa'îd b. Sultan's death. Kishm and Hurnuz were declared to be Persian islands, and were classed as "dependencies" of Bandar 'Abbâs. The lease, which was restricted to Sa'îd and his sons, was terminated in 1283/1866-7 after Sa'îd's successor, Muhammad b. Sa'îd, had been murdered by his son, Sâlim. A new lease of eight years' duration was awarded to Sâlim in Dhu'dhul Hijjah 2, 1285/August 1868, only to be rescinded two months later when Sâlim was overthrown. Despite attempts by Turfî b. Sa'îd after his accession in 1288/1871-2 to renew the lease, it was never granted again.

The British stores and coaling depot at Basidu fell into gradual disuse, and it was finally abandoned in Muharram 1334/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Rida Shah.

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KISHN, a small town on the south coast of Arabia, some 40 miles west of Ra's Fartak. Formerly it was the mainland capital of the Mahri sultanate of Kishn and Sukutra (Socotra), which up to 1387/1967-8 formed part of the Eastern Arabian Protectorate. After that date it was designated the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The inhabitants of Kishn live mainly by fishing, pastoralism, and trading, the principal exports being frankincense, dried fish, and salt. The ruling family, now dispossessed, was the Bin 'Afrar clan of the Mahra. The reigning sultan, from the senior branch of the family, traditionally resided on Sukutra, while the head of the cadet branch acted as his deputy at Kishn.

Kishn was several times raided by the Portuguese during their operations off the Hadrami and Mahri coasts between 1305/1888 and 1385/1966-7. The period of Portuguese activity coincided with a successful war of conquest by the Khalif sultans of Shibr against the Mahra, which culminated in the capture of Kishn in 952/1545-6. The Bin 'Afrar appealed for help to the Portuguese, who responded by expelling the Khalif from Kishn, reputedly in Safar 953/April 1548.

A revival of Ottoman interest in South Arabia after 1287/1869-70 led the British authorities in Aden to secure an undertaking from the sultan of Sukutra and Kishn in Dhu al-Hijjah 928/January 1876 not to alienate Sukutra or its island dependencies to any foreign power. A treaty of protection followed in Rabi'ah 1288/April 1868, which was extended in Sha'ban 1304/May 1888 to include Kishn and the mainland dependencies. The treaties lapsed when British rule over Aden colony and protectorates ended in 1897/1967-8.


KISMA (a.), Kismet (t.), a term used for "fate, destiny". In Arabic, kisma means literally "sharing out, distribution, allotment", and one of its usages is as the arithmetical term for "division of a number". It later came to mean "portion, lot!", and was then personified to denote "the portion of fate, good or bad, specifically allotted to and destined for each man". It is in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, that kismet has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the Orient (the first attestation in English being, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1849; see also K. Lochotzki, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen ..., Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs, Heidelberg 1927, 95, No. 1187).

As noted by H. Ringgren, the noun kisma does not occur in the Qur'an in this sense (Studies in Arabic fatalism, Upsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 206), but only in its basic sense of "division, appointment" (IV, 98; LII, 22; LIV, 28). In a verse like XVII, 14, the word fā'ar, originally 'bird of ill omen', seems to convey the idea of a man's personal destiny as decreed by God (elsewhere in the Qur'an, this word means rather "evil augury"), cf. Ringgren, op. cit., 57-9; and T. Faud, La divination arabe, Lekden 1966, 218, 434-6, 518. Concerning the more usual terms of early Islamic theology and philosophy for "determinism, predestination", see KAF and AL-KADA' WA L-KADAR; however, it should be noted that kisma makes an appearance in Arabic poetry of the 1st century A.H. (Um'mar b. Abi Rabī'a, Rāmīl) in the sense of "the share of human life allotted to a man by God" (Ringgren, op. cit., 153, 156).

By Ottoman Turkish times, kismet was less a theological and philosophical term than one denoting a general attitude of fatalism, the resigned acceptance of the blows and buffettings of destiny (the same concept being often expressed in Persian and Turkish poetry by words like yağlık, gârdun and târık in reference to the blind, irrational influences of the heavenly bodies of mankind). The climate of popular belief in fate and chance is well seen in many stories of the Thousand and one nights (see e.g. WA-LAYLA) and in much of the Perso-Turkish moralistic literature: thus these attitudes loom large in the stories in chs. v and vi of Sa'di's Bustân, on râdîl "acceptance" and hindarul "contentment" respectively.

Also in Ottoman usage, kismet was a technical term of the hâssâmîh, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, the military branch of this being the hizmet-i vâkâyîyé meşhârîm. For this service, a fee called the rem-i kismet was exacted; for further details see KASAM.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Sâmi Bey Frasheri, Kânânmî türkî, s.v.; BER, vi, 746-9 art. "Fate (Muslim)" and viii, 738-9 art. "Kismet" (both by Carra de Vaux); E. Littmann, Merzueländische Wörter im Deutsch, Tübingen 1924 s.v.; C. E. Bosworth)

KISRA, Arabic form of the Persian name Khusrav, derived from the Syriac Késor or Kêrsîr by the 6th century A.D. The consonant and vowel changes occurred because it was used for both k and k in Syriac, and used here for the Persian kh, became k in Arabic. The first f became i by vowel dissimilation in Syriac, and the final vowel became an alf nadžâra by approximation to the jîlîd form. Arabic lexicographers said there was no Arabic word ending in û with damma after the first consonant, so Khusrav was put in the jîlîd form and the k became t to show that it was Arabised.

Although Khusrav occurs in Arabic, Kisra was usually employed for proper names, especially for the Sasanid rulers Kísar Anûshârwan, Kísar Âparwîz (591-628 A.D.) and Kísar Aparwîz (591-628 A.D.). Because these two Khusrav dominated the late Sasanid period and Arab memories of it, their name was identified with the dynasty, Arabs came to regard Kísra as the name (ism), surname or title (lakab) of Persian kings, the Sasanid dynasty as the house of Khusrav (al Khusrav), and crown lands in 'Irak as arû Khisrâ. Women of the royal family were called "daughters of Kísra". By the 2nd/3rd century, the tendency to call all Sasanid rulers Khisra produced the broken plurals akhûsra (the one most commonly used), kâtasra, akásr, and kusar, all contrary to analogy.
Kisra personified Sasanid royalty for the Arabs, who viewed him with an ambivalent combination of envy, awe and fear. They called Ctesiphon Madā'īs, Kisra, the great audience hall there the Jawāl. Kisra, the excessive chit the Khaund, Kisra, spoke of the crown, treasure, dazzling carpet, sword and armament of Kisra, and associated polished manners, lavish hospitality, haum biqini, golden taberware and a mixture of power, with his coat. Kisra provided a symbol for Arab assimilation to Persian high culture, for feelings of common nobility, and represented the Persian monarch in lists of kings of the world and in the murals at Kuwayt 'Amra. He was a poetic symbol of past glory and of fate that overtakes even mighty kings.

Kisra's worldliness contrasted with Muslim spiritual values. Hadith emphasised Muhammad's lack of pretence, his avoidance of royal trappings, and his followers' greater respect for him compared to Kisra and other rulers. Kisra tore up Muhammad's writings, would spend their treasures. In the similar ascription, Kisra is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

A fictionalised Kisra emerged by the 3rd/9th century as a vehicle for edifying tales, a person who was a poetic symbol of past glory and the destruction of Kisra and Khayr and that Muslims would spend their treasures. In the similar ascription, Kisra is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

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1. The semantic range of ḥisāṣa in Arabic.
2. The novel and short story in modern Arabic literature.
3. (a) The ḥisāṣa in older Turkish literature.
   (b) The novel and short story in modern Turkish literature.
4. The genre in Persian literature.
5. The genre in Urdu.
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five occurrences out of 23 (XX, 8/9, LI, 24, LXXIX, easily substituted for the latter word in at least "he cited the badUh
lha'n), with a general meaning of "thing, affair" (— but one can point to some examples in the
four terms of very different origins converge here in the sense of "narrative, story, tale". Thus
Aafos out of the 17 in the singular (V, 30/27, VI, 34, VII, athbar (IX, 95/94, XLVII, hassa
in is clearly equivalent to similate it to that of Wf/A. It could be perfectly
but it is perfectly certain that the term's nuance of precision and exactness contained in
3, xxx, XXVIII title and v. 25), has been translated "story" in its five other attestations (III, 55/62, XII, 39/44, 51, X2X/X20, XVII, 99, XIX, 28), by the Kur'än in the derived sense of "to tell a story, narrate," or more exactly, "to give a circumstantial account of some happening, to recount an event by giving all the details successively"; this nuance is usually lost in translation, though it may sometimes be conveyed through an adverb like "exactly". One may note, with repetitions within the same verse, 19 occurrences of this verb; the account is given by God to the Prophet (IV, 16/16, V, 21, VI, 7/7, 9/9, xoi, XI, 200, 121/121, X, 3, 10, 11, 121/121, XVIII, 12/13, XX, 99, XL, 28), by the Kur'än (XXVII, 78/78) and by Moses to Shu'ayb (XXVIII, XXVIII, 25); Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream to his brothers (XII, 5); divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35); divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35);
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concerned with such requests (see also Gaudreoy-Demombryes, Le Syrie, p. XLIV; Dossy does not appear to have interpreted the material in the dictionaries relative to the written kiiswa in the same way as we have done, since he includes this term in his Supplement). Al-Kilaaqiband, in Subs., iii, 487-8, does not cite the kiissa-daar but provides some details about the manner in which kiiswa al-ma'adin were treated. Since some kiiswa began regularly to narrate stories which had no religious character at all, kiiswa, without ceasing at the same time to characterise a serious, even a historical narrative (e.g. the 27 ms. called kiisaat ghamaa'il "narrative of the expedition of . . ." Bein catalogue) tended to be applied to any story, sacred or profane, and to become a synonym of hikayya, and secondarily, of kaditi and khabar. As an indication, the above-mentioned catalogue has a total of 276 works beginning with kiisa; that of the ms. in the B.N. of Paris drawn up by G. Vajda has 115 (of which 75 have been restored according to their contents); hikayya appears there 47 times, kaditi 12 times and khabar 4 times. In the group as a whole, there are certainly some edifying stories (e.g. the kiisaat Ahl-al-KhaR), but titles like khasay Sulaayyan na'a Bisils or kisat Tumaddul reveal true romances. In this way, the modern use of the term is to be justified, and this, conversely, has brought about a revival of kiisa, now specialised in the sense of "narration", the narrative genre and the narrative art", leading to the creation of the word kaditi "narrative" (adj.). (Ch. Pellat)

2. In modern Arabic literature.

The modern and technical meaning of this word: "fictional narrative", "novel" has come to be accepted without eliminating the more general, older sense of "story", "account". Furthermore, it should be noted that, in this case as in many others, the neologism has not been immediately accepted and does not cover the same semantic field for all those who use it, even today. From the start, it is seen to alternate with other words.

In an article appearing in al-Ahrdm, on 21 May 1881, where the shaykh Muhammad 'Abdah drew attention, without otherwise developing it, to the taste of his contemporaries for the novel, we find the word ramdryaydl. The definition of the genre remains somewhat hazy since the eminent reformer included under this heading Kalila wa-Dinna and the stories of traditional adab along with the recent translation of the Aventures de Tléménque by al-Tahtawi and the serial stories then published in al-Ahrdm. Besides this borrowed term—which was not long to remain in use—there are words drawn from the Arabic vocabulary which come to mean the same as kiisa. Understandably in the case of works on the borderline of the novel genre, the terminology appears uncertain; the 4 Almsi il-din (1884) of 'Ali Mubarak is presented by its author as a kiisa (story) while Ibrahim al-Muwaylibl gives the title kaditi (talk) to his very interesting musbatm: Hadith wa-hadit (1907). It is all the same curious to note that in 1917 a certain Dhuhran Khalil Dhuhran, suggesting to the editor of the review al-Hilal the holding of a competition for the best story—to promote a genre that has proved its worth in Europe—uses the term kiizada to describe the genre. Little by little, however, kiisa came to prevail, and Taha Husayn was seen claiming back his liberty as a creator and refusing to apply rules whose validity he did not recognise by saying in substance: the kiissa is taught nowhere, and besides, what I write is not a kiissa but a haditi (cf. Said, in al-Mu'adhdhab al-f 1-ard).

In fact, the lack of precision remains, mainly as a result of the differences in length among the various kinds of story. It is possible to account for these without departing from the root k-s-g. For the abstract "narration", "narrative literature" we have kiisa, while the "story" of indeterminate length is called kiisa, the novel being distinguished from the "tale" or from the "novelette" by an adjective (kiisa ilwilla in the one case, kiisa kayf in the other). The range of meanings may be conveyed in a still more precise fashion: a suitable adjective expresses the midway term, the long short story so popular with the British (kiisa mulwatati), while khabar (pl. al-kiyds) denotes the very short story, the short novelette.

But in practice, things are not so simple. The first Arabic story-teller to be universally known, Mahmud Taymirt, published successively two collections of stories, calling the first al-kiyds (al-ahsVs Dini nwa-kiyds al-wad, 1925) and the second kiisa ('Armin Metwali al-kiyds al-wad, 1926). At the other end of the scale, there are some who prefer kisayya to kiisa ilwilla to denote the novel; this neologism was more specifically reserved at the end of the 19th century to denote a "theatrical piece." Without it being an absolute rule, it may be stated that at the present day ukiyds is more frequently used in Syria and Lebanon in the sense of short story, while kisayya is preferred in Egypt with the meaning of novel.

Considerations of length are not the only ones to be of relevance. It should also be noted that some have tried to solve the ambiguity inherent in the word "tale" which exists also in English. If one wishes to differentiate the brief, realistic, truthful or plausible narrative (the short story) from a narrative of the same dimensions but imaginative, extraordinary or extravagant (the tale), one must call the latter by the name kiisa (or wAjifs) followed by an adjective (kiyds or kiydsb, or kiydsb, or wAjfisb, or kiydsb), while being careful not to use the word kif$a in isolation lest it be understood in a non-technical sense and with a pejorative flavour: "a cock-and-bull story".

The birth and evolution of Arabic fictional literature. The modern kiisa owes nothing to Arab tradition. It is linked neither with the folklore of the Thousand and one night nor with tales of chivalry nor with narratives of adab. The tradition of classical musbatm, although taken up by two men of imagination and dual culture (Firis al-Shihhik for al-Sik al-t'aSik, 1853; and Muhammad al-Muwaylibl, cf. above, 1907) has left no legacy. It is from Europe that the Arabs have borrowed this literary genre totally unfamiliar to them, sc. the novel.

The press, which has been remarkably prolific in Cairo and Beirut ever since its first appearance there in the middle of the 19th century, has, in a short space of time put into circulation stories of various lengths translated from French and English. Some periodicals, like Nasibka al-ahdib (founded in Beirut in 1856) publish examples from time to time, others, like al-Qarn (Beirut 1876) regularly devote a part of each issue to such translations, and the same applies to the reviews that the Lebanese resident in Egypt have subsequently launched in Cairo (al-Hilal, al-Mukhabatat, al-Diya'). Even the daily al-Ahrdm founded in Alexandria in 1875 has its serial story. Furthermore, some weekly or monthly
entertainment publications are entirely devoted to them (Silsilat al-fuhūlāt, Beirut 1884; Muntakhabāt al-riwayāt, Cairo 1894). A certain degree of decentralisation has even been achieved with the appearance of Silsilaat al-riwayāt al-thulūmiyya at Tanūt in 1908 and al-Samir at Alexandria in 1911. The second stage is the editing of the translated novels in volumes.

The essential object of this type of literature is to entertain. Publishers and translators search out stories of extraordinary adventures, of unhappy love-affairs, of poignant grief, rather than works of established quality whose authors are universally known. Fidelity to the original text was not regarded as an obligation in the period where the translator most in demand, Tanūt 'Abdūh, a Lebanese who had settled in Egypt, was renowned for the imagination which he put into his work. The tendency was to adapt rather than to translate.

Quite naturally "original" composition has followed translation-adaptation and obeyed the same rules. It has even in some cases been exactly contemporary with it, and there are times when the translator is at the same time an author. This was the case with Salim al-Bustānī, who published no less than five original works in serial form between 1870 and 1884 in al-Djimn, at the same time as he was translating French novels. His sister Alice and her cousin Sa'ld were also involved in the same sort of work. In serial stories of this kind as well as in the copied models there abound songes de théâtre, unexpected meetings, unsuspected relationships, etc. In order to avoid offending a very sensitive public moral sense, the scene of the plot still tends to be exotic, or if the action takes place in Egypt, the whole or the majority of the cast of characters must be foreign (Fatāt al-kehrām by Muhammad Mahūnūt, Fatāt Mīrū by Ya'qūb Sarrūf). Sa'ld al-Bustānī discovered to his cost the powerful force of this unwritten rule: a resident of Egypt for ten years, a friend of Shaykh 'Abdūh, this Lebanese was nevertheless savagely criticised in conventionally-expected libraries, in 1908 and 1891. A certain degree of discretion is thus necessary in adapting French novels; the translator must be foreign to the environment he is trying to recreate, and at the same time as he demonstrates his command of the language and the characters, the significant choice of the plot would serve only to lure the reader; this element seems therefore to be somewhat stereotyped from one volume to another; but at least, the construction is solid and the language clear and precise.

After reason, sensibility. It would be impossible to overestimate the role of Manfāṭī (1876-1924) in this, for his two collections al-Naforat (1910-1921) and al-'Abarī (1915), he superbly arabises French romanticism to the point where, under his pen, translations, adaptations and original creations seem to flow from the same source. Having found a style and a tone, he knows how to stir emotions while dealing, in a context of traditional morality, with the problems posed by the irruption of European civilisation into the modern Orient. At the opposite extreme as regards content but with a similar degree of emotional intensity, is the message of "The American" Djarbān (1883-1931). Tears flow in abundance here too, but the romanticism is noble, protesting at the injustice practised by the powerful of this world as observed in the microcosm of the Lebanese village where the mayor and the priest seem to be constantly united in the effort to prevent the children from loving each other; al-Agīnakha al-multaqasīr (1912) hardly deserves to be called a novel. It is rather a long poem in prose devoted to an unhappy love affair of the author. "Broken wings" and "Tears", these are the two works, of Egypt and the madhjar, which have moved or irritated several generations of Arabs all over the world.

But the first Arab novel owes nothing to Manfāṭī or to Djarbān. It was written in Paris—and perhaps partly in Geneva—by a young Egyptian student. Haykal (1888-1956) was feeling homesick when he wrote Zaumāb (1914), and it is the Egyptian countryside that he attempts to recreate with its poetry, its verve, and also its characters, simple and poverty-stricken. But this evocation is centred around two victims of injustice in Egypt, the peasant and the woman. Even though the first edition is signed under the pseudonym Misrī Follāh, the poverty of the farm worker hardly holds our attention, while the fate of two women, equally unfortunate, illustrates the sorry condition of an entire sex and recalls the courageous protest of Kāsim Amlā at the beginning of the century. The hero ultimately makes his indictment: life has no appeal in a land where youth passes too quickly, where love is not allowed, and where the individual has no time to look at what is beautiful.

Even if the problems of writing and construction are not always perfectly solved, even if the influence of La nouvelle Hélène of Ronsard is too obvious, this rich composition does not only have a historical interest, for it conveys an authentic tone, that of a desperate confession.

In spite of these promising beginnings, other novels were not to appear for a further fifteen years. In the interval, it is only short story writers who make a name for themselves, putting forward within the dimensions of shorter narratives technical solutions borrowed this time from the best European specialists. The stories that they tell, the other hand, always deal with the reality that surrounds them. In "wringing the neck of rhetoric", these young pioneers feel that they are laying the foundations of a new literature. The first of them,—and paradoxically the only survivor—Michīl Fāyāmūn born in 1886—began publishing his short stories at the beginning of the First World War in al-Sā'īk, then in al-Funūn, the two reviews edited by Syrian Lebanese settlers in New York. The best, later collected in an anthology (Kāma ma kāna, Beirut 1937), are striking for their simple language, the transparency of the characters, the significant choice of situations—where ancestral customs like the journey to America play a central role—and perhaps even more for the firmness with which the story is
told, a story where, however, emotion and humour make themselves discreetly felt. On Egyptian soil, slightly later, Muhammad Taymûr (d. 1921) published in al-Sa'â'a some stories from his best-known dates from 1916—an important year for Egyptian nationalism of which this writer was a passionate advocate. Add to this element the interest taken in social injustice and in poverty, and we have the principal source-material of the stories of Muhammad Taymûr and of his comrades-in-arms. This expression is not an exaggeration when applied to his brother Mahmûd, who describes himself as taking the torch from the hands of his brother, dead at the age of thirty. It is without doubt Mahmûd Taymûr (d. 1974), the greatest story writer of the time, who has exerted the strongest influence in Egypt and in the other Arab lands, one of the most prolific of modern Arab writers and one of the most widely-translated too. Following the school of Maupassant—to whom his brother introduced him—he learnt to construct a plot firmly centred on a character who is bizarre to say the least, or on an exceptional incident. But he does not ignore the dominant themes of Egyptian social life, to which the brothers 'Ubayd and Mahmûd Tahir Lâshôt (d. 1955) also come to apply themselves, each according to his temperament and his special talent, Lâshôt being of the three the one whose palette would appear to be the best equipped both for varieties of subject and of resources of expression. Let it also be noted that this writer has written one of the few Arabic novels to appear before the Second World War: Ḥāna'il bîl ʿĀdām ("Even without Adam"). 1934.

Furthermore, it may be appropriate to note that this novel is distinct from the others in that its subject (the pitiable failure of a feminist schoolteacher who believed in love and social advancement) owes nothing to the life of the author, while Tâhâ Husayn (d. 1973) Ibrahim 'Abd al-ʿAlî al-Mâznî (d. 1949), al-ʾAkhkâd (d. 1964) and Tawfîk al-Hâkîm (b. 1902) had written nothing before 1939 but works largely autobiographical in character. What these men have in common is that they are not true imaginative writers, but rather they are part of the Egyptian intellectual elite. It should therefore surprise no-one that they look for material for their stories in their own experience. Besides, for these great thinkers of their generation above all, this is the means of assessing the exact condition of their country, for carrying on, in short, the worried analysis conducted by Haykal in Zaymab. As chance would have it, the year 1929 saw both the second edition of this novel and the publication of the first part of Tâhâ Husayn's Al-Ayyām. The accuracy in tone of this book, written with finesse and modesty, explains its immediate success in Egypt and the rest of the world; one feels that the blind boy struggling in a world that is hostile or indifferent or stupid symbolises more than an individual destiny. Even before the appearance of the second part of Al-Ayyâm, ʿAbd (1935) represents a split in the personality of the author, whose Egyptian half looks on helplessly at the folly and wreck of the European.

The debate between the two civilisations—with their customs and culture—also interests Tawfîk al-Hâkîm in two of his autobiographical novels, while in the two others (ʿAmdâl ʿal-rîb, 1933; Yasamîyât náṭî fî l-ʿurjâf, 1937) we find a number of the elements of the dossiers opened on Egyptian society by the short story writers. Superficially, the enquiry is less emphatic, there are times when the reader roars with laughter, but do not the laughter and careless air conceal a deep disquiet into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in Ibrahim al-kâbb (1931), Mâznî speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his glibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period; the Lebanese Tawfîk Yaṣîf al-Sawâlî, who published al-Ragîf in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a properly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Hakîm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

Irâk at that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Mahmûd Ahmad al-Sâvyât (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo, stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on Iraâî society are succinctly shown; with Anwar Shâbîl (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymûr is clear. In his stories and those of 'Abd al-Majid Latîf (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in Irâk.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Mâznî indulgently analyses (Ibrahim It). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mîkhâl Nuʿaymâ draws the material of an intimate diary (Maṣakkarad al-ʿarâb, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfîk al-Hâkîm hardly descends into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in Ibrahim al-kâbb (1931), Mâznî speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his glibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period; the Lebanese Tawfîk Yaṣîf al-Sawâlî, who published al-Ragîf in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a properly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Hakîm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

Irâk at that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Mahmûd Ahmad al-Sâvyât (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo, stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on Iraâî society are succinctly shown; with Anwar Shâbîl (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymûr is clear. In his stories and those of 'Abd al-Majid Latîf (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in Irâk.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Mâznî indulgently analyses (Ibrahim It). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mîkhâl Nuʿaymâ draws the material of an intimate diary (Maṣakkarad al-ʿarâb, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfîk al-Hâkîm hardly descends...
mentioned above. Reviews have been founded: in Egypt of course, but also in Bahrain, where a literary periodical of this name appeared when the first printing-press was installed in the Gulf (1959), most of al-Adib where al-Adib, founded in 1953, and al-Adib give young writers the opportunity to become known, in Tunis where, since 1944, the review al-Mabahith awards a prize (Bakhadawi) to a writer every year. Henceforward, Arabic fictional literature is sufficiently vigorous and varied to convey trends which are to be noted elsewhere in the world.

The romance. It is clear that romanticism has solid roots at its disposal—it is enough to recall the genre of the first European novels translated, the importance of Manafili, the tone of Zaynab. A younger generation dissatisfied with its condition finds at last the means of expressing its revolt and its dreams. Evidently it is love that polarises all attention. This lyricism is a phenomenon of youth in three senses: the youth of the writer, the youth of literature and the youth of the public. The theme of the impossibility of amorous relationships is treated at length by the Tunisian Rashid Ghali in the short stories that he has published in the review al-Fihr since 1960; an encounter without future constitutes the subject of al-Eabr la ma'feaf, a story which gives its title and dominant tone to a collection published by the Libyian A. Idrisim al-Fakih in 1960; the Sudanese Sabbir (b. 1927) published ten years ago a novel on a small scale: Sair ad-dumal.

It should not, however, be assumed that this type of novel is always attributable to an "indiscr...
al-sildh... wu 1-'hamar (1976). Sometimes one finds them to be too verbose and not sufficiently alive. This is especially the case with the entire output of Mutlû Sufadi (Syria), a real propagandist of the Arab Revolution (Thahir muhtaris; Duhl al-world; Aghbiy afhilj, 1959). On the other hand, an A. H. ben Haddou (Algeria) succeeds in interesting us in the conscience of a man who has just committed a political crime (Zilli gana-rip, 1961). It is the analysis of the social and psychological consequences of the war of liberation which interests him in his first novel appearing ten years later (Rih al-qanad), of which the form catches the attention. His compatriot Tahir al-Wattar also distinguishes himself in his two recent novels by the originality of his vision of guerrilla warfare (al-Ax) or the traumatic after-effects of independence (al-Zailad). Similarly, the Palestinian tragedy is presented, free of forced sentimentality, in fascinating novels by the Lebanese Halm Barakat and the Palestinian Ghassan Kanafani (Ridjal fi 'l-Qums).

Oriental society is evolving to a varied rhythm in its different aspects. Industrialisation, for example, has scarcely been reflected by the appearance of workers in romantic literature. To our knowledge, only two writers have taken an interest in this: H. Mina (Syria) mentioned above, who has made a study à la Gorky of type setters in a printing press, The invisible thread, 1961; and Muhammad Siddî (Egypt), who through the experience of a self-taught man trained in a number of occupations, gives us an insight into the daily life of the working classes (in the collections al-Anfdr and al-Aydil 'l-bahshina, 1956 and 1958).

On the other hand, the number of Arab women writers is already remarkable. Quite naturally, they are interested in problems that are specifically feminine. Since professional involvement of women is still somewhat limited in their countries, it is mostly all "psychological realism" that they aim at. The older one—Bint al-Sihat and S. Kalamaâwi in Egypt, Widad Sakââni in Syria—have born witness to the deep transformation affecting the female mentality. The younger women writers—Sabra 'Azam in Iraq, Connie Subayl in the Lebanon, Sului 'Abd Allah in Egypt—seek to re-establish, with regard to their sex, the truth misunderstood or distorted by men. The Egyptian Layla al-Zayyat does not claim to make any extraordinary revelations in her novel al-Dib al-majarah, 1960, but points out succinctly that the noble protests of the sterner sex are not yet fully convincing.

So as not to distort the perspectives, it is important to draw special attention to the work of three Egyptian novelists whose renown extends over the entire Arab world: Yahya Hashki, Yusuf Idris and Nadib Majhi. The name of the first, who was born in 1905, is linked with the difficult emergence of the Arabic short story in the years around 1925, but he has only become well-known since the war. His first collection Knidl Umân Hâghin dates from 1943. His collection of stories, his short novel (Sahba 'l-nawem, 1954) and his memoirs (Khiladk 'alâ 'l-Hâsh, 1959) have made him known to the public at large as a writer of prose that is firm but not prudish, and one who treats his characters with sensitivity and humour.

As for Yusuf Idris, he has been writing "committed" stories since 1940. With the appearance of his first collection (Arkhas layâlyh, 1954), there is the feeling of a talented writer making himself known. His subsequent works (al-Hadîm, novel, 1959; al-

Ashari al-assad, a short story, 1961, among many others) testify to his dramatic sense, and his condensed style, on the borderline of grammatical correctness, counts as one of the most original of all.

Nadjib Mabûr enjoys an even wider readership. He owes this perhaps to his uncompromising adherence to the classical language but most of all to the seriousness and depth of his analysis and to a remarkably prolific output—some twenty novels and a dozen collections of short stories published to date. His Trilogy (1957, 1958) is considered to be the perfect masterpiece of Arabic realism. It gives us the key to an understanding of the generation of contemporary Egypt through a wealth of passions reminiscent of the Russian novelists, but with a concern for detail that is exclusively his own, and most important of all, from a perspective such that every Arab reader feels himself involved.

The existentialists. In a society in a state of flux, there are some who feel resentful, disillusioned, alienated, and who find in existentialism a philosophy in tune with their mood. The Lebanese Subayl Idris has done much to install this philosophico-literary doctrine in the Orient. He has been the prime mover in a major series of translations that have introduced the Arabs to Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in particular. But his role has not been limited to that of translator nor to that of editor-in-chief of the major review al-Adîb. He is also the author of a number of novels. In the first [al-Ihayy al-lâsimi, 1953] he too examines the reactions of the oriental to the European way of life, but the analysis is different from one given by Talkîfl al-Hâkhîm in 'Usfîr min al-sharh nearly twenty years earlier. In spite of his love for a European sweetheart—shared this time—the Arab student returns to the Lebanon to place himself beneath the yoke, and perhaps the protection, of the customs of his homeland. His resigned acceptance of the absurdity of life shows that his stay in the Latin Quarter has left deep marks on him.

The Lebanon is thus the favoured land for existentialism. There are some who take pleasure in a type of fiction that is closer to the debate of ideas than to the novel as strictly defined, like Emile B. Abi Nâdir in al-Farîdg (1961). But the more interesting writers are able to bring to light in their plots the ineluctable character of life. A story by George Shânti shows to what extent a personal sentiment, however sincere and profound, is helpless in the face of the tyranny of the family spirit, and another by Djamîl Qjabr (Raâlî, 1961) finds the correct tone for describing, in the first person, an impossible love. The Lebanese novel does not however attain the level of despair except in the work of the woman-writer Layla Bâllabâki; in Arâ ahâlî (1956) and in al-Alihân al-mansîkha (1966) there is a vivid account of the revolt of a feminine sensibility stifling in a male society, made—tobacco included—for men.

Although she has become known more recently, the Syrian Ghâda Sanabî is closely akin to her. One of her collections of short stories (Laylat al-gharâbî, 1966) presents us with a study fundamentally of a single character in a variety of settings: the woman who feels herself involved neither with the family nor with the revolutionary ideal, a "stranger" always and everywhere, her too-clear intelligence and her too-vivid sensibility making of her a person who suffers and sees no other future than this suffering, which she broods over with a kind of masochistic delight.
'Irak shows us another kind of existentialism, less intellectual, more visceral. Among story-writers of talent, the first place belongs to 'Abd al-Malik Nūrī (born in 1922). Between 1946 and 1954 (Naḥīd al-arḍ) he has created a genre: from the first to the last line, his fiction expresses malaise, an infinite despair or a fatal torpor. With Mahfūz 'Isa Şākr and Fūlād Takarīl (al-Wadhī al-İsher, 1961) we are steeped in the same unrelieved black that seems to be the dominant colour of young 'Irākī literature.

The basic problems. During its sixty or so years of existence, Arabic fictional literature has been obliged essentially to cope with two basic problems.

The one, purely internal, concerns language. For obvious reasons, the novelist must choose the type of language that he is to lend to his characters, dialect or fašî. A writer as eminent as Māmūd Taymūr has, to his credit, carefully tried each of the two alternatives and subsequently remained absolutely faithful to the academic language, of which he is besides a perfect master. The no less eminent Yahyā Ḥakkī has shown a quite original attitude, proclaiming everywhere his loyalty to Arabic and wading in a delicious manner in his short stories, the Caroese of his childhood or the Şā'ībān patois dear to his heart. These examples should not be misinterpreted; the question does not only apply to Egypt. Throughout the whole Arab world, from 'Irāk to Morocco, there are novelists who believe that they would be betraying their mission as creators and artists if they were to avoid using a type of language that is natural, living and immediately evocative of the correct sentiment, the spontaneous idea. Conversely, in every Arab country there are today writers who would consider themselves unworthy of their art and traitors to Arabism if they were to adopt—even in dialogues—a language other than "pure" Arabic obeying the rules of declension, more or less modernised in its vocabulary, but effectively unchangeable in its syntax. The question of the two languages has been debated so often since the beginnings of the naḥṣa that there is nothing to be gained by dwelling on it here. The adherents of one or other mode of expression may be confident of finding themselves in excellent company and having no shortage of arguments. In particular, the equation frequently proclaimed in the last fifty years (dialogue in dialect = literature in the service of the people) is no longer put forward today, when the purists too are "committed". At the most, we may attempt a risky generalisation: the tendency to use the spoken "popular" language is more widespread in countries where the literary public is greatest and which, believe, rightly or wrongly, that they have a better-established "Arabic" character—thus in Egypt, rather than in Algeria. Whatever the answer may be to these formal—and important—questions, there is no likelihood of provincialism gaining precedence over a common Arab heritage that is easily recognisable through the entire spectrum of fictional literary production from "the Ocean to the Gulf" and through all the trends that we have attempted to unravel.

The other problem concerns the relationship of the Arabic novel to Europe, the master, in both senses of the word, pedagogic and colonialist. This relationship first applies on the level of content. The dialogue of a flourishing East with a West that is too sure of itself constitutes one of the themes and sometimes the central theme of novels that have become famous. It is natural, with regard to novels, that this ill-fated or violent confrontation should take the form of an amorous encounter between a practical or fickle or dominating European woman and an Arab emigrant, usually a student, convinced that he owns a share of the truth but naive and maladroit. Furthermore, the character of the latter and the general physiognomy of the work change in the course of the years. In Uṣfur min al-Qur'ān by Tawfīq al-Hakīm (Egypt, 1938) Mūsīn is an incorrigible idealist, an incompetent purveyor of working-girls whom the author mocks and admires at once, while the hero of al-Fajr al-Dīnī discovers nausea in Paris, but returns to the fold of ancestral custom in Beirut. The English girl married by al-Dūhār Ibrāhīm by Ḍū 'l-Nān Ayyūb (‘Irāk, 1939) is only the first stage of an ambition which comes to light on his return to his country. If 'Isāfī repudiates his God on leaving Mary's embrace, he finds him again on the banks of the Nile (Yaḥyā Ḥakkī, Kindīl Umam Ḥādīṣī, Egypt, 1949). The experience of Adīb (Ṭāḥa Husayn, Adīb, Egypt, 1935) is at the same time more proflane and more desperate, but that described by the Sudanese al-'Aṭībī Shāḥī in Muṣṭafṣīn al-nāṣrāni ilā 'l-ṣamāl (1966) is violent, and it discoursers because hatred here is unspoken.

Nobody is deceived; whether sex and suffering intervene or not, it is always the impact of a culture that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Moroccan novels examine in detail its traumatic aspects: Dafanūsā l-mādī by Ghālīl (1966) and al-Qur'ān by La'r目的地 (1971). Quite naturally, another level of connections with Europe appears. Has this literary technique been learnt, assimilated or, on the contrary, has there been constant re-adaptation to a model which, as time passes, remains indispensable? It is in reality impossible to answer this question. It may simply be stated that this common Arab heritage mentioned above adapts itself well to the most recent trends in universal fiction, that the surrealism of Zakariyyā Tāmīr (Dawwār ‘al-ka’dīf, 1963) and the detachment of 'Ibbīl Bālīn (Lāfrīl, 1966) and with his nightmare universe, takes up and carries to an obsessive and hardly bearable degree, the taboos and desires of a sick society. It is madness—superficially, for what the mastery resides in and regrettably, the flattening compositions of a writer such as Ṭāḥīr al-Wattār; this is taken even further in 'Ībīl, that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Syrian novelists who have achieved renown in the sixties. Echoes of such trends arise from elsewhere: from Egypt, of course, where established novelists like Ģūsūf Idrīs and Nūḏūb Mūsīn have begun in the sixties and at the present day to turn towards the short story in preference to the novel, a wild and imitable type of short story, to which the younger writers are also drawn; the Arāhīs, the Ṭūbyās; but Algeria has not lagged behind with the stifling compositions of a writer such as Ṭāḥīr al-Wattār; this is taken even further in Bāybrayn, where ‘Abd al-Kīdir 'Aṣāf sets in motion with al-Nāṣif a series of dream-like sequences that express his continuing anticipation of revolutionary liberation.
multiplicity of devoted talents in all provinces of Arabism, are signs of the flourishing state of the hikay.

Bibliography: Arabic Journals. The literary journals were numerous, and some have only a short existence. Among the most important are al-Edib, al-Adib (Beirut), al-Majalla, al-Maiya (Cairo), al-Mu'mina (Damascus) and al-Fihir (Tunis). Those in European languages include MIDEO, Orient, OM, and Jural of Arabic Literature, and Bulletin d'études arabes of the IPEA of Rome.

For the beginnings of the novel, the general histories of Arabic literature may be consulted (see 'Arabya, b. (VI)).

Anthologies give a very representative picture of contemporary novel writing. The editors give valuable biographical details about the authors covered: Anthologie de la littérature arabes contemporaines, Paris 1962, 1, R. and M. Makkari, Le roman et la nouvelle; Mahmoud Manzalaei, ed, Arabic writing today, the short story, Cairo 1968.


3(a). In Older Turkish Literature

As a general term, hikay in Turkish texts was synonymous with story, tale (hikaye) and legend (menhale, edaice). Fahreddin in 718/1316 called his version of the romances of the Prophet and the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman and Shihab ibn al-Mahmud, written in 808/1307, says that a copy which he found was old but the hikay (story) was new, and Seyyid ibn al-Mahmud, in the first half of the 13th century, found the mere telling of a hikay (story) no longer sufficient to enjoy (B. Flemming, ed., Fahreddin hisnuye u Sirin, Wiesbaden 1974, vv. 2513-16 and p. 140 f.; S. Yüksel, ed., Mahmud. Isnik-i Ldr, Ankara 1965, v. 404, F. K. Tinurat, Seyyidin Hisnuye u Sirini, Istanbul 1963, v. 156).

Narrative works in verse and prose dealing with epic-religious and heroic themes (see hikay, iii) were often called hikay, the term alternating with dawri. This is true for the 'Antar, Abla Muslim, Salihuk and Qadi Dinhizleng stories (see hikay, iii) of the Tabari and Khiyam. Al-Fahreddin and Mahmud Shah ibn Piruz Shah (see A. S. Levend, Turk edebiyati tarihini, i. Giris, Ankara 1972, 113, and Karamanyama, and Djejj Shah and Djejj Mal Peri (see H. Schwieder, Türkische Handschriften, tei 3, Wiesbaden 1974, 276, no. 326); not a few tales still await examination.

The lives of holy men and great Sufis of Islam such as Ibrahim ibn ad-Dhan (sur.), were treated collectively in the genre called tadhkira, the most famous Encyclopaedia of Islam, V being the extensive Persian prose work Tadhkira al-anbiya? by 'Attar (q.f.), An early Turkish example is the Tadhkira-yi emnye adapted from the Arabic and presented to the prince of Aydin (sur.), Muhammed Beg, by an unknown author (MS. Istanbul, Veliyidin 1683).

In a more restrictive sense, hikay were designated stories of the Prophets before Muhammad, whose own life history gave rise to the sifar genre (q.f.), whereas events of the lives of members of his family inspired other books such as the Xamadu of the caliph 'Ali; the mahabur works commemorated miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandsons Husayn (see hikay, iii) especially famous being the Hikayat al-anbiya? by Fudol (q.f.).

In the hikay some prophets were dealt with separately, such as Moses (Hikayat Mosse ve Kibyr, see Levend, op. cit., 120), and Solomon; such works being also known as neme (see hikay, iii) the most voluminous of the Sutaym-nam is the compilation made by "Umar Firdawsi (q.f.); Iskandar (q.f.) was also treated separately (see M. Gütz, Türkische Handschriften. Tei 2, 161, no. 243 and Iskandar-nama, iii).

Joseph or Yusuf (q.f.) was a favourite hero of the histories of Prophets; his ascetic-mystical romance with Zulaykhah, based on the Suraat Yusuf, has been treated in many Turkish mahabur and prose works. The oldest appears to be the Hikayat Yusuf by a certain 'Ali, a work of uncertain provenance supposedly composed in the Crimea in 651/1252 (see N. Peköza, İslami türk edebiyat. I. İstanbul 1967, 77 ff.; Levend, op. cit., 94, 125).

In Anatolia, Seyyid Hanza and wrote a mahabur version (ed. D. Dilip, İstanbul 1949); for Caghatay, Mamluk, A'dharbaydjiyan, and many Ottoman versions see the list compiled by Levend, op. cit., 128-30, for 19th century Kuzak versions, see Fundamantum, ii, 744.

Collectively, the prophets have been dealt with in the Hikayat al-anbiya? (q.f.), which made their appearance in Turkish literature in the 18th century. In 710/1310 Na'fir al-Din al-Rahbuzi, working for a Mongol amir, composed his Eastern Turkish Hikayat al-anbiya? on the basis of a Persian version (Zahezzi) (see K. Grenboch, Copenhagen 1984). Other Turkish authors consulted the Arabic Hikayat al-anbiya? by al-Kisa', the Dar'is al-mujaddid by al-Tha'labi and others (see K. Eraslan, Kisa'iyenl Buca a 'unday ve Kisa'yanl-Emnye adil esi, Istanbul'daki tercumerleri, in TEDD, xvii (1970), 125-32; N. Hacieminoglu, in TEDD, xi (1961) and xii (1962), an anonymous translation in the MS. Burus, Ul Cami 2474; and A. Atar, in TEDD xvi (1958), 93 f., on the Yozgat MS. of the translation made by Isakti (d. 834/146-930).

In 977/1570 an Ottoman writer, Hadi Muhimb, composed a Hikayat-i emny (q.f.), see H. Meredith-Ovens, Traces of a lost autobiographical work by a courtier of Selim II, in BSAS, xviii (1960). Later, much more complex titles were used for the genre, such as Mu'arif-i sifar-i ahbab al-emny by written by Zara Celebi (d. 1668). A highly esteemed educational Hikayat-i emnye written by the Ottoman statesman and historian Ahmets DjevDET Pasha (q.f.) as late as the end of the 19th century, in no less than twelve volumes, is evidence for the tenacity of the genre.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see the relevant articles in Philosophia turcica fundamenta, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; E.
Foreign novels in the best Ottoman inşâa tradition, most of the was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, Paul et Virginia (1870), Voltaire's (from the Arabic, 1864), followed by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie (1870), Voltaire's Micromegas (1871), Alexandre Dumas père's Le增值服务 (1878), Abbé Prévost's Le Roman d'un Jeune homme pauvre (1878), and many others. Except for the Tâlemeaque, which Lurn roman d'un jeune homme pauvre (1830) and many others. Except for the Tâlemeaque, which was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, in the best Ottoman inşâa tradition, most of the rest were rendered in a comparatively simple language, not far removed from spoken Turkish. This translation movement or activity coincided with the emergence of the literary Tangâm school, and the first generation of modernist writers provided the emergence of the literary school, who also wrote short stories of uneven value. Two prominent writers who remained outside the Tâlemeaque school, the novelist Haseyn Rabâî and the essayist Ahmed Râsîm contributed realistic short stories which are vivid sketches of everyday life in Istanbul of the 1890-1920 period.

The restoration of the Constitution (July 1908) followed by the movements of Turcian (see TURKISH LITERATURE), and the New Language (Yerli lisan), sponsored by Diya' Gökâlî (p. 82) and Ömer Seyyid el-Din (p. 82), revolutionised the whole approach to narrative in Turkish literature. Most short story writers (and novelists) switched from the capital (Istanbul) to the provinces and made an attempt to introduce colloquial Turkish into literary language and avoided, on the whole, elaborate psychological analysis for straightforward realism.

The prominent woman novelist, Khâlid Edib (p. 82), wrote realistic short stories mostly based on her own experiences or observations. Ömer Seyyid el-Din (1884-1920), who left ten volumes of short stories (posthumously collected in book form), led the reaction against the precious language of the Tâlemeaque school and wrote in spoken Turkish stories on the reminiscences of his childhood or on episodes of Turkish history. A hasty writer, his essays, even his jocose language is not always polished. But his deliberately direct style, avoiding the "literary", established a new tradition in Turkish narrative. The outstanding essayist and political satirist Refik Khâlid Karây (p. 82), wrote his famous Memleket hikayleri ("Stories from the provinces", 1919), during his five years' exile in Anatolia. These stories on the types and customs of the villagers and provincial townspeople are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style and powerful realism unprecedented in modern Turkish literature.

Most novelists of the period (e.g. Y. K. Kara-Ülümânoğlu, R. N. Gümüşkâ, Peyami Safa, etc.) also wrote short stories. But others excelled in the genre; Memâdûb Şevket Esendal (p. 82 in Suppl.), a politician and diplomat, wrote, at irregular intervals, stories which are different in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical" Mayoûssant-type stories of his contemporaries. F. Diyal it-Din, a psychiatrist by profession, left remarkable sketches and short stories, written in a very personal style, about eccentric types and harmless maniacs of Istanbul, against an authentic "local" setting of the Hâseyn Rahîm tradition. They are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people, with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, without any elaboration or embellishment and imbued with human warmth and optimism. The
novelist Halilkaras Balıklı [q.v. in Suppl] who belongs to the same generation, but who published his work in the Republican period, after the age of fifty, wrote fascinating stories on the life and struggles of the sea folk of the Aegean.

The 1930s inaugurated a new era in contemporary Turkish literature, and witnessed the emergence of two promising but very different story writers: Sağdıç al-Din Şafii (also a novelist [q.v.]), who pioneered social realism, writing powerful stories on the true life experience and hardship of the village and small town communities of Anatolia. Sağdıç al-Din Şafii (1906-54), perhaps the greatest name in the Turkish short story, described, in his compelling stories and sketches, written in a forceful and romantic style, the life and milieu of the simple people, workers, fishermen, vagabonds, etc. of Istanbul, based mostly on his personal experiences, with a deeply human touch. Ahmed Hanç Haşim (q.v.), poet, critic and novelist, and adept of the neo-classicist Yahya Kemal [q.v.], wrote nostalgic, evocative stories where the sensitive psychological frames are the leitmotiv. The playwright and essayist Khâlid Tanmur (b. 1915) writes stories (frainted with humour and social criticism. İhktân Tanur (1907-67), a civil servant, described in his stories the intricacies of bureaucracy in the provinces.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, most novelists (e.g. Kemal Tahir, Kemal Bilbaşar, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Yaşar Kemal, etc.) also wrote short stories in which concentration is on the plight of the peasantry, provincial townfolk and suburban dwellers (see below). This is particularly true of writers of peasant origin (e.g. Fahir Baykurt, Talib Apaydin, etc.). Aziz Nesin (b. 1913) the great humorist writer of unsurpassed popularity, has been writing innumerable stories and sketches where he uses his art to light social evils and bigotry by ridicule. Oktay Akbâl (born 1923) writes individualistic and romantic stories, mostly based on personal reminiscences, full of nostalgia for things past. Necati Cumâli (b. 1921), poet, playwright and novelist, differs from most of his contemporaries in not concentrating on any one given theme, but writing stories on a variety of subjects in a warm and flowing style.

Contemporary short story writers dwell as a rule on the social, political, economic and cultural problems of Turkey, a society in rapid transformation, linking them to the personal problems of the individual. From several dozen names (some of them also novelists), the following stand out: Mehmed Seyda (b. 1919), the poet E. E. Alâî (b. 1920), Yusuf Atağan (b. 1921), Wilös O. Bener (b. 1922), Mustaffer Eyüburucu (b. 1923), Elige Karasu (b. 1930), Tahsin Yıldız (b. 1933) and Bekir Yildiz (b. 1933). Among women writers one notes Nesibe Meriç (b. 1925), Adale Ataçəgli (b. 1929), Leyla Erbili (b. 1931), Füruzan (b. 1935) and Sovgi Soysal (1936-76) who dwell on the problems of women of all classes in present-day Turkey.

2. The novel.

The outstanding lexicographer and scholar Şems el-Din Sâli (q.v.) wrote the first Turkish novel in the modern sense: Ta'agizâh-i Ta'ahir ve Füna (1872). This is a love story used as a background to criticise the traditional marriage custom, marriage of partners unknown to each other. Nâmık Kemal [q.v.], the great poet and patriot of the Tanüşmâl school, experimented with a romantic (İntihâb, 1876) and a historic (Eşrinâ, 1886) novel. One of his younger colleagues, Sâmi Pogha-Zade Sefâ (1860-1936), wrote an anti-slavery novel (Serçeşme, 1889), while another, Rodâ'î-Zade Ejtem (q.v.) produced a social-satirical novel (Araba sendâsî, "Devotes of the harness cab", 1889, published 1896), which is a forerunner of later novels where the "westernising snob", the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed (see below); and Nâhi'î-Zade Nazım (1858-93) wrote examples of realist novels (Kara Sibihi, a long short story, 1890, and Ezârî, 1895).

Outside this literary school of the "élite", the most important representative of the genre was the prolific popular writer, publicist and journalist Ahmed Midhat who flooded the post-1870s period with several dozen novels on subjects of all types: adventure, history, social satire, science fiction, realist and naturalist narrative, etc. He owes a great deal of his narrative technique, his dialogue and his handling of episodes to the traditions of Turkish popular art and literature (i.e. Karançâ (the maddâ, the fâlîrî technique in the Orta eyân and folk tales of various kinds), and also to the French novels of adventure. Many of his novels, particularly Hasan Midhat (1875), Hüseyin菲尔 (b. 1857), Süleyman Muqti (1856), Henûr on yey yazında (1882), Dârîkâ Hâkîm (1882), were enormously popular and read avidly by generations of readers of all classes until the 1930s. His novel Ejîlên Niûf Bey ni Râkîm Ejfenâ (1899), pioneered a series of novels which satirize the alia franca way of life of Istanbul snobs.

In the following period of the Tanüşmâl period, the great representative of the novel is Khâlid Diya. Although as a boy writer, like most of his contemporaries, he greatly admired Ahmed Midhat, there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative period, which were romantic love stories with some elements of realism. He completely broke with traditional methods of story-telling and developed a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digressions or asides to the reader. Khâlid Diya perfected this technique in his later novels (e.g. Mâ'î ve siıyîk, "Blue and black", 1897, and 'Agîk-i memnu' ("Forbidden love", 1900), inspired mainly by the method and style of the French realists. His works remained the best examples of realism in Turkish literature until the mid-1930s. The setting and characters are often chosen from the upper and upper-middle classes of Istanbul, the type of people with whom he came into direct contact during the strict Hamidian régime. He chose, in his novels, to write, like most of his colleagues of the movement, in an extremely precious and artificial language, thus deviating from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the Tanüşmâl writers) who had made an attempt to create a style which could be understood by a larger audience.

As Khâlid Diya dominated the scene in prose, minor writers were hardly noticed. One of them, Mehmed Raüîl (1875-1935), a naval officer, wrote a (probably autobiographical) novel, a poignant story of desperate love: Eyülîl ("September", 1900), which is the only work still remembered of his dozen novels. Hüseyin Rahmi, who did not join any particular literary group, began his career during the time of the Tanüşmâl period movement, and remained one of the most popular novelists from 1890s until the late 1920s. At the beginning, he followed in the steps of his master Ahmed Midhat, but he gradually pol-
ished the elements taken from Turkish popular arts and adopted them to his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly of Maupassant and Zola. With his accurate observations of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families in the period approximately 1890-1920, his penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time and his acute sense of humour and satire, Esref Rahmi is perhaps the most original of all Turkish novelists. Like his prominent contemporary the essayist Ahmet Rızaş [q.v.], his work is of great documentary value. He studied meticulously the everyday life of families and individuals and their development within disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, Şişpası, "Always in love" (written and partly serialised in 1902, published in book form 1912) is a further development of the theme already treated by his predecessor and himself: a character study of the "Westernising snob".

During this period, two works were the pioneers of the so-called "village novel" (key romanı) which was to develop during the Republican period: Nabî-Zâde Nâzım’s long short story Karâ Çubuk (already mentioned, and Ebübekir Hızım Teşeyer’s (1864-1942) Kuçuk Paraş (1910), which describes life in a central Anatolian village during the last decade of the 19th century.

During the post-1908 era, with the freedom of the press restored and in the midst of warring ideologies (Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism), we see that most writers of the young generation gather around a new trend called "National literature" (Millî edebiyatı), led by the sociologist and guiding spirit of the intellectuals of the epoch, Dîyâ Gökalp and his associates (particularly Ömer Seyfi el-Din, see above). In this period, the prominent woman writer Kâhîde Edib’s early novels have considerable autobiographical elements, and with their passion, independence, strong-willed heroines, outline the author’s idea of the emancipated Turkish woman. Under the impact of the Pan-Turkish-movement, she wrote Yedî Türkân, 1912, and her contemporary colleague, a minor woman writer Mütîfed Ferîd (Tek, 1892-1971) followed her example with a similar novel Aydemir, 1918). However, Kâhîde Edib later rejected this ideology and espoused the new nationalism of the resistance movement in Anatolia which she joined in April 1920. She wrote novels on the national struggle and life in Anatolia, based on personal experiences or observations (e.g. Meğden ğemiik, "Shirt of fire", 1922; Füaris habîbey "Strike the whore", 1925). During her long exile abroad (1925-57) and after her return to Turkey, she continued to write, mainly as a self-taught writer, produced in the early 1920s novels which described various characters of the disintegrating Ottoman society, emphasising the clash between the traditional and the new (e.g. Sade Billur, 1922; Maşâyen, 1924; Fâthî-Harbiye, 1931); later she studied cases of psychological stress and crisis and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, which was to develop during the Republican period: Rebahat Nûrî the "Westernising snob".

The best-seller of the early 1920s was Callibaş [Callibaş], eng. tr. The autobiography of a Turkish girl, by Sir Windham Deeds, 1930) by Rebahat Nûrî Güntekin (q.v.), published several similar novels (e.g. Akbaş Rûne, 1926, eng. tr. Afternoon sun, by Deeds, 1951). These were sentimental romances mixed with realistic observations of Anatolian life. With the publication of Yeğil gecesi ("Green night", 1926), where the influence of religious fanaticism in Anatolia is studied, Rebahat Nûrî changed his manner and wrote a series of novels dealing with social change brought about by the reforms of the 1920s (e.g. Yâfeşel dehûnî, 1930). Güntekin perfected the literary language based on spoken Turkish initiated by Ömer Seyfi el-Din and was recognised as one of the masters of modern Turkish prose until the middle of the 1930s, when a profound transformation of the language, style and literary taste began to take place.

The early generations of novelists of the Republican era inaugurated a new approach to the novel which began in the 1930s, and gathering momentum in the 1940s, matured in the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of contemporary writers, the novel is only a vehicle to convey ideas, to prove a point and to discuss the burning problems of modern Turkey. Except for sporadic cases, for nearly forty years novelists have been concentrating mainly on the following themes:

1) The background and various episodes of the War of Liberation; (2) The plight of the villagers and provincial townspeople; (3) The struggle of the peasants against exploiting land-owners and corrupt bureaucracy; (4) Unemployment in the villages, and peasant migration to labour areas (cotton fields, etc.); (5) The peasant migrations to the cities in search of work and its consequences; (6) Peasants turned brigands as a result of gross injustice; (7) The problems of the peasant populations of the shantytowns (greekondas) in city suburbs; (8) The problems of illiteracy and educating children (particularly girls) in villages; (9) The influence of religious exploitation on the masses in villages and towns; (10) The plight of peasant migrant workers in Europe, and the peasants (Vabun, "The stranger", 1932), a pioneer "village novel"; the life of a young Turk exile in Paris (Dir sârûm, "An exile", 1932), etc. He also experimented with a roman-feuvre, covering the second and the third decade of the Republican era (Panorama, 2 vols. 1933-4).
particularly Germany; (11) Problems arising from long-sojourn of Turkish worker-families in Europe; (12) The exploitation of the defenceless citizens by the nouveaux-riches business classes in the cities; (13) The ravages of partisan politics in villages and provincial towns; (14) The problems of women in general and working women in particular; etc.

In short, all the problems of a rapidly developing and industrialising, once mainly rural, society where a population explosion and a universal yearning for better living defy the dexterity of all government. The days of the "art for art's sake" principle of the 19th-I 20th years are left far behind; the concrete problems of Turkish novelists by no time or earnest for telling stories of personal woes.

Leading names of the modern period are: the pioneer Şâbih al-Dîn Şâlî (1907-48), already mentioned) whose novel Kuvâncâli Yusuf ("Yusuf from Kuyucak", 1939) is a masterly description of life in a small western Anatolian provincial town at the beginning of the century; Orhan Kemal (1914-70), who wrote with a warm and deeply human style the epic of the Turkish "little man"; and Kemal Tahir (1910-73), who spent long years in Anatolian prisons where he collected his material on a series of novels on the life and problems of the central Anatolian peasantry and small towns communities. He also wrote several period novels on episodes of early and modern Turkish history. Further, Samim Kocagdi (b. 1916) wrote on the peasant-lower class relationship in the Aegean area and also related episodes of the Anatolian resistance movement; Vasar Kemal (b. 1922) excels in describing, with an epic style inspired by Turkish folk tales, the life and struggles of the peasantry in the Adana area; and Fakir Baykurt (b. 1920), of peasant origin himself, describes the life and problems of southern Anatolian villages, etc. (The majority of short story writers cited above are also known as novelists, and most of them should be counted in this category.)

Outside this category, there are novelists who belong to previous generations but who published their work in the 1950s or later: The short story writer Memduh Şevket Eşenald (1863-1952), published a remarkable novel Ay işçisi ve Arastular ("The Matchmaker and his tenants", 1934), a powerful study of a group of disparate types during the early years of the new capital, Ankara. Midhat Djemal Kuntay (1885-1945), a minor epic poet and biographer, wrote a single novel, Ýstânlâl ("Three Istanbul", 1936). Planned as a period novel, it is rather a series of loosely-connected sketches on the life and character of Ottoman society and government in Istanbul during the period of decay and disintegration of the Empire (1890-1920). It is a fascinating panorama of events and of personalities, Ottomans, Levantine and foreign, told with a personal, elaborate and, in places, precious style. Şâhi al-Hâjî Şâhişîr (1853-61), who published some poems and critical essays in the 1930s, produced his first novel in 1944: in the age of fifty eight, Fahim Beysi ve his ("Fahim Bay and his son"). a powerful character study of an Istanbul type turned businessman. After the great success of this novel, Hisir wrote several others, all in an anarchonic style which nostalgically evoke the Istanbul of 1900. Lastly, the unusual writer Halikaras Ballikâlah the famous exode of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), must be mentioned, who produced his first novel at the age of sixty (Agâlra, Buruna, Burinala, 1945) and devoted his entire work to the epic of the sea and seamen of the Aegean.


In Persian the term bi Portugal comes with its approximate synonyms hikâyat, afsâna, dâštân covers a number of different literary forms, and while this article must be concerned primarily with the modern application, it is also true that the more traditional manifestations have had some influence on recent developments. One of the earliest uses of the term seems to have been in the sense of "biography". Examples of this range from the hikâyat al-unhûyi, the title given to a number of works, of which one of the earliest and most popular is that by Mawâlî Muhammad Dîwârî, said to have been written in 352/ 963, containing biographies of the prophets from Adam to Muhammed, etc, at the other extreme, the bihasi `ulamâ' written by Muhammad b. Sulaymân Tunakbûnî in 1290/1873 and consisting of accounts of leading Shi'î divines, to which frequent reference is made in E. G. Browne, Literary history of Persia, iv, 354-449 passim. A condensation of this work was published in 1941 by Muhammad al-Dîn Dâmîzâ under the title Kissa-yi hikâyà-yi dâštân.

A second group includes pseudo-biographical works of a largely fictional nature. A classic example of this genre is the hikâyat-i tâsts or Hamasístana, the hero of which was a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad and the story of whose exploits is said to have been commissioned by a namesake who led a rebellion in Sisân at the end of the 7th/8th century. The story is extant in a number of versions, some parts of which, judging from their style, may well go back to the 9th/10th century. Another example in a slightly different class is the Babûstân-nâmeh, the account of the deeds of a putative descendant of the legendary hero Rustam, said to have been a contemporary of the Sââsid monarch Khusraw Parwiz; the earliest surviving version of this is the Fâdâl al-arâsî, composed (in prose) by Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Dalâ'îlîdîl Marwâst in the 6th/7th century.

From this phase we move by a natural progression to the traditional romance with isaw or no historical or religious overtones. Some of these are by known authors—ranging from the famous mathnawis of classical poets like Nizâmî, Amîr Khusraw Dîhâlah and Djâmi, retelling the stories of Laylâ and Majnûn, Khusraw and Shîrûn, Yusuf and Zulaykâh, and so on—to the works of lesser or otherwise unknown authors, like Gherî al-Ahmar Gurgâdî's Wâli, Râmîn, Ayîqî's Wâlî, and the prose version of Samâh-iâyârî by Farîmârke b. Khudâddâl, all these dating from the 15th/16th century. Many such romances have been handed down orally in more or less corrupted versions, until they finally achieved permanence in manuscript or, most recently, in "chapbook" form. Characteristic examples are the stories of Bussay-i Kürd, Bâhrâm and Gulandâm, Hâtîm-i Tâ, Şîrûn, Fâlânûz and Khûrâshîdârîn,
similar motives in setting their tales in remote out of account such works as (1900), Ddmgustardn, is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately by the reign of Cyrus the Great; Ddstdn-i Bastin, Musd N'alhrl, u salfauai, Sitdra-yi Lxdl novels whose common link is their single hero and published in 1909-to, three independent Hurray, are the trilogy by Muhammad Bikir Khusrawi, unmistakable, not only in the clear debt owed to historical periods, but the European influence is the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through seini-anonymous authors being to expose social Ibrahim Bayg Masdtik al-inufrsinin Siyikatndma-yi (1905), and it is only in the present century that serious attempts Riydtf al-fitkdyii), and it is only within the present century that serious attempts have been made by scholars and anthropologists, both privately and officially-sponsored, to collect and preserve this treasury of popular literature. This neglect may account for the fact that, when the art of story-telling and novel-writing was revived on the literary level during the early years of the present century, models were sought not in Iran's own literary tradition but rather from the flourishing ateliers of Western Europe. Indeed, it is significant that the Persian language does not yet have a word for 'novel', but still uses the French roman (roman). In making this judgment, we are consciously leaving out of account such works as Roy3-yi sâdâh (1900), Mudafik al-mukâinin (1902), and Siyuh-yi-nâma- yi ibrâîm Bayy (1903-9), since the story element in these is subordinate, the primary purpose of the semi-anonymous authors being to expose social and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors of the first novels proper may indeed have had similar motives in setting their tales in remote historical periods, but the European influence is unmistakable, not only in the clear debt owed to the historical novels of such writers as Alexandrine Dumas (several of which had been translated into Persian), but even in the use of European forms of Persian names from the Achaemenid and Sasanid periods. Among the more noteworthy of these novels are Muhammad Bâbir Khusravî, Shams u Tughrâl, Mâsî-yi waqifat and Tughrâl u Humây, published in 1909-10, three independent novels whose common link is their single hero and their setting in the period of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century; another trilogy by Shâhîy Mîsâ Haftî, Tugh u saltana, Siyeh-yi Lâli and Safîvalâd-yi Shahâda Khunwâm-i Bâdbi, published in 1919, 1924-5 and 1932 respectively, and set in the reign of Cyrus the Great; Dâstân-i Bâdbi, by 'Hasan Bâdi', the Achaemenid background of which is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately from the Shah-nâma of Firdawsî and the works of Herodotus; and a long series of works by 'Abd al-Husayn Shâhâti-zâda Kirmânî, beginning with Dîmgustârâs, a two-volume novel published in 1931 and 1932 and set in the period of the rebellion of Nasrath and the fall of the Sasanid dynasty, and continuing with stories from such widely separated historical periods as the reign of Shâpür the Great (Dâstân-i Mân-yi nakhâh, 1927), the rise of the Sasanid dynasty (Salâhârr, 1933), the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the 'Abbasids (Siyêd- Chân, 1947), the reign of Rustam dar hîrî-i hizâ and the Sasanid dynasty (al- Hâfiz-i Dîhân, 1956), and even the science-fiction future (Rustam dar hîrî-i bint u da'awur, 1953). Most of these works are noteworthy as pioneering efforts rather than through intrinsic literary value. Their language is literary, and even in the dialogues shows little attempt to adjust style to speaker, let alone to use colloquialisms; they are discursive and rambling, and historically full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Their inspiration comes from the romantic historical novel of 19th century Europe rather than from any native source. If they do reflect any particular society, it is rather that of the writers themselves, and in this respect at least the novels throw interesting light on contemporary Iran. However, the popular success of these early works encouraged many other writers to follow their example, and a list of such books, of varying merit, have appeared and continue to appear up to the present day. A fairly comprehensive list will be found in Kâmshâd's Modern Persian prose literature, 52-3, and it is sufficient here to mention a few of the outstanding names. The list includes a number of recognised scholars—Sa'dî Na'fî, Vâhây Kârth, Rîdî-zâda Shâfây, Dibbî Bîhrîz—which writing is marked by a greater attention to accurate detail than some of their rivals, like 'Ali Dîfâyî, Rahîmâ-zâda Shâfâwî, Husayn Masrûr, Haydâr 'Ali Kâmîf, Djâwîd Fâjdî, Shâhâpîr Partaw, and others whose novels show almost a tendency to revert to the style of the popular romances. Few writers have ventured into the field of contemporary history. A notable exception is Husayn Ruknâdâd Adâmâyta's Dalîrân-i Tungistânî, first published in serial form in 1931 and recounting an episode in the southern tribal disturbances during the first World War; though it appeared a year or two later in book form, it was subsequently suppressed and only reappeared after the abdication of Rîdî Shâh. However, although contemporary history was too dangerous a subject for most writers, this did not apply to general social criticism, which indeed was quite consonant with the reforming mood of the years of Rîdî Shâh's reign. The theme that attracted most attention, partly perhaps because of the opportunities it offered to less talented and scrupulous writers to exploit sensationalism, was that of the position of women in traditional Iranian society. One of the first novels to take up this subject was Mîshîb Kâzîmîn's Tîrani-i makhîf (1922), a somewhat rambling work woven round the subject of true love thwarted by family greed and social custom. Like a number of his successors, Kâzîmîn devotes a good deal of space to the discussion and the frustrations of youth on the oppression and in particular prostitution of women. The chief merit of these works is the light they throw on Iranian society, particularly of the middle class, under the impact of modernisation and western influences. Otherwise their style is rambling and discursive, with frequent digressions into moralising, while the language is still literary and ponderous.

A few writers of this category deserve fuller
mention. Muhammad Mas'ud (Dhaili), who was assassinated in 1947 in consequence of his editorship of an outspoken and often slanderous newspaper, Masri-i imras, wrote a trilogy in 1932-4—Tafrisal-i ghod, Dar talash-i nurosh, and Aghraf-i mahshid— in which he draws on his own experience of lower middle class life in the provinces and Tehran. These novels were variously praised for their frankness and condemned for their pessimism and ribaldry. A later unfinished trilogy—Gulab-i dar, Jashnaband, and Mirayad (1942) and Bashir-i 'umr (1948)—is in the same vein, but shows a greater degree of maturity and objectivity. All Daghial is also well-known as a journalist and politician, and in addition has achieved distinction as an essayist and literary historian and critic. He earns mention here, however, for his three novels Fama (1943), Dast (1951) and Hindo (1955).

Like the others, these take the position of women in society as their central theme, but here it is the women of the upper classes that are under the microscope, and Daghial's work has been criticised for its concentration on a rather narrow and repetitive stratum of Iranian life. His language, while no better suited to his subject than the others, is enjoyable for his skill in the handling of words and for his admitted sometimes rather forced employment of Arabic first-person forms. Muhammad Hidjay is noted for a series of novels—Humna (1957), Farsiha (1959), Ziba (1936-8), Pavstina (1952) and Sineh (1955)—which also, as the names of the first four imply, have a woman as the central character. Hidjay's view of middle-class society, however, is less satirical and caustic than those portrayed by Daghial and Davail, and sentimental philosophising expressed in high-brow language plays a greater part. Hidjay may also be regarded as one of the pioneers of the art of the short story, which during and since his time has tended in Iran to overshadow the full-length novel, perhaps because of its conciseness and discouragement of diffuseness and prolixity. Hidjay's many short stories are buried in some half-dozen collections of essays and sketches, notably Ayine, Ahradegh, Nafta, published at intervals over the period 1932-60. Other novelists who deserve mention include Mahdi Hamid, for his three-part novel Tekk-i dar-bi-dar (completed in 1946), though he is better known as a poet; Fakhr al-Din Shadmav for the Tahrir wa raagheini (1950); and 'Ali Muhammad Aghfalli for his two encyclopaedic novels Shauhr-i Ahi Khakan (1962) and Shahrnam-i darn-e-kara-ti (1966). The first of these being hailed at the time as a major breakthrough for the Iranian novel, though apart from its length it cannot be regarded as more than a worthy continuation of the tradition set by its predecessors mentioned above.

The true innovators are rather to be found in the field of the short story, and here the first name to be mentioned is that of Muhammad 'All Djamalzada, whose first collection appeared in 1921 under the title Yahl hagd wa yahl nabid. The title itself is indicative of a new approach to the art of story-writing, for it is the conventional phrase used to open the traditional folk-tale ("Once upon a time"). In fact Djamalzada's stories do not owe as much to folk-literature as this might suggest, though at least one of the six in this collection takes its basic plot from a well-known folk-tale (Dhaili-ye Khaza Khris). His contribution to the development of Persian prose lay rather in his insistence on the importance of using language that the ordinary people can understand, and although he does not go quite so far as to employ colloquial and dialect forms, except occasionally, his writings are nevertheless a rich mine of idiomatic and proverbial expressions. Indeed he has been criticised for using this stock rather in the manner of a card-index, instead of attempting to reproduce the tones and rhythms of common speech. Djamalzada, like most writers of his time, indulges in social criticism; but the effectiveness of this is largely discounted by the author's long residence abroad and his consequent ignorance of present-day conditions. After his first volume of stories, Djamalzada published nothing more for twenty years; but then there followed four more volumes of short stories, 'Amol Husayn Ali (1941, extensively revised as Sadr, 1960), Talak, U Sair (1955), Ghayre as Khuda hidak nabid (1961), and Asan and U Risman (1964), and six novels, Dar al-magdaliyin (1942), Sahr-i malghar (1944), 'Uwldhak-i idqen (1945), Rau-i ab-kan (1947), Maslumna-i Sairat (1953), and Sar u lahi yah barak (1955). Djamalzada's literary life of more than forty years has assured him a high place in Iranian literary history, even though the momentum of his original impulsion into the field was not maintained in his subsequent writings.

The credit for changing the direction of Persian prose writing rather goes to a somewhat younger man whose literary career lasted only half as long, as well as to others who associated with him or followed his example. Sadic Hidayat's (q.v.) first published work dates from 1928, when he was only twenty, but his contribution to story-telling began in 1930 when, shortly after his return from studying in Paris, he published Zida bi-gur, a collection of eight short stories. The next four years marked the first fruitful period of creative writing; during this time he was the leader of a group of friends known to themselves and others as the Rabee, the "Group of Four", who included in addition to Hidayat himself Masud Farzad, with whom in 1933 he collaborated on a volume of satirical sketches (Wagh usagi shhah), Budjtab Minuwit, with whom he wrote an historical drama in three acts (Masyar, 1953), and Buzurg Alawi, the only other member of the Four to achieve distinction as a writer of fiction (the other two had noteworthy careers as scholars). From Hidayat's pen came two more volumes of short stories, Sih hakya qhan (1932), Siva-yi rahqan (1933), and a short novel, Alawisya Kharrum (1933), as well as a satirical play, Afajana-yi Afarinaag (written in 1930 but not published until 1946), books and articles on literary topics, folklore and magic, and translations from French. The range of this output shows the fines along which Hidayat was developing. Like Djamalzada, he wanted to write in the language of the people; but he achieved this not by having at his elbow a stock of idiomatic expressions, but through an ear well-tuned to the speech of his contemporaries, particularly those of the lower social classes. Moreover, he did not confine himself to any one milieu or class, but wrote with equal insight of all, though his sympathies were always with the underdog. This period in his writing culminated in an astonishing work, Baj-i har (not published until 1937, and then only in a privately duplicated edition in India—full publication had to wait until 1941). So much has been written about this essay in surrealism that it would be futile to attempt to add anything here, and it is sufficient to say that this one work has established Hidayat as a writer of international calibre.

After the change of régime in 1941, Hidayat began
Cubak and Djalal Al-i Ahmad (9.1* in Supp!).

... shows a strong sense of realism and a profound collection (Vdama-W) and a novel of the other two contributors to which was fajdylat. Anirdn served as a point of pilgrimage and petition for the places scurrilous satire on Iranian society, cast in character with the prevailing trend of his writing. Even for a lime a degree of optimism quite out of articles and translations. lire work of this period 1944, and 1946), as well as a quantity seen only a handful of literary articles and some...

In 1933 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his establishment. Four years later HidAyat died in Paris by his own hand. His close friend and colleague, Buzurz ‘Alawi, though sharing many of his aims and ideals, differed from him in a number of respects. He took less interest in literature and folklore, and was more deeply influenced by Freudian psycho-analysis and Marxist political theory. This latter enthusiasm led to his imprisonment in 1937 and to prominence in the newly formed Tuda Party after his release in 1941. Prior to that experience he had written only one volume of short stories (Cannan, 1934), apart from a single story contributed to the volume Amirk (1931), one of the other two contributors to which was Hiliyvat. In 1941 he published a second volume of short stories (Wshakhama yi zanddn), and in 1952 a third collection (Nama-ha) and a novel (Cahslam-hayagh). In 1953 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his output of fiction has been negligible. The fact that his reputation stands so high on such a small foundation is a tribute to the quality of his writing, which shows a strong sense of realism and a profound understanding of character.

The "school" of writing started by the Rab’a attracted a number of imitators and followers, some of whom achieved status as independent writers. Among these must certainly be mentioned Sadiq Cukab and Hadi Al-Abmad (q.v. in Suppl.). Cukab was established with his first book of short stories, Khayma-yi skhabdti, published in 1945, and this was followed by a second collection, Antari ki tabyagh mumda udd (1949). Like his colleagues, he is interested primarily in the lives and characters of members of the lower classes, and he depicts these with a strong sense of realism, which often leads him to use expressions and idioms that shock his elders. He is also one of the first writers to use colloquial language freely throughout. His second volume of short stories was followed by more than ten years of silence, but in 1963 he published a novel, Tanger, set in the Tangistan area of his home province of Fars, which gives a vivid picture of the provincial and tribal life of the south of Iran. Two more volumes of short stories followed, Rist-i ammaal-i skabdt (1965) and Giragh-i Almhr (1968), and finally (for so far nothing else has appeared) in 1967 a long kaliedescopic novel, Sang-i sabhr, written mainly in dialect, and with passages in dramatic dialogue form introducing characters from history, poetry, and so on.

Djalal Al-i Ahmad, who died in 1969, has a wider range of writing than Cibak, being interested in sociology, folklore, and political questions, on all of which subjects he wrote articles and books. In the field of story-writing he has four volumes of short stories, Did i banan (1945), Randg ki simbarim (1947), Stdn (1948), and Zami ziydt (1952). A further five stories were published posthumously under the title Pandy daslan. He also published four novels or long stories, Sarngh-daka-yi kanddn-ha (1954), Mudr-i modad (1958), Ndn nd-khalam (1961), and Nifd-ni zamin (1968). Al-i Abmad’s sociological interests show clearly in much of his work, but this is not a criticism of his writing, which is concise and economical, allowing his characters to develop in their own words (which are usually in their colloquial form) rather than through the author’s description of them, who may be considered as having being influenced by the same school of writing including Muhammad ‘ImanAdz&da (Bib-Aidin), ‘Ibraml Gulistdn, ‘Usbn Tdbat, Rahmat Mustafawi, ‘Sir’Amdadri (Darawd), and Djalal Al-i Abmad’s widow, Smln Ddnshvar. The interest in folklore shown by Sadik Hiliyvat was shared by other writers, some of whom could indeed claim to have preceded him, for instance, Amir Kuli Amtn, Kuli Kirmn, and Șubhl Muhtad. Only the lastnamed, however, ventured briefly into the field of original fiction, with a short novel in folk-tale form, Hiliydt Mulld Zulf ‘Ali (1942). The two threads rejoined in the writings of Samad Bhrang (q.v. in Suppl.) and Ghdin Husayn Sfd. Both these writers, born in Tbrz, use the folk-tale form as a medium for allegorical works commenting on contemporary social questions. Bhrang, who was drowned in 1966, is a writer of a series of ostensibly children’s stories, all published between 1966 and 1969, of which mention may be made of Cldz us kldh-ha, Krdl-i kftr-sa, Afshzn-yi mabbdh, Șadik-i sikh-e hbdh, and Krdz-ha us Krdl-i llano. A posthumous collection of short stories, Tlrghdn, was published in 1970. Sfd, who writes his fictional work under the pseudonym Gwdir-Murad, is best known for his plays, minves and film scripts; his short story collections include Nfmd-ha-yi skbhr-i Rv (1935), Skh-ndndh-yi skbhr-tw (1960), Dnnd (1960), Mwkm-ha-yi blm-ndndh (1967), Tsd u nz c Tdp (1968). Like Al-i Abmad, he is interested in sociology, and is the author of a number of monographs. Other writers in this category include Șadik Humydn, Dmnl Mir-’Sdik, and Șhpbr Krdn.

The latest phase in fiction-writing shows a trend towards a more introspective approach, perhaps encouraged by current political and social conditions, which are felt to preclude open discussion of current questions. The writers of this category choose a somewhat obscure and allusive mode of expression, which leaves the reader free to make his own interpretation; they are also more concerned with inner feelings and psychological states. One of the first writers in this vein was Taki Mudarris, whose novel Ykdbld wu tmdnd-yi uz appeared in 1956. This was followed in 1966 by Sfdn, a novel of the 1930s. Bahman Furd is known chiefly as a playwright, but his collection of short stories, Zir-dk-danddn-i sfg (1964), attracted favourable notice. Two poets, Ma’mr Khly-Nah and Mdhmd...
Two other writers deserve special mention: Hüsân Gâhdîr ([..]) and 1. Schê. These works are generally considered to be of Persian origin; but it is not clear whether the reciters employed by Kishor to produce his Urdu versions were actually translating Persian texts themselves, or using existing Urdu versions which had been passed from mouth to mouth. The language is highly coloured and uses rhymes; but the stories recounted were apparently well-known and appreciated in India. The dastans were tales of chivalry, and, like the mathnawi, contained a strong element of the supernatural. But whereas a mathnawi might have a well-formed story, the dastan consisted of a series of short stories or incidents, with little attempt at characterisation.

In the evolution of the Urdu novel, we find the dastan gradually giving way to the European-style novel. Indeed, in some measure the one gradually merged into the other. But the prelude to this transformation was Calcutta, where, in 1800, the British East India Company established Fort William College, to train British officials in the languages, laws and customs of India. The first Principal, John Northwick Glichrist, assembled a number of Indian writers, whom he commissioned to produce prose works which could be used as text-books for Urdu and other languages. While not discouraging a sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. 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Subrawardy (op. cit., in Bibl., 18) describes it as "the first prose classic in Urdu... still read for enjoyment". Like other Fort William products, it is written in reasonably straightforward language, and includes good dialogue and characterization. Amongst other Fort William fiction were Avaidi-na mdhfil by All Afso, and Mirza 'All Rehn's Dawdwa's Shahnazlal, based on the drama by Hali Das. Not all the fiction written for John Glinkhart was published at the time.

Two previously unpublished ones have recently been edited by Ibadat BarfiwI. They are by Mazhar 'All Khan Wali, Haift golsam (Kabahi 1864) is a collection of fables; while Madhdnaul aish Kambalal (Karachi 1869) is a short dastan, in 28 chapters. Finally, mention must be made of another Fort William publication which provides a link with the mathnan — Mir Bahadir 'All Husayn's Nastri binaal (Calculta 1863). It is a prose version of Mir Hassam's Sdir al-bayyun, including verses quoted from the poem from time to time. Strange to relate, of Mir Hasan's... unusual... it was published two years earlier than the mathnan itself.

Whether the fiction produced at Fort William forms a definite stage in the evolution of the Urdu novel and short-story, or was merely an interlude, is a matter subject to dispute. Muhammad Sadiq (op. cit., in Bibl., 212) denies that it was a "formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose". He adds that, had it never existed, Urdu prose would not have developed any differently. On the other hand, Subrawardy (op. cit., 22) maintains that it not only furthered the simplification of Urdu prose, but also popularized prose romances.

It is certainly arguable that the simpler prose fostered by the Allgarh Movement, and exemplified by the writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and Aftab Husayn Hal, and even Abd al-Hamid Sharar, is at times reminiscent of "Fort William prose". But of those three, only Sharar wrote fiction.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the Fort William products, they were important enough to stimulate controversy as to what features constituted good Urdu literary prose. Many considered the Fort William prose style too simple to be literary. In fact, the first original prose romance in Urdu, Fasana-ya-Azad, on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper editor. His gigantic picaresque novel Fasana-ya-Azad, which the proprietor Nawal Khizr appointed him editor. His gigantic picaresque novel Fasana-ya-Azad, or on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper in instalments in 1878 and 1879, and was then published in book form in Lucknow in 1880, in four volumes totalling about 1700 double-columned pages. It is more like a collection of short stories and anecdotes than a novel, reflecting both Sarshar's untidy and disorganised way of life and the demands of serialisation, which required him to produce regular instalments with or without inspiration. According to Khursheed (op. cit., in Bibl., 183), the idea of the work arose from a discussion about Don Quixote among members of the staff of the paper, Sarshar's book was a tremendous success, and it was imitated by many subsequent novelists.

The "frame" of Fasana-ya-Azad is that the noble and chivalrous Azad, of the city of Lucknow, falls in love with the beautiful Husn-akhir. In order to win her hand, he has to go and fight for the Turks against the Russians, and his adventures are recounted in the book. He has a companion, Halim Sitarar, who is a figure of fun. In fact, in many ways, the roles of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are reversed in Azad and Khadil. The work is... rich in characters and scenes that it defies description in a brief account. There are major sub-plots as well as the main "frame", and the incidents described are both numerous and varied, ranging from fighting and flirtation to discussions of poetry. It is notable for its pictures of Lucknow life. But above all, it is full of dialogue, often racy, and suitting the language to the speaker. A Western reader picking it up for the first time might think, from many pages, that it is a drama, with each speaker's name in bold letters at the beginning of the line, followed by "stage directions" and then what he or she says. This method of setting out dialogue was followed by a number of Lucknow novelists—for example, Abd al-Hamid Sharar.

The hero, Azad, resembles the dastan hero—handsome, brave, a great lover and a champion of what is right. The realistic pictures, however, are sometimes reminding us of Dickens; and there is very little of the supernatural. Thus it is a transitional work, between the dastan and the novel; though by the time it was published, three of 'Allgarh Ahmad's novels had already appeared, with their realistic contemporary social themes. However, Sarshar wrote to entertain his readers. The abundant variety of characters, including many from the underworld
and the demi-monde; the wit and humour; the basic realism, despite a veneer of exaggeration—all these appealed so strongly to the readers, that it is said that when it first appeared in serial form, each new instalment was avidly awaited, and people rushed to buy the Amdh sikhār because of it.

Sarshir's Bohemian life-style, especially his addiction to alcohol, seems to have affected his work. Of his later novels, Khsdē'ī jau'ddān is an abridged and adapted version of Cervantes' novel. His Kāmū is his only novel with a Hindu background—which is rather surprising, since he was himself a Hindu.

Nadhir Ahmad (1836-1912) is considered by many to be the first modern novelist in Urdu, especially by those who prefer a novel to be a study of contemporary social life, and who like it to have a message. Strange to relate, he became a novelist by accident. Educated at Delhi College, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then as an inspector of education, and subsequently in various posts in the Revenue Department. His first ‘novel’, Mirāṣī al-sans (‘The bride’s mirror’) (1864) is a direct outgrowth of his own daughters to read privately; it was a moral tale to teach them the qualities required of a good and successful wife. A British Director of Public Instruction saw the manuscript, and urged Nadhir Ahmad to have it published. Because of its educational value and high moral tone, the Indian Government bought a thousand copies. Nadhir Ahmad achieves his didactic aim by describing two sisters and comparing their married life. Akbari is a spoliť girl who proves incapable of running a house; while Aghari is efficient and practical, almost a model of all the virtues. In 1892 he followed it with a sequel, līlāt-al-naṣīq. It subject is girls’ education, but it is more like a series of lessons than a story. Ta‘wīl al-Nasīḥ (1877) is a more ambitious family tale. It tells how Nasīḥ, while ill, repents; and, having previously allowed his children to do as they like, he now tries to reform them as well as himself. Feādā-ī-yi-Muḥtāl (1889) treats of the evils of polygamy. Imd‘ul-wulq (1883) describes the troubles of an Anglicised Indian who shuns his fellow Indians. But when his only British friend leaves the country, he finds himself isolated. All these novels, then, are stories with a moral, and the very names of many of the characters are descriptive of them: thus Nasīḥ (repentant) and Muḥtāl (affected).

These novels struck a new note and have many attractive qualities. They are straightforward stories of manageable (one-volume) size; in uncomplicated yet elegant style; dealing with the contemporary social scene and its problems. Their high moral tone, somewhat reminiscent of Victorian England, made them suitable reading for people of all ages and both sexes; and they were widely read, and frequently re-printed up to the Second World War. Nadhir Ahmad improved with experience, and his later novels are superior to his earlier ones in both character development and plot construction. But his earlier ones remained the most popular—especially Mirāṣī al-sansī and Ta‘wīl al-Nasīḥ. More recently, Imd‘ul-wulq has attracted attention, because of its relevance to the last years of the British Raj.

The main objection to these novels has been on grounds of the domination of the didactic aim; so much so, that it has been suggested that they are not real novels at all, but pleas for social reforms in the guise of novels. There is also a lack of humour in them. Nevertheless, they mark the advent of the social novel in Urdu. Two distinct genres of novels, then, had emerged by the last quarter of the 19th century—the picturesque type of Sarshir, and the social type of Nadhir Ahmad. Both writers were imitated, and there was a burst of activity in both genres. The picturesque type gradually lost its appeal, and though many later examples could be mentioned, none achieved anything approaching Sarshir’s success. The social novel, however, was continued unabated until the present time, and in 1899 an outstanding example appeared—Umrd‘ Dīn Add (by Mirzā Muhammad Hāfīl Ruswā (1854-1920)). Ralph Russell describes it as the first true novel in Urdu (op. cit., 254). It is the story of a retired high-class Lucknow prostitute, whose name forms the title, and who tells her life-story to the author. Like Sarshir, Ruswā tells much of the story in dialogue form, and the book is very readable and entertaining. As Muhammad Sarīq says (op. cit., 335), the didactic element emerges before the end. But what is remarkable in Ruswā’s approach is his sympathetic and perceptive attitude to his heroine. He does not blame her, neither does he condone her way of life which has made her virtually a social outcast. He shows understanding without being sentimental. Ruswā wrote several other novels, but was unable to repeat the success of Umrd‘ Dīn Add.

As the 20th century drew to its close, a third genre of Urdu fiction appeared, the historical novel. Its pioneer was A‘īb al-Hālīn Sharar (1860-1936), a journalist and historian, and a leading figure in the Allāghār Movement. Born in Lucknow, he worked there for 5 years as Assistant Editor of the Amdh ād. In 1887, he started the magazine Di‘ gudā, which he continued, with interruptions, until his death. His earlier novels were first published in serial form; but later ones were published whole, and sold cheaply as supplements to the magazine. The idea of writing historical novels came to him while reading Sir Walter Scott’s Táinistán during a train journey. Struck by the unfavourable light in which Scott depicted Muslims, he decided to try to recast the balance, and produced Mālīk-ī-‘Ashūr wa‘r Wāsdrīn. He had previously published a social novel, Dīkasp. But though he did not completely abandon this genre, the majority of his novels, numbering about 35, are historical. They contain unashamed propaganda for Islam, and paint Christianity in a poor light; but they are vivid and exciting stories of heroism and romance, with brave heroes, cruel villains, and beautiful heroines—the latter often Christians girls who fall in love with Muslims. They achieved enormous popularity, because Sharar knew how to write a good story and sustain interest. His descriptive passages are convincing without being over-long, and there is considerable dialogue. But the drama often deteriorates into melodrama. His denouements are frequently bloodthirsty, and he lingers too long over cruelty and killing for modern tastes. Historical veracity is often lacking, and there are anachronisms. Still, there is no doubt that he could draw characters credibly if not subtly. His language is eclectic and attractive, without being forced; and it still reads well. And though overlaid with Arabic expressions for some tastes, this suits his themes.

His novels span the Islamic world from Spain to Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and India; whilst in time they range from the 7th to the 19th centuries. Fīrād Fīrūsād (1897), a tale of Christians and Muslims in medieval Spain, is regarded as one of his best novels. The heroine, Fīrūz, is the daughter
of a Muslim father who is brought up as a Christian. She is later raped by a ‘patrichar’, whose child she bears, and whom she kills in the end. The story is highly involved, and the swift dénouement which occupies only 33 pages out of a total of 350, leaves almost all the main characters killed. Equally popular was Pirdina-i-harin (1899), which to the present writer, is more convincing. The background to the story is the conquest of the valley of the Assassins (Naqshbandiya) and their fortress of Alamut by Hulagu Khan in 1257. The hero and heroine, Husayn and Zamurrad, have been in the power of the Assassin leader, Khursâb, but in the end they side with Hulagu against him. There is a vivid description of the final battle and the destruction of the “sublime paradise” of the Assassins, with the hero Husayn playing a major rôle. Finally, Hulagu arranges for Husayn and Zamurrad to marry, and they leave together for Mecca and the Pilgrimage. This accords somewhat ill with Husayn’s obvious enjoyment of prolonging the agony of those whom he kills in the final battle. But it is the sort of melodrama which doubtless appealed to the readers of 1899.

It is difficult to single out names of 20th century Urdu novelists who continued social and historical novels among them, like Prêm Cand and M. Aslam, are better known as short-story writers. Rashâl al-Khayrî (1858-1935) was one of the most successful, and though best-known for his social novels, he also wrote a number of historical ones. His social novels, though not without humour, earned him the nickname of Mostaani-i-ghamm (“depicter of sorrows”). The main theme is the position of woman in Islamic society. His trilogy Subhi-i-sindagi, Shab-i-sindagi and Shab-i-sindagi, is worthy of note. Among his historical novels, ‘Alî-rah Barabdâr deserves mention. The “bride” of the title is a Christian widow who feels drawn to Islam, and finally marries ‘Ubayd, a partisan of al-Husayn at the battle. Suhrwardy (op. cit., 116) regards Rashâl al-Khayrî’s historical novels as “poor stuff”, lacking social colour and realism.

The Urdu short story is held by most Indian and Pakistani critics to be an importation from the West, although some of its elements may be seen in stories and anecdotes of the dastân, especially Fustâna-yi-sa’dîk and Fustâna-yi-Âsad. M. Aslam in his introduction to one of his short-story collections, Hâzbânata aur khâyâzat (Lahore 1972, 3) maintains that the reverse is true, and that the Europeans really took the short-story from the Muslims! He goes on to say that the short-story originated in religious literature such as the Old Testament and the Kur‘ân, and attempts to substantiate this from stories in the Kur‘ân. However, there is no doubt that the creator of the genre in its modern sense, in Urdu, was Prêm Cand (real name Dhampat Râj) (1880-1937). Born near Benares, he was a Hindu, and wrote in both Hindi and Urdu; indeed some of his fiction appeared in both languages—or in both scripts, Arabic and Devanagari. He started his writing career as a novelist, then turned to the short-story, which was at that time in its infancy in India. He was a prolific writer, and his short stories were collected in a number of volumes, including Prêm batîsî, Prêm batîsî, Prêm sâfî, Wirdâs and 2âb-i-râb. Prêm Cand is noted for his pictures of village life. He depicts the poor and humble as inherently good, but compelled to do wrong by the pressures of poverty and temptation. They are exploited by landowners and rich employers, and are a prey to fear, superstitions and religious bigotry. For such people little acts or accidents may have dire effects. Prêm Cand, then, was no less a preacher for social reform than Naqshîr Ahmad. But whereas the latter concentrated on the middle class, Prêm described the lower classes, especially in villages. A master of characterisation, style and form, he made the short story his métier, and whilst his novels are now neglected, many of his short stories are acknowledged masterpieces.

Among later short story writers, mention should be made of M. Aslam (Em Aslam), the author of over a hundred books. Many of his short stories are romantic, and he depicts the instability of middle-class society in a period of change. Finally, there have been several brilliant writers of humorous short stories, and essays in story form. They include Shawkat Thaâawî, Mirzâ ‘Asîn Bîg Çughî‘î and Fâtâr Duhkhâr (1858-1956).

A word must be said about the nomenclature of Urdu fiction, which includes Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English terms. Daršân has already been mentioned. Khâdût was used chiefly for tales, anecdotes and short stories. Throughout most of the 19th century, the term fasîna, with its variant, afsdna, was current. Nâqshîr Ahmad’s novels were called bâysa, but as we have seen, he also used the term fasîna. Hîbâyîl (1900) was also common for a novel. The Urdu short story is now usually called afsdna—more properly, mukhta’ar afsdna.


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In dictionaries of older Malay, *kisā* is defined as "story, narrative episode". It occurs regularly in this sense in literary words from the 17th century onwards, and, in addition, is used in Malay historiographical works and romances as a kind of pericope marker to introduce a new stage or episode in a longer narrative. It appears in the title of a Malay adaptation of the Stories of the Prophets, *Kisā' al-anbiyyāt* (largely the version of al-*Kišāʻ*) which became popular from the 17th century onwards, and in more recent times was the title of an Indonesian magazine, *Kisah* (Jakarta 1953-8) devoted to the short story. It appears in the title of a collection of short stories, purely western and totally secular in theme and content by Armijın Paně, *Kisah Antara Manusia*. Nevertheless, it did not establish itself as the title of a genre. For shorter length narratives, the Sanskrit-derived *cerita* (story) was preferred, with, in imitation of European usage, the qualifying adjective *pendēk* ("short") made up the two words now being abbreviated to *cerpen*.

The short story is currently the most popular literary form in Indonesia and Malaysia. Its roots are to be found in local fables and animal stories, in short narratives of Perso-Arabic origin, especially those set within frame-collections, and in the flowering of the genre in late 19th century Europe. Although none of the great Arabic collections of stories such as *al-Buhfūdl*, *al-Aḥadi* or the *ilf layla wa-layla* has accompanied the Islamisation of the Malay world, one of the very oldest Malay MSS (ca. 1615) is a fragment of the Persian *Tādāt-nama*: a rendering in Malay of a Persian version of the *Subhasapāl* or "Tales of a parrot". Other frame-stories such as *Kalītī wa-Dinma* and the *Sindibād-nama* established themselves in Malay renderings relatively early. The large number of MSS of such works is a good index of their popularity for all of these stories belong to the popular domain. The composition by individuals of realistic short stories did not begin until the 20th century with the development of a popular press, and the possibilities that newspapers and periodicals offered for the development of such a form of narrative fiction. It established its present popularity in both regions during the 1930s.

In Malaysia, during the 1930s, the authors of short stories were graduates of Malay stream education and religious schools. The majority of their stories were moralistic, concerning such issues as the backwardness of the Malay, the problems of forced marriage, and the need for a reformist understanding of Islam. In Indonesia during the same period the secular stream was dominant. But just as since Malay independence in 1957, the short story in Malaysia has become secularised, in Indonesia some short stories by Muslims have brought a consciousness and sensitivity to the perception of religious experience which is characteristically modern. In many cases, the concern is purely with man as man, and while a religious dimension is suggested, it is not worked out within the dogmatic frame-work of a single identifiable religious tradition. In a few, however, and A. A. Navis (see Bibli below) presents the best example, a religious problem lies at the very heart of the story, and is the reason for its existence. Nevertheless, apart from contributing the word *kisā* to the Malay vocabulary, the Muslim religious and literary tradition has played only a limited role in the shaping of the short story in Malay. The Western secular tradition has been, far and away, the most important single influence.

**Bibliography:**


7. In Swahili. In Swahili literature, the word *kisā* was first used in the context of the *Kisas al-anbiyyā* [q.v.]. The numerous Swahili authors (i.e. writers as well as composers of oral traditions) had at their disposal rather more elaborate versions than those of al-*Kišāʻ* or al-*Tha′fābī* from which to borrow their themes for the prophets' legends, extremely popular in East Africa. Also, several of the Swahili versions of the legends have their parallels in Indonesia; see J. Knappert, *The Qisas 'l-Anbiyyā* as *moralistic tales*, in *Perspectives on the Seminar for Arabian Studies, vi* (1976), 163-76.

In written Swahili literature, the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets are always treated in verse. Full-length epic poems are extant about Adam and Eve, Job (Ayyūb) and Joseph (Yūsuf), but fragments have also come to light dealing with Mūsā, Yāsīḥ, Yūnus, Sulaymān and Dāwūd, Burāshīm (Ibrāhīm), and Zakariyyā and 'Īsā; see Knappert, *Four Swahili epics*, London 1964; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 2; idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1974, i., ch. 3. Many of these legends, and especially those with miraculous elements, circulate in oral tradition, see Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970. It is
probable that these tales have come to the Swahili Coast with sailors from Arabia, Persia and India; the latter country in particular seems clearly to have influenced Swahili literature.

From this semi-religious usage, the word kisa (now spelt kisa with purely Swahili plural vissia) acquired an extended range of meaning to that of "miraculous tale in general," "fairytale of the type found in the Alf layla wa-layla collection" (p.202). The connection here is obvious, since many of the latter tales are variations on Kisas al-amiyyah themes or employ their characters, e.g. the tale of the fisherman who found a bottle that had been sealed by King Solomon, a tale well-known amongst the Swahili. These prose stories were not written down by the Swahili themselves, but missionaries with folkloric interests collected them in the 19th century; see e.g. E. Steere, Swahili tales, London 1859, and C. Velten, Märchen und Erzählungen der Swahili, Berlin 1898. These vissia were never composed in verse, until very recently, whereas the hadithi, traditions about the Prophet Muhammad or other holy men, were often composed in verse and written down, in Arabic script of course. As well as the above two genres, traditional Swahili storytellers distinguish also the ngena, an invented tale based on a fabric of Swahili folktales, and the kisa, of the type represented in Islamic literature by Kalila wa-Dinmaw (p.203) and the Anwar-i Shihai (see KAGAIR).

It is only in the last thirty years or so that the word kisa has come to be used in the meaning of the modern novel, though Swahili novels have neither the extended treatment nor sophistication of European-language novels. Indeed, secular Swahili prose literature as a medium for artistic expression is still very much in its infancy. In the earlier, traditional society, prose was the vehicle for the conveyance of factual information, such as topics of history, law and theology. Artistic expression was channelled exclusively into poetry, even for storytellers, and a writer in the West have not been represented in poetry for a century or so, such as theology and the rules of personal behaviour. Fable and fairy tale belonged to the realm of the (often illiterate) story-teller. The short story and novel have only come to the wider public and the masses. The themes and genres are very varied: rhymed versions of Biblical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament, eulogies, and panegyrical and hagiographical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament about the life of the Kikuyu as

It is written in a special language, comparable to the malatin, a kind of poetic holme in Arabic dialect given literary touches, largely stripped of Hebraisms or outside linguistic influences, and generally to be understood by the Jewish communities of the Maghrib as a group, even though differing from the current spoken language.

As well as the folkloric setting which it describes
and the precious linguistic materials which it represents, the ḥadīṣ reveals on examination deep structures and a content attaching it on the one hand a cultural ambience of the Maghrib but on the other, to universal Jewish thought. A rigorous and minute analysis of the written text or the oral discourse, and of their direct or allusive references, throws light on their literary foundation and on a cultural substratum of great richness.

The present author has given a sketch of all this in various publications (REJ, REJ, JA, ROMM, etc.). Thus L’histoire de Job en judéo-arabe du Maroc, in REJ (1968), 279-315, surveys a considerable number of Jewish, Arab-Muslim, Morisco and Coptic chronicles and legends, the (Greeks) apocryphal text of the Testament of Job, as well as the conflicts and questions concerning the legitimation of its power, as a background to the theocratic opposition to the organs of state and their policies, and by problems of administration connected with the emergence of these scholars and the spread of rag paper [see KAYS] from the end of the 8th century onwards. These scholars and secretaries, calligraphers, etc., and the multiplicity of manuscripts with their countless, often very ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (ṣaddūq). Following Christian and Jewish patterns, this form of a codex was generally maintained for the Holy Book since the authoritative reaction done under the name of the Book, or the title page with the author's name. Presumably covers made of wood or papyrus were covered over and kept together with leather and, like contemporary Coptic or later Islamic covers, decorated with coloured wood, bone or ivory.

With the rise of the Abbasid caliphate, books and book knowledge, additional to knowledge of the Qurʾān, became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. Titles of books which had in the past been simple and short became ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (ṣaddūq). First the titles were given in the prefaces, which usually contained the author's name and which started on a b-page; later the previous page (a-page) became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. 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teristic for the respective countries, e.g. regarding the different kinds of workmanship in leather. Moreover, in regard to the arrangement of the areas on the covers, there are, apart from general principles like lines parallel to the edges of the book, features characteristic of certain places or periods, e.g. the treatment of the centre, and the application of innumerable geometrical patterns and ornaments in certain variations by using brasses. The triangular flap to protect the edge and the clasp and eyes, appear at an early period. Asphodelos paste was used in the Syrian-Palestinian area, and paste made of wheat in South Arabia. While rag paper was used for books in general, parchment was sometimes used for copies of the Koran and other de luxe editions. Fine paper imported from China was reserved for books valuable to their owners, like books of seals. These books were not written with the usual ink (see Kitab) only, but also with ink made of silver and gold, and their pages and lines were decorated with coloured ornaments (arabesques \( [\text{q} \text{r}] \)). There were always illuminations (see \( \text{f} \text{r} \text{d} \text{k} \)). The writing surfaces were darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed with lines in different colours or in gold, on the covers, there are, apart from general principles, e.g. the right order of the sheets was controlled by catchwords, which appear early. The pagination of sheets or, sometimes, of pages, is only found later or in modern times; the pagination of sheets was more widespread. Many books ended with a colophon containing the name of the scribe, and often the date as well as, though not so often, the place; but in certain cases, the dates given there are not correct, e.g. when taken from texts which had been copied. For the post-Mongol period, the following features of the books should be noted. The size and the writing became smaller, and the kinds of paper became thinner, stronger and smoother. Coloured paper was used and, from the Ottoman period, imported paper from Europe also, firstly from Italy, and with watermarks. The ink became darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed in different colours or in gold, and an \( \text{m} \text{r} \text{d} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \) was drawn on the first page of a book. Owner's stamps appear in considerable number for the late period; and bookbinders' brushes with their names shaped like a medallion, can be found on the covers, even on lacquered ones. Splendid, calligraphic specimens of large size, with covers superbly wrought (these being mostly works of Persian poetry, often illuminated by unique miniatures), were produced mainly at the courts of the Timurids, Safavids, Mughals and Ottomans; splendid copies of the Koran were produced also at the court of the Mamluks. The scribe is often identical with the decorator, the "gilder" (\( \text{m} \text{d} \text{b} \text{k} \text{b} \net \)); he came next in prestige to the highranking calligrapher. The bookbinders formed their own guild from the time of Bayazid II (886-918/1481-1512) onwards. Even after the introduction of printing (see \( \text{m} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \text{ra} \)), books were written by hand, increasingly by European ink and nibs, and bound in the traditional way until the beginning of this century.

original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sin'djir in 1904-6; they were written in Kusdirish in a simple transposition cipher. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was, however, not accepted especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazidí beliefs, sharp guarantors in Mawsil were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Minhana endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkahsh monastery, named Shahnás Eremia Shánur of the diocese of Kirdik, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Glanvit, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kusdirish text was accepted in Bittner's monograph, Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Teufelsanbeter, with Nachtrag, in the Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss., iv, Vienna 1913. The syntax of the text is, according to Edmonds, basically that of the present-day dialect of Salaymání Kusdri. Both Bittner and Edmonds agree that the Kusdirish version is not the original, but must be a translation from the Arabic, as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kusdirish).

The Kusdr-i Di'lwa might nevertheless conceivably have been originally written in Kusdir, as the Kusdir text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the Masjdf-rag§, the Arabic text is better than the Kusdrish. According to Sharaf al-Din, the Kusdr-i Di'lwa in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. These considerations could, of course, be arguments in favour of a recent forgery. The Arabic of the Masjaf-rag§ is even more modern, as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Ottoman Turkish.

So far, we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1853; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possessed two versions in addition to the one published in AJS/, xxv; two procured by Father Anastase Maris, one of which, the so-called Sinlenur version, was copied in 1899 by a Sindrían Yazidí for a Yazidí apostate, while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Mawsilí.

The Kusdr-i Di'lwa (also Kusdr-i Di'lwa, DiÌòa), the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Moll§ Haydar in Bå'dhriyya, and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shajk 'Adl, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 109 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shajk 'Adl (d. 535/1528 or 537/1529; see 31) and is said to have dictated it to Shajk Fakhr al-Din.

The fact that the Kusdr al-Di'lwa is not mentioned in the Radd s®la-l-K€fâda we-Yas'adinya al-mus'haf£f§in li t-milla al-islâmiyya al-muhamad£yya written in 732/1332 by the well-informed Ibn Djamí (Abu Firsá 'Ubayd Allah) who belonged to the Ephrataz district, nor in al-Makzl in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shajk 'Adl in 817/1414, makes Sharaf al-Din think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725/1325 or 817/1414. As Ewlyá Celebi does not mention the work, this would bring the date even farther down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate, however, that the Yazidí have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as adh al-b¥id, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catalogue of the Shajk Mirán Ismãl Bek 'Abd Bek Oghlu Nází Kháshí for the Russian Yazidí there is a reference to "the glorious Di'lwa", Gyunairn, as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the Kusdr-i Di'lwa, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows: Melek Táwús who existed before all creatures sent 'Abjáwáz (= 'Abd Táwús = Shajk 'Adl) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazidí, by oral instruction and later by means of the Kusdr-i Di'lwa which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre-existence and eternity, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and providence, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, and which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (ch. 1). Further, he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits; with the dying of a true Yazdí and the migration of souls (ch. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (ch. 3). He warns against strange doctrines, as far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamèd things, and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (ch. 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (ch. 5).

The Masjaf-rag§ is more comprehensive. The Yazdí Kusdir original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the Kusdr-i Di'lwa. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 100 years after Shajk 'Adl (ca. 742/13322) by the great Hasan al-Ba§rI (q.v.). The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahaya 'Ali in Ka's Azz al-Din near Semail on the Tigrí, but it seems now to be in Sin'djir like the Kusdr-i Di'lwa.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion, without divisions into chapters, the Kusdr-rag§ deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many manuscripts, Anglar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the seven angels of God who are identified with the mystic shaikhs.

On the Sunday, God created 'Arak-i (Azazil, Zazál) = Melek Táwús, who is supreme over everything; on the Monday Melek Dardášl = Shayk Hasan (al-Ba§r). The Yazdí pronunciation is Shekhסin, as the invocation in the chief Yazdí prayer shows (Syedjcin Shekhysin = Sadijdín al-Din Shayk Hasan) (the conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged Shayk Si'în who is compared with the moon-god Sin, e.g. by Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique, Paris 1925, 200 n. 2, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrác (Isráّl) = Shayk Shams (al-Din); on Wednesday Melek Mikašl = Shayk Abú Bakr;
on Thursday Melek Dibrâ'î = Sadîqîdîn (Sâdîqîdîn, Sâdîqîdîshd-Dîn); on Friday Melek Şahmâ'îl (Şâhmâ'îl, Şamâ'sîlîmî) = Nâsîr al-Dîn; on Saturday Melek Tiwû'îl (Nûrubî) = Fâghr al-Dîn.

Then he created the seven heavens, the earth, sun and moon, whereupon the last-named angel of God Fâghr al-Dîn took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the sea which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. Dibrâ'î, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit-trees and the heavens (cf. on the rôle of the pearl, M. Mokri, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes Jûtûm et Iûhlî (Ahl-e Haqq), in *JA* [1960], 463*-81*).

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the seven deities, who arising through emanation, saved the Earth from destruction by the waters of the sea from which it had been formed. They are the seven deities of the Yezidis, ('Azrâ'îl = Melek Tâwûs); Harûn (Harûn-El-Rashid); on Thursday Melek al-Dîn. After them Shabur (Shâbûr) and II reigned as are the statements regarding the descendants of Adam who had as yet no opening in his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Tiwûs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge; Nûrubî (moose): shiit (stream); shârr (evil); mafân (accursed); ilâma (curse) and naft (horsehoe).

Not mentioned in the *Masâfî*, but traditionally regarded as forbidden, are words beginning with *shîn*: also *saratîn* ("carib"); *bâlîn* ("hedge"); *bûstân* ("vegetable garden"); *bûtî* ("duck"); naft ("jump") and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the moustache are also forbidden, as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking water from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.


KITAB (a.), inscriptions.

1. Islamic epigraphy in general.

The study of Arabic inscriptions today constitutes a science full of promise, an auxiliary science to be sure, but a science indispensable to the scholarly exploration of a whole category of authentic texts capable of throwing light on the civilization in the context of which they were written. From a very early period, seeing that the first dated Arabic inscription available to us goes back to the year 316/652 and that we are aware of previous inscriptions and graffiti known as "proto-Arabic", there appeared in Islamic circles the practice of engraving, on stone or other hard material, in a more or less skilful fashion, the symbols then used in so-called archaic Arabic writing [see *ESAT*]. This practice subsequently spread, benefiting from the prestige soon to be enjoyed by a writing capable of giving material embodiment to and preserving the very letter of the *Kûr'âna* revelation while responding to the needs of the new society born simultaneously with the Arab-Islamic empire and state. This corpus
of inscriptions drawn up in the Arabic language, disseminated and preserved up to the present day throughout a particularly vast geographical region, that of the Muslim countries where Arabic writing was practised, may today be suitably considered in its entirety, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the massive scale of the regions in question and in the inadequacies of the researches hitherto undertaken.

In its capacity as an original discipline, Arabic epigraphy, in common with the subsidiary sciences which it more or less borders on, like numismatics, egyptic or diplomatic for example, or even those which it partially overlaps, like palaeography *stricto sensu*, was among the disciplines subjected to specific study, at the end of the 19th century, by enthusiastic Western scholars curious about Oriental civilisations. Its methods, inspired principally by those of classical epigraphy, and the first attempts at their application, were owed to their zeal. It enabled various Western Arabist and Islamic scholars to obtain historical and archaeological results which guaranteed its vigour. It was not however until several decades later that it came to be recognised as a science by Arabic-speaking themselves, in regions where the traditional taste for calligraphy had hitherto remained unchallenged but had never taken the form of the searching out or the study of texts of this type decorating the walls of buildings or the surfaces of pieces of furniture; it is in fact no accident that the early Arab sources, anxious to describe the stages in the development of writing and to give the names of its eminent exponents, mention only the names of copyists or scribes distinguished in their use of the pen, while remaining silent on the issue of so-called lapidary writing and refer only exceptionally to the existence of the monumental graphic compositions that are so remarkable.

A modern science therefore by its very definition, Arabic epigraphy saw some of its rules codified as a result of the personal efforts of the Swiss orientalist Max van Berchem. The attention which this passion of enquirers tirelessly brought to bear on the remains of Arabic inscriptions preserved in Egypt and in Syria was in fact accompanied by a detailed consideration on his part of the fundamental principles according to which their study should best be conducted; some spectacular initial progress was marked in his lifetime and under his inspiration by the establishment of the first corpora of Arabic inscriptions.

This progress went far beyond anything that had been previously attempted. They should not, however, condemn to oblivion those earlier efforts which can be set back as far as the 18th century with reference to Tychsen, but which owed most of all, at the beginning of the 19th century, to the personality of J. J. Marcel, the French palaeographer, a member of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, who devoted his energies to deciphering, reproducing and annotating in tentative fashion some Arabic inscriptions which he himself accomplished or superintended with regard to Cairo (M. van Berchem, CIA Egypt i, Cairo 1894-1903, Mfm. mission arch. Jr, xix), Tripoi (M. Sobbenheim, CIA Syrie du Nord i, Cairo 1909, MIFAO, xxv), Siwás and Dîwrigi (M. van Berchem and H. Edelsh, CIA Asie mineure, i, Cairo 1910-17, MIFAO, xxix) and finally Jerusalem (M. van Berchem, CIA Syrie du Sud, Cairo 1920-2, MIFAO, xxix-xliv), were followed, after his death in 1911, only by a later supplement on Cairo (G. Wlet, Cia Egypte, ii, Cairo 1929-30, MIFAO, ill) and the publication still later, in the form of posthumous work taken over by other hands, of the results of a survey of Aleppo begun by Moritz Sobbenheim, in the lifetime of Max van Berchem, and subsequently resumed by Ernst Helford and Étienne Combe (Syria du Nord, ii, Cairo 1954-6, MIFAO, xxvii-xxviii).

The terrain prospected on this basis remains, at present, minimal in comparison with that approached by less complete studies. Certainly there are other works of broad scope, undertaken in a different spirit, which also deserve mention. These have striven for example to deal with the question in their own way with regard to countries where Arabic inscriptions attracted attention at a very early stage: the inventories of Michele Amari for Sicily (Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, Iscrizioni editi, Palermo 1875, Iscrizioni secoperte, 1879-81, Iscrizione mobili e domestiche, 1885, re-edited by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971) or of F. Lévi-Provençal for Spain (Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne, Leiden 1931), not to mention the various fascicules published in Calcutta under the title Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. But beside these, of far greater number are studies that are currently out of date, such as the Corpus of inscriptions arabes et turbes de l'Algérie (G. Colin, Département d'Alder, Paris 1901) and G. Mercier,
of the fundamental need for studies conducted on a near Eastern numismatics, iconography, and epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation, over legibility (cf. R. Ettinghausen, Arabic epigraphy, in Boletin de la asociacion espanola de Orientalistas, v [1969], 133-90, and M. Sharon, Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine, in REI, xlii [1974], 133-91).

As a consequence, the uneven quality of results obtained and their partial insufficiency remain the principal defects of collections made up to the present day. This assertion, banal though it may be, cannot be passed over in silence, even if the reasons for it are easily explained in a world stretching from India to the Pyrenees and from Anatolia to Black Africa, covering an immense territory that is little-known from an archaeological point of view and of which certain parts are particularly difficult of access, and which in any case considerably oversteps the limits assigned today to the Arab world as strictly defined. It is not only that Arabic inscriptions are dotted throughout areas that have since reverted to a desert state and that some provinces Islamised at a late stage, like Anatolia, are not the least rich in hitherto unsuspected treasures; but there is also the fact that these inscriptions that have remained so long outside the canon of research are also distinguished by their diversity of appearance according to the regions, as witnesses to a society where writing, spread broadly throughout all areas, was subject to numerous stylistic variations (see Knabb). The difficulties of decipherment are thus magnified by the effect of these local practices, and the traits and qualities peculiar to Arabic writing itself from the time of its appearance, which have subsequently conditioned its development, continue to be partially responsible for the shortcomings of a discipline where scientific progress is confronted by uncertain readings and by problematic interpretation of scripts, since there are numerous instances where letters are easily confused and uncertainties are further multiplied and complicated by a concern for ornamentation, which in most cases takes priority over legibility (cf. R. Ettinghausen, Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation, in Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles, ed. D. R. Rouynjian, Beirut 1974, 297-317).

Such conditions were hardly favourable to the intensive and systematic publication of documents in the series of Materiens pour un Corpus inaugurated by van Berchem. They were no more favourable to the establishment of the other fundamental studies apparatus envisaged a little later by Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet in the form of a Repertoire chronologique d'epigraphie arabe which had the object of assembling, year-by-year and in an approximately geographical order, the texts of Arabic inscriptions already published, accompanied by their French translation and indispensable bibliographical information. To be sure, sixteen successive volumes of this Repertoire (Caire, PIFAO, 1931 ff) have so far appeared and more than six thousand inscriptions have been edited covering the first eight centuries of the Muslim era. But since 1931, the date at which the enterprise was begun, the rhythm of discoveries has been more rapid than the rhythm at which the inventory has been assembled; the latter remains incomplete and today it swarms with lacunae in its most ancient sections, making it a vehicle for defective copies and sometimes of duplications. Even to consult it, in its present state of incompleteness, is to encounter difficulties which are barely alleviated by the publication of the Index geographique to its first six volumes, quite recently brought about through the good offices of the Centre d'Epigraphie Arabe of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes IVth section of Paris. Even if it may be hoped that forthcoming volumes (vol. xvii prepared by L. Kalus, in press), profiting from experience acquired and designed to respond to more precise critical objectives in an age where our knowledge of Arabic inscriptions has considerably developed, will avoid some of these defects, they will continue to be no less restricted by the inadequacies of the previous publications on which they cannot help being based.

The Repertoire chronologique d'epigraphie arabe is, in any case, the only existing attempt at systematic grouping of inscriptions, in a sphere where the means employed are, to this day, seldom sufficient for the extent of the tasks to be accomplished. Also to be asserted is the almost total absence of studies of Arabic epigraphy constructed on the principle of the series, the non-existence of functional corpora, organised according to material and category for example, the only means permitting a thorough investigation of the limited types of documents which inscriptions are, by definition. It is appropriate to mention in this connection, insofar as concerns the signatures of craftsmen, the inventories, designed to form a Corpus of Muslim artists, with which L. A. Mayer hoped to bring about a re-evaluation of our knowledge concerning the artistic scenes, as well as the functioning of their influences, and the publication of which was, also, interrupted soon after the death of the inaugurator of the collection (see Mayer, Islamic architects and their works, Geneva 1956; Islamic astralists and their works, Geneva 1958; Islamic metalworkers and their works, Geneva 1959; Islamic armours and their works, Geneva 1962).

The bibliographical guides and the synthesised surveys are also inadequate to enable a confident orientation in a mass of studies that are too often indebted to fortuitous discoveries and consequently scattered through the most diverse of volumes, ranging from "epigraphic appendices" accompanying reports of explorations, accounts of journeys or archaeological publications to museum catalogues or monographs dealing with themes such as Islamology, history, paleography or even aesthetics. Such in fact is the variety of subjects covered by Arabic inscriptions of an equally varied interest. Such also is the slow progress of research, which has been principally concerned with a copious proliferation of notes, correspondences and brief articles of an unfortunately uneven quality.

Nor do we have at our disposal, it should finally
be made clear, manuals providing an introduction to Arabic epigraphy and guiding the efforts of those who wish to become conversant with it; familiarity with the works of their predecessors, especially with the articles of Max van Berchem, loaded with methodology (Notes d’archéologie arabe, i and ii, in JÉ [1891], i, 411-493, and [1892], i, 577-607; Recherches archéologiques en Syrie, in JÉ [1905], ii, 463-515; in particular, Inscriptions arabes de Syrie, in Mem. de l’Institut égyptien, iii, 417-520), with the volumes already mentioned of the Matériaux pour un Corpus and the specimen publications of subtly-deciphered and annotated inscriptions offered by some articles of J. Sauvaget (such as his publication of the Décrets mamelouks de Syrie, in BEO, ii [1912], i-32, iii [1933], i-29, and xii [1947-48], 3-60, as well as his Quatre décors selyoukides) remains for the aspiring student the only possible path to follow, apart from various items of specific information provided here or there. More regrettable, however, is the fact that numerous aspects are to be distinguished in a body of inscriptions influenced simultaneously by regional practices and by the disparities between schools marked by the proliferation of dynastic centres. We know in fact that diverse currents presided, according to places and periods, over the drafting of inscriptions. The text of which evolved in parallel with the development and stylistic ramifications of so-called lapidary writing (which has in fact applied to various materials), a writing the history of which is an important chapter of the history of Arabic writing [see KITABAT]. Influences of every kind were manifested here equally in the form of politico-social transformations and historical events which it would be impossible to evoke in this article in the context appropriate to each, geographically distinct, group of inscriptions.

But this continually-renewed variety should not cause one to forget certain traits characteristic of Arabic inscriptions which may be underlined here, in regard to their nature and customary content, and which will enable us to stress the value of the comparison to their Western parallel.

One important feature to be emphasised is the frequency and significance of religious inscriptions, which have sometimes tended to be overlooked in cases where they are not accompanied by documents judged to be of historical interest and which, for this reason, do not figure in their own right in the Répertoire and are only briefly mentioned in the Matériaux pour un Corpus. These are sometimes isolated inscriptions also capable of supplying an ornamental function on buildings, tombstones or even household objects, sometimes elements belonging to texts where in spite of the profane purpose there is an inevitable collection of pious expressions and customary doctrinal preoccupations. Here we shall assemble in particular examples of Kur'ānic quotations, professions of faith, isolated or linked to the texts of epitaphs, prayers, invocations and blessings. These religious inscriptions appeared at the very beginning of the Islamic era among the primitive graffiti which covered a large number of the rocks of the desert (see the bibliographic references of Sourdé-Thomine, Inscriptions et graffitis arabis d’époque umayyade, à propos de quelques publications récentes, in REI [1964], xvi-20). But they were also early situated in ornamental bands forming an integral part of the architectural decor, as admirably illustrated by the interior of the Kubbat al-Sakhra [q.v.]. From this period, their essential theme has been the glorification of the Muslim faith, which could be associated with the personal nature of the testimony left behind by each traveller in the course of his wanderings, as much as with the majestic impassiveness of epigraphic compositions on a grand scale. It would not be enough, however, to say with Max van Berchem, that the dominating feature here is principally the notion of divine power which is one of the two main concepts of the Muslim spirit. Some of these texts, regarded in the most ancient cases as special means of access to the deity, continue to act as representatives of the dominant religious feeling of the period and their formule of praise and trust, varied to a greater or lesser extent with requests for pardons, blessings and favours, for a long time remained free of the constrictions of a stereotyped vocabulary. But even when they obeyed more rigid rules, they still maintained an authenticity enabling them to share in the expression of genuine religious options, and texts of commonplace appearance thus continued to reflect diverse doctrinal tendencies in the bosom of the Islamic community; allusions to sectarian beliefs, in the form of eulogies of a Shi‘i flavour for example; echoes of theological arguments like references to the created Kur‘ān in professions of faith accompanying Egyptian epitaphs of the yarbi’th century; maxims bearing the mark of philosophical wisdom and of mystical self-denial observed for example in Shirūnash at Kazwin at the beginning of the eleventh century. Even the poetic quotations so frequent for instance in later Sicilian texts could concur to the same design, and variations in formula came to be accentuated with the fragmentation, of a religious as well as a political nature, which the Islamic world suffered towards the end of the Middle Ages (note the originality of the theological texts which adorned at that time the sanctuaries of the Twelver Shi‘is conducting the prayers on the basis of a cult of ‘inma’ unknown in other Muslim circles).

A common denominator to all these inscriptions may assuredly be found in the constant use of Kur‘ānic quotations, multiplied to the extent that they sometimes take the place of any other form of devotion. But even here the choice of verses copied in whole or in part obeys specific intentions, which are discernible, if not clearly asserted, and their arrangement is sufficient to indicate the theological or judicial implications of texts which have a doctrinal value for anyone who is able to interpret them. References to hadith, the use of extracts from the Kur‘ān of a recognised prophylactic nature (the ‘Throne’ verse, for example), the insertion of certain types of prayer, also constitute revealing elements [see in this connection, D. Sourdé, A propos des ‘Dix Élus’, in REI, xxxi [1963], 111-14].

It is to be regretted, however, that few Islamic scholars take an interest in material that too often continues to be strange to them, while on the other hand there is a vigorous and widespread school of thought seeking, in the light of illuminist doctrines popular in certain circles of initiates, to decipher every ancient inscription as if it were an esoteric riddle, tinted with ‘traditional’ gnostic philosophy both Shi‘i and Iranian. In fact, besides the intentional use of certain formulae that are legible and loaded with meaning beneath the flamboyant style of the writing—such as for example the remarkable stucco composition in “square Kufic” on the names of the Twelve Imāms preserved in the sanctuary of Pdr-i Bakrān at Lindjan near Iṣfahān—one might hesitate to see a hidden sense in the quasi-mechanical
repetition, on certain monuments, of formulae such as 
_al-mulk_ il-idāh "the power is God's", or, on certain pieces of pottery, of expressions of the _al-'afṣaṣa_ type sometimes evolving towards pseudo-inscriptions. These formulae, reproduced in the manner of respected graphic combinations, doubtless preserved no theological significance more precise than the successes of appeals, such as "fortuna, prosperity, blessing... to him who possesses it" _al-yumna wa l-sāḥā bi wa l-baraka_, etc... It _pihābi_, which at that time were invariably inscribed on manufactured objects. The connections between sign and signified which may still be legitimately read here, are thus shown to be especially typical of a psychological climate peculiar to Muslim society in the sense of a society marked by religiosity, and correspond to the tight liaison that we have already emphasised between the character, Muslim in tenor and ornamental in appearance, of the majority of the inscriptions in this category: these are works of art endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

A second category of inscriptions that is no less copious is subsequently represented, that of historical texts which have the object of commemorating the individual and his acts, whether the case in question is of a senior government official or of the obscure occupant of a village tomb. To this category we may add construction texts fixing the date of a certain building, title deeds and other documentation of private transactions, foundation texts indicating (according to terminology originating with van Berchem and adopted by the _RCEDA_) attestations of pious donations given in perpetuity through the custom of _mawṣa_[..] , funeral texts of all kinds and even the straightforward signatures of master craftsmen and artists which will also be considered here. If these texts partially reflect the notion of "absolute political power" wherein van Berchem saw, according to an insufficiently-qualified assertion, the second major concept of the Islamic spirit, and if their principal gravitation is such that the same epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his continuing praise, they also contain much more: of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of their principal gravitation is such that the same saw, according to an insufficiently-qualified assertion, "absolute political power" wherein van Berchem endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

Besides these epitaphs, marked by a discretion of vocabulary which is maintained up to the time of the royal epitaphs of the Ghurid dynasty (d. 637/1239) or of the Artukid Balas (d. 518/1123), there are other funerary texts which belong more emphatically to the canon of inscriptions intended to celebrate the glory of the sovereign. These are those which, from the 4th/10th century onward, accompany monumental mausolea varying considerably in architectural structure. A greater freedom of composition, already perceptible in the dated and dedicatory epigraphic friezes of the Iranian tower-tombs, is shown when the opportunity offers, notably in the original version of inscriptions specially designed before his death in 607/1210 by "All al-Harawi[...], for the decoration of his tomb.

These texts are as valuable for the history of monuments as they are for that of the sovereigns, officials or military chiefs who chose them for the commemoration of their graves because, they become especially significant when the tombs in question are those identified by popular piety as objects of pilgrimage and supplication, whether in _Shi`i_ circles where the buildings of _mām-rāzā_ [..] were widespread at a very early stage, or to a certain extent throughout the Muslim world from the 6th/12th century, when the practice of _sīwār_[...], developed to the proportions of a veritable "cult of saints" in honour of pious individuals renowned for their posthumous miracles, or of celebrities from the early periods of Islam commemorated now for the first time by newly-built sanctuaries; only inscriptions of sufficient antiquity may in fact give information about the original period of these devotion, inaccurately described in the literary sources, while at the same time supplying the names of rulers or wealthy patrons who promoted them. These data are also useful for the reconstruction of the complex history of the multi-purpose architectural complexes which became numerous around the tombs of saints from the end of the 7th/13th century and which grew up a little later around royal graves, as is proved by well-known Timurid and Marinid examples [see KUBRA, TÖRE].

The formulae employed in this particular category of funerary texts also belong partially to that attested by the innumerable construction texts en-
graved on Muslim monuments since the Umayyad period. These latter texts in fact obeyed from the start strict obligations, which imposed the following elements: definition of the work undertaken, name of the initiator responsible, sometimes located between the name of the reigning sovereign and those of the authorities who supervised the progress of the work, and date of the construction or restoration, the whole incorporated within a series of variable additions: variously distributed pious formulae which included Qur'anic quotations appropriate to the nature of the work, but which most of all were requests to God for reward in respect of the work accomplished in his honour more or less detailed appeals on behalf of the founder and optional complementary notes, including the names of the author-scribe and the architect-mason. This was the constant framework, and the additions made in ensuing centuries were only such as to incorporate subsidiary details affecting in particular the titles of the builder or those of the various authorities on whom he depended as well as to underline the power exercised in the 5th/6th and 6th/7th centuries for example, successive mentions of the caliph of Baghdad, of the Seljuk sultan, of the local sovereign, and the humble figure of the builder is introduced simply as al-labsa al-fasir ila rahmati rahbibi “the poor slave imploring the good-will of his Lord”. Furthermore, such rigidity of formulae provides the exact scheme that may be expected of inscriptions of this genre, texts that are easily reconstructed where there are lacunae in the details of ritual etiquette or in the order of succession of the various elements, but of scope limited by the constraints of their subject. Only on two points are we likely sometimes to be agreeably surprised: their archaeological interpretation, on the one hand, when care is taken to note their precise location in the building, to the dating of which they contribute; on the other hand, their richness in titles, from which one sometimes perceives the reality of Islamic government institutions which continue to pose numerous questions to the historian.

Comparable information is furthermore to be obtained, in the majority of cases, from foundation texts where the list of the titles of the legators obeys the same rules of precedence and is often clarified when account is taken of the more theoretical notions supplied by some Arabic texts dealing with chancellery practices. But the more original data obtained in the disposal of these wakfsfiygas are of a topographical or toponomical order, on account of the large number of localities and regions listed as sources of revenue, or of an economic and social order, relating to daily life, sometimes also to urban life in general, the generous benefactor has decided for example to underline the excellence of his acts by the excavation of hawds [g.v.] or the improvement of some municipal work. The profoundly Islamic character of these arrangements, as well as the attitudes that engendered them, is linked, through the solemn proclamation of the devotional work, to the psychological process according to which the construction of a building took on its true dimension when an inscription text preserved its memory and placed the builder or benefactor in his just position within the Muslim community.

This tendency was superimposed on a concern for the glorification of the individual concerned, which appears to a still greater extent in the inscriptions on material objects, which constitute the final category of Arabic commemorative inscriptions. The texts of these most often consist in fact of nothing more than greetings added to the name and titles which enable the owner to be identified, whether it was a case of a caliph ordering the manufacture of a fašt [g.v.] in a royal factory or of a Mamlık in whose capacity of serving a bronze or a ceramic plate bearing his monogram. The mention that such an object has been manufactured on the orders of a certain powerful dignitary is sometimes the only information to be conveyed, in the form of a motif that is both epigraphic and decorative. But the sense of pride of ownership also sometimes finds an echo in the professional pride of the craftsmen who at an early stage adopted the practice of signing their works, even if in the briefest manner possible (see in this connection the writings of L. A. Mayer mentioned above).

It remains to consider, in the third and final place, the group which, while being definitively the least important, is nevertheless extremely rich in information of all kinds, the group constituted by administrative texts. Linked to the functioning of the machinery of power, they are not designed to glorify, except inadvertently, the holders of this power, but rather to make certain government decisions known. Represented in early times by inscriptions stamped on coinage, or on weights and measures of glass paste which appeared from the Umayyad period onward, they made way somewhat later for decrees of abolition of taxes. Mamlık specimens are among the best known: these are, once again, valuable documents of economic and social history, comparable with title deeds and records of donation, to the extent that they provide precise and detailed information regarding fiscal policy or give accurate descriptions of bureaucratic procedures. But the quaint symbolic notations that they preserve are shown in their turn to be extremely rich when one attempts, as Sauvaget has done, to glean from them certain data on the spot and to deduce from them, especially in the sphere of topographical studies, elements of assistance in the reconstruction of certain aspects of urban evolution.

So here we find once more this golden rule for the utilisation of Arabic inscriptions, which seems to be always to consider them as concrete documents, which are not to be separated, beyond the official formulae and the pious expressions that characterise them, from the local and monumental context within which their most original significance is expressed. Some such epigraphic commentaries, even when they deal closely with the purport of the various texts the principal tendencies of which we have reviewed above, thus remain subordinate to that which constitutes the prime quality of the documents with which they are concerned that of having been composed to occupy a particular location in lasting fashion and to be integrated into the exterior appearance of the objects or the monuments that they accompany. Nor should one neglect those inscriptions which were capable of being enclosed in the interior of the most varied types of framework (panels, scrollas, friezes of all dimensions, the entire surface of an object or a tightly-limited section), entrusted to the most varied materials according to equally diverse processes (stone engraved or sculpted in depth, stucco elaborately worked on several surfaces, experiments with bricks in relief, mosaic, painting, moulded or incised metal, wood, ivory, ceramic, etc.), sometimes reduced to the subsidiary role of motifs underlining with their shapes the principal lines of the architecture or joining with covering linear décor composed of arabesques and
circles or segments of circles—set out on a base line discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, dating from this period have been and still are being inscribed in all the provinces of the Near East, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the Near East, bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis, derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

1. In Syria

It is in the Near East, the cradle of Arabic writing, and more precisely in Syria (Namara, Zebed, Harran, Umm Djimal), that the oldest known inscriptions written in the Arabic language have been discovered. These so-called proto-Arabic inscriptions, sometimes bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis, derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

The privileged place accorded by Islam to writing allowed the latter to undergo a rapid evolution and a rapid diffusion. From the time of the Umayyad era, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the young Islamic empire. Construction texts, religious texts, milestones, epitaphs, and simple graffiti dating from this period have been and still are being discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and Iraq.

The formula of these inscriptions was probably influenced by that of the Greco-Roman inscriptions, very numerous in these regions. It is simple, sober and varies in tenor according to the function of the text. It serves as a prototype for later periods which enriched it, while remaining faithful to its broad outlines. Official texts are generally composed as follows: almost always the name of the caliph followed by the name of the deceased followed by his titles and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. For the reasoned study of this body of material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions. Official texts are generally followed by the phrase baraka min Allah bi-‘Abd Allah followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, in broad outline, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions, the Mason’s art, and as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiocies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just places, for an introduction to the realities of medieval Islamic civilization, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

2. In the Near East.

In Umayyad epigraphy, the combinations of these geometric elements give two types of characters: tall letters with vertical strokes and short letters with notches or rings, connected by horizontal segments. This double typology constitutes one of the essential elements of the aesthetic quality of Arabic writing. In fact, it provides the artist with two areas where he can exercise his genius differently: the lower register, the more dense, where the artistic effect obtained results in a simple interlacing of characters, and the upper register where the spaces between the vertical strokes provide an ideal place for the artist to indulge his taste for multiple creations.

In the Umayyad period, this upper register was not used, but the stone-masons succeeded, by using the lower register alone, in creating “a harmony at once rhythmic and linear” which makes this form of writing a genuine work of art. The rhythm is obtained by the opposition and alternation of high and low characters, while the linear harmony results from the arithmetical reckoning of the proportions. This reckoning answers a need for equilibrium as much in height (the proportion of short characters to long varies generally between 1/4 and 1/3 of their width). It is to satisfy this latter need that the mason does not hesitate to extend his characters in width, and to lengthen the joining segments. The standard of calligraphy definitely varies according to the type of inscription and it is especially in official texts that fine specimens are to be found. We shall mention simply as examples the inscriptions of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in the Kubbat al-Sahra in Jerusalem and his milestones (cf. Pl. VIII, 2 and IX, 3).

During the first two centuries of the ‘Abbasid régime, the Arabic inscriptions of the Near-East underwent an evolution corresponding to that of the socio-cultural development of the entire ancient Baghdad and that of the palaces of Samarra®. The fact that these were constructed of brick, a perishable material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions which probably adorn the official buildings and which disappeared as a result of these destructions. On the other hand, we have dating from this period a large number of epitaphs and inscriptions on movable objects, especially on fabrics which benefited from the expansion of state factories (titlab) supplying the needs of the caliphs and their court. The formula of these inscriptions, often found on the edges of the fabric, is stereotyped. It begins with the basmala, generally followed by the phrase baraka min Allah bi-‘Abd Allah followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, in broad outline, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions, the Mason’s art, and as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiocies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just places, for an introduction to the realities of medieval Islamic civilization, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

In this area, undoubtedly the most interesting evidence is provided by the epitaphs, most of them of Egyptian origin, engraved on marble or on sandstone, of which a considerable number of specimens have survived to the present day. The formula of these epitaphs is constituted of different elements of which the combinations vary according to a variety of patterns: the basmala, a verse of the Kur’an, one or more religious invocations, the profession of faith, more or less developed, the dedication of the tomb, the verb introducing the name of the deceased followed by his titles and
profession, the date of his death and an appeal for God's mercy upon him.

These epitaphs provide valuable materials for following the evolution of inscriptions on stone during the first 'Abbasid centuries. The change of dynasty did not immediately change the practices of the stonemasons and the characters of early 'Abbasid epitaphs are similar in outline to those of Umayyad inscriptions. Nevertheless, differences soon appear in the reckoning of the proportions. The characters diminish in length and correspondingly the joining segments between the letters become shorter. As a result, 'Abbasid Kufic presents a more cramped and less harmonious aspect appearance than Umayyad Kufic. On the other hand, this evolution is inclined toward a concern for the ornamentation of characters. This is expressed first in the lengthening of the terminal segments in the form of a bevel which tends to grow larger and larger. In the crude types it is sometimes replaced by a small hook or even a ring. To the development of the bevel there correspond a thickening of the outlines of the letters and a more frequent adoption of the technique of engraving in champlevé (cf. Pl. IX, 1), which allows the adoption of two parallel expressions of the evolution of characters, corresponding to the duality of engraving techniques. Thus, in incised inscriptions, the vertical strokes of the letters are decorated with hooks, simple, double or triple, pre-figuuring the palm-leaf (cf. Pl. X, 5), while in inscriptions in relief, the bevels evolve into foils, double foils or triple foils which later open out into leaves, fleurons and palm-leaves, a style of décor much in vogue in the mid-3rd/9th century (cf. Pl. X, 6).

Various other processes of ornamentation are encountered in this period: symmetrical indentations in the parallel vertical strokes of the alif and the lam, softening of the lines and the appearance of curves (in the lam-alif, the kaf), transformation of the lower appendices into rising tails, fleurons arising from mouth-shaped characters (mim), the intertwining of contiguous lines, (cf. the knot formed by the alif and the lam of the word Allah, Pl. X, 6, l. 2). The indentations and arcs which sometimes adom the joining segments, especially in the word Allah, roses and fleurons at the end of a word, framing in linear décor (braidz, zigzags, moldings, spirals) or in a décor of plant-forms (plant palm-leaves alternated on one side and the other by a sinuous line, leaves and symmetrical fleurons), sometimes an even more subtle composition (an arc delineated by a flat moulding with spandrels adorned by an outline in arabesque), combine towards the embellishment of the script.

With the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and its sporadic expansion in Syria-Palestine, new practices are introduced into the inscriptions of the Near East. The conquest of Syria by the Saljūqs, who imported with them the techniques and the graphical forms used in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire, was accompanied by the intrusion of a number of the features mentioned in the Fatimid inscriptions, such as knots and right-angled bands in the vertical strokes of certain characters. There was probably a phenomenon of osmosis between these various regions where exchanges were frequent.

The inscription on the cenotaph of Sukayna in Damascus (end of the 6th/12th century; cf. Pl. X, 9) is an interesting specimen of the evolution of monumental Kūfic in the Saljūq period. The inscriptions engraved in the wood of the cenotaph are distributed on three levels, in two bands superimposed and separated by a fine braid. The main inscription occupies the full height of the broadest band, while at half-way up, the second is intertwined among the vertical strokes of the first. The third, quite independent, occupies the small upper band. These three bands stand out against a background decorated by a fine network of arabesques which cover all of the part crudely excised.

Among the specifically Saljūq types of monumental inscription, mention should be made of epigraphic bands with geometric décor where the vertical lines of the characters are extended in the upper area giving rise to the interweaving of stars and polygons. The inscription of Saʿd b. al-Mulk at Damascus is a living illustration of this.

The Saljūq influence is also shown in the evolution of the formulary of inscriptions of small Syrian dynasties of the Saljūq era, which were the repercussions of the techniques become swollen with pomposity (cf. for example the titles of the ʿābd al-Malik sovereigns in the construction texts of the great mosque of Damascus).

It was in the first half of the 6th/12th century that there was effected the most important transformation regarding the evolution of Arabic script in stone, when Nur al-Dīn ordered the adoption of the cursive script in official inscriptions, to the detriment of the angular script, which, without disappearing completely, was reduced to repetitions of ancient types. Some fragments of cursive script are mixed, as an intrusion, in the Kufic inscriptions of the bands of the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo in 483/1090. There is found also atBusrā in Syria an inscription dating from 482/1090, where the characters, while still crude, are neatly rounded; but it is not until the first half of the 6th/12th century
that there appears the full flowering of cursive writing expressed in stone, with its full and its slender lines, its supple ligatures and the introduction of points and dialectical lines, not used in the inscriptions of angular type. A parallel transformation is effected regarding the base line which loses its rigidity and its horizontal continuity. The ligatures which delimit the bands of writing are not however eliminated, and they continue to compress the lower appendices, the latter being forced to develop below the base line. To remedy this inconvenience, the stone-masons divide the words and engrave the segments thus obtained on different levels, based on an oblique line descending from the centre of the band towards the listel of the base. This procedure permits a freer development of the lower appendices. The base line appears as a discontinuous line reduced to a series of oblique overlapping segments (cf. Pt. XIII, 11).

In the Mamlık period, this technique of engraving reaches its apogee. The characters are so interwoven that their decipherment becomes difficult all the more so as the characters used in the majority of the inscriptions of this period are of small dimensions, thick and squat. It is to this type of inscription that belong the Mamlık decrees, engraved in profusion on the walls of official buildings and constituting precious documents regarding the socio-economic life of the Near East in this period (cf. Pt. XIII, 11).

There exists, moreover, a type of Mamlık naskhī where this dense writing gives way to an elongated graphic style prefiguring the Ottoman script. This last gives the appearance of a transposition on to stone of manuscript writings, in particular the style known as thuluth, which subsequently took the status of the official scripts of epigraphy, while the former lost ground and its use became limited to religious or profane inscriptions of little importance and intended for purposes of general ornamentation.

The Kufic features which appear in the oldest Arabic inscriptions of al-Andalus are virtually the same as those which were used during the last decade of the first century A.H. in all the lands conquered by Islam, that is to say, the symbols originating from the city of Kufa, with scarcely any evolution in design. This Kufic, on account of its clearly primitive nature, is generally called archaic. It was reproduced, with more or less finesse over the years, by the traditional craftsmen of Spain who never succeeded in mastering it fully and in consequence introduced no novelty of design by virtue of which it might be considered characteristic of, or exclusive to, al-Andalus. In the last years of the amirate of Muhammad I, a new generation of rather more arised craftsmen began to turn the more extreme features of Kufic script into stylised plant-forms. At first, this innovation was used very timidly because it applied only to a very small number of letters; nevertheless, little by little it found acceptance to the point where it was applied to all the symbols which permitted it. The craftsmen thus succeeded in creating the Hispano-Muslim version of floral Kufic, while it must be admitted that the development of this variant of Kufic never attained, in al-Andalus, the level reached by contemporary Kufic writing in other Muslim territories.

In the reign of the second caliph of Cordova, al-Hakam al-Mustansir bi-llah, the religious puritanism and stern austerity which characterised the conduct of this powerful sovereign at the head of the government of al-Andalus made itself strongly felt, needless to say, in the epigraphy of the period. Decorative floral additions were suppressed and attempts made to restore the Kufic letters to their primitive and classical design. But this was not entirely possible, because the letter-forms became endowed with a certain elegance which was lacking in them before; this elegance, far from disappearing as a result of this suppression, manifestly increased. Thus there was born a new Kufic with streamlined, elegant shapes, stripped of all ornamental addition, commonly called simple Kufic, which flourished until the downfall of the Caliphate of the West. Previous to this important historical event, there certainly existed a consistency in the style of writing Kufic
in the whole of al-Andalus—as a consequence of the political unity of the region, feebly introduced by the governors and subsequently definitively enforced by the monarchs of the dynasty of the Banû Umayya—and a single cultural centre regulating its art, the metropolis of Cordova. After the downfall of the caliphate, a number of schools of design sprang up, for, with the end of the hegemony of Cordova, each province of al-Andalus followed its own political direction and developed its own artistic practices under influences of very diverse origin. Among the schools the most important were those of Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Almeria, without counting that of Cordova. At Seville, simple Kūfī continued to be used in inscriptions; but the characters developed in height, which made them extremely elegant and distinctive. At Toledo, the craftsmen returned to floral Kūfī, with forms excessively overlaid with plant-forms alternated with the use of simple Kūfī forms. Of these two variants, two distinct versions appeared: one traditional, firmly Cordovan in origin; the other authentically Toledan, which consisted in adding to characters carved in relief a central groove, giving them considerable force of expression. The Kūfī as it had been more a political than an artistic entity, had a particular importance. It is known today through the inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Aljafuris (al-Djāfariyya), built by the prince-king Abu 'Farid Ahmad al-Muqtādir bi 'llah (438-74/1046-80). It is known that in the building of this monument, originally called Dār al-Surūr or House of Rejoicing, the craftsmen experimented with numerous innovations, architectural as well as decorative; and inscriptions—an ornamental element of first importance in Islamic art—were no exception. They stylised Kūfī characters to an incredible extent, and by sometimes making them slide on a floral base or at other times cleverly interlacing them with geometric motifs, they succeeded in composing epigraphic bands of great beauty and an originality unusual for the period. As for Almeria, principal base of the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean, it had been intimately linked with the metropolis of Cordova during the caliphate. Its craftsmen had always represented Kūfī according to the model of Cordova, and they did not change their style when the latter lost its political status. They continued to use the simple Kūfī which was in use at the time of this event; later, this Kūfī evolved very slowly and its most brilliant period, corresponding to the importance and splendour of this naval base, was reached under the aegis of the Almoravids. From the study of the Arabic inscriptions of Almeria, of which a fine selection survives, it may be deduced that the Almoravid invasion brought no change in the shape of the Kūfī of al-Andalus. By contrast, as mentioned above, the Almohad invasion had very significant effects on epigraphy. At first, the latter respected the Kūfī script and used it, as is well-known, in the first building that they constructed at Marrakush; but, when they were obliged to put into practice a policy of reconciliation of the peoples whom they had subdued by force, they very soon realised that the Kūfī script, with its difficulty of interpretation, was not suitable for the development of their policies, and they replaced it with naskh or cursive in all texts relating to new foundations of a public character. For the craftsmen of al-Andalus in particular, this change had the effect of enabling them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Arabic characters and to distinguish, in each one of them, that which was essential and invariable from that which was secondary and could legitimately be altered according to the taste of the designer. Thus they came to appreciate the true significance of Kūfī forms hitherto reproduced more or less mechanically. They were no longer content with drawing their designs according to the good taste of the Almohads, but little by little they transformed the shapes. First of all, with the idea of making them attractive and graceful, then by building up their upper parts with complicated interloops, while increasingly filling up with stylised plant-forms all the interstices not covered by the letters in the lines of inscription. In the end, they created ornamental motifs of a type which, on account of its incontestable decorative worth, was subsequently copied by the Mudéjar craftsmen, including those who worked in the Alhambra of Granada, thus undoubtedly conferring upon it a long-lasting prosperity. For it is certain that it is by virtue of these copies, made with extreme care and fidelity, that we are acquainted today with the Arabic epigraphy of al-Andalus current in the period of the Almohads, since the original inscriptions of this historical period surviving to the present day are very few in number, and discoveries have not been made on the scale which could have been desired. The most types mentioned above were incorporated into Mudéjar decoration without further consequence, and through incessant use over the course of the years they patently degenerated and became a parody of what they had originally been. On the other hand, their inclusion in the ornamentation of the palace of the Banû Nasr had the effect of inspiring the craftsmen of Granada to the creation and the development to hitherto inconceivable limits of the geometric Kūfī which is admired today in the Alhambra and which is, beyond doubt, one of the finest ornamental creations contributed by Andalusian craftsmanship to the art of Islam. It was also in the Alhambra that the naskh script achieved the highest point of its development within Muslim Spain. In fact, it is known that among the most important elements contributing to the ornamentation of the Nasrid palace there are epigraphic friezes composed in this script and containing the best works of the most prominent poets of the period, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Dāyāb, which are thereby available to us in "the most sumptuous edition in the world", to borrow the apt expression of E. García Gómez.

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of the Almoravid period, was influenced by al-
connected the Muslim East and West. The Maghrib to that of the styles known in Egypt which seems to have constituted the natural link in the chain of the 'Abbásid periods. The evolution of styles in the Near East in the Umayyad and, in particular, the 'Abbásid incised inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is quite striking.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of the Fāṭimid in Ifriqiya and their installation at Mahdiyya, then at Sābara al-Mansūriyya, accentuated the orientalisation of the country. The evolution of Kūfic in the Near East in the 9th/10th century, then in the 10th/11th century, was to be reflected almost immediately in the Maghrib. In the latter as in the former, the problem faced by the artist was how to alleviate the difficulties inherent in Arabic writing, very dense in the lower part of the line of inscription, but leaving important gaps in the upper areas. The solutions adopted consisted in the development of the vertical strokes and in their evolution, sometimes their distortion, in the intertwining of letters, and most of all, was made of stylised floral patterns in decorating the background. These inscriptions are often divided in two parts by a rigid horizontal band, the lower part being occupied by the body of the letter while the upper register is decorated with a complicated floral design against which the vertical lines stand out. At Sīfa, from the end of the 4th/5th century, the letter is seen to develop, the terminal

Andalus, which for a long time remained faithful to archaic forms of Kūfic but which, under the influence of the 'Abbāsīd East, submitted to the prevailing taste. Nevertheless, Muslim Spain was to interpret in its own fashion the styles of writing and their evolution such as were familiar in the Orient in the Fāṭimid period. This piece of the Orient set in Andalusian soil was to influence Morocco, and then with the victory of the Almohads, the whole of North Africa.

The style of monumental inscriptions in the Aghlabid period differs according to whether it is a case of carvings in relief, or incised engravings, on stone or wood, or of painting. The Kūfic carved in relief on stone may well be compared to that of the Nilometer of Rawda (190/807-15), not only on the marble at al-Kayrawān (the capitals and the interior of the mihrāb). It may equally be compared to Tūnī Kūfic, but some of the details characteristic of the West appear to be quite original, for example the aṣīr with a horizontal appendage towards the right in the lower part of the letter. The writing, whose essential value lies in the message to be transmitted, tends gradually to become a part of the ornamentation (for example, the inscription painted on wood at the base of the cupola of the Great Mosque of al-Kayrawān where the inscription in very fine Kūfic characters forms a decorative framework.

The Kūfic of the foundation-plaque of the ribāb of Sebta (206/821) appears very archaic in comparison with these inscriptions.

Funerary inscriptions are mostly engraved; the formula varies little, the main element being a few Kūfīc verses, usually taken from Sūra CXII. These inscriptions perpetuate, in the 3rd/4th century, forms which are more emphatically archaic than those of the monumental inscriptions; this is especially notable in epitaphs on pillars, occasionally crudely executed in spite of some fine creations, and in the fine funerary inscriptions engraved on marble plaques or on tall columns. The similarity between the Aghlabid inscribed inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is striking.


*Articles published in Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraícos*:


*Other articles*:


*Other articles*:

chamber of the vertical strokes opening into floral shapes or curling so as to occupy the empty spaces. The influence of Fatimid Egypt is undeniable. The characters in general affect a refined elegance. The bordering strips contribute to the décor of the façades (Sfax, Great Mosque) or to that of the ma'hrāb (Stax, Zārīd ma'hrāb), mosque of Sāyiḍa at Monastir (beginning of the 9th/10th century). At Constantine (ma'hrāb of the Great Mosque, dating from the 6th/7th century), the epigraphic décor reaches a high degree of ornamental quality, recalling that of the finest Fatimid ma'hrāb of Cairo.

Funereal epigraphy also abandoned the archaism of the Aghlabid period, but after a perceptible delay. Incised inscriptions practically disappeared. The form of the tombs evolved towards prismatic marble steles, notably at Monastir and at Tunis (cemetry of the kūrūsānids). The writing, of refined elegance, recalls, by the development of the letters and by the appearance and proliferation of stylised floral designs, the style of the monumental inscriptions.

As for epigraphy on furniture, we have, in the magnificent masqūra of al-Mu'izz b. Bādis, one of the finest examples of floral Kūfic, with complex inter-twining of letters and a background of plantforms comparable to the Kūfic of Aleppo or to that of Dīyar Bakr.

In the eighth/10th and in the western region of the central Maghrib, very few inscriptions are to be noted before the Almoravid period. That of the Karawīyyīn, dating from 629/1232, is in Kūfic of the al-Kayrawān type, but, with the reign of 'Aī b. Yūsf, there appears the Andalusian Kūfic, characterised by well-proportioned letters with long and curved vertical strokes. However, the writing itself is very sober and stands out against a background flowered with arabesques and fleurons and palm-leaves with deep and multiple radiating divisions (Karawīyyīn, Great Mosque of Tlemcen), or against a background of palms, of pineapples and of half-fleursons divided in two parts horizontally by a straight listel.

The epigraphy on furniture shows, on the contrary, an attachment to the old tradition, whence a surprising conservatism in the Kūfic inscriptions of the mīnbar of Nedroma and of Algiers, and in those of the masqūra of Tlemcen.

But the most important event of this period is the appearance of the cursive script (masāḥhi). This style appears in Ifrīqiya from 490/1096, in funereal inscriptions where it is presented in a very elaborate form (the characters are fine, large and supple and well-proportioned, framed with a border and standing out against a rich floral background of criental type). It is to be supposed that it was by this oriental route that the new alphabet penetrated to the Magrib al-Akṣā in the Almoravid period (the inscriptions of Tlemcen and of Karawīyyīn in about 552/1156-7). It is in fact impossible, in the absence of precise documentary evidence, to propose an Andalusian influence, as it seems that cursive writing did not appear in Andalusia until much later.

Whatever the case may be, the victory of the Almorahids had as a consequence a certain unification of styles in the whole of North Africa with an inclination towards sober, angular Kūfic in the monumental inscriptions and, on the contrary, a preference for cursive in the funereal inscriptions. It is worth noting that no foundation inscription appears in this period in the religious buildings, pious works through which the great caliphs of the dynasty were able to bring honour to themselves.

One consequence of the Ottoman domination of Tunisia and Algeria was a new "orientalisation". The inscriptions lose their decorative quality and adhere to the requirements of the message to be transmitted. They are inscribed in frames or in scrolls in cursive characters, often with diacritical points, sometimes with vowels, on several lines which may overlap. The execution is rather casual, and the use of the Turkish language is limited.

On the other hand, Morocco remained faithful to the Andalusian models and followed their evolution in the period of the Nasrids of Granada. The type of Kūfic script which distorts the letters, twisting and stretching them into wraths and fleurons, is hardly distinguishable from the background, where geometric and floral elements are mixed. The cursive begins to take the place of the Kūfic script in the fine framing strips of the ma'hrāb of the Marinid period. After the disappearance of the kingdom of Granada, Morocco tended to withdraw within itself, apparently shut of from outside influences.

At no time did the artists of the early Middle Ages make so much use of Arabic writing as an element of decoration. It appears everywhere, in religious buildings, in funereal pavilions, in the houses of citizens or in the palaces of kings, on furniture, on table-ware and on the most minor objects of daily life, where the ornamental role is often more important than the meaning of the language. The result is a pseudo-writing without precise meaning, or a constant repetition of a word or part of a phrase, in ornamental friezes, where ease and routine take the place of refinement and, above all, of faith.


5. In West Africa.

Proof is still awaited that any system of writing was in use among the Negro civilisations of West Africa before the introduction of written Arabic. An animal drawing on a sherd found by F. Willst at Old Oyo in Western Nigeria was considered representational rather than pictographic, whilst R. Hau's search for linguistic interpretations of recurrent motifs in the art of Benin proved inconclusive. Gold-weights from Ashanti and neighbouring districts seem to represent a proliferate stage, some of the designs symbolising proverbs and injunctions and others perhaps conveying metrological data. Inscriptions in Pulaar, Cèrèh, Latin or similar Classical languages have not yet been reported from tropical West Africa.

The Saharan Berbers (Tuarèg, "People of the Veil") derived their tifināq alphabet from the Libyan script used in North Africa during the second century B.C. and subsequently (see Berbers vi). Graffiti in tifināq are known to extend from Tibesti and Djado westwards to the Niger bend, and even into Mauretania, Mauny (1954) providing the most convenient survey of the literature. A complication in the reading of these inscriptions is the problem of determining their direction. They may run from left to right.
or right, top or bottom, but within each inscription the direction remains uniform, and clues to the orientation are provided by the alignment of certain asymmetrical characters, and the stereotyped opening phrases. In academic usage texts are conventionally arranged to read from the right.

Two main varieties of tifnagh script are generally recognised. The older (called variously "tifnagh archaïque"); "Saharan ancient" and "Libycoborder" renders by bars certain characters (\(\text{¯}, \text{±}, \text{∥} \)) which in the modern script are represented by dots (\(\text{・}, \text{●}, \text{・} \)). The older script also lacks several characters. A number of the older graffiti were interpreted by Marcy (1937). They contain recurrent formulae, commencing with such words as "I require...", "I pray..." "I need...", and often accompanied by a drawing to illustrate fulfilment of the wish, all designed to have a magical influence. A group of modern inscriptions commences with the word "[|] wak wakk "I...", followed by the writer's name, and a statement of his purpose or wish. Another group, still known only from modern examples, consists of formulae inscribed on the typical Tuareg stone amulets (shakhs), and shields. These were presented to a departing lover to preserve his fidelity. Manifestly Islamic personal names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older graffiti.

Of Arabic inscriptions from West Africa, at once the oldest and the most important is the tombstone from Gao reported by Sauvaget. It records the decease on 1 Mubarram 494/6 November 1100 of a prince of the older names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older graffiti.

Further inscribed tombstones from the area of the Niger bend have subsequently been published by Mrs. Viré, including a specimen of the year 499/1009-10 from Gao, and other from al-SÍk (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Nyamneh) bearing the date 500/1102-3 from Gao, and other from al-SÍk (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Nyamneh) bearing the date 500/1102-3, and El-Krebi in Mauretania, a place thought to represent the ancient site of Aretenna.
So far some 250 inscriptions have been repored from the eastern coast of Africa lying between Mogadishu, in Somalia, and the mouth of the R. Zambesi, in Mozambique, as well as from the offshore islands, including also the Comoros (see Kumba) and Madagascar. The principal sites of most of the coast have been surveyed and some partly excavated; but very much remains to be done, and quite likely more inscriptions will come to light. Especially is this the case in Mozambique and the KeniBa Islands close to its coast, whose Islamic historical archaeology is still virtually unknown, albeit that the existence of mosques and widespread adherence to Islam is attested by 10th century Portuguese writers. Other than those of the present century, no inscriptions have been reported inland. Only one inscription is known completely in Swahili, even though some Swahili words occur in Arabic inscriptions of the 17th to the 19th centuries of the epitaphs of the petty Sultans of Kunduchi, 17 miles north of Dar es Salaam. With these exceptions and a group of 16th and 17th century Portuguese inscriptions in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, with a solitary one in Zanzibar, all the inscriptions are in Arabic.

The two earliest known inscriptions are an epitaph in the Friday Mosque at Barcaro reported by E. Cerulli, dated 499/1104-5, and a Kufic dedicatory inscription in the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, dated 500/1105-6, which, if not carved in Snafi itself, would appear to have been the work of a Snafi craftsman in Zanzibar [see Kizimkazi]. Apart from these, a small number of inscriptions in Kufic or floriate scripts have been found in small numbers in or near Mogadishu, and at Mendi, Mnarani and Mombasa in Kenya. The remaining inscriptions are all in naskhi or cursive scripts. No comprehensive attempt has so far been made to identify or classify their style or provenance so far as it was not local, but at Kilwa certain decorative inscriptions have been thought to have Pitunid affinities. On these subjects it would probably be wisest to reserve judgment until more is known of the inscriptions of the Yemen and of the Hadramawt. The greatest number of inscriptions found in eastern Africa are epitaphs, very many of them of persons otherwise unknown. Quite exceptional are sixteen dedicatory inscriptions commemorating the foundation of mosques in Lamu between the 14th and the 19th century, which demonstrate the stages of growth of the town [see Lamu]. At Mombasa a number of inscriptions, mostly funerary, illustrate and provide a solid dating for the varying fortunes of the Mazrâ family, of whom a number of members served as walis under the suzerainty of Umnân from ca. 1734 until 1837. At Kilwa there are a number of inscriptions in the Great Palace known as Husaini (Swah. from Ar. Al-husain), but all undated, and on whose date agreement has not yet been reached. A curious piece is a carved ivory horse, with an inscription in Swahili, which has been ascribed to the 19th century; but a reference in the traditional Swahili History of Pence, from which town it came, would suggest, however, that its approximate date of manufacture was ca. 1060-1050.


7. In Turkey.

The Muslim epigraphy of Turkey has not yet been the object of methodical research. It is true that there exist a large number of editions, but most of these are isolated undertakings.

The history of Muslim monumental epigraphy in Turkey does not in fact begin until the middle of the 6th/7th century. There had been building activity in Anatolia before, in the Tarsuian states of the Danishmandids, the Artuksids, the Saltukids and the Mengütekids, but most of the constructions of that time were destroyed as a result of the continuous fighting in the area.

Muslim epigraphy in Turkey can be divided essentially into three categories: commemorative inscriptions, pious inscriptions, and epitaphs. The most important of these, both from the historical and the
artistic point of view, is the former, which includes inscriptions commemorating the constructions or restorations chiefly of foundations for the public good—mosques, fountains, sabils, etc.—and, in later times, also of government buildings (offices, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc.). The pious inscriptions either contain only the names of God, Muhammad or the four rāšidūn caliphs, or consist of hadiths or citations from the Qur’an that suit the purpose served by the object which they decorate. Thus in mosques one may find such Qur’anic verses as IV, 103 or XV, 46; on fountains LXVII, 18 and 22 or the words min al-mūn bāls ṣ不动产 kāhy, from XXI, 33; and on libraries the words fikr kāhī kāhām (XCVII, 2). Pious texts may also serve as motives over commemorative inscriptions. Hence in foundation inscriptions of mosques one may find such sayings of the Prophet as “Whoever builds for God a mosque, even if only like the nest of a sand grouse, for him God builds a house in paradise”. The number of inscriptions surviving on tombstones is very large. Especially in Istanbul very fine ones can still be seen. Unfortunately, the amount of research done in epitaphs is still less than that done in the other Muslim epigraphy of Turkey (see also KITABAT).

The typical Muslim inscription, including that in Turkey, is a rectangular slab with one or more lines of text, which are separated by narrow lines, the whole being enclosed in a narrow frame. In the Seljūk and early Ottoman periods the inscriptions were often also in the form of bands along the borders of porches, or, inside mosques, of mihrabs. Some inscriptions from this time consist of one line in dīnaṣṣ al-thuluth with elongated shafts through which runs a second line in KĀfīf, these together against a background of spiral arabesques. In the Ottoman period the lines (in verse texts, the hemistichs) of most inscriptions are enclosed in cartouches with the left and right extremities elaborated in different manners; these inscriptions are sometimes decorated with such motifs as flowers (either separate or in vases), fruits, arabesques, rossets and, especially in later times, tajhīz and crescent-and-stars. In the relief inscriptions the (raised) letters and decorations may be gilded, and the (sunken) backgrounds painted—mostly green or blue; it is uncertain whether these inscriptions were in the older inscriptions too, because the original paint of these has mostly worn off.

On the tile inscriptions, it is not the relief but the colours that present the necessary contrast between the text and the background. Inscriptions of this kind are mostly of pious content and undated. They are found in buildings from very early times; after the 12th/13th century their number gradually diminishes. Very fine examples of this kind of inscription are found inside the Selimye Mosque (completed 962/1554-5) in Edirne and in the Sa’dat Köşk (11th/12th century) in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. Since, under the Great Seljūqs, KāshF was very much used for inscriptions in Iran, it was also in the early Muslim epigraphy of Anatolia. This script, which was employed, roughly, in the period covered by the Seljūk and early Ottoman states, was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Mehmed II (855-60/1453-81). Nāṣr al-Wḥ, which was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Mehmed II, became common especially in the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs made after the middle of the 11th/12th century. (The earliest inscription written in this script is perhaps that of the Mosque of Seljūq Khātūn (dated 860/ 1455-6) in Edirne [Dijkema, No. 26].) This script became so popular because (a) by this time most of these inscriptions were in Turkish verse, which (as is demonstrated in the manuscript diteras) it was traditional to write in nastaliq; and (b), since this script uses far less different auxiliary signs than does ḥiyal al-thuluth, it is much simpler to handle for the stone carver. Such scripts as muhābāt, ḥiyyah and ordinary thuluth are very rare in inscriptions. Ruṣūl was used occasionally in the last period of the Ottoman empire, mostly on buildings of secondary importance.

Little is known about the calligraphers who designed the inscriptions in the Seljūk and early Ottoman periods. Later, the more reputed calligraphers used to sign their works, with such stereotyped formulas as kahabahu 'l-ṣabī al-ṣa'īf or kahabahu 'l-ṣabī al-ṣa'īf ... They might omit their signatures, however, if on the same building there was another inscription written by one of the sultans (as is the case, for instance, in the inscriptions on the front of the two fountains of Sultan Ahmed III in Istanbul).

Under the Rûm Seljūqs and the early Ottomans, the general Muslim tradition was followed of writing inscriptions in Arabic. The earliest inscription in Turkish is perhaps that of the mausoleum of Yaḥyā Celebi (dated 814/1411) in Kutahya (I. H. Uzun9ar?Ul, Kitab-i şefii, Istanbul 1932, 79); later, especially from the end of the 16th/17th century, this came to be the language of most of the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs, the cause of this rather radical change being probably an increase of the prestige of Turkish vis-à-vis Arabic following the Ottoman occupation of the Arab lands in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly prose, the Turkish ones usually verse. The wording of the Arabic prose inscriptions closely follows the models of the Mamlāk and earlier Arabic epigraphy of Egypt and Syria. In most commemorative verse inscriptions, both those in Arabic and those in Turkish, the dates of the events commemorated are not expressed in figures or words but hidden in chronograms (see KITABAT). There do exist also Persian inscriptions, but they are very rare.

The redactors and calligraphers of the Muslim inscriptions in Turkey seem to have had a special liking for mystifying the reader—mostly in such a manner, however, that with adequate knowledge one can discover the true meanings of the texts. Not only is there the chronogram and, in verse texts, the often intricate language, but, for instance, in the inscription commemorating the 1282/1865-6 restoration of the Eski Cami (Dijkema, No. 126) in Edirne, some words are written mirror-wise. Calligraphers might add to the intricacy of inscriptions, often already sufficiently difficult to read through the interleaving of the letters, by several means; the inscription of the Muradiye Mosque (dated 899/ 1493-5) (ibidem, No. 7) in Edirne, for instance, contains unusual ligatures of letters; in the inscription of the Mosque of Sitt Khātūn (dated 899/1494) (ibidem, No. 25), in the same town, some letters are written mirror-wise; and in the inscription of the Şehit Most (dated 876/1471) [ed. by P. Wittke in Byantium, xviii (1945-6), 327, n. 2] near Rüstemdil (q.v.) in Bulgaria, letters and words are arranged in an unnatural manner.
Damage or lost inscriptions were often replaced by copies. The student of Ottoman epigraphy can mostly recognize these easily, for they are generally in a better state than originals dated in the same period. Also, the wording may give a hint. Knowledge of the history of calligraphy and decorative art may provide a means to ascertain the period when a copy was made. The foundation inscription of the Dariil-Sa'id Mosque in Edirne, dated 838/1435 (Dijkema, No. 6), for instance, is written in a nastālīk of a kind not used in Turkish epigraphy until the middle of the 18th/17th century.

Bibliography: For a general appreciation of the significance of Turkish epigraphy, see R. Mantran, Italien et perspectives de l'epigraphie turque pour les periodes pre-ottomanes et ottomanes, in Revue d'histoire maghrébine iv (1975), 217-20. For editions of Ottoman inscriptions, see the works of G. Colin, M. van Berchem, Khalif Edhem, J. H. Mordtmann, F. Taeschner, P. Wittke, Ismail Hakki Uzumayracli, Mühürlâ Zihîb, H. B. Kunter, M. Nujjuznowid, A. P. Veklov, A. Zagajewkowski, P. Miyatciw, H.-J. Körnampf, Th. Dijkema (bibliographical details in F. Th. Dijkema, The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne, Leiden 1977, Introd., § 3); some of these editions include also pre-Ottoman inscriptions. Among the editions containing more specifically pre-Ottoman inscriptions, there should be mentioned: C. Huart, Epigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure, in Revue semitique, ii (1894) and iii (1895); J. H. Lütyved, Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten, Berlin 1907, the numerous articles of Ahmed Tewfik in TOEM, esp. those in Nos. 29 (1930), 83 (1940). 86 and 87 (both 1941); P. Wittke, Inschriften, in R. M. Rieflstahl, Türkische Architektur im sudostlichen Anatolien, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 27-116; J. Sauvaget, Inscriptions orieht., in A. Gabriel, Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale, i (1940), 287-356; W. Hinz, Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient, in Bullett, xii (1949), 745-69. The voluminous studies which I. H. Konyah has devoted to the monuments and inscriptions of a number of towns in (mainly western) Anatolia are unmethodical and possess little or no value for epigraphical research. See further the RECA; the sections VIIIc in the different parts of J. D. Pearson's Index Islamici, Cambridge (later London) 1958-; H.-J. Kornrumpf, Dinarische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa, Leiden 1973, 1185-6; the bibliographies of the articles devoted in this encyclopaedia to towns of the Ottoman empire and to dynasties and important families in the area. Finally, many local histories of towns formerly under Ottoman domination contain records of inscription texts, even though this may not always be indicated in the titles.

8. In South-East Asia

Islamic epigraphy is distributed very unequally in South-East Asia, it being understood that islamization, although it did take place, was not accomplished everywhere at the same time or with the same intensity. The survey which follows can give only an idea of the importance of documents from Indonesia (Republik Indonesia) and from the Federation of Malaysia (Persekutuan Tanah Melayu). We shall have only a few words to say about the other regions.

A. Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia

The majority of epigraphic documents consist of tombstone inscriptions. Next in number are charters and related texts, and finally there are some brief legendary pieces on various subjects. These three groups will be subdivided into four geographical regions, although the exigencies of history will not always allow a rigid separation: (a) Java (b) Sumatra (c) Malaysian Peninsula (d) Eastern Indonesia.

Regarding the Javanese year, since the introduction of the purely lunar calendar in 1633 A.D., it should be noted that the fatter does not always correspond to the so-called "Arabic" system, because of a different distribution of "full" years of 355 days, and also as a result of local variations which are not all known to us. On this typically Javanese chronology (abbreviated Sâkâ Jav. or S.J.) and the theoretical conversion of its dates to the Gregorian system, reference should be made to the article Tijdrekkenings, in ENP, v (= Suppl. I), 72-9, which is accompanied by a table (bibliographical details in F. Th. Dijkema, The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne, Leiden 1977, Introd., § 3; of these editions include also pre-Ottoman inscriptions. Among the editions containing more specifically pre-Ottoman inscriptions, there should be mentioned: C. Huart, Epigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure, in Revue semitique, ii (1894) and iii (1895); J. H. Lütyved, Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten, Berlin 1907; the numerous articles of Ahmed Tewfik in TOEM, esp. those in Nos. 29 (1930), 83 (1940). 86 and 87 (both 1941); P. Wittke, Inschriften, in R. M. Rieflstahl, Türkische Architektur im sudostlichen Anatolien, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 27-116; J. Sauvaget, Inscriptions orieht., in A. Gabriel, Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale, i (1940), 287-356; W. Hinz, Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient, in Bullett. xii (1949), 745-69. The voluminous studies which I. H. Konyah has devoted to the monuments and inscriptions of a number of towns in (mainly western) Anatolia are unmethodical and possess little or no value for epigraphical research. See further the RECA; the sections VIIIc in the different parts of J. D. Pearson's Index Islamici, Cambridge (later London) 1958-; H.-J. Kornrumpf, Dinarische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa, Leiden 1973, 1185-6; the bibliographies of the articles devoted in this encyclopaedia to towns of the Ottoman empire and to dynasties and important families in the area. Finally, many local histories of towns formerly under Ottoman domination contain records of inscription texts, even though this may not always be indicated in the titles.

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Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
1470 S = 1548-9 A.D. In these two latter cases, the numerals are to be read from right to left, a mode of writing numbers unknown to epigraphy in the Arab lands but found in a number of cases in Indonesia (though rare in Sumatra), which doubtless arises from the system current in the Hindu period of expressing dates through chronograms.

Finally, in concluding this brief survey of the principal Muslim monuments of Java, let us note that in the burial complex of the famous Queen of Japârâ (usual orth. Djapara), Ratu Kali Nyamai, is a chronogram giving the date 1481 S = 1559-60 A.D.

(b) Sumatra. As a result of a systematic survey carried out between 1912 and 1917 in the region of the ancient kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and in the extreme north of the island, in Atchch to be precise, the Archaeological Service of Indonesia possesses a rich collection of photographs and casts of epitaphs, most of which however offer us nothing more than pious texts without historical value. Of the sixty dated inscriptions, wholly or partly legible, which we have been able to examine from Sumudra-Pasai, the majority (more than thirty) are from the 9th/10th century; ten are from the 10th/11th century; four date from the 8th/9th century; and only one from the closing years of the 7th/8th century. Among these tombs, of which about half belong to women, a dozen or so less are of persons of royal or princely rank. Only a few of these epitaphs have been published, and a systematic study has yet to be made.

We may mention among the historically more important, that of the first sultan of Samudra, Sultan Malik al-Sâlih who died in 896/1297, and that of his son al-Sultan b. Malik al-Zâhir Shams al-Dinârâ weラ Din Muhammad b. Malik al-Sâlih, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdad, named 9Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Abd al-Kadir, who died at Sumudra in 809/1406; that of a queen of Sumudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428; the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihrâb, daughter of Khodja Ahmad al-Sultan al-Adil; and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Râda Khan dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khodja Râda Khan b. Râda Khân, buried in 863/1450-1.

One tomb, of unique type, is that of a person named Nâmi Khâsim al-Dîn b. Nâmi Amin. As well as conventional texts, the tomb bears a poem by Sâdî and dates from 824/1420.

Of two particularly interesting inscriptions apparently belonging to the same tomb, the one gives us a text in Old Malay written in palaeo-Sumatran characters, the epitaph of a queen whose name is uncertain but who died in 781/1380; the other stone bears an epitaph in Arabic of a princess, with a date almost identical to that of the former, the same day of the week, the same day of the month, the same month, but ten years later, 791/1398. It is probable that there is an error in the dating of one of the two inscriptions. In any case, the text in palaeo-Sumatran characters is very important, since it gives us evidence of the use of this script, which belongs to the pre-Muslim period, in the Islamic era and in the 8th/9th century, a hundred years after the Islamisation of the region.

(c) Federation of Malaysia. Among the tombs discovered here are that of the sixth sovereign of Malaka, Sultan Mansur Shah b. Muzaffar Shah, who died in 865/1464, and that of the first sultan of Pahang, Sultan Muhammed Shah, son of Sultan Mansur Shah the conqueror of Pahang, who was the son of Muzaffar Shah, son of Muhammed Shah. The latter tomb is dated 880/1475, and it is noticeable that the genealogy here goes back further: than in the previous example. The vast majority of tomb inscriptions are in Arabic, but one case is known where the epitaph proper is in Malay. It is that of a step-daughter of Sultan Ahmad, the second sovereign of Pahang; she was in fact the daughter of the seventh sovereign of Malaka and sister of the seventh and last, who was forced to flee before the Portuguese invasion. There are various other royal tombs of the different sultanates, as well as those of eminent individuals dating from the 9th and 10th/11th and 12th centuries.

At Brunei, two tombs from the 13th century A.D. have been discovered. They are totally different from those of the Peninsular as regards the form and the style of the inscription.

(d) Eastern Indonesia. The island of Bali, where there is a small minority of Muslims in the north, has not yet yielded a single ancient inscription. There is one, however, on the tomb of a princess of which roughly half the population is Muslim. This inscription is bilingual: the shahâda in Arabic and a chronogram in Balinese script. The latter has been interpreted by Stutterheim as representing 1326/1722.

II. Charters and related documents.

(a) and (b) Java and Sumatra. On a minbar from the east of Java, of which we have only a facsimile, there is the date 1487 Sâlih/1565-6 A.D. inscribed in palaeo-Javanese numerals; but a chronogram which accompanies it causes difficulty. A small stele on at the centre of the island, in Javanese, bears the date of 1242/1787, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdad, named 9Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Abd al-Kadir, who died at Sumudra in 809/1406; that of a queen of Sumudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428; the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihrâb, daughter of Khodja Ahmad al-Sultan al-Adil; and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Râda Khan dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khodja Râda Khan b. Râda Khân, buried in 863/1450-1.

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fractions, with the penalties laid down for each. The date is unfortunately incomplete but we can at least be sure that it belongs to the 8th/9th century. In this text there are very few Arabic words, and even the name of Allah is rendered by an expression Hindu in origin, Dhesa MuSy Rayan. (2) Eastern Indonesia. Especially interesting in this region are texts written in Arabic script but in the language of Ternate, emulating from the sultanate of the same name. They are all recent (19th century), but give valuable evidence concerning this language, which is not part of the Indonesian linguistic family (which henceforward may usefully be called Nounsarian), but which alongside Malay played the role of a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

III. Inscriptions on various objects.

1. Cannons.
(a), (b), (c). Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia. Cannons of diverse origin have been found [of French, Dutch or Indonesian manufacture] bearing inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 18th and 19th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name Yakhera (variant of Djakarta) written in Javanese letters. It also bears a date, which is, however, problematical.
(b) Eastern Indonesia. A cannon of Indonesian manufacture, dating from the start of the 20th century, has been found at Soulawesi. It bears the name La Patau, the nephew of the famous Sultan of Pnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 17th and 18th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name of Ratu Kalii Nyamat: P. D. K. Bosch, 0V (1930), 57-8 with plate 12-23; on Sandan Duvur and Gondan Lor: W. F. Stutterheim, 0V (1939), 30; n. 1 and fig. 34; L. C. Darnais, Etudes javanusises I: Les tombeaux musulmans d'Indes de Troubly, in BFFEO, xviii (1937), 351-415 with 20 plates.

2. Other objects.
(a) Java. There are various brief inscriptions on mortars and on carved wooden panels, all of them from the 19th century.
(b) Federation of Malaysia (including British Borneo) and (c) Eastern Indonesia. In general, only books and articles discussing the epigraphic data are listed here.

I. Tomb inscriptions.

a. Java. For the inscription of Malik Ibrahim's tomb at Gresik, see TBRG, index 1932-13, under the name of Ph. S. van Ronkel, Th. J. Bynboll, J. P. Moquette and H. Djadjadiningrat; anon., Gravur, Grissee, in ENP, i (1927), 819; G. P. [konfaer], Liber, in ENP, ii (1928), 579; Moquette, De oudste Mohammedaanse inscriptie op Java, in Verhandelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Talen- en Volkenkunde van Java, gehouden te Solo, 1901, Weltevreden, 1914, 391-9; P. Ravaisse, L'inscription conjuge de Léran à Java, in TEG, liv (1923), 686-703; D. A. Rinkes, De Heiligen van Java. I. De aalm. van Siech Abdoolmouhny, in TEG, iii (1920), 556-9; idem, De Heiligen van Java. II. De heiligen van Java. III: De heiligen van Java. I, De aalm. van Siech Abdoolmouhny, in TEG, iv (1921), 391-4.

b. Sumatra. The official Reports of the prospecting mission undertaken since 1912 in northern Sumatra will be found in: J. J. de Vink, Uitredeel uit het verslag over de oudheidkundige werken in Sumatra, in TBRG, i (1923), 53-68; R. O. Winstedt, Ein persischGrab an der Küste von Ratu Kalii Nyamat: F. D. K. Bosch, 0V (1930), 57-8 with plate 12-23; on Sandan Duvur and Gondan Lor: W. F. Stutterheim, 0V (1939), 30; n. 1 and fig. 34; L. C. Darnais, Etudes javanusises I: Les tombeaux musulmans d'Indes de Troubly, in BFFEO, xviii (1937), 351-415 with 20 plates.

(c) Java and Sumatra: Moquette, De gravenstenen te Pasg en Grissee vergelijken met dergelijke monumenten uit Hindoestaan, in TBRG, liv (1922), 536-48; Moquette en H. D. [jaadiningrat], Oudheden (Mohammedaanse), in ENP, iii (1925), 201-5; Djadjadiningrat, In Memoriam Jean Pierre Moquette, in TEG, livii (1927), 1-35.

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C. Cambodia

One inscription only has been found in the area of Phnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of pious texts and the fourth, which perhaps contains more interesting details, unfortunately cannot be deciphered.

D. Cambodia

Two tombstone inscriptions have been found at Camplas, in Arabic with Kufic characters. One is from 431/1039. The other is undated, but judging by the palaeography, is of roughly the same age as the first.

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(L. CH. DAMAS)

9. Iran and Transoxiana.

Before the advent of Islam, the regions of Iran and Transoxiana had long-established traditions of
literacy. On the one hand, use was made of various scripts derived from the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid chancellies during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. These employed a largely historical spelling for Iranian words, and combined with this, ideographic writing-elements formed from Semitic roots, but with added Iranian terminations (known as phonetic complements) to indicate the inflexions. On the other hand, in the regions of Balkh, Tukhâristân and Râkahshâd, there had been current the cursive Bactrian script, a slightly modified form of the Greek alphabet, which like its parent employed for this Iranian dialect straightforward phonetic spellings. This survived on the so-called Arab-Hephthalite coins until the coming of Islam. Here and there, among the Buddhist communities, Indian Kharoṣṭhī and even Brahmi scripts had formerly been known; but with these, as with the Rûm Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, and the indeciphered Kushan linear script of Dâsh-tâ Naâvû, we are not here concerned.

To the first group, the descendents of Aramaic, belonged Parthian, Sogdian and Khârazmian, besides a little-known variant of the same type used in Mâzandârân. Sogdian and Khârazmian lingered on, again on coins, well down into Islamic times. More prominent, however, was (Sasanian) Pahlavi, which, in its cursive forms known as Book-Pahlavi, co-existed with Islam for centuries as a vehicle of Zoroastrian and Islamic writings. It is found beside Arabic in bilingual Islamic inscriptions of the Caspian region at Kâdkâ (Neka), Lâdijm and Rasgît (Resgêt), and perhaps was the only method of writing the Persian language in the earlier Islamic period. Until the time of al-Kâdhîkî, in 769/1368-69, Pahlavi had been the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Kâshââhâdi, Sudh al-âḏâk, i, 423) converted the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors.

Apart from inscriptions on the coins, the dated Arabic inscriptions of Iran, as at present known, begin surprisingly late. The earliest are a still unpublished series at Bahmîdâz, near the border of Fars and Isfahân Provinces. The clearest text reads 'amarâd Kâdîm b. Muhammad b. Dâshâ (S)āmārī (4 of Kâzîm al-Muqâm, w. 208, 209) and 'âmârâd Kâzîm al-Muqâm, w. 208, 209. Another records the birth of Muhammad b. Yûsuf b. Kâzîm on Monday, 27 Sha'âbân 309. The same site has one poorly preserved Book-Pahlavi inscription, and many other short texts in Arabic. A substantial list of the known Arabic inscriptions of Iran to 600/1203-4 was compiled by Miles. The earliest of consequence among the famous texts of the Bûyûd 'Adud al-Dawla Fânsîr-nâshâ (see fig. 63) in the Tachara at Persepolis, recording the defeat of Muhammad b. Mâkîn in Safar 344/ May-June 955 and the 'Afu's interest in the decipherment of inscriptions. One of the texts has been shown to contain several Persian words (R. N. Frye, The heritage of Persia, London 1562, 251, 250, with fig. 63). Nearby is the inscription of Bahâ' al-Dawla [q.v. in Suppl.] dated 392/1001-2. Earlier in fact than any known Arabic inscription of Iran or Afghanistan is the enigmatic text from the Tachêl Vâlley in Warîstân, now in the Peshâhâr Museum, which is dated Djamâd 1 243/August 857. This seems to contain a mention of "the land of 'Umayr", which, with the early date, could imply a connexion with the Khâzûrigi amirate at Gardiz [q.v.], since judging by the Târîkh-i Sânî, caliphal control could not have than extended so far east.

Decorative varieties of Arabic script were equally slow to appear in the Islamic East. The texts of 'Adud al-Dawla show no more than occasional barbed terminations, and characters linked by small loops beneath the base-line. Filiation of letter-terms seems to have developed first in Egypt, and to have been quickly followed there by Floriation (in which is here understood the use of attached, extended, leaf-decoration, as well as that of circular flowers, either attached or separate). Such features, as Grohmann showed, were known in Egypt as early as 216/834-5, and must have travelled thence to the East; not, as Van Berchem maintained, on the evidence of a restored inscription at Tashkert, from Central Asia westwards. In Iran, strongly floriated Kâfîc often tending to floriation is found in undated (probably 4th/5th century) inscriptions of the Mâdījâl Dîjâmî at Nâyîn. The earliest dated examples of floriation appear to be the inscriptions of Bâd b. Hâsanâwî, a Kurdish ruler in Lûriştân: one at each end of the Pul-i Mûnûllân near Khurramâbâd, alike dated 374/984-5, and another from the Pul-i Kâshâân completed in 399/1008-9, which all record the building of the bridges. Very fine specimens of Floriated Kâfic are those of the minaret of the Pâ-yl Minâr mosque at Zawârân (451/1060-9), and the tomb-tower of Hâznîyârâ at Rasgît (Resgêt). From a reading of its date that was uncertain, Godard sought to ascribe the latter to the 5th/6th century, but its thick, heavy, florid decorations can only be paralleled with the legends of the Khârazm-Shâh coins of the 6th/7th century; and in any event, the closing words can hardly be taken for a date. In fact, the principality of Khârazm had been slow to develop an ornate calligraphy. That region during the 5th/6th century had adopted an austere and elegant style, unusual only for the sweeping curves of the qâf, bâ and bâ, which is exemplified by the foundation-notice of Manîm b. Mamûn (dated 407/1017-18) in lead, from a minaret at Urgânî, or Gurgândî [q.v.], now at Tashkent. With this may be compared the silver tray of the unidentitied prince Taqî al-Urma wa-Strâdî al-Miâlî Khârazm-Shâh b. Ibrâhîm, reproduced by Smirnov. Further to the west in the Zîfrîd kingdom,
the inscription of the Gunbad-i Kâbûs (595/1199-1205) is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly undecorated script. Such austere forms were well-adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saljûqs in Iran: such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder’s inscription of the minaret Nizâm al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Dînâr at Isfâhân (AMT, vii, 3-5, 83) or that in the name of the Sultan Mûhammad b. Malik Shâh at Gulpâyaglûn.

More adventurous calligraphic developments had meanwhile been taking place in the Sânâmâl territories of Transoxania and Khurasan, no doubt stimulated by the introduction of paper-manufacture from China, and the stimulus consequently given to demand. On the slip-painted “Nîshâpûr” pottery, magniﬁcant lettering is found in black or chalcography over a pale ground, and painted or interlaced letter-frames soon became widespread. In the absence of dated specimens, chronology of the pottery depends on examples in other media. Interlaced letters appear on a dînâr of Nasr b. Ahmad dated 524/1125-6 from al-Muhammadîyya (Ravy), and similar forms are found frequently on subsequent Bûyûd coins of North Iranian mints. Thus Plaited Kufic seems to have been diffused from east to west across the Islamic world, in the opposite direction to ﬂoriation. The most characteristic, however, both at Cistit. and other mints, is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly unornamented script. Such austere forms were well-adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saljûqs in Iran: such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder’s inscription of the minaret Nizâm al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Dînâr at Isfâhân (AMT, vii, 3-5, 83) or that in the name of the Sultan Mûhammad b. Malik Shâh at Gulpâyaglûn.

The Kufic inscriptions so far discussed are all couched in Arabic. The small number of Persian epigraphs known which were written in this character were discussed by Bombaci in his examination of the long and fragmentary Persian verse-inscription or marble slabs, found in the palace of Mas'ûd III at Ghazna (built in 505/1111-12). He notes Persian verses also on the tomb of an unknown person at Ghazna. However, the earliest example of such a text is on the portal-arch of Rûbâyî-i Malik near Bâlghâr (Pope, Survey of Persian Art, pi. 272B), ascribed to the Karâkhâned Ghâna al-Mulk Yâqûb b. Tamghâq Küfîn Ibrâhîm (471/1078-9). Other monumental Persian inscriptions are at the tomb of Mûhammad Shâhîn at Nâshâvân (N. Khaniîkî, Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase, in JI 4 [1862], 113-15); and especially that at the mausoleum of the later Karâkhâned Djalâl al-Dîn al-Husayn ibn al-Jâhân ibn Aflî at Uzgend (547/1152), where the Persian foundation-text is in sinuous Naskhî, and the largely Turkish protocol of the ruler, below, in a rigorously geometrical Bordered Kufic. In unpointed script Persian has always been found extremely diﬃcult to read, and it was only with the advent of fully-pointed Naskhî that the monumental use of Persian became extensive.

In any event, by the close of the 5th/11th century, decorated Kufic was passing out of favour, both by reason of its diﬃcult legibility, and perhaps on account of associations with the Fatîmid dynasty, considered hostile by the Saljûqs. Cursive hand-writings, the rounded Naskhî, and the flowing ligatured chancery hands, had always co-existed with the angular script, and now emerged with full monumental status. A Naskhî text on the tombstone of Mahmûd I at Ghazna contains the date 421/1030, but is often considered a later addition, as are the Kufic inscriptions on the wooden doors from that tomb. Nevertheless, Ghazna played a leading part in the innovation, for the specimen there on a marble panel naming the Sultan Îbrâhîm b. Mas'ûd is unlikely to be later than his death in 427/1034/5, in view of its wording. At Dândâs, a Naskhî text is placed before 406/1017-18. A specimen of Kufic with the angular script, as at the Imam-zâdah Khâned at Mashhad already mentioned, and the mausoleum of Qârâb (Kurwa near Kazwîn, ascribed to 575/1179-80), Arabic manuals of calligraphy, followed by several recent commentators, apply special terms (gulled, mulabbaq, raybâî, nûkî and so on) to varieties of Naskhî script. Yet since the application of these in succeeding periods is inconsistent, and the categories appearing on monuments do not always correspond, it is safer to use only the general term. From the second half of the 6th/12th century, Naskhî inscriptions exist in substantial
numbers in Iran. The best general study, no longer, of course, up-to-date, is that of Kratkevskaya (in F. W. von Bpers, Survey of Persian art, iv, 1770-84). Often the Nashtsh characters stand, without attachment, on an overall background of vegetable scrolls, a convention found also in the latest phase of Kufic. In the period of the Ifghans and later, wide variations are found in the forms of script under the Nashtsh "label". As outstanding specimens, mention must be made of the inscription of Oldjeity in the Djam of Isfahan, and the inscription of the Muzaffari Ahmad at Sehidj, with its massed verticals typical of the Persian style. Yet the fashion for Nisfchi, with its massed verticals typical of the Persian style, is that of Kratchkovskaya (1977). Often mischievously: for example, the Persian inscription at the Qasr-i-Azam at Dihli is probably a lustre plate of a stone, and on crystal and jade [see Bilawr and Vaghi]. The greatest part of the public inscriptions is carved on stone; often of a stone identical to that of the main building material, but not infrequently a specially selected fine-grained stone is used for the inscription and emblazoned into the structure.

Here the question of authenticity must be considered. An inscription may indeed be exactly contemporary with the building on which it appears. But it may also be earlier, preserved through the reverence accorded to the written word or through the inscription to it of some special sanctity, and set into a later unrelated building; or else later, marking the completion of a building project essentially temporary with the building on which it appears.

Here the technique of carving stone inscriptions in Arabi, Persian or Urdu is conspicuously different
from that of inscriptions in other Indian languages, where the characters are engraved into the surface of the stone; in the Muslim inscriptions the outline of the letters is first written on the stone, and the ground between the letters then chiselled away leaving the inscription level with the original surface. A similar technique may be applied to inscriptions on crystal and jade, and also to the larger metal pieces, although on any of these fields the letters may be incised and the grooves filled with another material to leave an inscription flush with the surface; in the case of Dholi ware this is regularly of silver; bar laid into the base metal. Inscriptions in ceramics may be either of letters in a contrasting colour fired integrally in a regularly-shaped tile (haft-rangi; see KHAMRA), or consist of the individual letter-shapes let into a contrasting ground by a mosaic technique. The former ceramic technique is more commonly employed for simple repetitive motifs (e.g. the names Allah or Muhammad), sometimes combined with a moulded base on which the letter-shapes are raised, as on the merlons of Rukn-i Alam's tomb in Multān; mosaic tile inscriptions, which do not appear until the 11th/12th century, are best exemplified in the Mughal buildings of Lahore (see LANGWR).

The language of the earliest inscriptions is invariably Arabic. There are no inscriptional records of the 'Abbasid presence in Sind, although a few were engendered by the Muslim communities which lingered on in Sindh and the Pandjāb, with their occasional offshoots to Kāthth and the north coast of Kāthūwiw [see GURJAR], to which were added the small communities which grew up around the Mahrūzs of individual Shi'ah saints who drifted in to India before the Ghurid conquest, especially in the Pandjāb and the Ganges valley. After the Ghurid conquest of Dholi, dating inscriptions remain in Arabic regularly until towards the end of the 7th/8th century, when they are replaced by Persian; non-historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Kur'ānic quotations on mosques and tomb inscriptions. This does not, however, actually occur also on coins of the Mughal period [see SIKKA]. Many inscriptions are of a high order of calligraphic excellence, and the names of many calligraphers in many regions of India are recorded.

The information which the inscriptions provide for the historian is sometimes very valuable; at times, they furnish the only sources for doubtful points of dynastic chronology; they supply missing details from the literary histories, or enable confusing points to be resolved where the other documents are in conflict; they enable more complete lists to be made of rulers' families, of the local nobility or court and town officials; and they are a valuable source of information on the history of the buildings on which they are found, subject to the reservation on their authenticity referred to above). Indirectly, too, their location enables the political status of border regions at certain confused times to be determined, such as the regions in dispute between the Mwādi and Diamonpur sultanates (q.v.), or the Raygūr dāsā (see HIND. HISTORY); in many cases, an inscription is the only evidence for a fort or stronghold having been occupied by a particular power at any time. Even when rulers and governors are known from chronicles, the inscriptions often provide essential information on details of their careers, their promotions and postings, their achievements, even on their families. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and thereby provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups.

Administrative and economic details contained in or implied by the inscriptions can also be invaluable: information on details of departments, names of offices, and designations of office-holders; on the imposition or remission of taxes, and their varied application to certain classes or tribes; on the nature and conditions of grants of land, both to...
holders of an ida [g.v.] and to charitable institutions such as mosque or madrasa as waqf [g.v.]; on land cultivation or irrigation (well inscriptions, or records of repairs to tanks and dams, often refer to the amount of land intended to be irrigated); on regional boundaries; on markets. Records on works of public utility may include a schedule of expenses or the wages to be paid to employees. Geographical details, including distances, occur in inscriptions relating to roads and bridges, which also provide information on their builders—besides recording the correct forms of place-names, which seem singularly liable to corruption by copyists of the chronicles. Building inscriptions often indicate the cost of construction as well as details of the architects; an unusual inscription in the tomb of Hâshang Shah at Mându [g.v.] records a tribute by visiting Mughal architects of the family of master-builders who were later responsible for the Tâdž Mahâl. Gun inscriptions, as well as prescribing essential instructions on the quantity of charge and shot required, frequently provide information on gun founding and the gun-founders—often Turcs or Europeans—involved in the industry.

The literary contribution of the inscriptions must not be overlooked. Many inscriptions are in verses composed ad hoc, some of considerable beauty and skill, but it must be admitted that the verse of a lot of inscriptions is no better than doggerel. This is especially the case with verses containing a chronogram, where taste is often sacrificed in favour of ingenuity. There are occasional quotations from well-known Persian poets, but frequently the authors are local poets not otherwise recorded. Specimens of Dakhân poetry are preserved in some Deccan inscriptions. Some prose inscriptions also evince literary merit, and may contain traditions not found in the usual collections of ohdya, such as the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Dâmi' mausd of Jinaybür Sîrî (Persian), or the variations on a tradition (Arabic) in the mosque inscriptions of Bengal, basically: "The Prophet, God's peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque to God, for him God builds a house in Paradise'." Sentiments expressed range from strict and self-conscious rectitude through quietist mysticism to wishful nostalgia.

There is also the linguistic contribution of inscriptions. The occurrence of local words (Hindi, Bengali, Nârâ, Gujârâtî, Urdu and Dakhân in particular) is useful in reconstructing the history (and social conditions of use) of Indian languages. Bilingual inscriptions provide evidence on the extent of use of local languages and their place in communication of official instructions to the public, and the status of a particular local language in a border area; this is especially the case in the Deccan, where Muslim inscriptions in Kannada, Nârâ and Telugu are not uncommon besides the usual Persian and Dakhân.

The Indian sub-continent has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to Muslim inscriptions for well over a century. Hundreds are recorded in orientalist publications, besides those in specialist journals devoted to epigraphy alone; and India has been well served by highly competent Government Epigraphists appointed specially to oversee Arabic and Persian inscriptions, of whom Ghulam Yârsî and Ziauddin Desai are pre-eminent. The work of exploration, interpretation and publication is still active.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography would be enormous in view of the great corpus of Indian Muslim epigraphs published so far. Inscriptions which relate to particular regions of India are listed under regional articles on History. In the 19th century epigraphs were mostly published, usually with translations and notes, in JASB. From 1907 the invaluable Epigraphia Indica Moslemica appeared, which continued until the independence of India and Pakistan. Pre-EIM inscriptions are listed in J. Horovitz, A list of the published Muhammadan inscriptions of India, in EIM (1909-10). Since the cessation of EIM, Muslim inscriptions of India have appeared in Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement, and valuable comments appear also in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy. Articles and studies are recorded in Creswell, Bibliography, and its Supplement, and in Pearson and Supplements. Many of the earlier EIM articles collect the epigraphs of individual sultans, but recent discoveries have rendered many of these out-of-date.

V. S. Bendre, Studies in Muslim inscriptions, Bombay 1944, extracts some historical information from epigraphs published in EIM to that date, but since the author knew no Arabic or Persian many significant details were not appreciated, and the work suffers from the limitation of its corpus. There is a special chapter on Arabic and Persian epigraphy in the Deccan by Z. A. Desai in H. K. Sharmi and P. M. Joshi (eds.), History of medieval Deccan, II, Hyderabad 1974. (J. Burton-Page)

KITÂBâ-KHÂNâA [see KÂRÂBÂ]
KITÂMÎYYA [see KÂÎMÎYYA]

KITÎFîR, one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. It is probably a corruption of Kitîfîr, based upon an early scribal error. Other forms of the name based on confusions of similar letters in Arabic script are Kîftîn, Kîfitîn, and Kîfitîn. The term Kîfitîr is frequently corrupted further to Itîfîr (so generally in Tabari, Thâlabî, Zarnâmchî, Baydâwî, and others), and in some manuscripts Itîftîn. He is given the patronymic Ibn Ruhâbî (also Ibn Ruhâyîb and Ibn Fâhid and others). These are considerable confusion regarding his name, and Tabârî, for example, uses several forms. Itîfîr alone calls him Kîfitîr, which is closest to the original Hebrew. In the Kur'ân, he is merely referred to by his title al-'Azîz (XII, 30, 51).

Kitîfîr was the treasurer of Egypt. Because he is immediately discerned Yusîlî's [q.r.] fine qualities, he is considered one of the three most insightful individuals (afas al-nâs) in the judging of men, along with Shu'a'bî's daughter, who asked her father to hire Mîsî, and Abû Bakr, who chose 'Umar as his successor (Tabari, Thâlabî, Zarnâmchîs, Baydâwîs). Several reflections of the Haggadic Potiphar are found in Muslim legends. Kitîfîr dies after Yusîlî's release from prison. Yusûlî in most Muslim sources marries Kitîfîr's wife and finds her a virgin. This is never explained by the fact that Kitîfîr was a eunuch, as is common in the Judeo-Christian tradition (based on a later interpretation of Bîbî, Heb. sâdîs), but rather that he was a homosexual as in some Jewish midrashic (comp. Tabari, i, 356, with Sûfî, 13b, and Genesi, Rabba, ìxxxii, 3). According to Kîfîs, Kitîfîr had been unable to have sexual relations with his wife because he was an alcoholic (saumû). Yusîlî's marrying Kitîfîr's wife probably reflects the association of Potiphar with Potiphera (Gen. xlii, 45) in the midrash.

Kitîfîr is a minor character about whom little is related in Islamic tradition.


Near East. Angular script, carved out, and with boss which foreshadow palmates. Egyptian stele, 24/857 (Photo. Wiet).


13. Near East. Type of Ottoman script which is still very close to Mamlūk ṣaṣṭḥa. Inscription (942/1536-7) of the Bāb al-Nażīr at Jerusalem (Photo. Van Berchem).
(Lévi-Provençal, Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne, No. 137).
Andalusián cursive. (Lévi-Provençal, Inscriptions arabes d’Espagne, No. 272).

17. Turkey. Inscription over the entrance to the Mosque of Bāyezīd II in Edirne. Engraved on stone and painted. Reportedly designed by the famous calligrapher Shaykh Hamd Allāh. Dated 893/1488.


23. Iran. Rasgit (Resget), Tomb of Hormizdyar. Inscription over entrance.
   Late Floriated Kufic; 6th/12th century. Bismillāh.

23. Afghanistan. Shāh-i Mashhad. Madrasa of Malika Muʿarrama, daughter of Ghiyāth al-Din Muhammad. Late 6th/12th century. Bordered Kufic with geometrical elements. (After C. and Glatzer, East and West, xxi [1971], Fig. 8).

(Reproduced after M. Bement Smith, The Imamzade Karrar at Buzun, in A.I., vii [1935], pl. II, fig. 2).

28. Iran. Isfahan, mihrab of Qoljeyru in Masjid-i Jami'.
29. Iran. Sirjan, stone minbar of the Mu'ayyad Ahmad; Tughrā script (Naskh derivative with extended verticals) dated 789/1387-8.
(Photo Paul Fox, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

(Publication by J. Burton-Page forthcoming).
Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources include Tabari, i, 377-9, 381 f., 391 f. (cf. also Cairo ed. 1969, i, 335, notes, for ms. variants); idem, Tašfīr, Cairo 1972/1954, xi, 184-6; Kişāl, Kişāl as-anbiyā', ed. Eisenberg, i, 161 f. 164, 268; Šafābayeb, Kişāl as-anbiyā', Cairo 1935, 74-6, 80; Zamakhshāri, Tašfīr, Cairo 1385/ 1966, xi, 505 f.; Baydāwī, Tašfīr, ed. Feishekar, 459, 454.


KITHĀRA, KITARĀ, a musical instrument of the lute family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and strings which were left free at their greatest width. Ibn Khurraḏīḏibhī in his K. al-Lakw (i, 19) and in his account appearing in the Muruḏ āl-Khābāb al-Mašūṭī (viii, 91 = 1206) says concerning the kīthāra: "They (the Byzantines) have the lūrā which is a rabūb (sc. viol), which is made from wood and has five strings; they also have the bithārā with twelve strings". Al-Khwārizmī in his Mašīfāt as-sulṭān writes that "the lūrā (lyre) is the pānḏū (harp) in Greek; the kīthārā is one of their instruments, and resembles the tāfūb (lute with a long neck)". The approximation of the two instruments in the sources corresponds indeed to reality, because the lūrā and kīthārā were two variations of the same instrument type in vogue since classical times and up to the 17th century in Islam. The lūrā was a smaller instrument played by beginners and by amateurs, whereas the kīthārā was the instrument for professionals who towards the Islamic period used it to show off a virtuosity frequently displayed freely. It is possibly to this that a musical aphorism alludes, "It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the K. al-Indīfā' wa-l-tīmīfī, where the kāṭār is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 210). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the kītālīr, derives from the interpretation of the kīthārā evolved by the authors of the 9th century who compared it to the tāfūb (lute with a long neck) or to the mūrāḥēbā (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Kīthārā, Kītārā (see also al-Masīdī al-Kuṭbī in his al-Hillis as-sālihīn, ii 478/1085). His class-mate al-Ǧazārī had gone to Tus to the court of the Sālīḏīk vizier Nīām al-Mulk. From Bayhāk, al-Kītārā went to Baghdad to assume the chair of law in the Shafīʿī Madrasa Niṣāmīyya, a position which he kept until his death in 490/1099-1000. He also taught Šaikh, and one of his pupils in this field was the famous traditionist al-Šafīʿī (d. 570/-1180).

Al-Kītārā was accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies and was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by a petition signed by notable scholars of Baghdad, among whom his older colleague and sparring-mate in disputations, the Hanbal jurisconsult and theologian Ibn ʿAḍil (d. 520/1125).

Among his works, biographers cite the Sāfāḥ al-muṣaddīndīn, considered by Tādž al-Dīn al-Suhbī as one of the most excellent works in the field of ǧihād; and the Nāḏī muṣarrātī al-Imām Ahmad, points of law on which he differs from Ahmad b. Hanbal. Al-Kītārā was in turn criticised by the Hanbal Shāms al-Dīn Mūhammad b. Kudāma al-Maqdīsī (794/-1390-49), in his al-Rūḍāt us-Sheykh al-Hāfiz al-Indī in al-Bukhārī's al-Ǧazārī, having heard the sounds of a kīthārā, said to his disciple, "Take me along to this musician, and possibly he will give us the benefit of a noble image. But when they came upon him, they heard an unmetrical rhythm and a defective tune. So the philosopher then said to his disciple, 'The sooth-sayers assert that the raven's voice portends a man's death; if this is true, then the sound from this musician portends the raven's death'.

It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the K. al-Indīfā' wa-l-tīmīfī, where the kāṭār is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 210). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the kītālīr, derives from the interpretation of the kīthārā evolved by the authors of the 9th century who compared it to the tāfūb (lute with a long neck) or to the mūrāḥēbā (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Kītāmān (see kīratīyāt, tašīyāt)

Kīṭmīr (see asbāb al-kāfīr)
correctness of genealogical lines, the ancient Arabs perfected a technique which permitted them to verify, and, where necessary, to research into, lines of parentage. This technique consisted partly in experience and partly in divinatory intuition. In primitive times, a specialised personnel maintained the practice: but the progressive decline, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of personnel skilled in cultic and divinatory matters led to the accumulation of numerous mantic disciplines in the repertory of the khyafa [q.v.]. But there were numerous individuals skilled in this sphere of activity who were not necessarily khyaf [cf., for example, Ibn Hisham, 149]; certain tribes were noted for their practice of this art (the Banu Muddah, Khtagham and Khuzai'a).

Khyafa, ancestor of the Islamic fiqha [q.v.], comprised two branches:

(i) Khyaf al-bashar, "physiognomancy," which has the object of discovering the lines of parentage between the child of an unknown father and his presumed father, with a view to his legitimation. Thus by virtue of traditional khyafa, Mu'awiyah was obliged to recognise, as his consanguineous brother, Ziyad b. Abih [q.v.]. The principle on which khyafa is based is the necessary resemblance between the infant and his father. Certain parts of the body serve as points of reference, notably the sole of the foot, because, in most cases, the child has the same foot as his father (al-Mas'udi, Murat, iii, 335 = § 1224). But these points of resemblance are not always evident; discovery of them requires a faculty of perception and a perfect memory (a?R3zI, II. 14. 20, § 1). The acute eye for detail possessed by the Bedouin contributed greatly to the perfection attained by the Arabs in this art.

(ii) Khyafat al-athar, the faculty of minute observation which the Arab displays, most notably in the course of everyday life. The examination of footprints permits him to find a stray animal, a fugitive chief, a lost path, etc.; he distinguishes the footprints of a man from those of a woman, those of a young man from those of an old man, those of a white man from those of a negro and with those of a stranger from those of a local resident. He can even tell if the woman is a virgin or not.

This astonishing faculty of observation and deduction extended to the behaviour of animals.

In this work, Sufi al-Turuk al-kikamiyya, his earthquake" and will "yield up its burdens" (qf. XXVIII, 88). We shall, as a whole, the annihilation of all creatures (a?R3zI al-mas'ud), and precede the "judgment" (dini), the "day of judgement" (yawm al-din). This will be the Last Hour (al-sa'a). Al-?ayna, yawm al-kiyama and yawm al-din, may be taken as a whole constitute one of the "necessary beliefs" which determine the content of the Muslim faith. It may be noted that the word magh?r is an equivalent (in the Kur'an) of khyama.

The works of ?im al-hal?am and of falsafa deal with the whole subject of eschatology under the general title of al-mas'ud "the return," a word which appears only once in the Kur'an (XXVIII, 85) in the localised sense of "the place to which one returns." Hence very often, in learned discussions, the idea of resurrection will be expressed by "return." We may add that it would be inappropriate to deal with judgment and its modalities, or with retribution, under the term khyama. In this respect, the present article needs to be supplemented by the articles reserved for al-hisba, "the reckoning," al-mas'ud, al-sa'a and yawm al-din [q.v.]. We shall confine ourselves here to considering (1) the succession of eschatological events which precede and accompany resurrection; (2) the Kur'anic arguments which demonstrate its possibility; and (3) the setting in perspective of the philosophic-theological problems which arise as a result.

I. The succession of eschatological events.

(a) Prophetic signs. Resurrection will be preceded by the end of the world, by "annihilation". The Meccean stas are insistent on this. "Signs" will foretell the end; "the earth will be shaken with its earthquakes," and "flour will yield up its burdens" (Kur'an, NXX, r. 2); the sky will crack, the planets will be dispersed, the seas "poured forth," the graves overturned (C, 9; LXXXII, 2-4; cf. LXXXI, 1-14; especially LVI, 1-6, etc.); the mountains (will fly) "like tufts of carded wool" (Cl, 5), etc. The Khid? of Islam (viii, 179) gives a systematic list of these "signs". Al-Nasafi, in his Akhbar, lists five of them, and the Tafsir of al-Taftazani enumerates ten "major signs" (see the list in L. Gardet, Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane—Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, París 1939, 262, n. 6).

(b) The annihilation. On that day "the sound shall ring out, and a second shall follow it" (Kur'an, LXXIX, 6-7). This "sound" will be the "sound of the trumpet" (LXXIX, 8), which according to tradition will be blown by the angel Israfil. Then there will be, not is, it sometimes said, a single living being that does not die—"every soul shall taste death" (XXIX, 37). This is the final annihilation, where God alone remains in His absolute power, for "all shall perish save His countenance" (XXVIII, 86). In the course of time, this vision of an absolute fara? came to be modified. From commentary to commentary, the number grows of the beings who shall escape annihilation: not because they are endowed with natural immortality, but on account of a "principle of permanence" (ftum al-bahd) which the will of God shall concede to them (list in L. Gardet, op. cit., 264-6).
(c) The resurrection. When the “second blast of the Trumpeter” has sounded, the whole of mankind, long dead or annihilated in the “great fana’”, will be revived in body, soul and spirit. “The day when the crier shall cry out from a nearby place, the day when they shall in all truth hear the cry, that will be the day of resurrection” (L, 41-2). Stress is always laid on the suddenness of this “return” to life. Resurrection is a rising up, the immediate passage, without reference to time, from non-life to life.

(b) The gathering (khiyâm). God “shall gather” (L, 44; LIX, 2). He shall gather men together “as if they had stayed (in their tombs) only one hour of the day” (X, 45). He will gather the believers (XIX, 83). He will gather the impious (XX, 102; XXV, 17; etc.). He will gather men and djinn (VI, 130), men and demons (XIX, 68). He will gather the angels (XXIV, 40). This is the universal gathering. Also taking part in this, it is decided at a later stage, will be those protected from fana’ by divine mercy; and even, according to al-Nawawî, pack-animals and wild animals. This will be the “standing” (al-masâwîf) in waiting for judgement. Some traditions maintain that the first who will “rise” and arrive at the place of assembly (al-mahâkî) will be the Prophet of Islam. According to the most widespread beliefs, the prophets, the angels and the virtuous will be spared the terrors of waiting. But human nature in general “will sweat with agony”: they will be drenched in sweat (al-tarâb), which will “bridle” them, as the bit bridles the horse (cf. al-Ghazâlî, Ihkâf ‘ilm al-din, Cairo 1352/1933, IV, 430-7).

The Kur'ânic texts are abundantly glossed by hadîth (al-Bukhârî, ix, 46-61; Muslim, viii, 260-250, etc.). A whole didactic literature is grafted on to this. For example, in al-Ghazâlî, Ibmâ, the last book of the fourth volume, entitled Dhikr al-maut wa-mâ ba’dahu, 382 ff., in particular on the yawm al-khiyâm, 437-9; and the text attributed to the same author (wrongly, it appears), al-Durra al-farîhâ (ed. Cairo 1349/1928). See on this subject, as indicated in EP, Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, 559 ff., taking up the “Preliminary discourses” of Sâlûs, section 4, 759 ff., and placing the latter itself being based on Edward Pococke, Porta Mosis, ii, 23-33 of the Oxford 1645-4 edition, which deals at length with Arabic passages and expressions.

Popular imagery abounds with descriptive details and continually builds on the foundations of tradition. But such imagery is irrelevant to faith. On the other hand, the very fact of the resurrection of the body is a cardinal element of the Muslim faith. A meta-historical and unique fact, linked, as it to an “opposite correlative” (mâdhabî), to the fact, also meta-historical, of creation.

We may further note that the Shi‘i beliefs refer to a first “return” which will precede the universal resurrection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the Mahdi of the last times. This is the fana’ ("return to life"), a kind of messianism. The Râfî‘is, in the early centuries of Islam, insisted on this. It continues to be one of the perspectives of Ismâ‘îlîm, linked to the “return” of the râh al-Mahdi, Muhammad al-Mahdi, the “vanished one” (al-ghâbî), who, with this “first return”, will be al-Râfî‘î, “the riser”. The Ismâ‘îlî “hidden sense” has more than once transposed the foretold parousia on a gnostic and extra-temporal basis.

The Mu‘tazîs opposed the Râfî‘is and declared this first resurrection to be "vain", Al-Khayyâr returns to it in his refutation of Ibn al-Kawnî (cf. al-Khayyâr, Ibtâ‘î, ed. Nyberg, French tr. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, passim, in particular 93-97/118-20). The Aqî‘î reaction no longer held the idea of ragî‘. Sunnî thought as a whole denies or ignores the expectation of a preliminary “return” of the virtuous, a golden age on earth preceding the day of judgement. For Sunnism, the only “return” is that of the last hour which will follow the “great fana’”, sc. that of the resurrection (khiyâm) and of the gathering (khiyâm).

II. Kur‘ânic arguments. As suggested by D. Mason (Kur‘ân, Paris 1967, index, under “Resurrection”), these arguments may be grouped around three themes:

(a) A constant comparison of the creation (khâdi‘) with the resurrection, which then appears to be a "new creation" (Kur‘ân, XVII, 40; cf. XVIII, 48; XXI, 104; XXVII, 64) or the “second creation” (LI, 42). It is the creative power of God which is invoked in reply to the man who would doubt the resurrection (XXII, 3); and to produce a second creation is "easy" for God (XXIX, 15; XXX, 27). He has created man and "formed him harmoniously" (LXXV, 38): “Is He who has done these things not able to bring the dead to life?” (LXXV, 40; cf. LXXXVI, 5-8).

(b) A second "sign" of the resurrection is the analogy of the production of vegetables and of fruits, and the revivification of the soil by water (XXII, 37; LXIII, 11). Thus we restore life to the earth after its death. Observe how resurrection (masâwîf) comes about” (XXXV, 9; cf. L, 41). “God ... brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living” (VI, 95; X, 31; XXX, 19): “thus we shall cause the dead to arise” (VII, 57). And resurrection after death is compared to the day that follows the night (XXV, 47).

(c) Finally, the example of miracles with reference to a dead man revived by God (II, 72-3 and 259). R. Bâchârî compares this last account with the Ethiopian version of the Book of Barûn. It should be noted that the Kur‘ân does not speak here, like the Book of Barûn, of a waking after a miraculous sleep (cf. "the Seven Sleepers"), but of a new life after death.

III. Problems posed. The most diverse “propositions of faith” (shahâdah) steadfastly proclaim the resurrection of the body. But very soon problems of a philosophico-theological nature arise. The influence of the falsâfî is predominant. Not only the Tahâfût of al-Ghazâlî, but every Kâtib al-Ma‘âdî of the major treatises of ‘ilm al-kalâm has the intention of refuting them, and, for this very reason, to a large extent adopts their methods of examining problems, and sometimes their vocabulary.

(a) The "punishment of the tomb" (salâm al-kâbîr [gr.]). First question: is there a survival of the soul or of the spirit? Will the predicted resurrection be of the body alone, or of the whole man, body, soul and spirit? The Kur‘ân does not talk explicitly of a survival of the soul or of that spirit after death. Many die, then is recalled to life on the day of resurrection. Three texts, however (XI, 45-6; XL, 11; III, 169-70), are advanced by the mutakallîmûn as evidence for the “punishment of the tomb”; at a later stage, “the pleasures of the tomb" are reserved for the virtuous. In conjunction with these texts, there are many hadîthîs, recognised as authentic (saddîqî), which are quoted, such as “I take refuge with You against the punishment of the tomb” (cf. further, al-Bukhârî, xxi, 87; lxxi, 37-9). The
punishment of the tomb and the interrogation that precedes it, the formulation thereby of a "first judgment" are mentioned in the majority of professions of faith. The Åghā’s accuse the Mu’tazilis of denying them. Abd al-Djazzār, on the contrary, affirms them; he locates them, however, not immediately after the "first death", but between the "two blasts of the Trumpet" (of anihilation, and of resurrection) that will sound at the last Hour.

And his arguments in support of the punishment of the tomb are very close to the arguments habitually propounded by the Åghā’s (cf. Abd al-Djazzār, Sharḥ al-uydl al-khatnas, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm Uthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 752-3).

But what is at issue here is not the survival of a separate soul, by nature immortal. What is being discussed is a first and transitory resuscitation, at once corporeal and spiritual, which is not a true resurrection. It is not necessary, say some authors, that the entire body should revive; it is enough that some fundamental part or other, heart, kidney, etc., be animated afresh. Moreover, if the body has been consumed by fire or reduced to ashes, it will not be difficult for God to reassemble it and restore to life a sufficient quantity of matter (cf. al-Ghazālī, Ḥabīḥād, Cairo n.d., 88-9). Besides, this survival of the tomb is brief. After being thus examined and punished (or rewarded), the man experiences "the second death". For a resumé of the question, see al-Djurjānī, Sharḥ al-Ma’ākifīs, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 378. It is also declared that the prophets and the šahids who have died fighting for God are excused from the interrogation and from the punishment of the tomb.

Under various influences (Mazdean? Christian? The falsāfīs?), or through a simple enoüsomatic development, the belief in a survival of the soul or the spirit is developed: whether in the tomb, with, according to the circumstances, appropriate punishments or rewards; or in other places; or even in Paradise for the spirits of the prophets, of the šahids, and, according to some, of the Muslim children who have died before the age of reason. These spirits, in Paradise, are provided with a temporary body symbolised by "the girdars or green birds". Furthermore, an exegesis that has come to be accepted of Kur’ānic testimony: "The revealed law (ṣūrat al-ma’dīd) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures only in physical enjoyments are now found to be irremediably deprived of them; they will be eternally at grips with tormenting and insatiable desires of lust and anger, and will draw from the celestial bodies the view within their imaginations of their torments (cf. Naḍīd, Cairo 1357/1938, 297). Their "hell" is to be barred from joining the higher rewards of Paradise (not that we may take to be the world of separate substances—"where are found supreme happiness and accomplished splendour" (Sharḥ K. Utshibāṭidīyā, published by A. Badawi, in ‘Arisāt ‘al-’Arab, Cairo 1917, 43). It is true, the "humble of spirit" (bāḥil), who have sought: after good, to enjoy a happiness that is subjectively absolute, objectively relative: an imaginative, not purely intellectual happiness, and the celestial bodies, here too, will supply them as if with an additional body. Thus, according to Ibn Sinā, for the mass of humanity, what should hold is that which is said in the prophetic revelation about the judgment of the tomb, about punishments and potential rewards (cf. Naḍīd, 298; parallel texts in the Šufis).

Are these spiritual torments and joys of the life to come connected with the yawa al-ḥiyām, the day of resurrection of the body foretold by the Books? Resurrection is an article of faith too central to Islam to be explicitly and overtly dismissed by the falsāfīs. Their position is nonetheless highly ambiguous.

It is appropriate to set aside Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb al-Kindī, "the philosopher of the Arabs". He is the only falsāfī who explicitly maintained that philosophical research could be and should be strengthened and guided by prophetic revelation. Consequently, he proceeds, from a specifically philosophical point of view, the fact of the creation in time, and the possibility of the resurrection of the body; the latter is possible, he says, since that is what the creation itself—thus he adopts the major Kur’ānic argument (cf. Rasālī al-Kindī, ed. Abū Rida, Cairo 1369/1950, 1, 372 ff.). In works aimed at the "simple philosophers" (see Anwil al-magāṣībirīyīn, ed. Cairo 1382/1910, 3), Ibn Sinā confines himself to affirming belief in the resurrection on the basis of Kur’ānic testimony: "The revealed law (ṣūrat) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures" (or will be plunged into misery and suffering); cf. Ta’bīrasdī, Cairo 1326, 114-6; analogous texts in the Šīfā and Naḍīd. Such is, moreover, approximately the position of Ibn Rushd. It is for the sake of his respect for prophecy and the revealed law that he opposes with such vehemence the accusations of the Tāhlīf al-falāṣīf (Tahfsīf al-falāṣīf, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 580-1; see translation by S. Van den Bergh, London 1954, notes on vol. ii, 203-5).

But in fact, Ibn Rushd confines himself to a statement of principle, without replying to the arguments and objections of al-Ghazālī. Now it seems probable that the latter was familiar with the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sinā, al-Risāla al-ḥaḍābiyīsī fi amr al-ma’dīd, which was translated into Latin (Libri Machab) by Andre Alpago (Venice 1546) and has been edited recently in Arabic by Sulaymān Dānr (Cairo 1388/1939). In this work, Ibn Sinā attempts to demonstrate explicitly that the resurrection of the body, which he does not mean to deny, should be understood as a symbol or an allegory which has the object of inducing the mass of humanity to persist in virtuous behaviour. In reality "it is known that the true well-being of man is
opposed by the very existence of the soul in his body, and that physical pleasures are other than true pleasures, and that the fact of the soul s return to the body would be punishment for the soul" (Rasîn adhannâyä, 53). We can understand how al-Djûwaynl was able to accuse the falsâfis of not admitting in its explicit sense, and according to all its demands, the teaching of the Kurân concerning resurrection: this is the 20th question of the Tahâfut al-falâsîfls, Beirut 1937, 314 ff.

(c) Responses and attempts at explanation of the Mutakallimûn. Later kalâm was to judge the falsâfis much more by the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sînâ than by their statements of respect towards the religious law. When al-Djûwaynl lists the various attitudes which we or could be adopted (op. cit., viii, 297; cf. Fâhhr al-Dîn al-Râzî, Muðâsasal, Cairo n.d., 269), he seems to assimilate the falsâfis to these "deistic philosophers" who only accept "spiritual return", the nûkhâ, in the sense found in the pseudographic Theology of Aristotle, while the men "with certainty of truth" (muwâkkiîn), like al-Balânî or al-Ghazâlî for example, profess a worldview that is both spiritual and corporeal. It is in this sense that developments of kalâm will tend to prove the rational possibility of the "return", then of the "gathering", and to study its conditions. We cannot follow in detail the whole series of discussions, arguments, objections and responses in all their intricacy and multiplicity (cf. L. Gardet, op. cit., 266-9, and refs.). Nevertheless, we make some comments:

(1) Curiously enough, Fâhhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (Muðâsasal, 170) declares that all the earlier prophets preached only the "spiritual return" and that it is the Kurân that proclaims the return of the body. His opponent, the Imâm Shi*î Nasîr al-Dîn (Mutâjâl al-Falâsîfl, 170) states furthermore that the Gospel does not preach the resurrection of the body, and quotes Matthew, xxii, 30: "they are like the angels in heaven". Ibn Rûhd (Tahâfut, 350) seems to have had a better knowledge of Judaism and of Christianity.

(2) In his Tahâfut al-falâsîfs (loc. cit.), al-Ghazâlî, under the heading of a third hypothesis, and in the form of an argument ad luminem, concedes to his opponents that the soul may be of a wholly spiritual nature and that it is in its own personality may reside (in the same being that was annihilated). No difference between the first creation (ibdâd) and the "return" (nâmâm) is spoken of by al-Ghazâlî (Tâhfât, 37-8), al-Râzî (Muðâsasal, 169-70) and al-Djûwaynl (Sharh al-Mukhtârî, viii, 291, 294). Henceforward, declares al-Djûwaynl (ibid., 293-4), the subject of the first creation and the subject of the return are not at all to be distinguished in terms of their ensemble of determinations and characteristics (nâmâs), but only in terms of the essence (kawâm), which places them within the being. There is between these two "subjects", that is between the thing and itself having "returned", an "interference" (tâhalût) of non-existence, which al-Ghazâlî and no doubt al-Râzî on the one hand, and al-Djûwaynl on the other would explain rather differently. But the consensus continues to rest on the return to existence of the same being that was annihilated.

This dialectic, subtly conducted, and originally devised as a reply to the falsâfis, is characteristic of the procedure of the "modern" mutakallimûn (in the sense used by Ibn Khaldûn, Muðâsasal, Cairo n.d., 326-7, tr. de Slanc, iii, 60, 62), and of the type of problems that they study. Also to be noted is their extreme sobriety in regard to traditional and descriptive data. We have, thus, in Sunni Islam, as it were two lines of development: an expression of popular faith, employed to a large extent in the sermons of preachers and of a type to strike the imagination; and an explanatory effort at rational justification. Elementary manuals of a later period take inspiration from both one and the other. To this could be added various "hidden meanings" of Shi*f traditions. But in opposition to the Risâlà adhannâyâ of Ibn Sînâ and his allegorizing theses, the existential reality of the basic fact of the resurrection of the body has not ceased to be vigorously maintained.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

L. Gardet

KIYÀS (ar.), reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Muslim law.

x. In law.

This word is derived from the Hebrew term hâfîkî, infinitive hâbibîk and from the Aramaic root n-y-kh which signifies "to beat together". It is employed with reference to (a) the juxtaposition of two subjects in the Bible and the demonstration that they should be treated in the same manner; (b) the action of the exegete who applies the comparison suggested by the text; and (c) the conclusion of the reasoning by analogy which relies on the existence of a common characteristic in the "basic case" and the "analogous case" (J. Schacht, Origin, 99).

In a broad sense, kiyâs can indicate inductive reasoning (istidâl) and even deduction (isâbîdîl, istâbîrdîl al-khâbî). It is thus that in kalâm, kiyâs...
al-ghfcb Vola 'l-shahid (Majdnu, i, 339) indicates the syllogistic procedure which consists in induction from the known to the unknown; it is the kiyds sharfi that is inspired by Greek syllogism. While the Mu'tazili Abu 'l-Husayn al-DhibbA retains this meaning for the Kiyds sharfi, his disciple Abu 'l-'Usayn al-Basr1 rejects it (Mu'tamad, ii, 657). In the terminology of fikih, kiyds is "judicial reasoning by analogy." It is the method adopted by the Muslim jurists to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation: a verse of the Kur'an, a hadith of the Prophet or ijma. It is kiyds fisih or sharif, different from the former in the sense that it "has its own structure and its own complexity. (R. Brunschvig, Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique, 92). This specific structure results from the particular nature of the mode of reasoning by analogy; the absence of a middle term in the primitive form of kiyds, then definition of an explanatory principle (‘Ilma) which is not a logical norm, but the prescription of a rule (hukm) established by God or His Prophet, this is the judicial-religious norm. The complexity of kiyds sharfi results from the diversity of cases to be taken into consideration and from the detailed reflections of the usuli on the different procedures that may be adopted in the execution of kiyds sharfi. The elaboration of the major treatises concerning wuqu al-fikih (e.g.) develops the notion of kiyds sharfi in a systematic manner, conferring upon it a very strict and elaborated form. This work leads in the work of an author like al-SarakhsI (d. 505/1112) to a much-expanded concept of the fourth source of law, embracing the perspective of "Greek logic and tradition. A scientific method" among the Muslims (R. Brunschvig, op. cit., 57).

The problem. The establishment of kiyds as a new judicial source responds to the need to find solutions not foreseen in the texts and to define rules applicable to new situations. The problem of kiyds comes therefore to consist in determining "ground of procedure" (basafigh) which respect the spirit of rules dictated by the text. The putting into effect of kiyds sharfi must, in consequence, appeal to principles of analogical deduction which enable the discovery in the rule of the derived case (far') from the grounds which determine the rule of the basis (asf).

Like igenda (e.g.), kiyds was instituted after the death of Muhammad. With the death of Muhammad, the community of the faithful was deprived of the "organ of revelation" and of its political and religious chief. Iġenda was born of the need to ensure the coherence of the nascent doctrine of Islam, in the face of the dispersion of the believers and the proliferation of sayings attributed to the Prophet. The institution of igenda had the purpose of preserving the social and doctrinal unity of the parent-community (umma). In origin and in its "summary and primitive form, kiyds in Irak was employed as a means of giving the force of law to certain hadiths attributed to ‘Ali which had not met with success (Schacht, Origins, 106-7); the extension of this practice may be considered not so much a factor of unity as of divergence. The putting into effect of kiyds would appear more and more to respond to a need for diversification and clarification of the principle. Also, the risk of divergence (shafii, tafsir) was the essential motivation of the Shi'a opposition to the use of kiyds. The partisans of the Shi'a do not accept the rule which considers that every mujtahid speaks the truth (muthib), a rule implied by the practical application of kiyds. Nevertheless, the continuing crop of new cases (hawalid) that the believer is obliged to cope with justifies in the view of the mujtahid recourse to personal reflection, the practice of which is encouraged by the Kur'an and the Sunna (Kur'an, XIII, 3; XVI, 11, 67; XXX, 21; XXXIX, 41; XLV, 12; cf. Ahmad b. Hasan Fazlawi, Usul, iii, 935). The Prophet said: "The study of knowledge (futul al-'ilm) is a duty (farada) incumbent upon every Muslim; and the knowledge that must be studied is that of the rules which shed light upon the divine law" (Sharhxiya: Mughni, xvii, 278). Kiyds is one of the means whereby reflection leading to this awareness may be exercised.

Development. The practice of kiyds thus comes to be established as a means of establishing a judicial ruling not provided for in the texts. However, reasoning by analogy is, in the view of the faithful, to be treated with caution, for the simple reason that it is exercised by a fallible being who is liable to error. Ijamah must therefore intervene to ensure the credibility and the cohesiveness of the opinions of the mujtahids. Only the information provided by the Kur'an and the prophetic tradition is a source of integral truth (bridge). Such is the view provided by al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820), who may be regarded as the first of the usuli. The ruling that consists in believing that every mujtahid speaks the truth (muthib; Risdal, ed. Shakir, § 1330; Mughni, xvii, 277) will authorize the specialist to make a decision according to that which conforms most closely to the divine intention. By means of kiyds, a search must be made, not for certainty (ja'fah) but the proof which will permit the deduction of a peremptory ruling (hukm kafi'). Kiyds must be a determinist in a practical sense (muthib li 'l-'amal; al-SarakhsI, Uso, Beirut 1973, ii, 150; Mughni, xvii, 272). There is thus a need to elaborate a theory of kiyds sufficiently precise for its use to confer upon the specialist's decision the greatest possible integrity. In the practice of the Hanafi, Maliki and Shafi'i schools, kiyds sharfi cannot provide certain knowledge, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (azhab al-jama'; al-'Amili, Thabah, iii, 256; al-SarakhsI, Usul, ii, 140; Mughni, xvii, 277).

It was at a very early stage that kiyds sharfi began to be practised. As early as the 2nd century A.H., Hammad b. Sulayman b. Rabta, master of Abu Hanifa and Ibn Abi Layla, and judge at Basra, inaugurated its use. But the first to employ it was practically Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shafii (d. 150/767), for which reason the practitioners of his school are known as those who use reason (azhab al-raj) to distinguish them from pure traditionists (azhab al-hadith). The latter do not accept kiyds except as a last resort; according to them, analogy is like carrion, to be eaten only when no other food is available" (L. Milli0t, 135). Dawid al-ZahirI (d. 270/884) avoided wherever possible reasoning by analogy, preferring the literal content of the Qur'an and of hadith. In the same way that he restricts the notion of igenda, he imposes limits on recourse to analogy, without however rejecting it absolutely. According to him, one must bow the head before the inexorable law, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (azhab al-jama'; al-'Amili, Thabah, iii, 256; al-SarakhsI, Usul, ii, 140; Mughni, xvii, 277).
rejected by the Hanbalis and the Shī'is, but adopted by the other schools of law. In practice, it is the Hanafi doctrine which prevails.

In his Risāla on the foundations of law, al-Shāfi’i provides the first stage in systematisation of the theory of kiyās. Having established precisely the role of the Kurān, of the Sunna and of ijmā’, he neatly defines that of reasoning by analogy. It is to him that is owed the fundamental distinction between kiyās (silah) and ma’ṣūra and kiyās shabāb. The first basis analogies on an explanatory principle (silah). This form of kiyās considers a thing according to its original meaning (asl). In this case, there is no need for disagreement. Kiyās shabāb considers the thing in its similarity (shabha) to others; those who employ it may disagree (al-Shāfi’i, Risāla, § 1334). Al-Amidī (d. 631/1233), a Hanbali ‘ulamā’ who went over to Shī’ism, is at pains not to confuse the ruling of the basic case (asl), with that of the derived case (far). The ruling of the former is given by the text of the Kurān or of hadīth or by ijmā’; it is certain. The ruling of the latter is deduced (iḥāṣara nuqūṣ); it is putative (al-kiyās la yafuti ghayr al-asl; Ḥabīb, ii, 264). For this reason, the conclusions of kiyās cannot in their turn provide decisive principles (idnā, op. cit., 277). Analogy on the basis of analogy is not acceptable. Such is not the opinion of the Mu’tazilī ‘Abd al-Djabbār, who adopts the Shī’i teaching and enlarges it. According to him, “there is no difference between the ruling of the basic case which is known through explicit evidence (bi-dāfir) and that which is known through discussion (istiṣāḍ); in fact, it is possible to extract a new ruling from the latter when there is a similarity between the reasons for which each of them is adopted. So there is not, in regard to knowledge (‘ilm), a need to take account of the different means whereby the ruling of the basic case is established. That which is known in an explicit manner may, in fact, be assimilated to that which is known through acquisition (al-daruri fl-ki ka ‘l-muktasab). The explanatory principle (silah) is fruitful; although dissociated from the basic case which has inspired it, it may be taken as operative, for it finds its own guarantee within itself. Thus, God (iv, 25) lays down that the punishment inflicted upon a slave woman should be half that applied to the free woman. As soon as we are aware that the reason for the existence of this hukm is the fact of slavery (riṣāk), we may apply this ruling to the male slave. Similarly when we know that the reason for the prohibition (Kurān, ii, 219; V, 90) of all fermented drink (al-ḥaya) is the existence of wine (nabīḥ), we shall forbid the consumption of wine. For the Mu’tazilī ‘Abd al-Djabbār, kiyās, when applied to scriptural or rational material, is dependent on a similar process, that of intellectual effort (istiṣlah). Here the role attributed to the action of the subject in interpretation of the Sharī’a is predominant.

Foundation. The various objections raised to the practice of kiyās which are known to us through the different treatises of ṭalā’i’ al-fikāb divide into two types of argument: an argument of fact and an argument of law.

(a) The verses of the Kurān and of prophetic tradition which forbid recourse to reasoning by analogy are numerous: “We have presented to you the Book to make all things clear” (XVI, 89), “We have neglected nothing in the Book” (VI, 39), “Your Master is not forgetful” (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (ra’y) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy Book. The Prophet, in his turn, accuses of aberration and error those who deduce a non-existent rule from an existing rule (Pazdawi, Uṣul, iii, 991; al-Sarāḥsī, Uṣul, ii, 220).

(b) The argument of law consists in denying that legal status (baḥm) may be founded on reason. The “raison d’être of law” (silah) is attained through its erroneously convincing nature (shabha fi l-‘asl). The text (nusuf) has never determined explicitly the “propositions” (nusufat) which might provide a foundation for legal precepts. The latter are obligatory on the grounds that they result from divine decision (al-Sarāḥsī, Uṣul, ii, 122; Abu ‘l-Hassan Pazdawi, Uṣul, iii, 992). Reason has no competence to exact that which only the All-Powerful is entitled to impose. The object of law is beyond reason. The content of a number of divine precepts cannot be subject to personal opinion; these alḥām have no foundation other than divine decision; such is the case with regard to ritual ordinances (ṣiḥād). The practice of kiyās, in substance, far from providing a guarantee of rectitude, can lead only to a misunderstanding of rules (ṣiḥād). In his al-‘alā’i’ on the foundations of law, al-Šāfi’i (Risāla, § 1334) has neglected nothing in the Book. “Your Master is not forgetful” (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (ra’y) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy

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With the development of the theory of scient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Kur'anic text which prescribes the execution of the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. When water is lacking, and fresh wind are signs of rain. etc. (al-Amild, 3: 146) employs analogy in authorising abstention with sand (hayyamun) when water is lacking.

It is well-known that the Companions of the Prophet employed kiyas and dialectical discussions (munafarud) and that they practised judicial consultations (muhahharud). In a general fashion, the partisans of kiyas appeal to the hadith where it is related that when the Prophet sent Mu‘adh b. Dja‘bal to the Yemen as a ‘Amm, the former asked: "How will you reach a judgement when a question arises?" Mu‘adh replied: "According to the Word of God"—"And if you find no solution in the Word of God?"—"Then, according to the sunna of the Messenger of God"—"And if you find no solution in the sunna, in the indication of the Messenger of God, nor in the Word?"—"Then I shall take a decision according to my own opinion (al-fiqh-i rai‘i)". Then the Prophet of God struck Mu‘adh on the chest with his hand and said: "Praise be to God who has led the Messenger of God to a solution that pleases him" (Abu Dawud, Abû ‘r al-Andalûsi, al-Andalûs, b. 3; al-Darîmî, Sunan, Introduction; A. J. Wensinck, Kiıyās, in EI).

(b) The person endowed with reason, the mukallalîf, is naturally inclined to assess the invisible (ghebîn) on the basis of the perceptible tokens of experience (hadîr). Cracks in a wall foretell its collapse, a cloudy sky and fresh wind are signs of rain, etc. (al-Amild, 4: 5). Similarly, in matters of religious law, kiyas puts into effect "the cause-norm association" (illa-‘a‘la‘um) to assist the exercise of reflection on two similar cases, the second not being defined by this association.

The nature of kiyas. According to al-Shâfi‘î, kiyas and idjihatâ (q.v.) are two terms expressing a single notion; when the rule concerning a specific case is not dictated by a particular indication (dalâila), this indication must be sought by a means conforming to truth with the aid of idjihatâ. Now idjihatâ is kiyas (Kisela, § 1323). The specific nature of kiyas is not yet detached, it is subjective opinion (râyi‘). With the elaboration of the science of the usul al-fiqh, the concepts are defined and fixed. Kiyas can then be defined as the method which consists in assimilating the derived case (‘illa) to the basic case (‘a‘la‘um) in virtue of their similarity with regard to the raison d’être (illa) of the norm (‘a‘lam). Kiyas is thus a form of reasoning which proceeds from particular to particular, linking a new case to an old case: "It cannot . . . be considered as inductive reasoning, since it does not aim at applying to all cases of the same kind the observations made concerning one of them" (C. Chichaia, Logique juridique et droit musulman, 240). Such is the character of the reasoning which concludes that in a case of fornication, a confession repeated four times on the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Kur’anic text which prescribes the execution of the part of the guilty party in the presence of the four witnesses. This assimilation (kaskhâl) of ancient origin belongs to a still simplistic concept of ılla. With the development of the theory of kiyas, ılla takes on a more logical quality. Whence the prohibition of lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (ribâ), the ‘illa of the reduction in penalty is slavery. By analogy, this prohibition will be applied to male slaves as compared with free men. Of the same type is the kiyas which prohibits the lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (ribâ), on the basis of the prohibition of lending grain (wheat, barley), with the demand of eleven measures against ten. The reason for the prohibition is that usury is forbidden.

For kiyas to be effective, four elements are necessary: (1) the appearance of a new case which causes a problem; (2) a basic case (‘a‘la‘um) governed by a ‘a‘la‘um defined by a text; (3) a raison d’être of the law (illa) which can provide the ilm (ma‘na djâmi‘i) justifying the assimilation of the derived case with the basic case. This raison d’être is the "sign" (da‘ala‘um) which permits the knowledge that the ruling from a text may be applied to a case not envisaged in these terms. Once this reason is known, the jurist, proceeding by analogy, applies the law thus motivated to the case in which he sees a similar reason to pronounce judgment. This is the ta‘lîf (L. Milliot, op. cit., 139); (4) finally, a result which is the ılla applied to the derived case. Such is the prohibition against striking one’s parents drawn from the prohibition against saying to them "fie!" (XVII, 24). As regards the third condition, "the Hanafis only recognise ılla as endowed with a "transitivity" (ta‘lîf), that is, susceptible to being put into effect in a derived case on the basis of a basic case (al-Sarakhsi, Usul, ii, 161). The Shafi‘is, on the contrary, accept that an ılla may be intransitive (kiyat), intransmissible to a derived case". In reality, the opposition between these two doctrines depends on the different manner in which the ılla is conceived in relation to ılla. According to the Shafi‘is, the ılla of the basic case justifies itself by the derived case (R. Brunschvig, Valeur et fondements du raisonnement juridique, 39-50).

From the point of view of modality, several types of kiyas are distinguished: (i) kiyas ılla or kiyas al-‘a‘la‘um (al-Anîdî separates these two) which consists in associating (djâmi‘) the basic case with the derived case with the aid of the indication of the ılla and the qualifications which the latter entails (cf. Ibn Kayyin, Usul, i, 232). An example is the association of wine (nabîş) with alcoholic drink (kahâm), giving as "middle term" the faculty of upsetting good behaviour.

(b) Kiyas ıla‘um is an analogy by "simple similarity" which requires no intervention of motive or of common indication (min qayara dalîl djâmi‘i; Usul, i, 148). An example is the similarity established between the slave and the free man for the assessment of the diya [q.], when the slave is the responsible for the offence, and that which assimilates his compensation when he is the victim (Mutakallmûn, li, 692).

(c) Kiyas al-‘a‘la‘um is a co-extensive kiyas al-ılla and its contrary is kiyas al-ıla‘um or "reversibility", "reverting to non-raisî → non-’a‘la‘um" (R. Brunschvig, op. cit., 41; al-Anîdî, Ikhâm, iii, 26). Kiyas al-‘a‘la‘um would thus appear with ngâal’ as a decisive criterion for the interpretation of judicial decisions, the basis of the establishment of new rules. But in the extent to which it is a process of reasoning which excludes the possibility of having recourse to a purely logical
norm, $hiyyas$ belonging definitively to personal opinion ($ra'y$), it is for this reason limited in range. From this results the need to resort in certain cases to other methods of reasoning: *istihsan* [gen.], or *benignitas* and *instihsan* [gen.], or *utilitas* publica.

In the modern period, the theory of $hiyyas$ is generally applied in the different schools which adopt it in the spirit of the Hanafi doctrine. Because of the major role accorded to personal effort by the Hanafi $madhhab$, the modern $muqtafiyya$ is generally easier to draw from this the norms enabling him to deduce new rulings; historically, the importance accorded to Hanafitic results from the fact that the Ottoman empire followed the Salafîs sovereigns in imposing it as an official doctrine. This ascendency, which prevailed over a large proportion of the Muslim world, had the effect of conferring upon the $Hanafi$ $madhhab$ an official status in a number of countries "where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, e.g. in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria" (J. Schacht, *Hanafiyva*, in *EI*, iii, 176).


2. In Grammar.

In grammar, the word $hiyyas$ indicates the "norm", meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to "regulate" ($hāda$) the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission ($nakl$) or audition ($samāf$), on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy: it is synonymous with $miṣyās$ (pl. $miṣyās$). The term is well attested in the $Kāfīb of Sibawayhi$ (cf. G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index*, 179); Sibawayhi does not define it but he says that it may be bad ($rāfi$, $ḵaft$), constant ($muṣla-char, muṣafira$), flowing ($djafir$), stable ($muṣla-makhron$), and that it is indispensable ($ladimin$; he insists that one does not "regulate" a thing on the basis of that which is rare ($kāft$) or exceptional ($ṣadr athāth$), but that one "regulates" its basis on that which is in frequent use ($kaft$). The expression "al-$ṣūla$-$hiyyas$, which he often uses, indicates "according to the norm, normally".

It is the $Mu'tazilī grammarian al-Rumānī (d. 384/994) who supplies the definition of the term, in the *K. al-$ṣudāl* (ed. M. Djaoua, 50); "$hiyyas$ is the combination (ajam) of two things, whence results necessarily their combination in principle ($hukm$)".

Ibn Djinlī (d. 392/1002) devotes to $hiyyas$ five chapters in the *K. al-$ṣudāl* (ed. M. A. al-Nadjīlī, i, 299-337, 357-69, 591-9). He asserts that the Arabs love affinity ($ṣa'dhānu$) and resemblance ($ṣadr athāth$) and that this leads them to assimilate things that are close to one another, and to trace ($haml$) a secondary thing (farā') to a primary thing (asli); he comments that this penchant of the Arabs for assimilation ($ṣadr athāth$) sometimes leads them to trace a primary thing from a secondary thing, and that a rare thing can be the "norm", while more common thing is not. As regards the links between the "norm" and audition and usage ($istiṣnāf$), he distinguishes four cases: (1) which is generalised ($muṣafarīd$) according to the norm and according to usage; this is the optimum; (2) that which is generalised according to the norm, but exceptional according to usage; one adopts the word of most frequent usages; (3) that which is generalised according to usage, but exceptional according to the norm: one adopts which that is commonly heard ($muṣafarīt$), but does not "regulate" anything else according to it; and (4) that which is exceptional according to the norm and to usage; this is faulty ($muṣmūl$) and should be rejected ($muṣmařīf$). Finally, he observes that the grammarians considered that that which is "regulated" according to the language of the Arabs, constitutes a part of their language, even if the Arabs have not used it in speech.

In the *K. Luna* al-$ṣāla $fi usūl al-naḥa, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) subjects $hiyyas$ to a lengthy examination (ed. A. Amer, 44-56). He considers that it is impossible to do without it in grammar, since the latter may be defined as being the science of "norms" (*maqāṣid*) drawn (mumashabha) from exhaustive study (litārīf) of the Arabic language. He defines it as the tracing of a secondary thing from a primary thing, by virtue of a cause (ṣifā) which demands the application of the principle of the primary thing to the secondary thing. He distinguishes three kinds of $hiyyas$, according to its basis upon (1) a cause to which the principle is attached; (2) a resemblance (ṣadr athāth) other than the cause to which the principle is attached; and (3) a generalisation (ljard) of principle. Where the assumption ($liham$) of the cause is lacking in this case, only the two former kinds are utilised by the grammarians.

A. Amrī (d. 911/1503), in the third chapter of the *K. al-$ṣudāl* $fi usūl al-naḥa, classifies all the data concerning $hiyyas$ supplied by previous grammarians (ed. Haydarībād, 38-72). He divides his study into three parts: (1) the primary thing, on the basis of which one "regulates" (maqāṣid) any; (2) the secondary thing, which one "regulates" (maqāṣid); (3) the principle; and (4) the cause that unites them (djāma'ī).

Finally, it should be noted that, in the *K. al-$ṣudāl*, the Zāhirī grammarian Ibn Maṣā' al-$ṣudāl (d. 502/1106) objects to the use of $hiyyas$ in grammar and calls for its abrogation (ed. Sh. Dajīf, 156).

Bibliography: Given in the text of the article. [G. Troupeau]

$Ikīl$ (r.), basically "girl", unmarried female", but often used with the more restricted meanings of "daughter, slave girl, concubine". It is already found in the Orikhone inscriptions in the phrase $ṣīl $oghid $‘daughter’", as opposed to $ur $oghid "son",
and subsequently appears in most Turkish languages. Through Turkmen forms it passed into Iranian languages like Kurdish and Ossetian, and through Ottoman usage into Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, often via the Ottoman technical expression (for which see below) kılağ ağa (see Radloff, Versuch eines Wortbuchs der Türkisch utterungen, ii, 818-9; G. Doerfer, Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. in Türkische Elemente im Neupersische, Wiesbaden 1967, 569-70, No. 5801; Clason, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 679-80).

In mediaeval Islamic usage, one of its denotations was "Christian woman," doubtless influenced by the meanings "slave girl, concubine;" Djawayn, tr. Boyle, i, 257, calls the Georgian King David IV "the son of Kl-Malk," i.e. son of the Queen Rusudani. Under the Ottomans, the term Klolar Ağağlı, "Ağlı of the maidens," was generally used to denote the chief of the black eunuchs in the Imperial Palace, more correctly entitled Dör al-Şa'dul Ağağlı, "Ağlı of the House of Felicity." This officer was in charge of the sultan's harem, and was in practice the principal officer of the whole palace. From the last years of the sixteenth century onwards, he enjoyed the prestige of vizierial rank, as a pasha of three tughra, with the title of Muğlir, coming in order of precedence only after the Grand Vizier and the Şeyhülislâm. After 993/1587 he also displaced the Chief of the White Eunuchs from his control of the ağağlı or pious endowments of the Haramayn, Mecca and Medina (see N. M. Penzer, The Harâm, London 1965, 158 ff.; I. H. Uzunçarşı, Osmanlı devletiın saray teşkilati, Ankara 1945, 172 ff. and index; Gibb and Bowen, Islam in the Ottoman Empire, Oxford 1950, 76-7, 319-31).

The element Ağağlı also occurs in two well-known topographical features in the city of Istanbul and vicinity. First, there is the Klolar-taş "Maiden's stone," the column of the Emperor Marcian (450-7), in the Pätki quarter, so-called from its alleged power to cure barrenness via the "true column" from near the Church of the Holy Apostles was incorporated in the Silãymanîyeh Mosque, which rose on that church's site after 2458; see E. Mamboury, Le tombeau de l'İstanbul, Istanbul 1953, 339-40, 41, and Baedeker, Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasiien, Archipel, Cyprus, Leipzig 1914, 180. Second, there is the Klz-libesi "Maiden's tower," the signal station and lighthouse built on a rock in the Bozphorus just south of Uskudar in the entrance to the Bosphorus, popularly called "Leander's tower," referring to Leander's death by drowning when trying to reach his beloved Hero (though this occurrence is usually located in the Dananilles between Castor and Abydos). The classical name for this rock was Dalmaî (from the wife of the Athenian general Chares), but the Turkish name is connected with the story of Mehmed II's daughter, allegedly shut up there in a fruitless attempt to preserve her from death by snakebite (see Mamboury, op. cit., 496-7, and Murray's handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brüa and the Troad, London 1893, 107).

For the social status of women in Turkey, see NAB'À. (G. E. Bosworth)

KIZIL AYMAĐI [see KEPÊNDVÎN OGUÇ].

KIZIL ARSLAN [see ELĐEGIÇ].

KIZIL-BÂŞH (t. "Red-head"). The word is used in both a general and a specific sense. In general, it is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist Shi'ite sects [see guvâni], which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistan from the late 7th/13th century onwards, including such groups as the Alevî (Alevî, see A. S. Tritton, Islam: belief and practices, London 1951, 83).

The Alevîs were closely connected with the Nûzîyarîs [p. 82] of northern Syria and Cilicia, and the tabâhis (tabâhisî, p. vi), in order to protect themselves from persecution by the Ottoman government as schismatics, later "gained the right of asylum under the all-embracing and tolerant umbrella of the Bektâshi organization." (J. Spencer Tringham, The Sûfi orders in Islam, Oxford 1971, 833; see also TERTIIRIVYA). The common characteristics of all those designated as kîzil-bâsh was the wearing of red headgear. Gâplinâri, op. cit., sees the kîzil-bâsh in this respect as the spiritual descendants of early Shi'i shiît groups such as the Khurramîs [p. 82], who were also known as the Muhammîrs from their practice of wearing red hats and robes, and even of pre-Islamic heretical sects of the Sasanî period, especially that of Mazdik (see also Browne, L.E.H., i, 310-13). In its specific sense, the word kîzil-bâsh was a term commonly used (often kîzil-bâšî ašbâhâ, "scoundrelly kîzil-bâsh", etc.) applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Şafawî house [see ŞAFAWIDES], and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride.

In Şafawî usage, the term derived from the distinctive scarlet or crimson hat (bişû) with twelve gores (ark) commemorating the twelve Imams of the Ithna 'Ashari Shi'a, worn by the disciples (murîdî) of the Şafawî şaykhîs. According to Şafawî tradition, in 853/1457 Şaykh Haydar [p. 82], instructed in a dream by the Imam 'Ali, devised this headdress (British Museum MS. Or. 3458, f. 21a-b). When Haydar first showed this "Sîfî ûdiî", as it became known, to the Ak Köyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan, the latter kissed it and put it on his head (if the date 853/1457-8 is correct, this story is clearly apocryphal, because it is first cited in 888/1482). His son Yağûb, however, refused to wear it, and this was the origin of the enmity between Haydar and Yağûb which resulted in the breakdown of the Şafawî-Ak Köyunlu alliance. After the death of Haydar, Yağûb not only forbade his subjects to wear the kîzîl-bâš ûdiî, but also tried to prevent the Sûfîs of the Şafawî ūtarîs from wearing it (R. M. Savory, The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur, in Isl. xi, 1964, 54 ff.).

Strictly speaking (as noted by Chardin; see V. Minorsky, Tadbirîsr al-malikîs, London 1943, 188 and n. 3), the term kîzîl-bâsh should be applied only to those Turkish tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Şafawî šaykhs and became the disciples of the Şafawî šaykhîs at Ardabil. However, the term was also loosely applied to certain non-Turkish-speaking Iranian tribes which supported the Şafawîs, for instance the tribes of Tašk and Kârkûd-dâgh (Siâyê-kâb), and Kurds and Lurs. The great kîzîl-bâşî tribes (oymâdî) were subdivided into as many as eight or nine clans (the list in Minorsky, op. cit., 16-17, is by no means complete). The most important oymâdî included the Üsûddîls, Rûmlûs, Şâmhûs, Dulghâdas [arabic: Dhu 'i-Kadar], Taikalûs, Aslûs and Kâdûs; other tribes, such as the Türkmen, Warâks and Bahûrsûs, are occasionally listed among the great oymâdî. During the reign of Şâh Isâmîî I [p. 82], the Şâmhûs were the most powerful of the kîzîl-bâsh.
view of the khlil-bAsh, the Tadjik or Persian elements did not count for much in the new order of things. Similarly, the shah is commonly referred to as padshah-i khlil-bAsh, again a term which appears to ignore the existence of the Tadjiks altogether.

Initially, the two principal offices of the central administration, that of the wakil and that of the amir al-umara?, were both held by the same khlil-bAsh officer. Under TahmAs I (q.v.), the office of amir al-umara? declined in importance, and was superseded by the office of firas-ibAsh [see 3yf4i], which was also a khlil-bAsh prerogative. The government of the provinces of the Safawid empire during the early period was allotted almost exclusively to khlil-bAsh amirs, who ruled as petty princes in their provinces. The provincial governors held courts which were replicas of the royal court, and the system of provincial administration in many respects resembled that of the central administration. These provincial governments were assigned to the khlil-bAsh amirs as fihs known as 3yf4i (q.v.). The governors, in return for the obligation to provide the king with a stated number of fully-equipped troops when required, were allowed to consume locally the greater part of the revenues collected in the provinces under their jurisdiction; such provinces were known as man4ls or "state" provinces.

After the conquest of KhurasAn in 916/1510, Shah Ismai2I made Harat the second city of the Safawid empire, and it became the seat of one of the Safawid princes and frequently of the heir-apparent. The royal prince was placed in charge of the khlil-bAsh governor-general of Khurasan who, in his capacity as lala or at4ils ("guardian") of the prince, was responsible for the moral and physical welfare of his ward. It was his duty to see that the prince was trained in archery, horsemanship and the like, and also to see that he received his apprenticeship in statecraft.

Since the khlil-bAsh were "no party to the national Persian tradition" (Minorsky, op. cit., 288), their assumption that the principal offices of state would automatically fall to their lot led to immediate friction with the Persian elements in the administration. The Persians, or "Tadjiks" as the khlil-bAsh contemptuously called them, were the "men of the pen" who had traditionally filled the ranks of the bureaucracy in Iran and had provided administrative continuity under a succession of foreign rulers. Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Turcomans. In the Persian view, the khlil-bAsh were "men of the sword," and were not expected to have any knowledge of statecraft. On the other hand, in the khlil-bAsh view, "Tadjiks" were fit only "to look after the accounts and dust business. They had no right ... either to maintain private bodyguards or to command troops in the field. If khlil-bAsh were asked to serve under a Persian officer, they consider it a dishonour" (Savory, The qisit-bAsh, education and the arts, in Turcica, vi (1975), 109). Ismai2I attempted to maintain a balance between these two forces by appointing Persians to the all-important office of wakil, but this merely aggravated the tension between them, and the khlil-bAsh brought about the death of three of the five Persians appointed to that office under Ismai2I (see Savory, The significance of the political murder of Mirza Sal4n, in Islamic Studies, Jnl. of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi, iii (1964), 281-91).

When Shah TahmAs succeeded his father in 920/1514, at the age of ten-and-a-half, the khlil-bAsh took advantage of his youth to assume control of the
state. Their mystical belief in the quasi-divine nature of Isma'il I as their murshid-i kāmil had been shattered by the latter's disastrous defeat at Cāhīrūn [q.v.], and they now reverted to their primary loyalty to their tribe. This led to almost a decade of civil war as the great khlīl-bāšī gūlāms sought for political supremacy, and, between 937/1530 and 942/1533, either individual khlīl-bāšī tribes or coalitions of tribes ruled the state. In 937/1530 the Takkalūhs attempted to seize the person of the shāh, but the other great gūlaṁs rallied to his defence and, in the ensuing fighting, large numbers of Takkalūhs were killed. The survivors fled to Ṭūrāk-i 'Arab; some of them subsequently entered Ottoman service, and one of their chiefs, the renegade Ulama (Ullama), was involved in the rebellion of Aḥkās Mīzāk [q.v.]. These events virtually ended the political influence of the Takkalūh gūlaṁ.

In 940/1533 Sīḥ ī Māhsūr managed to reassert the authority of the crown, and for some forty years remained in control of affairs, but in 948/1540, when he fell ill, there was immediate evidence of disunion among the khlīl-bāšī. The political situation, however, was very different from the situation obtaining in 935/1529, at the outbreak of the civil war between the khlīl-bāšī tribes. The new factor was the introduction of a "third force" to the political scene in the form of Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, who became ghulāms-i khaṣṣa-yi āmarī, "slaves of the royal household". These men, many of whom had been taken prisoner in Ṭūrūmū's campaign in Georgia between 947/1540 and 961/1553-4, or were the offspring of women brought to Iran at that time, adopted Islam, and were given special training to fit them for service either in some branch of the administration of the royal household, or in one of the newly-constituted ghulām regiments. The ghulāms, instead of being paid on a quasi-feudal basis like the khlīl-bāšī, were paid direct from the royal treasury, and their primary loyalty was therefore to the shāh and not to any tribal unit. When therefore there was a fresh outbreak of factionalism in 962/1554, "it was no longer a struggle to determine which tribe could outstrip its rivals in a state in which the Qisībāsh tribes as a whole enjoyed a dominant and privileged position, but whether the Qisībāsh tribes as a whole could maintain their privileged position against the threat from the new elements in Persian society, the Georgians and Circassians" (Savory, Sāfawī Iran, in Cambridge History of Islam, i, 405-7). This struggle was not resolved during the remainder of Ṭūrūmū's lifetime, or under his successors Ismā'īl II and Ṣulṭān Muḥammad Sīḥā [q.v.].

When Sīḥā I [q.v.] was placed on the throne in 966/1558 by the powerful khlīl-bāšī amir Murshid Kūt Khandūs 'Ustādī, he realised that not only his personal future but the continued survival of the Sāfawī state depended on his being able to establish his authority over the khlīl-bāšī as rapidly as possible. The Ottomans, taking advantage of khlīl-bāšī factionalism, had made large inroads into Persian territory in the west, as had also the Ōzbek in the east. 'Abbās's solution of curbing the power of the khlīl-bāšī and increasing that of the ghulāms, though successful in the short term, ultimately seriously weakened the military and political effectiveness of the Sāfawī state. The khlīl-bāšī regarded the ghulāms with contempt, and dubbed them hāndūshī, "sons of black slaves". The ghulāms, though some great commanders emerged from their ranks, did not have a fighting élan comparable to that of the khlīl-bāšī, the only troops in the Islamic world who had earned the grudging respect of the Ottoman Janissaries. Essentially heavy cavalry, the khlīl-bāšī carried a formidable arsenal of weapons—bow, lance, sword, dagger and battle-axe; in action, the khlīl-bāšī were replaced by a helmet with mail check-pieces (Minorcky, Oszbekistan, i, 39); as they charged, they set up a rhythmic chant of "Allāh! Allāh!" (Ṭūrūmū, Iṣlām-i 'Abbāsī, ii, 509). The basis of their fighting spirit, however, was their fierce tribal loyalty (lāyākī-i 'ulūm, lāyākī-i khlīl-bāšīyāt). Sīḥā 'Abbās I was well aware of this, and, in pursuance of his policy of curtailing the power of the khlīl-bāšī, not only reduced the strength of the khlīl-bāšī regiments but also deliberately weakened the all-important attachment of the khlīl-bāšī soldier to his tribe. He did this in a variety of ways: he placed an officer in charge of a tribe who was not himself a member of that tribe; in certain cases, alleging that a particular tribe did not possess an officer worthy of holding the rank of amīr, he appointed a ghulām as amīr of the tribe; he transferred groups of men from one tribe to a district belonging to another tribe. The continuance of these policies by his successors ultimately undermined the military strength of the Sāfawī empire.

In Afghanistan, there exists a substantial Shī'ī minority group of khlīl-bāšī, living mainly at Kābul and in the high valleys of Foiādī on the western edge of the Hazāraḵtū [q.v.]. These people are the descendants of garrison troops left behind by Nādir Sīḥā [q.v.] in 1150/1738 during his Indian campaign. The khlīl-bāšī hold clerical posts in government offices, engage in trade or are craftsmen; in short, they constitute an important and politically-influential element in the population. Estimates of their total number vary from 60,000 to 200,000 (see H. V. Bell, The Races of Afghanistan, Calcutta, 1900, 107; D. N. Wilber, Afghanistan, New Haven, Conn., 1959, 49-50; and V. Gregorian, The emergence of modern Afghanistan. Stanford 1969, index s.v. Khlīl-bāšī).

As recently as 1945, the fact that the name Mūr-bāš still had an emotive power in Ādharbāyjān, the nerve-centre of the Sāfawī organisation in earlier times, was demonstrated by the choice of this name for the regular troops recruited by the short-lived autonomous republic of Ādharbāyjān.

Bibliography: Given in the text. For a detailed description of the titles and ceremonies of the Anatolian khlīl-bāšī, see article Khlīl-bāšī, in IA. For additional textual references, see G. Doerfer, Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neu­persischen, iii, Türkische Elemente im Neuturkischen, Wiesbaden 1967, 470-2. (R. M. Savory)

KIZIL-ELMA (or KIZIL-ALMA), "Red Apple" is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards; it also occurs in Turkish oral traditions from Anatolia and Ādharbāyjān as well as in modern Greek, Bulgarian and Rumanian folklore, current to this day. It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building—in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area. In the Ottoman period Kizil Elma tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity—Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome—which the armies of the Phālāsphār were hoping

Another tradition, which must have developed before the Ottoman one, identifies Kizil-Alma with Daghistan, beyond Demir-Kapu. It has been supposed that this legend originated from the ceremony for enthroning the Shamkhel of Daghistan, in which the claimant to the throne is involved in throwing a "golden ball"; because of this ball, Daghestan was called "the land of Kizil-Alma" (see Farehddin Celik, Kizil-Alma anetleri, in Cunarteri, Jan. and March 1942; Samuil Popov, Kizil-Alma, in Turk folklor arafttrnut/an,

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i, 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the ancient Greeks as the river Halys ('AAj$) which was exported in the form of large blocks; to Strabo (xii, 221). The motif of the resurrection of a king is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the time of the Ottoman conquests" with that of a Christian king who, having been vanquished and wounded by his own subjects, is waiting for a favourable day to revive and to take his revenge on the Muslims. In this version of the legend, an attempt can be seen at an identification and a localisation, which has been contested in modern criticism and anachronism. The Christian king was called Rum Papa "The Pope of Rome", so Kizil-Alma is thus being identified with Rome. But the narrative also locates the same legendary place at Bce (Vienna), and links this legend with the account of the Ottoman raid carried out during the reign of Sulayman II in 1532 by the historical person Kasmir Vovroyda (see P. N. Borotav, in Annotaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, IV re section, 1966-7, 263-4). The motif of the resurrection of a king is certainly Christian and probably Byzantine. It is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the end of the period of Turkish domination (Deny, op. cit.), but later on it must have been integrated into Turkish tradition.

Oral versions of this narrative are still being told today. The present writer has recorded five versions in the villages of Han K and Ak-Dere, Kabile (the material in this book dates from 1962); (2) H. L. Erginol, in Gedii, No. 33 (1944)—cf. P. N. Borotav, in Journal de la Société des Africistes, xxvii (1958), 16; (3) Kurt Bittel, Legenden vom Kirknen-Dag (Kapadokien), in Orca, xii-xiv (1960), 33; (4) a version noted by Borotav in the villages of Hac Nisy and Alc-Dere (Ayfo province) in 1950; and (5) a version noted by Ogas Tansel in the village of Myrec (near Bokar, Konya province). The two last versions are part of Borotav's own manuscript collection and are unpublished. A Greek version from Asia Minor has also been recorded; it comes from a village in the region of Epihous (see Dido Sotiriou, D'un d'art d'Antioche, a novel translated from Modern Greek, Paris 1965, 22). For an Arabic version, see Yakoob Artin Pacha, Seize hadoutas, contes populaires rec¬

Bibliography: A full bibliography is provided by J. Deny and E. Rossi in their articles. Apart from works cited in the article, see for the motif of the Kizil-Alma Elmas Yilmaz, Kizil-Alma efanesi in Türk folklor anatolileri, No. 146, Sept. 1961.

KIZIL KUM ("Red sand"), a desert between the Sir-Darya and Amu-Darya rivers (piv, v., and also KAR-kum), falling within the modern Uzbekis¬

Bibliography: All Dewald, Dugunaysa bugalt, 603; Hadii Khallia, Dujhan-nimul, 626; Ch. Texier, Asia Mineure, 535; V. Quinet, La Turquie antique, i, 19, 272, 639; iv, 433 Fr. Spiegel, Erdnische Alterthumskunde, i, 183 ff.
Kum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Külüm (["where man perishes"]) between the Āmū-Dārāy and the cultivated region of Buktará, consisting of sandhills (bāldān), is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In summer, there is absolutely no life in the desert; in the winter, there is vegetation, such as the saksand shrub, and a few springs and wells are visited by Kazakh nomads. Schuyler noted that "Kirlīkha" (or Kazakh) nomads crossed into the Külüm from north of the Āmū-Dārāy on the river ice and returned in the spring when there were still ice floes in the river. Moreover, the medieval Islamic sources show that the winter, when the desert was carpeted with snow, was normally the time for military and other movements across the Külüm. Thus the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḵī noted that it was the absence of snow which prevented the Oghuz ruler of Diand, Sīhā Malik, from re-establishing the rebel in Kirlīkha Hārān and his Seldūq allies from invading kūrānik in spring 426/1035 (Ṭayyib-Ja Marūf, ed. Ghant and Ṣayyād, 683-4); and in the 6th/12th century the raids of the Kirlīkha Seldūq to Diand and against the Kūtīyāt were always made in winter (see grumb in Suppl.). At the south-eastern extremity of the Külüm lay the Katwān Steppe, to the north of the Samarkand-Khujand road, where in 536/1141 Sultan Šaṁdjar was defeated by the Ṣafrāḵī (q.v.). In recent times, the desert sands have encroached on the cultivated fringes, and in the later 19th century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafşān river became buried in the sands.


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**Kīzīl-Uzēn** (q.v. Azēd Turkish "Red River"), the ancient Amauros, a river which flows through Aḏār bāwāyān and enters the Caspian Sea forty miles east of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River," at its junction with the river Sīhā-Rūd at Mendjīl. Its source lies in the province of Arslān, and it begins by crossing Trāḏ Adjamī towards the north; its right-bank tributary is the Šāḏān, on the left it receives the Kāra-gūl at Miyaṅ, then it runs through the southern slopes of Elibzūr, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crossing this range through the defile of Rūdābād and the narrow valley of Rastam-ābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. That is known as the "Arabs as Nahr al-Aḥdāy White River" (tr. of the Persian Sefīd Rūd) (cf. Dināḵf, Cosmography, tr. Mehrān, 145); at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Hāḏilā Khālija. Dziḵān-nom, 304).

**Bibliography:** A. Chodzko, Popular poetry of Persia, 479, No. 2; Fr. Spiegel, Ernährihe Ueber-thrasmuskmude, l, 75 ff.; Rawlinson, in JRS, x, 64; Schefter, Christomschic persanico, ii, 98; H. L. Rubine, in KMM, xxii, (1915-6), 262-3; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 269; Hamd Allāh Mustawil, Nukhāt al-ḥulbī, ed. Le Strange, 217; M. de Kōtōko, Voyage en Perse, Fr. tr., Paris 1819, 236 (view of the bridge of Kapān-āqā as frontispiece); Fr. Serre, Reise von Ardabīl nach Zandschen, in Petermann's Mitteilungen, xlv (1859), 215-47. (CL. Huart)

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**Kīzīmkāzi**, in full, Kīzīmkaś-Dimbān, a small hamlet in south-west Zanzibar situated in lat. 6° 210 S, which possesses the earliest datable mosque in East Africa. Its miḥrāb has a dedicatory Kufic inscription recording its foundation by Šaybān Aḥb Īmām Mūsā al-Ḥusayn Muhammad in 500/1106-7. This is flanked by Qur'ānic verses and two inscriptions in roundels, all of great elegance. The nearest analogy is with a grave cover found at Ruft: the ensemble was either imported from there or executed in Zanzibar by a Śīrafī mason. This Persian connection accords with traditions of trading relations attested by inscriptions in Sumālia and by the Kilwa histories. Otherwise, the mosque is an undistinguished rectangular structure. H. N. Chittick excavated it and the adjacent site in 1960. The hitherto settlement dates from the 11th century or earlier: a ruined stone house and defensive enclosures are probably 18th century, when, as is commemorated by another inscription dated 1183/1772-3, the mosque and miḥrāb were largely rebuilt, the earlier inscriptions being incorporated into the fresh structure. An oral tradition claims that it was the capital of Bakari, a 17th century Swahili ruler of southern Zanzibar, but this seemingly conflicts with the archaeological evidence; the fortified residence and the rebuilding of the mosque are more congruent with the 18th century development of the eastern African slave trade.


(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

**Kīzŭkāhān** (see Kūlar).

**Kīzlar Aqhaši** (see Ghāz).

**Kūč Hišār**, a name of several towns and villages in Asia Minor, derived from Kūča- Hišār; compare such names as Ḫūč Hišār, Koyun Hišār, Koyul Hišār, Kekl Hišār and Toklu Hišār. Confusion is often prevented by the addition of the name of the nearby provincial capital or of another word, e.g. Cankird Kūč-Ḥišār. See Kīzlar, Kūč, Aqhaši. For the same reason, the toponyms of places with this name have been changed in recent times.

I. **Sefrēli Kūč Ḫišār** (in modern usage Ṣefrēli Kūč K同时还, centre of an il (previously kāhd) formerly called Ebd-kegān, in central Anatolia nowadays within the Īl [wilāyet] of Ankara (formerly of Konya), 8 km east of the northeastern shores of the Tur Göl (q.v.). The town is situated on the road connecting Ankara with Adana via Aksaray, nowadays a major line of communication. The countryside around it is watered by a mountain stream and yields a varied agricultural produce; there is also sheep-raising. Since ancient times salt has been produced at Kūč inna on the lake. In 1590 Sefrēli-kočhāsār town had a population of 4,458 and the
The present ruins of the Ulû Dârîmî are a monument of that period (ca. 600/1204-3). At the time of Sultan Selîm I’s campaign against the Safawids, an Ottoman army commanded by Bîyyûlî Mehmed Pasha, beglerbeg of Diîyû Bârak, defeated a Persian force under Karâkhân Ustâjîdâd near the town in 1512/1516. Afterwards the whole region came under Ottoman rule, with Mardin as a sanîçâh (= sanjak) of the new eyâlet (beglerbegî) of Diîyû Bârak. Köbîsir was a part of the sanîçâh of Mardin in 1914/1918 and remained a subdivision of that district, being a sanîçâh of the sanjak of Mardin during the 19th and 20th centuries and a sanîçâh of its wilayet. The town was under the Republic was founded.

In 1966 the well known traveller Canîssîm Nieuwhoor visited Köbîsir: (“Rodje hissar” in Arabic “Gunûzî” or “Dunaysar”), finding five minarets still standing (cf. Reise naar Arabe, Amsterdam-Utrecht 1776-80, ii, 366-7."


V. Köçûnsar also Köçû Hisar, identical with the Byzantine fortress of Trîocolokia in the Sakarya region to the south-east of İznik (g.v.). This place was conquered by Sultan Orkân (g.v.) in 708/1308 (713/1312).

**Bibliography:** I. H. Danişmend, Osmanî tarihî kronolojisi, i, 8; D. E. Pilcher, An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire, Leiden 1972, 37; i. H. Usmarçılı, Osmanlî tarihi, i, Ankara 1973, 110 and n. 1. (A. H. DE GROOT)

**KOC BEG,** also called Görgeldî Köçû Meştafa Beg, Ottoman writer of treatises on statecraft.

Koc Beg was a native of Görgeldî (Gorç, Koryzta) in Mardin. He entered the Palace service as a hafiz (m. 20) during the reign of Ahmed I and served under successive sultans until his retirement to his native place in the early years of Mustafa IV’s reign. He seems never to have served in any capacity outside the Palace. He gained the especial confidence of Murad IV and Tûlûhîm, and it is for his memoranda to these sultans that he is famous. He was also tutor to the historian Naşîrî (g.v.) (for a full biographical account see M. Çeçatalı Ulûcuy, i. Art. Köçû Beg).

Koc Beg’s best-known work is his Risâle, presented to Murad IV in 1639/1640, where he analyses the causes of Ottoman decline and suggests remedies. There are several printed editions of the work: Ahmed Vefîk Pasha (ed.), Köçû iu risâlîsî, London 1290/1872-3, Istanbul 1909/1898-96; A. H. Askut, Köçû bey risâlîsî (in Latin script), Istanbul 1939; German translation by W. F. A. Benndorfer, in ZD MG, xvi (1861), 272 f., with comments by Fleischer in ZDMG, xvi (1861), 277 f. The work is summarised in J. von Hammer, GÖ, v, 292. A second Risâle attributed to Köçû Beg was apparently compiled from memoranda submitted to Sultan Ibrahim on that Sultan’s order. There is no critical edition of the work. The first published version is an incomplete but fairly full
German translation by Behrmnauer, entitled Das Nasthainâmé, in ZDMG, xviii (1864), 699 ff., based on manuscripts now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Mixt. 477, A. F. 183, Hist. Osman. 150). The translator states that the author is anonymous. The second published edition is in A. K. A. Sitk, op. cit., 28 ff. (in Latin script), based on a manuscript in Miliet Library, Istanbul, no. 474. In a third published edition, based on a manuscript in Nurusman Library, no. 4550, the editor attributes the risâle to the Grand Vizier Kemânikchê Kara Mutsâfâ Paşa (F. R. Unat, Sâdrezam Kemanheş Muhsüf Pasha ikiyânası, in TV, ii, no. 6, 443 ff). There are divergences between the published versions and between them and other existing ms. (for details and discussion, see M. Çegâtay Uluçay, Köçî Beg'i Sultan İbrahim'in nehirin etliği risâle ve araları, in Z. V. Togan'a arşandım, Istanbul 1950-5, 177 ff.).

The contents of Köçî Beg's risâle presented to Murâd IV resemble those of an earlier analysis of Ottoman decline, the anonymous Kitâb-i müstefi, (ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974) and are entirely conservative in outlook. The spread of corruption, he argued, had brought about a decline in the old institutions and bred disrespect for the Şari'a and old laws (bânûn [p.1]). Remove corruption, restore respect for the Şari'a and bânûn, and the Empire would return to its former glory. In the old days before the reign of Süleyman I, the sultan had attended the Dâirat personally. Süleyman had abandoned this practice. Before the year 982/1574-5 the Grand Vizier had been independent, with no intermediary between him and the sultan. The sultan's favourites (mülêtem) had never interfered in affairs of state. Bribery was unknown and beg-its were never unjustly dismissed. There was strict control over the emoluments of Palace officials and they never received lands whose rightful use was as timars or abatim (p.2).

After 982/1574-5 Palace officials and Sultan's favourites were able to engineer the dismissal of Grand Viziers, beşerbegis and sanjâb begis and acquire lands rightfully allocated to timariots, as fiefs (mülêtem) or fief-holdings (paštâm) or other form of tenure. Only beşerbegis should appoint timariots. They should make a roll-call (oylamada) of present incumbents in their provinces (oylalik), renewing the bâriûs of qualified timariots and removing the unqualified. Bâkus with high pay should receive şaebâmets, thus creating a warrior's field (bikid) and removing a burden from the treasury. Able-bodied timariots should serve on campaigns with the number of their retainers (gâhelîs) which the old bânis specify. This would produce 400,000 to 500,000 troops and provide a counterbalance to the influence of the kapblâhus. Similarly, all innovations (bâdiyet) in the Janissary and other kapblâhu corps which contravene the old bânis should be abolished. There should be a graduation (bînma) from the Palace once in every seven years, and at these times the kapblâhu corps should receive only enough recruits to replace dead members. Officers (âbiyy) of these corps should never be unjustly deposed.

Köçî Beg's second risâle is a straightforward description of various state institutions and governmental practices, interspersed with political maxims. Its purpose was to guide the new and totally inexperienced Sultan, İbrahim, and its language, in accordance with that ruler's mental capacities, is extremely simple (see M. Tayyib Gökdilgin, İA, art. İbrahim, vol. ii, 154 ff.).

Bibliography: apart from works mentioned above, see also: V. D. Smirnov, Köçîbeg Cumhur-ı cemilde, in Turkestanische forschungen, Berlin 1872 (Russian text); Zuhuri Daşanîş, Köçî Beg risaçesi, Istanbul 1972 (introd. and modern Turkish tr.); Melhem Sürreyra, Şâhî-i othmanî, iv, 63; Burssal Mehmed Tâhir, Othmânlî milletleri, Istanbul 1334/1954-6, iii, 119 ff.; F. Babinger,
KÖHAT (p., "mountains"), a directly-administered District of what was the North West Frontier Province of British India and of Pakistan till 1955, covering some 2,594 sq. miles and with its administrative centre at the town of Kōhāt. The District is bounded by the Khyber Agency [see KHYBAR PASS] on the north, by the Kurram and North Waziristan Agencies in the west, by the Bannū District [q.v.] on the south, and by the Indus River and the Ḥisb Khāl islāḥ of the Panjābī on the east.

The terrain of the District is that of a rugged tableland lying at an average of 2,000 ft., with low ranges of arid hills which rise to 3,000-4,000 ft., and with more fertile valley bottoms in which agriculture, sometimes by irrigation, is possible; the climate shows considerable variations in temperature and rainfalls, averages only 15 inches per annum. The region is connected with the Kabul River valley and the Khyber region by the Kōhāt Pass, called locally the Darra (2,866 ft.), whose control was in British times much disputed by the local Afrīdī tribesmen; the area round the Pass, a strip of unadministered territory, has for long been the site of a flourishing Afrīdī gun-making factory. An important commodity of the Terī village neighbourhood of Kōhāt has always been rock salt, of which there are extensive deposits at Bahādūr Khālī; until recent years, these were owned by the Nawāb or titular head of the Kōhāt tribes. The Government of India's increase of the tax on Khālī salt in 1896 to a level with that on Īsādūr salt was one of the pretexts for the tribal rising along the Frontier in 1897.

The population of the District is essentially Pathan, mainly of the Bangāsh in the western parts, the Khātak [q.v.] in the eastern tracts down to the Indus shores, the Orakzāy and Adam Khālī Afrīdīs in the northern parts, and the Nīzāls along the Indus in the south of the district; of these, the Bangāsh speak the northeastern or "hard" variety of Pashto, and the Khātak and Nīzāl the southwestern or "soft" one [see PSHTO. The Pathan language].

The Khātak seem to have moved into Kōhāt from the west in the 8th/9th century, whilst the Bangāsh entered the district in the following century as allies of the Khātak against the Orakzāy. The Mughal adventurer Bābur [q.v.] made his first foray into India in 1506-07 down the Kabul River valley to Peshawar, then into Kōhāt and Bānnū and through the Dera Shāfī to the Indus; he scattered the local Pathans, and built towers of skulls of the slain in Kōhāt [Bābur-nāma, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 303-5]. In 1629-30 the Mughal Emperor Ḥābdūn's general Māḥāt Khān [q.v.] campaigned in Kōhāt against the Rūshāniyya sectaries [q.v.] amongst the local Pathans.

In the early 19th century, Peshāwār, Kōhāt, Bānnū and the Dera Shāfī came under the control of the Sikh ruler of the Panjābī, Ranjīt Singh, although Sikh authority was contested by the local tribes. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone passed through Kōhāt in early 1806 on his way to the Durrānī court in Kābul, and waxed lyrical about the green valleys and the fruits of "Cohont" [i.e. account of the kingdom of Caubuli", London 1842, ii, 49 ff., ii, 50-1]. After the downfall of the Sikh empire
and the annexation of the Panjshir in 1849, the British penetrated through the low Khasht hills and Kohat to the Kuruwum River valley at Thal. The regions of Pejshwar, Kohat and Hazara were then briefly placed directly under the Board of Administration for the Panjshir. In 1876 these three northern regions of the Frontier were formed into the Commissionship of Pejshwar. Then after the frontier tribal wars of the late 1870s and in the Viscountcy of Lord Curzon, the North-West Frontier Province was formed in 1901 as an administrative unit separate from the Panjshir, with Kohat as one of its four trans-Indus districts; Kohat District itself comprised the three takis of Kohat, Teri and Hangu. A road was made in 1901-2 connecting Pejshwar and Kohat via the Pass, and a narrow-gauge railway was also begun to connect Khasht-Abzali on the Indus with Kohat town, Hangu and Thal, thereby stimulating local trade with Teri and Kafuel. Kohat town had already become an important garrison centre from which control was exercised over the turbulent Pathan tribes, and Sir Louis Cavagnard, who for more than a decade had been Deputy Commissioner in Kohat, had built himself a fine official residence there.

During the inter-war period, Kohat was, with Pejshwar and other parts of the Frontier, the scene of disturbances caused by the political movement of the Kaimqutshan or "Redshirts" of 'Abd al-Chaff Khan. The postpartition position has not been greatly altered since British days. The District continues to be divided into three takis, with the names Kohat, Hangu and Karak; Kohat town is an important military base for the Pakistan Army and there is also a military airfield. A plan for a barrage across the Tui River, the "Banda Tanda Dam", in order to harness flood waters, has long been mooted. The 1901 census enumerated a total population of the District, including the attached tribal areas in the north, of 627,795, a 43% increase since 1851, with a population for Kohat town and cantonment of 75,000.

### Bibliography


(C. E. Bosworth)

**AL-KÔHEN AL-ÄTTÄR, ABS 'U-MU'NA (DIWÔRO)**


Thus the work is a typical dispensatorium (âbrâbîdân, from Greek 

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became an Apostolic prefecture, on 28 April 1920 an Apostolic vicariate, and on 15 September 1935 an Archdiocese. The diocese contains 13,400 Roman Catholics in 1965, two-thirds of these in the capital. The strength of Islam is easily discernible from these figures. The main fariba there remains that of the Kédiriyya, which resisted the penetration of the Tijaniyya in the 19th century under the double influence of the aâwiyah of Touba and of the Senegalese auxiliary troops of the French who adopted Muridism. These last built a mosque on the island of Tumbo, still called the Senegalese mosque.

Despite the efforts of Malinka scholars, Wahhabism has remained only embryonic. One should further note a certain persistent strain of animism among the Bagas population, characterised till 1963 by the custom of gong, on the isthmus of Tumbo, cut down then to allow the building of the People's Palace at the expense of the People's Republic of China.


KONG, corruption of Kpon, name of a place in the northern part of the Ivory Coast near to the watershed between the basins of the Comé and that of the Niâ which flows into the Bandama. Kjon was founded in a very ancient period by the Senoufo of the Falafala tribe. It is said that they have retained their predominant rights over the land, while playing now only an unobtrusive role.

Kong is an illustration of the advance of the Malinka towards the south and towards the regions producing gold and cola. This immigration took place in the period following the 16th century and those Dioula who supposedly came from Macina founded Bobo Dioulasso on their way. Having established themselves in Kong they were reinforced at the beginning of the 18th century by contingents of Sobondji Malinka pagans, with whose help they were able to police the trade-routes. There can be no doubt that it was at the end of the 18th century that a Malinka chief, Sekou Ouattara, whose family was linked with the inhabitants of Borou on the Bandama, united a group of Malinka families coming from the north. From Macina he passed through Dé near Bandiagara, Téwélé near Bobo Dioulasso, then Teningué near Kong where he ousted a red-haired chief named Lassiré Gombéde, taking his place and establishing Islam. Lassiré Gombéde would no doubt have been a Mandé, ruling over the autochthonous Falafala and the Paraha (Koulango).

Sekou Ouattara established his twelve sons so firmly in the villages that when his brother Famarha attempted to gain power, the resistance offered by the sons forced him to leave and to settle in Bobo Dioulasso, opening a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

From the city of Kong the power of this Dioula aristocracy spread throughout the neighbouring country, largely as a result of the superiority of their arms, which were themselves of a supply of remounts, they founded an Apostolic prefecture, opened a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

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lighting interminable campaigns against the L6a, tempted to conquer Lobi and spent several years. This treaty was signed on 10 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892. Although Mungo Park had heard tell of Kong, it was Binger who, on 20 February 1888, arrived in the town and stayed there until the 11th March. In December of the same year, Trench-Laplène made the sovereign of that time, Karamoko Oule Wattara, sign a treaty placing Kong under French protection. This treaty was signed on 10 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892.

Two years later, Kong was visited by Captain Marchand, Kpahie Bo (= "feller of the forest"), who had heard of the threats made by Samori against Kong. It was then that Lt.-Colonel Montell was recalled to the area; he had been preparing to attempt a regrouping of forces on the Upper Nile. Mustering at Grand Bassam in August 1894, the column encountered the utmost difficulties in making progress. Joining battle with the armies of Samori in March 1895, it was forced to retreat and on 15 May 1897, Samori raged the city to the ground and massacred those of the inhabitants who had not succeeded in escaping towards Bobo-Dioulasso.

In January 1898, a French detachment established a post there, which was soon laid under siege but was relieved by Commandant Caubrelle. With Samori captured, and peace re-established, the French administration invited the refugees to return. Some accepted, but the majority remained in Bobo-Dioulasso. Kong was never to regain its former eminence.

KONYA (Arabic and Turkish orthography, Konya), known in antiquity as Leonium, an important town lying on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on a diagonal line connecting the Dardanelles with the Taurus passes leading into Syria.

I. History.

Konya was, during the centuries of Arab invasion, a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus [see Tarsos] to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories. It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns, had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory. It is difficult to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread re-use of older materials in the Saljuk monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that way in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town.

It was the Saljuk régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya. The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dünümendids [g.v.] denied the Saljuks access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Malik 1052-65 (1118-25), who resolved to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saljuks evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital. Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as madrasas, khânsâhs [g.v.], flourishing markets and reconstructed ramparts. The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/12th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews; the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Khâraman and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the idîgî, the akbas and the
Şûfiis or dervishes. The idşâş were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the adârâs [q.v.] were a Turkish form of the Muslim jûdârâs [q.v.], and were to play an important role especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors; as for the Şûfiis, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of Jâddâl al-Dîn Râmî must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Movlesîns or Mawlawîyas, from Movlânâ Mawlânâ) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The remnants of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan ʿAlâ al-Dîn Kay Kûbâb [q.v.] with the compulsory co-operation of the senior ansârs of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, madrasas, hânîkâs, hospitals, hanças, caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Sâlîqân capital, which the present-day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Sâlîqân Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century was naturally prejudicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the judicial to the importance of Konya, although in a half of the 7th/i3th century was naturally pre

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Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal mihrab named after İlyas Arslan and dated 673/1273. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kayalıboğazi, buried at Sivas, from 1220 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The İliği Camii, 1220-30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332, but the mihrab survived. The central nave has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larendra or Sahip Ata Camii, 656/1259, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite porch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th century workmanship at its apogee, which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience mihrab and semi-domed farin survived rebuilding. It is united with the kapan of (the four-faience type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed farin type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faience-work. The inscription on the mosque to the master Kâlîk b. 'Abd Allâh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Camii, 673/1273-4, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayalıboğazi [q.v.], as patron of Di'âlî al-Dîn Kömi [q.v.], created Konya's greatest spiritual memorial, which is expressed materially as the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Seljuk origin, the Amurath Camii, 626/1231 (Mehmècke, 342; Konyali, 650), but the earliest tomb which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273-4. Its scalloped dome was recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyali, 64) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by *Abd Hamid II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mevlana, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bayazid II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selim I installed the garden fountain, 928/1522. Suleyman I rebuilt the mazid and sanâh-i hâna, 973/1565, and Selim II the 'sanaî, now destroyed. The cells of Murad III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were affected by Murad IV, 1044/1634, and 1048/1639, and by Mehemmed IV, 1060/1650. Four typical Ottoman türbes in the garden court are dated 934/1527, Khüreim Pasha; 987-9/1579, Sinân Pasha; 994/1585, daughter of Kutûbî Murad Pasha; 1006/1597, Şaykh Khâlid. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selimiye Camii, begun by Suleyman I and completed by Selim II, has a seven-domed portico earned on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a mihrab apse. Erroresquely attributed to Sinân, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as mihrabe bagi. Beside the mosque is the library of Yusuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Camii, ca. 926/1520, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a türbe incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerifeddin Camii was founded 1220-30, rebuilt by the Karamanoglu İbrahim II, 848/1448, and transformed in 1496/1683 into an imitation of Kılıç Ali Pasha mosque, Topkapi, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th century ceramic work are seen in the mortars, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1249/1832, the interior painting is in the 19th century faiground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Camii, Istanbul, over the mihrab. Kapı Camii, 1060/1650 (Konyali, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1226/1812*, Abdüllaziz Camii, mimbar 1293/1876; also replaces an older building, and its flordi Ecole des Beaux Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th century dynasty of court architects.

Colleges or madressas. The Sirçah Medrese, 640/1242-3, is a partially-ruined two-faience type. The outstanding faience mihrab is set in an faïence which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Bàrî al-Dîn Mu'âdî and the master Muhammed b. Muhammad b. Uğûnâm al-Tâbî. The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251-2*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style [see: Sedaeddin Camii], and also the star-shaped dome which is visible over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Seljuk ceramics. Only the faience remains of the Küçük Karatay Medrese nearby, 649/1250-3.

The Ince Minareli Medrese, ca. 663/1264-5, built by Kalîk (Rebek) b. 'Abd Allâh, heavily-restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the poet's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweighted decoration which masks structure was the Achilles heel of later Seljuk architecture.

Mazidu. These include Beşparebey Medesk, 616/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdulaziz Medesk, 642/ 1214-5, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Sefiûrûs Medesk, 672/1275*. The Tâş (Stone) or Haci Ferruh Medesk, 612/1215 (Konyali, 364), has an inscription to the master Râmiân and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and mihrab. The Hatunîye Medesk, 673/1273-30*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgarian Tesleî Medesk 1240-50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Medesk, 646/1249-5, but the Sirçah Medesk of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned mihrab. The mihrab of the Beyehkun Medesk, 1290-80, is now in the Städtische Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. No. 81), Berlin. Both the Karasen and the Tahir ibn Zähê Medeskes, ca. 1280, have restored mihrâb. Of many later examples, the Kadi Mursel Medesk, 829/1425, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Karamanî in style, including the mihrâb.

Lesser monuments. The Hasbey Darlıbûlûk, 824/ 1221* built by Karamanoglu Mehmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic mihrâb. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant namazgâh is the Musella, 916/1514.

Among several, a typical faience type türbe is the Gömeç Hatun, 694/1297-98, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakihede Türbe, 824/1421-50, built of stone is transitional in style.
Of the fountains, Kapu Çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Seldjuk origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Akşems, 968/1558. The Balkh Çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two fishes.

Monuments in the vicinity. The large, pillared mosque at Meram of Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey, 805/1402, stands beside the hamam of Ibrahim Bey, 837/1434, which is fed by the Irine springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazanöö) Han, 602/1206; Kiz Üren Han, ca. 601/1205; Dohtuzun Han, 607/1207; Altunba (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zaza (Sedaddi) Han, 633/1235-6, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.


I. Köprüli Mehmed Pasha (1866-1907/1758-1605), the Ottoman vizier who gave his name to the family. If, as his contemporary, Hıdırlük Mehmed Aga says (ibid, in the near-by village of Kârrail, 1928, 1, 226), he died at the age of 80, he must have been born in ca. 968/1378 (for other estimates of Mehmed Pasha's age, see Defterdar Şarif Mehmed Pasha, Zâtât al-arâkāli, 4-17; Kâlimânîyya, Suleyman-ı Esad Ebêli, 2382; Râşid, Târîkhi, Istanbul 1284/1865, i, 6; 'Atî, Târîkhi, Istanbul 1291-3/1882-6, ii, 69; Ahmad Rûfîdd, Köprüllîier, Istanbul 1337/1919, 91; Usuncârî, Osmanlı tarihî, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 420 in Albania (see above). Brought to Istanbul in his youth, he was taken into the palace and by 1823 was a cook in the palace kitchens. He secured the backing of Köşeser Aga [see Köşeser Pasha, Bosnağî], then in the Mâdâşa-âla, and entered first the bâyûk eda, then the kâzîm-ı osâfi. His quarrelsome and dissatisfied led to the termination of his career within the palace, and he went out to the provinces as a sipahi; it was thus that he first went to the town of Köprül in Anatolia where he settled and married 'Ağha Khârlêm, the daughter of the vaivode of Köprü, Yusuf Aga, from the Kayâkıd ejîfsh in Hava. During Köşeser Aga's tenure as âga of the Janissaries, Köprüli again entered his service, and when Köşeser became Grand Vizier (1037/1628) Köprüli became his treasurer (Khâsimâde). Following Köşeser's execution (1041/1632), Köprüli served in certain provincial posts, as vaivode or âga, probably in or near Köprü: according to Hüseyîn Hüsâm al-Dîn, for example, he was sandıcâbegi of Amâçâî for some eight months in 1044-1634-5 (Amâçâî târîkhi, iv, Istanbul 1928, 61). He subsequently came again to Istanbul where he held a variety of posts such as that of Inspector of the Guilds (Hâbiqâā ağaçalî, Inspector of the Arsenal (Tophâne-âla), Commander of the Sipahîî of the ali bûlûk; Sipahiî ağaçalî and Commander of the Armourers (Djebeşi-bashi). Taking part as sandıcâbegi of Corum in the siege of Baghdad (1048/1638), in which he was wounded, he was attached to the Grand Vizier Kemânêkî Köru Maştaş Pasha and was appointed Kapâlîlar-khêbudüd and, later, Mîr-âla. In 1053/1642-4 he held the post of sandıcâbegi of Amasya a second time, for some five months. Köru Maştaş Pasha's successor, Sulûn-zade Mehmed Pasha, gave Köprüli the governorship of Trabzon with two jûgâs. How long he remained in that post is unknown, but he later revisited it in Köprü and then, in 1057/1647, became miştetâîîm for the eyâlete of Damasuk when that province was given to the seventh Meşrûf as a basbâsrûliî by Sultan Ibrahim (Naîmaî, Târîkhi, Istanbul 1281-9/1674-5, iv, 243; Silahdarî, i, 223). While in this post, he was ordered to campaign, acting as beglerbegi of Karamânî, against the rebellious
on Istanbul. Having fallen prisoner to *AH Pasha in
Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
of certain individuals, among them Abiza Ahmed
order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions
Celebi,
tr. G. L. Lewis, London
days. Having tried persuasion, Koprulu caused their
in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a
quarrel after Koprulu had been in office only eight
long his considerable abilities came to be widely
acquainted. Among his first acts was to deal with the
Kadizade, who, since the time of Murad IV,
been engaged in troublesome sectarian quarrels
in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a
quarrel after Koprulu had been in office only eight
days. Having tried persuasion, Koprulu caused their
ringleaders to be banished to Cyprus (see Kadi
1557, 332-4; Na'im, vi, 227 ff.; Sildhabr, i, 57-9.
Koprulu continued his efforts to bring peace and
order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions
of certain individuals, among them Adbas Ahmed
Pasha, accused of laviety in the defence of Bozja-ada
which he had surrendered to the Venetians, and the
Orthodox Patriarch Parthenios III, who was ac-
cused of seditions activities, he succeeded in quelling
a rebellion of the sipahi dissidents (sorbis) and
purging their number (16 Rabii' 1 1067/January
1657: for details, see Ta'rikh-i Ghilmani, 44 ff.; Na'im,
vi, 246 ff.; Sildhabr, i, 62 ff.).
Koprulu then set about preparations for a cam-
paign to end the Venetian threat to the Straits and
in particular to recover Bozja-ada and Limnos.
Having sent the fleet out first, under the Kapudan
Pasha Topal Mehmed Pasha, he himself set out, as
commander-in-chief, on x Ramad-an 106/13 June
1657. The Ottomans faced badly at first in the
clashes at sea, but their fortunes changed when, on
19 July, a ball fired from the Anatolian shore struck
the powder magazine of the flagship of the Venetian
admiral Mocenigo, destroying it and throwing the
Venetian fleet into confusion (Ta'rikh-i Ghilmani,
44 ff.; Na'im, vi, 279 ff.; P. Rycaut, The history of
the Turkish empire from the year 1667, London
1869, 54 [Mehmed IV]). Koprulu rewarded the
successful gunner and others who had fought bravely
but executed a number of him responsible for the
earlier failures. This action disquieted even his supporters in Istanbul and led to
agitation for Koprulu's removal by Kara Hasanzade Huseyn Aga, an influential member of the
Janissary corps: his efforts were in vain, however (Na'im, vi, 295 ff.). The Grand Vizier meanwhile
continued his efforts to take Bozja-ada, which goal
his forces achieved on 21 Dhul-1-Ka'da 1067/
31 August 1657 (for a letter sent by Koprulu to the
Kister-aghah Mehmed Aga, see Ta'rikh-i
Ghilmani, 47 f.: for other details, see Na'im, vi,
289 ff.; Silhadbr, i, 69 ff.), an event which caused
great joy in Istanbul. In an imperial rescript sent
to Koprulu, the sultan ordered him to remain until
Limnos was taken, and Koprulu's existing forces
were strengthened by timarots from Borse and
other sanjaks. Having repaired, supplied and garrisoned Bozja-ada, Koprulu dispatched Topal
Mehmed Pasha to Limnos. After a 60-day siege
from both sea and land, the defenders surrendered
the fortress on 8 Safar 1068/15 November 1657
on condition that those in the fortress be allowed
to leave with their goods.
Having countered one danger to the state by
opening the Straits and recovering the two islands
lost to the Venetians in his predecessor's time,
Koprulu went to Edirne (25 November 1637) where
he had been summoned by the sultan on account of
pressing problems in Transylvania (see mndel).
The ambitious George Rakoczi II, prince of
Transylvania since 1648, had, as a result of an
agreement made with the King of Sweden in December
1656, marched against Poland with Transylvanian
forces; and when he incited the begs of Wallachia
and Moldavia to act with him, in defiance of the
Ottomans, the imperial divanh felt it necessary to
take measures against him, deciding that a campaign
should be undertaken, first by the Khan of the
Crimea, and later under the command of the Grand
Vizier: (for details, see Szilagyi Sándor, Erdély es az
eszakkeleti labdarú, Budapest 1891, ii, 244 ff.).
The begs of Wallachia and Moldavia were also replaced
(N. Iorga, Histoire des Romans et de la romanité
orientale, Bucharest 1940, vi, 226 f.; Na'im, vi,
321 ff.). Koprulu left Edirne on 22 Ramad-an 1068/
23 June 1658 and went to Belgrade. His army
was strengthened by Crimean and Cossack forces, by
the provincial forces from Buda and Silestria, and
Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
by a force of 12,000 men sent by the King of Poland. Entering Transylvania, he moved first against Yaneva (Kis Jenő), a key point taken in Károly Süleyman’s time but subsequently lost, and received the surrender of the fortress on 31 August. Rakoczy, who, under Ottoman pressure, had been replaced at the end of 1657, had returned and driven out the Ottoman-backed prince and re-established himself (see Saliyyâ Aro and Saliyyâ Sânî, Török-Magyarhorû állam-ölelménysé, Pest 1870, ill, 442 ff.; Homan Balint and Székfi Gyula, Magyar történeti, Budapest 1935-6, iv, 60; Dönt-Gökkül, I4 art. Erdül). After the taking of Yaneva, Köprülü caused the Crimean and Cossack forces to plunder Erdül Belgrad (Pókivár), the centre of government, in order to seize Rakoczy, but the latter was under¬stood to have escaped to a fortress on the Austrian frontier. Köprülü’s desire to punish him was thwarted by a summons from the sultan because of a revolt in Anatolia. He therefore appointed Akos Barcsay as prince on condition that he pay kharâjim and that he hand over the areas (muhâkât) of the fortresses of Sebeg and Lugoj, together with the cannon and munitions within them; and at the same time he charged the beglerbegi of Buda, Kenâm Fascha, with the oversight of that area (for the appointment of Akos Barcsay, see Üz-arî, Ebej Barçayyan Erdül huâlûgma yâmını hâvârî bir huc vesihâ, in Beleden, vili [1943]; idem, Barcsay Akop'un Erdül huâlûgma idi bân originel vesihâlar, in Tarihler, iv [1935-3]; Naîmî, vi, 354 ff.; Şîlâdârî, 1, 126 ff.). For some time a revolt of serious proportions had been building up in Anatolia. To the long-standing causes of unrest there added the uncertainty and fear inspired in many sipahîs and commanders by Köprülü’s harsh behaviour. The leader of the dissidents was the beglerbegi of Aleppo, Abaza Hasan Pasha [q.v.], who realized that his past actions constituted a cause for the sort of punishment which Köprülü had meted out to the serbs in the capital. With him, in Konya, gathered a number of command¬ers, among them the wali of Damascus, the victor Tayyar Pasha-zâde Ahmed Pasha; the beglerbegi of Anatolia; and some fifteen other active or retired beglerbegis who, fearing for their lives, sought to replace Köprülü with Tayyar Pasha-zâde Ahmed Pasha.irst replying to the summonses from the capital to join the Transylvanian campaign, with excuses, they subsequently openly declared their rebellion, saying that they could not join a campaign with Köprülü, who had caused the deaths of so many Janissaries and sipahîs (Naîmî, vi, 354 ff.). Ignoring an imperial command that they should either disperse to their several places or engage in the defence of Baghûdâ, the rebels came as far as the vicinity of Bursa. Summoned by the sultan, Köprülü arrived in Edîrne on 24 Phaire 1069/21 October 1658 and was present at an ayâk dwâwî three days later in the sultan’s presence at which the fateâd given by the Shââykh al-Islâm for the punishment of Abaza Hasan was read out. Though a punitive force under the beglerbegi of Diyar Bakr, Muradât Pasha, was already on the field, it was decided that Köprülü himself should campaign; and, accompanied by the sultan, he crossed to Edûdar on 23 November 1658. Abaza Hasan, meanwhile, using the pretext of the distribution of pay to the army in Istanbul, dispatched some 7000 sipahîs to Edîrûdar, ostensibly to collect their pay but in fact to assassinate Köprülü. The latter, however, apprised of the plot, removed the names of 7000 sipahîs from the rolls and executed about 1000 who were caught. The unrest caused in the army by this fresh show of force led him to abandon the campaign and leave the matter to Muradât Pasha. Although Abaza Hasan defeated the latter near İlin (15 Rabû I 1069/11 December 1658), he was compelled to winter in ‘Aynâm. Muradât Pasha, having received reinforcements, pressed the rebels closely from Aleppo, depriving them of provisions and other necessities. When Abaza Hasan’s forces began gradually to desert to Muradât Pasha, the rebel leaders went to Aleppo to submit to the govern¬ment, only to be deceived and executed (13 Dümidà I 1069/10 February 1659: Tâhâbî-i Şîlâdârî, 51 ff.; Naîmî, vi, 376 ff.; Şîlâdârî, 1, 132 ff.). Following this outcome, Köprülü had himself with the solution of internal problems like the local barb soldiers in Damascus who had been acting disruptively for some time, whom he struck from the rolls and replaced with five asas of garrison Janissaries from Istanbul; and the revolts of Cemal Mehmed Beg in Egypt and of Mustafa Pasha, known as Kır Beg, in Antalya. Coming to Bursa with the sultan (19 July 1659), Köprülü instituted a sweeping attempt to bring order to Anatolia by summoning Ismâ‘îl Pasha, who had been left as reîm-mahbûm in Istanbul, and charging him with carrying out investigations (tafliz) throughout Anatolia, “from Uskûdar to ‘Arâbistân”, specifically to seize and punish any whom he found to have been involved in the Đâlîl revolts (see Naîmî in Suppl.), whatever their rank or status; to restore to râ‘îsîâ status those falsely claiming to be naskhs; to deprive those unable to prove their claim to be sayyîds of their distinctive turbans; and to seize and send to the imperial arsenal any arms or weapons found in the possession of the râ‘îsîâ (Naîmî, vi, 415-6). But during these years he was also guilty of certain injustices such as bringing about the execution of the famous Deli Hüsnû Pasha (see Huşnû Pasha Delî), in spite of the opposition of the Shââykh al-Islâm, by concocting false complaints (Rabû II 1069/December 1658); and of Seyyid Ahmed Pasha (1071/1660-1), long in state service and most recently active in the continuing struggle in Transylvania (for the defeat and death of Rakoczy in this period and for the conquest of Orâdea by Köse ‘Ali Pasha (Dîvân-ı-‘Ilhâmî, 1073/1660, 1660; see I4, art. Erdül). Köprülü, in his illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying between Edîrne, to which he returned with the sultan in November 1659, and Istanbul. Age and illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying with Mehmed IV to Edîrine in July 1661, Köprülü recommended, and the sultan agreed, that his son, Fâül Ahmed Pasha, should succeed him in his death. Ahmed (Köprülü-zâde) was immediately brought from Damascus and made reîm-mahbûm in Istanbul. When his father’s condition worsened, he was summoned to Edîrine and acted as reîm-mahbûm for his father for 48 days until Köprülü’s death on 7 Rabû I 1074/31 October 1661. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in the mausoleum near the dîr al-bâlih which he had built near Çemberlî Tâsh (Şîlâdârî, 1, 229 ff.). During his five years in power, in a period when confusion reigned in all the institutions of state, Köprülü succeeded in calming the prevalent spirit of rebellion and disorder through harsh and merciless acts. On the latter count, certain historians have characterised him as cruel and bloodthirsty (Şîlâdârî, i, 226; ‘Oâihmîn-zâde Tâsh, Hadîtht al-unwarâ, Istanbul 1377/1854, 166); but while he was not
guiltless of unjust acts, such judgments must be tempered by the recognition of the disabling turmoil which had afflicted the state since the death of Murad IV and of the great services which he performed in office (Ata, li, 69 ff.). In fact, historians like Mehmet Kâllife, 'Abdil Pasha, Namânî and Rashid are united in praising Köprüli. When Köprüli came to the Grand Vizierate, he said to those around him that the state expected service, not show from him, and he remained true to this principle to the end of his life (cf. the relation of Durrüsh Efendi, the kâthî of the Dür al-sâ'âde aghâh, to Rashid, i, 18).

Köprüli caused the straits at Canakkale to be strongly fortified (see Efendi, i, 300 ff.). His benefactions, estates, and endowments are to be found in a great many places: for example, a mosque, a school and shops in Yanova; a mosque and school in Rudnik; and a mosque and a school in the town of Tarakîli in the sahâng of Bolu (see further the listing in 11t, art. Köprülîzâde [Gökselînî], vi, 897 ff.). His sons-in-law, Kâliche Mustafâ Pasha, Kaplan Mustafâ Pasha, Kara Mustafâ Pasha, Kara Mustafâ Pasha (Merzifonlu) (g.o.) and Süleyman Pasha, all held high positions during his own son’s Grand Vizierate.

II. Fâtih Ahmed Pasha, a dâhid-i Âbbâsî (1645-87/1635-76), the elder son and successor of Köprüli, was born in Köprü in 1635. Brought to Istanbul at the age of 7 by his father, he studied under the leading learned men of the period, first under 'Oğûmân Efendi, later under Kara Celebi-zâde 'Abdil-â'zîz Efendi (see Kara-zâtân, i, 87 ff.). Through the influence of his father he was, while only 16, appointed a nâdîrlîs, first at îdârî, then at dâhid-i level. Now known as Paşa-zâde, his lessons proved popular, and in 1657 he was raised to the sahâng-i thâmân. Shortly after, however, upset by gossip amongst the high ranking, he abandoned the learned profession and took up an administrative post. In 1658/59 he was, at the request of his father, appointed to the government of the eyâlet of Erzincan with a vizierate. One year later he was transferred to Damascus. Then his father’s death increased his popularity by causing an imperial rescript to be issued removing two taxes, called dâshâsh and varîba, which his predecessors had levied on the people of Damasc and which had sometimes risen as high as 3-4 million akças. Under orders from the central government he moved against the Durûz (g.o.) and defeated the Ma'ûnis and Shâhâbids, thereby securing the payment of a tribute of 500 purses and the abandonment of the brigandage in which they had been engaging for some time. He also caused to be made into a beglerbegîth the region where the Ma'ûnis and Shâhâbids lived together with the areas of Suya, Bayrût and Surad which till then had been governed by a vali (1660: for details, see Dâwâshir al-tawthîch der âbbâsî Fâtih Ahmed Paşa, Silâymanîye-Esât Efendi 214, fol. 1: Silâhîder, 1, fol. 16). Although he was later appointed beglerbegî of Aleppo, he was summoned to Istanbul as kâthî-mahâhâhî before he could take up the post and subsequently succeeded his father as Grand Vizier (see above).

Amongst the new Grand Vizir’s first concerns was the continuing unsettled situation in Transylvania. Some measure of order was established there, however, without Köprüli-zâde’s direct intervention, by the victory in January 1662, near Sighisoara, of the beglerbegî of Yanova over Rakoczey’s successor, János Kemény, which ensured the control of the Ottoman-supported Mihály Apafi. Though a campaign against Venice was mooted for 1663, this was abandoned in favour of a campaign against Austria, which had constantly been attacking Ottoman frontier forts and outposts and which was seen as the more dangerous enemy. The army moved out from Edirne on 5 Ramadan 1073/13 April 1663. During discussions in Belgrade and Osijek with Austrian ambassadors, Köprüli-zâde demanded the destruction of a newly-built Austrian fortress (Zervânî) facing Nagymamza in western Hungary; the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Transylvania; and the restoration of the annual 30,000 florin tribute which the Austrians had paid from the time of Suleyman I until 1605 (later, in Buda, modified to a demand for a single 400,000 ghurûsh payment like that agreed at Zsitva-Torok in 1609). The Austrians were unable to accept the last of these conditions, and Köprüli-zâde set off from Buda against the fortress of Nové Zámky (21 Dhû l-Hijjah 1073/30 July 1663; see Kâthî Mustafâ Zuhdi, Ta’âhirî-i Uyûsî, Istanbul University TY2488; Rashid, i, 23 ff.; Dâwâshir al-tawthîch, which to which he laid siege on 17 August and which finally surrendered on terms on 21 Safar 1074/August 1663 (22 September in Montecuculli, Mémôres de Montecouucou, Paris 1712, 332 ff.). Having deputed subordinates to take several other fortresses among them Neugrad and Nitra, Köprüli-zâde returned with the army to winter quarters in Belgrade, intending to move out from there against the Austrians in the spring. The campaign by the Hungarian commander Zrinyî and General Hohenlohe in January 1664, during which Berzence, Babosca and Pesz were occupied (Magyar történeti, iv, 168), led the Grand Vizier to move toward Osijek; but on hearing that the local commanders had gained control of the situation, he returned to Belgrade (28 February 1664).

The fall of Nové Zámky, regarded as the last major block to the Turkish advance into Europe, had aroused great anxiety in Europe and led to contributions of men and money to the Habsburg cause from the Papacy, Spain, some of the German princes and even France and to the formation of a sizeable force under the command of the Duke of Mantua. A Christian force laid siege to Nagykanizsa, in response to which Köprüli-zâde advanced on that fortress. The siege having been lifted at his advance, he took and destroyed Zervânî (6 Dhû l-Hijjah 1074/30 June 1664), the building of which had been one of the ostensible causes of the present campaigns, and then moved northward, his forces taking Kisimomor (14 July), Egerseg, Egervár and Kemendâv (Dâwâshir al-tawthîch, fol. 82 ff.) and advancing to the river Raab (Raab). Here, near the village of St. Gotthard, they came face to face with the imperial forces under Montecuculli. Though Köprüli-zâde was actively engaged in peace negotiations with the Austrian ambassador, he decided to cross the river and engage the enemy. The bridge proved inadequate, however, and only a part of the Ottoman forces got across. In the battle which ensued (8 Muharram 1075/August 1664), these at first had some success but were ultimately driven back, both sides suffering heavy losses (for details, see Montecuculli, 416; Hammer-Purgstall, Histoire, xi, 181 fl.; Ahmed Muhîlîh, Sen Gohárda Oltâmndî ordîsî, Istanbul 1346/1928).

This defeat, though by no means decisive, forced a more defensive policy on the Ottoman army, which had previously moved as it will (Dâwâshir al-tawthîch, fols. 90 ff.). But within ten days the two sides had signed the Treaty of Vasvár (17 Muharram 1075/10 August 1664) which largely satisfied Ottoman
aims and, in particular, left them in possession of Nové Zámky and assured their influence in Transylvania (for a Hungarian view of the treaty, see Magyar forint, iv, 169; for the treaty, see Baron de Testa, Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman, ix, Paris 1868, 50 ff.; Tarihk-i Qhidirî, 90 ff.; Sihâbdîr, i, 364; Râşidî, i, 78 ff.). After advancing to the area of Nové Zámky, which he had heard was to be besieged, Köprülü-zâde received there the confirmed copy of the peace treaty from Vienna and therefore returned to Belgrade where he wintered in order to oversee the implementation of the treaty. He returned to Edime only in July 1665, and from there to Istanbul, inspecting the terms of the Dardanelles in company with the sultan and the vizir.

At a consultative assembly in December 1665, Köprülü-zâde proposed a major effort to take Kandîya [q.v.] in Crete, the siege of which had for years been the cause of heavy losses; and it was agreed that preparations for such a campaign should be put in hand. Departing from Edime in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1076/26 May 1666, Köprülü-zâde crossed from Monemvasia, chosen as the mainland base for the campaign, to Canea in early November. The fleet was strengthened during the course of the winter and spring, and on r Dhu ‘l-Hijja 2725 May 1667 Köprülü-zâde convened an assembly of the leading commanders in which the plans for the conduct of the siege were laid (Djawdhir al-tawdrîkh, fol. 121; Defterdar Şarî Mehmed Pâsha, Zubdat al-wakîl, Suleymanîye-Efendi 1856, fol. 41 ff.; Râşidî, i, 164 ff.). The siege was pressed vigorously, with varying fortunes, until mid-November when Köprülü-zâde, who had lived in the trenches from the beginning of the siege in order to encourage the troops, suspended operations for the winter. During this period Köprülü-zâde received Venetian commissioners and was in correspondence with both the Doge of Venice and the Venetian captain-general Morosini with regard to negotiations about the fate of the fortress (Djawdhir al-tawdrîkh, Köprülü Fazî Abî Hâmet Pâsha, 231; Râşidî, i, 185 ff.). Both sides gathered reinforcements in the spring and, with Köprülü-zâde entering the trenches once more on 12 Muḥarram 1079/22 June 1668, the issue was again hotly contested through the summer (for details, see Jawdhir al-tawdrîkh; Râşidî, i, 208 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, Histoire, xi, 511 ff.). Knowing that Köprülü-zâde was in the city and the surrender of Kandîya, the Venetians approached the sultan, then in Yâshihbûr [Larissa], in Thessaly, for more favourable terms, as a result of which Mehmed IV demanded to know of the Grand Vizier the situation, warning that it would be impossible to raise men and supplies were the siege to last another year. At an assembly convened by Köprülü-zâde on 8 Râdja‘î 12 December 1668, it was agreed that the fall of Kandîya seemed close at hand, and arrangements were made to winter in the trenches (Râşidî, i, 178 ff.). Friction amongst the Venetians and their allies led to the withdrawal of the allied fleet at the end of August 1669, which left the Venetians little chance but to surrender. After six days of discussion, terms were agreed on 8 Râbi‘ II 1080/5 September 1669 (see Râşidî, i, 240 ff.; Mu‘âṣâ‘âdî Mu‘âṣâ‘âdî, ii, 141 ff.; Norerdoungâhî, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman, i, Paris 1857, 134 ff.). Köprülü-zâde supervised the evacuation of the site of the Kandîya fortress on 27 September. He remained through the winter to repair the fortress and to have a new land survey (mâbar) made in the Mediterranean islands. He also pacified the Mainotes with a letter which he sent, and he forgave their outstanding taxes (for details, see Jawdhir al-tawdrikh, fol. 122 ff.; Köprülü-Mehmed Âsm Anbey 724, fol. 235 b; Bayyekalât arjîvî, tabir dextertîrî; Eviyâ Celebi, Sâhîh-nâmê, viii, 498 ff.; Sîhâbdîr i, 538). Returning by way of Tekirdâg, he arrived in Edime in mid-Şârâ‘i 1671/early July 1670 and surrendered the sacred standard to the sultan.

For diplomatic relations with France in the early 1670s, leading to a renewal of the capitulations on 5 June 1673 (19 Şâfâr 1084), see J. Chardin, Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, Paris 1814, iv, 168 ff. (for the return of a Venetianologist, see L. d'Arvieux, Mémoires du châtelain d'Arvieux, Paris 1735, iv; Hammer-Purgstall, Histoire, xi, 341 ff. See also intirîyârîî the Ottoman empire, esp. at p. 1254a).

In 1672 a campaign was undertaken against Poland on behalf of Peter Doroshenko, hetman of a group of Ukrainian Cossacks, who had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1669; and on 7 Şâfâr 1084/5 June 1672, Köprülü-zâde left Edime with the army, accompanied by Mehmed IV, who was to take an active interest in the campaign (for correspondence between Köprülü-zâde and the King of Poland in May 1672, see Râşidî, i, 486 ff.). The principal object of the campaign, the fortress of Podolody [see samandos] was taken on 3 Dinâmâ 1085/15 August 1672 after a nine-day siege (Nâbî Yuâsî, Tarihk-i Kamâmîn, Istanbul University Târikh-i Tûrîq, i, 285 ff.; Jawdhir al-tawârikh, fols. 122 ft.; Köprülü Mehmed Pâsha, Şîhîh-nâmê, Suleymanîye-Halî Efendi 615, Topkapî Sarayi-Bağdat köşk-i 217). The rapid Ottoman advance in Poland, and particularly the siege of Lwów, compelled the Polish King, Michael Winoziwicz, to sue for peace; and terms were agreed at the recently-taken fort (palmanka) of Buchach (18 October 1672: 'Abdî Pâsha; Râşidî, i, 284 ff.; Norerdoungâhî, i, 52). The harsh terms of the treaty, which included the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine and the payment of tribute, made it unacceptable to the Polish Diet. Their refusal to ratify it and implement its terms led to further Ottoman campaigns in the following years, of which Köprülü-zâde, once again accompanied by Mehmed IV, directed those in 1673 and 1674. In the main action of the former year, Köprülü-zâde was appointed commander to save Köthîn [q.v.] from the attack of John Sobieski, but the fortress was lost before he could arrive. The latter year saw a successful campaign into the Ukraine (Köthîn having been retaken by the Khan of the Crimea) in response to Russian incursions. Köprülü-zâde, now in poor health, returned to Edime with the sultan on 22 Şâbâ‘î 1085/21 November 1674 (see Râşidî, i, 375 ff.), and the campaigns of 1675 and 1676 against the Poles were left to others.

In his last years, Köprülü-zâde’s illness worsened through his addiction to drink. Although he followed the sultan when the latter left Istanbul for Edime with the army in early Şâbâ‘î 1085/22 October 1675, he was too ill to get even as far as Edime and died on the Kara Biber đilîgï, near Ergene köprüsi (between Çorlu and Kâzâkîran), on 26 Şâbâ‘î 1087/3 November 1676 at the age of 41 (‘Abdî Pâsha), his death resulting from acute
dropsy brought on by drink (Silahdar, i, 659). His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in his residence (formerly that of Wisha Sultan, later that of Mehemmed Pasha). Köprüli-zade saw to the completion of two or three longest in Ottoman history. Tall and stout, with a round face and large eyes, he is described as dignified and inspiring respect. Especially significant is the high praise accorded his virtues by Silahdar (i, 659) in view of that historian’s harsh judgements on Köprüli Mehemmed Pasha. Köprüli-zade saw to the completion of pious foundations begun by his father, such as a half-finished hünkâr and mosque in Rumeli, and also of his foundations in Cemal Teşhi in Istanbul (Dinâşâbîr al-taşârûfi, fols. 438; and, as evidence of the great value which he himself placed on learning, one may cite the library which he established near his residence (formerly that of Şâfiye Sultan, daughter of Sultan Ibrahim and wife of İnpâş Şahâ) in the vicinity of Aya Sofya (Uınumamî, Osmanlı tarihi, iii/2, 438) and which he enriched with many very valuable books acquired both while as müdtessir and in later times. The wasfiyya for the library, which was drawn up two years after his death, in 1091/1678, and which makes provision for students and the teaching of certain subjects there, is now in the Köprüli library (no. 4 of the wasfiyyas of the Köprüli family; M. Gökmen, Küttâfîneurûmiden notlar, Istanbul 1952, 52; Şahîâvi, Wâbinâ’eh al-fudâlā, Istanbul University TY81, fols. 621). His other foundations include a mosque in Kandıya (for a copy of the imperial grant of the land (mutkâr) given him in Kandıya, dated Rabâ‘ II 1081/August-September 1670, as well as other documents demarcating boundaries, see the above collection of Köprüli manuscripts, nos. 11 and 12), a mosque in Nevâ Zâmyk and Karmeti, and an uncompleted hünkâr (later completed) in İzmir (Silahdar, i, 659).

Fâdîl Ahmed Pasha was also the patron of a number of men of learning and the arts, among them his private secretary (müdtessir), Hasan Ağha, author of the Dinâşâbîr al-taşârûfi, which is based on the documents committed to his charge (there exists in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, a Latin translation of this work, made in 1680 and entitled Annales gemma, author Hasarana . . . . . C. A. Galland, Journal, tr. N. S. Öřič, Hattâlilâr, Ankara 1949, 197, n; Büh linger, 216-17); M. A. Dina, who was with him throughout the siege of Kandıya; Nâhi, Zubûll, the author of the Tafris-i Ûsdân; the retîn-ûl-hakâflâ Tâlib Ahmed Efendi; the poet Fânnî; and Huseyîn Hürerîmî [4.7.; cf. Safêt, Tâfris-i Ell ül-beynân, Istanbul University TY323, fols. 190 ff., 242 ff.; Şahîâvi, fols. 680-95].

III. Fâdîl Mustafâ Pasha (1047-1102/1637-91). Ottoman Grand Vizier, the younger brother of Fâdîl Ahmed Pasha. Born in Kopri in 1047/1637, he began medrese education together with his elder brother. Whether he received a medrese appointment is not known, but in 1070/1660 he is seen to have received a şâzâmed and to have entered the ranks of the sultan’s guards as a müftü (Silahdar, Osmanlı tarihi, iii/2, Ankara 1934, 431). In view of the fact that he was in Crete, together with his mother, for the whole of the final siege of Kandıya (1666-9), that he was at Fâdîl Ahmed’s side when the latter died and that he bore the Grand Vizier’s signet ring to the sultan (for the kâdir granting him a şâzâmed at this time, see Beyveliâket ârâdî, Ali Emírı tarihi, period of Mehemmed IV, 229), one may suppose that he spent most of his time with his elder brother, on campaign. On 25 December 1090/20 June 1680 he became seventh vizier at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa (see KARA MUSTAFA PASHA, MERZİFONLU). The next year he was served as governor (muderris) to the Wâhidî Sultan and the princes Sileyman and Ahmed when they went to Edirne; and he performed the same function the following year, now as sixth vizier, when they remained in Edirne after the departure of the army for Istanbul (Rabâ‘ I 1681/March 1681) following the conclusion of peace with Russia. At the time of the army’s departure on the Austrian campaign of 1683 (Rabâ‘ II 1684/April 1683) he remained in Edirne as guard (muderris) to the Wâhidî Sultan, with the posts of fifth vizier and 礌림-مطاوام of Edirne. He was later appointed to the governorship of the eyalet of Siliistra with the addition of Nicopolis (i.e. the Îzî mubâhâflûrîk) and became commander at Babadagil (q.v.). With Kara Mustafa Paşa’s dismissal and execution (December 1685) following the failure of the second siege of Vienna, and on the report that John Sobieski, King of Poland, was making preparations against Kârnedes and Moldavia, it was decided to replace Fâdîl Mustafa with a more experienced commander: he was summoned to the capital as kâdir attî vizier, but kept the estates (kâdiratî) he then possessed (Rabâ‘ II 1684/March-April 1684; Silahdar, ii, 127). Reaching Edirne in mid-May, Fâdîl Mustafa occupied the position of third vizier in the divân; but before long he chose retirement, no doubt grieved by the enmity of the new Grand Vizier toward the Köprüli family. One year later, as the war with the Venetians in the Morea intensified, he was appointed commander (mubâhîf) of Chios (according to Silahdar, ii, 222, transferred from the Úsdân of Boghâz Köprilî zo), subsequently being transferred to the command of Boghâz Hüsîr on 4 Rabâ‘ 1102/28 February 1686 (Silahdar, ii, 230).

On 30 Dhu ‘l-‘Hâdîd 1098/1687, shortly after a rebellious army had made his brother-in-law, Siyavuş Paşa, Grand Vizier and begun a march on the capital, Fâdîl Mustafa was summoned to Istanbul as second vizier and  rakîm-mêdâtûm. Though Mehemmed IV had some hope that Fâdîl Mustafâ might help him save his throne, some slight by the sultan made Fâdîl Mustafa unsympathetic, and the latter was in fact closely involved in the deposition of Mehemmed IV (2 Muhamarram 1099/November 1689). He soon fell out of favour with the army, the instruments of the deposition, however, through resisting their demands for douâtives and attempting to establish discipline; and though his position was once saved by the new sultan, Sileyman II, he was subsequently effectively exiled by being appointed again to the command of Boghâz Hüsît (7 Rabâ‘ II 1100/16 February 1688: Silahdar, ii, 318 ff.; Zubâtul-mudfrîlât, fols. 87 ff.; Râchîlid, ii, 23). He was spared a worse fate by the refusal of the Şâhîâvi al-Islâm to sanction his execution. A little later he was moved to the command of Canea, then to that of Kârdiya, then, in Safêt 1103/December 1688, to that of Chios.

With the war against the Holy League going badly for the Ottomans in 1688-9, particularly on the Austrian front, it was agreed by the ulamâ to recommend to the sultan the appointment of Fâdîl Mustafa Paşa to the Grand Vizierate, and he was accordingly summoned to Edirne (11 Muhamarram 1101/25 October 1689). His first act was to issue a declaration (bâyi-nâme) designed to restore morale and to encourage the willing performance of military service. He also took steps to ease the lot of the tax-paying
subjects (re'dâyi) by removing a number of onerous extraordinary taxes such as the *re'sar-i khisar ve 'arab, a recently-imposed tax on drink which had led many Christian subjects in Rumeli to make common cause with the enemy (cf. *Zubdat al-wâlîyâh*, fol. 122). During the winter he was engaged in preparations for a campaign which he himself was to lead; and on 6 Shawwâl 1101/13 July 1690 he left Edîmen. He succeeded in recovering Pirot (10 August), the fort (pâlâka) of Mûsâ Phâshu, and, after a 23-day siege, the important stronghold of Nîjâh (9 September). Despite the isolation of the season and the opposition of his commandment, Fâdîl Mushtakh determined to march to Belgrade. Sannindzâr fell after a three-day siege, on 23 Dhû 'l-Hijjâ 1107/27 September 1690, and Belgrade after an eight-day siege, on 4 Muhamarr 1102/8 October 1690 (Sîlahdâr, ii, 509 ff.; *Zubdat al-wâlîyâh*, fol. 369, 174, 175; Râşhîd, ii, 123 ff.; cf. I. H. Dânîvânçî, *Ishâk Osmanî: tarîkhລromoxogî, İstanbul 1947-55, iii, 470). Detachments sent out from Belgrade succeeded in taking Boghûr-delen (Sabac) and re-establishing control over the Danube at Orçoâva but failed to recover Osîlek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fâdîl Mushtakh set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the re'dâyi, sending prisoners to their death and withdrawing the imperial larder whereby expediture was cut off. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Winî) and the rebellion of the Danube (by Fâdîl Mustakh demobilized troops to recover Osîjek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fâdîl Mushtakh set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the re'dâyi, sending prisoners to their homes at the treasury's expense and also restoring lands and goods and providing the means of agriculture to those who had lived between Nîjâh and Belgrade but had been moved across the Danube by the Austrians and now wished to return. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Wânî) and routine in the Janissary Corps, the imperial larder and the imperial larder whereby expediture was cut off (Sîlahdâr, ii, 559-60).

Though Fâdîl Mushtakh proposed that he remain in Istanbul in 1691 in order to oversee all fronts during the year and that another commander be sent to Hungary, it was thought best that he lead the campaign. By the time the army was ready to move (Shâbâb 1102/May 1691), Suleyman II was near death, and a faction opposed to Fâtîl Mustakh was making efforts to restore Muhammed IV to the throne. When the sultan died, his brother, Ahmed II, became *mutawallî* of the Kapriülû Mehmmed Pasha—see 'Amâjî-Zâde Husâyîn Phâshu (nephew of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha)—see 'Amâjî-Zâde Hüsâyîn Phâshu.

N. 'Unum Phâshu (1768-1771/1767-1770). Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Fâdîl Mushtakh Phâshu. Born in Istanbul, he studied under Demir-Kapûl Fâdîl Suleyman and Kayserîli Hüfîrî As-Sayyâd Ahmed Efendi, among others, and became *mutawallî* of the Köprülü ağaî after his father's death. While Muhammed II was preparing for his second campaign against the Austrians, in 1696, he decreed that Nûmân, like the administrators of other rich foundations, should take part in the campaign, providing 150 infantry. In Muhammar 1112/July 1700, Nûmân Beg became sixth vizier and was betrothed to Arîsa Sultan, a daughter of Muhammed II (Sîlahdâr ââyî). He became begorbegî of Eruzum in Ramadân 1121/17 March 1702 and then, in Dümâdân 1114/October 1702, of Anatolia. His marriage to Arîsa Sultan, set for the spring of 1703, was delayed in the confusion surrounding the uprising known as the *Edirne wakeâlî* which led to the deposition of Muhammed II (9 Ramadân 1114/22 August 1703), who was replaced by Ahmedî III. Following this event, Nûmân Phâshu was appointed commander (muflâtî) of Erzège (Eroea), and by June 1704 he had become muflâtî of Crete, being charged with making a land survey (âlabîr) of the fiefs on the island (Râşhîd, iii, 137). Transferred to the command of Boghûr Hijârî on 26 Shawwâl 1117/10 February 1706, he was shortly after returned again to Crete. Though...
the marriage ceremony with Aisha Sultan was celebrated in Muḥarram 1220/April 1708, it was still to be several years before the marriage was consummated.

Appointed again to Eğdiböz in 21 Nīmadā II 1221/August 1709, he was summoned to Istanbul four months later (Ramādān 1221/December 1709) to consummate his marriage (Rāshid, iii, 317 ff.; cf. ibid., iii, 273-8, however, where the consummation is said to have occurred in Muḥarrām 1220/March 1709). He was made beglerbeg of Bosnia on 8 Shawwāl 1220/1 December 1709 but was then appointed to the command of Belgrade on 3 Dhū l-‘Khāḍa 1221/4 January 1710 (Rāshid, iii, 313 ff.); Uznargil, Osmanlı tarihi, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 297, where this appointment is given on 17 Rabī‘ I 1222/May 1710). On 18 Rabī‘ II 1222/June 1710, Nūr-i Pāsha was transferred to the Grand Vizirate in the hope that he would be more resolute against the Russians and better able to handle the problem of the supply of Swedish king, Charles XII, than his predecessor, Cōlūli ‘All Pāsha, had been (see ‘All Pāsha Corleve, Akses Namet Kurat, İnci Korat Kuri XII: Vĕn Türkeviđe haliş . . . , İstanbul 1943, 227, 229); his appointment was met with general satisfaction. Despite a strong movement in the government to concentrate attention on the Black Sea and the Polish question, Nūr-i Pāsha, trying to maintain peace with Russia, continued himself with announcing simply that a large army would see the Swedish king to his own country in the spring (see Rāshid, iii, 327; Ahmed Reftī, Mandal-ī Dīnāmiyye ‘d-Develmārā Shāhī, İstanbul 1932/1932/14, 30 ff.; A. N. Kurat, op. cit., 232 ff.; idem, XVIII. yıla boyunca Avrupa umumuh hürriyедин Türkiye’nin tarif- siğitliti, in Billetten, vii, 1943, 288 ff.; ‘St-Priest, Mémoires, 120-1).

Disappointed in his position of both external and internal affairs, Ahmed III removed Nūr-i Pāsha from the Grand Vizirate on 21 Nīmadā II 1222/17 August 1710; he was subsequently appointed mukālib of Eğdiböz (Silādār Ḍayyīl; Rāshid, iii, 320-1). For a complete bibliography on his wish to resign from the Grand Vizirate, see Behji, ʿTvārgiš-sulṭān-i Köprülü). In the nine years before his death he held administrative and military positions continuously in various parts of the empire. He became muḥāfāz of Canea in Shawwāl 1222/December 1710, and of Kandiyah in Dhū l-‘Khāḍa 1223/December 1711, while on 19 Shawwāl 1223/November 1713 he was given the sandal of Yanya (Ioannina) as an arpaḵīl (Silādār Ḍayyīl). The next year he was given the eydel of Bosnia together with the military command of the Karadağ (q.v.) area. While in this post he moved against the rebels of Karadağ, who were receiving aid from the Venetians, hunted them down and drove those who escaped to take refuge with the Venetians (Shawwāl 1226/October 1714; Rāshid, iv, 22-3. For the decree sent to him about this problem, see Bayvekalet arşivi, Iba‘ilumān, dāḥiyā, 4242).

Following this success, he moved to the command of Belgrade (January 1723; Silādār Ḍayyīl), where affairs were at a delicate stage; but under him, as in his predecessor’s time, disorder in this frontier fortress increased, as did desertions from the local levies and the kōptuļuļu soldiery. Dismissed because of this in Rabī‘ II 1227/July 1725, he was transferred to the governorship (muṭlaqar-rīl/lij) of the sanjūṣ of Tīl and Muṭlaqar and given the task of following the activities of the bandits who were profiting from the absence on campaign of the viziers and beglerbegs of Anatolia (Rāshid, iv, 237, 420 ff.). In Shawwāl 1228/September 1727 he was made beglerbeg and muḥāfāz of Cyprus (Silādār Ḍayyīl); and three months later he became commander (ṣarār) in Bosnia while retaining the governorship of Cyprus (for part of the firman of appointment, see Uznargil, Osmanlı tarihi, iv/5, 264, n. 1). During the period when the Austrians gained Belgrade (Ramādān 1227/August 1719), Nūr-i Pāsha beat back the enemy attack on Bosnia and forced the raising of the siege of Izvornik (October 1719). He remained active in the defense of Bosnia until after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (29 Shawwāl 1228/July 1718), (see Rāshid, iv, 383; and for a copy of a decree sent to him in mid-Ramādān 1230/August 1718, see Bayvekalet arşivi, Iba‘ilumān, dāḥiyā, 2436) and was then transferred at his own request to the governorship of Creta in Ramādān 1230/August 1718. Falling ill as soon as he reached the island, however, he died in Kandiyah on 16 Rabī‘ I 1231/February 1719 and was buried beside the mosque of Fāḍil Ahmed Pāsha.

Nūr-i Pāsha was accounted an honest and pious man of the type upon whom one author remarks that he would have been better suited to the office of Sāyḥah al-Īṣlām than to that of Grand Vizier (Charles de Ferriot, Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriot, Antwerp 1820, 120). He is said to have having nothing from the estates attached to the various offices he held, but rather to have had his expenses exclusively from the income of the estates which he had inherited from his father (Behji). Both his younger brother and, of his sons, particularly Hāfīz Ahmed Pāsha (d. 1323/1795) made a mark in public life, as well as other descendants of the family down to the present day (see Köprülü Mehmed Fuad).

**Bibliography:** For further details and a more complete bibliography, especially of archival materials, see ʿAṣr kāt Köprülü, by M. Tayyib Gobedgin, on which this article is based. (M.K.-R. C. Repp)

**KÖPRÜLLÜ, Mehmed Fuad, until 1934 Köprüllü Mehmed Fuad (1890-1966), prominent Turkish scholar and the pioneer of Turkish studies in the modern sense in Turkey. Born in Istanbul, he was the son of İsmail Fazıl Bey, a civil servant, a descendant of the sister of the famous Ottoman grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (q.v.) who married Kbildel Mustafa Paşa, one-time vizier of Mehmed IV. His mother Kcheidija Khâinm was the daughter of Ārif Kikem Efendi, a member of the ‘ulama of Isfīymie in Rumell (Sīlven in present-day Bulgaria). He was educated at Ayşapasha junior high school (rīzāghiyāvi) and at Mardrān high school (rīzāghiyāvi) in Istanbul. Later, for two years he attended the School of Law (Mekteb-i İhābı), which he left in 1909, but he was mainly self-taught. After teaching in various schools, he was appointed in 1923, with Dıyā (Eyle) Gökals support, to the chair of Türkiye tarih-Cografya Fahiiltesi (where he covered Ottoman history and institutions). He served for eight months as under-secretary at the Ministry of Education in 1924 and was elected deputy from Kars in 1936. After 1939 he settled in Ankara and joined political life. In January 1946 he became one of the four
founders of the Democratic Party [see Democrat Parti]. Following the 1950 elections he became Foreign Minister (1950-5) and Minister of State in 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassuda (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges. In 1961 he founded the short-lived Vepi Democrat Parti ('The New Democratic Party') and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

Fuad Köprülü started his career as a poet and literary critic. His name began to appear towards the end of 1908 in various papers and periodicals particularly in the Theres-i Feynim (vol. 1). As a poet he belonged to the Fejri Ali group [vol. 1], an extension of the Theres-i Feynim school. In 1912 he mainly contributed to the daily Hâkik and its literary supplement. He gradually switched to research and in 1913 he published in ‚Lâri-gâ’irâ hâkiti‘ (Ziya Gökalp) [vol. 1] and of the Turkish movement which he led [see Türk œikû], and contributed many articles to Türk yurdu (1928), the organ of the movement and to the daily İhâlây where he serialised a study on folk poetry (February-June 1924). In 1915 he founded the journal Millî tarihîvelîler mecmuâsî ("Journal of National Research"), where he published some of his early important study on ‚Hâkim poetry (1, 5-46). In July 1917 Gökalp founded the famous Yeni Mejmû-ә’si ("The New Review") which gathered together all the leading young writers of the period and where Fuad Köprülü published his new-style poems (in spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and on "national" topics as required by the new Millî edebiyât trend) and his articles of literary criticism and research. After the publication in 1918 of his epoch-making monograph on "Early mystics in Turkish literature" i.e. Ahmed Yesevi and Yûnis Emre (Türk edebiyâtında ilk müstehbât), and of the first two volumes of his monumental work entitled Tarih-i Millî (The edebiyâtî tarîhî, i, 1920 and ii, 1921), Köprülü concentrated his research on the origins and development of classical Turkish literature and culture in Anatolia; the evolution of Turkish Islam and Ottoman institutions; the Turkish legal system; and the development of Turkish literature in other literary dialects e.g. Azeri and Chaghatay. His work shed new light on the formative period of Turkish literature in Anatolia; very little research had been carried out in this field before him. But his greatest contribution is to have treated the evolution of the many branches of Turkish literature and culture as one unit and to have studied its development as a whole. In 1922 he founded in Istanbul University the Institute of Turcology (Türkçülîyät Enstîtûsû) and its organ the Türkçülîyät Mejmû-ә’si. Apart from his many articles (some of which are independent monographs) published in various scholarly journals, particularly *Hâkim*, Türkçülîyät Mejmû-ә’si, Edebiyât Edebiyâtîleri Mejmû-ә’si, Belleten, Türk külah ve ihtisâl tarîhî mecmuâsî, and the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (İslâm Ansiklopedisi), Köprülü is the author of the following major works: *Türkçülîyät Tarîhî*, i ("History of Turkey"), Istanbul 1923 (covers the period up to the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia); *Bugünkü edebiyâtı* ("Literature of today"), Istanbul 1924 (collection of early articles on literary criticism and book reviews); *Türk edebiyâtı tarîhî*, i, Istanbul 1926 (revised and enlarged edition of the two parts published in 1920-1); *Millî edebiyâtı dergiyanâhî sîlî mihtebehileri* ... ("Foresrunners of the national literature movement"), Istanbul 1928 (contains selections from the 10th/17th century poet Edemir NaNm who experimented with "pure Turkish"); *Türk Âli ve edebiyatı sûsûrında azaflarîmalar*, Istanbul 1934 (a collection of research articles and book reviews); *Les origines de l’empire ottoman*, Paris 1935; and another collection of research articles and book reviews); *MiUt edebiyya*, Istanbul 1938; *Bilgi Medeniyeti*, 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassuda (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges. In 1961 he founded the short-lived Vepi Democrat Parti ('The New Democratic Party') and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

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KÖPRÜLÜ — KORÇA

KÖPRÜLÜ — KORÇA, modern Turkish Körçe, Greek Korytsa, Ottoman Gërgëje, all from the Slavic toponym "Gorka", the only urban centre of importance in southeastern Albania, situated at the edge of the homonymous plain at the foot of the Moravë Mountains, which constitute the natural barrier
between the Korča plain and Macedonia. Korča was one of the most important towns founded by the Ottomans in Albania. Throughout the Ottoman period (late 14th century till 1912), Korča was a local administrative centre (nâhîye, kâhîfîle), and latterly the capital of a sanjak in the vilayet of Manastir (Bitola) and a small Islamic centre.

The Ottomans annexed the eastern part of the present-day Albania in the last decade of the 14th century and established their regular administration there, with the castles of "Görđije" and Premedi (Fërnet) as bases. A terminus ad quem for the conquest, not recorded it seems by the Ottoman chroniclers (Fâshikspahâzâde, Orôt, Anonymous-Giese, Neshri, Sâd al-Din), is the church of the village of Mborje 3 km. east of Korča on the first spur of the Moravë, which church was, according to its well-preserved inscription, built by Bishop Niphon in the year 1390. Throughout the entire 15th century the name "Görđije" seems to have been used for a castle on the spur or the Moravë between the village of Mborje and the place where the town of Korča lies today. The Ottoman documents from the early period use "Em부voye" (from Imperator) and "Görđije" indiscriminately. A fragment of a lânmûr register from Safâr 886/April 1488 mentions a lânmûr of an "Ishâk the Albanian" situated in the "nâhîye of Görđije". This lânmûr included eight small villages (mostly with Slavic names), of which one numbered six Muslim households and two households of Christians. (Sofia, National Library, Orient. Dep., No D 649, p. 26). The document is an indication for the early start of the Islamisation of the district of Korča, an Islamisation which was not solely restricted to members of the old native nobility. The castle of Görđije was maintained throughout the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. When it disappeared is apparently not recorded. A lâmpûr defter (Bâsbakanlik arşivi [= BBA] T. D. 709, p. 257), written in 923/1519 (mentions a djemâ late of Christian müsitlenen of the castle. The village of "Enbovë, dependent on Görđije" numbered, according to the same document, 18 households of Muslims, 7 Muslim bachelors, and 86 households of Christians as well as 10 Christian bachelors and 11 widows. According to a lâmpûr defter of 935/1529-30, the same village numbered 15 Muslim households, 4 Muslim bachelors, 4 people with a boro, 1 sipâhi-âdâ, and 101 Christian households and 25 Christian bachelors (BBA, T. D. 167, p. 172). The same document states that there was a djemamâ late of Christian müsitlenen in the castle of Görđije consisting of 22 households and 9 bachelors. These müsitlenen were freed from ispena, savundur and tepetâtî in exchange for the fulfillment of the duties of repair and maintenance of the castle. Besides these privileged Christians, there was a djemâ late of 3 Christian families in the castle who had to deliver yearly 7,500 arrows, for which service the state freed them lrom paying the sandak and the various lekdiifal. The djemamâ Aydin, son of Dimitri, thus a recent convert, was freed from kharidi, ispena, vanundur and tepetâtî and forfeiyve for the service of keeping the water supply of the castle in good order.

The actual town of Korča is an Ottoman foundation, intentionally founded in order to form a Muslim urban centre in the district. The history of the foundation of Korča can be reconstructed with help of some Ottoman documents. In 929/1525 the Master of the Imperial Stables (Minâbûr), Ilyas Beg, received from Bayezîd II the village of Bostocte (Bâsocte, 7 km. south of Korča), dependent on Görđije, as full possession (Gökîbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Înâs, 428). In 941/1536 the same person constructed a mosque and some other buildings in the village of Piskopolye near Görđije. In 950/1543-4 Ilyas Beg drew up the waâfiyye for his mosque in Istanbul, (the former Studion Basilica near Yedi Kolâ) and for his foundations in Piskopolye: a mosque, an imârât (in the sense of a building for the distribution of food to the poor), and a mu̇salâmühâne. For the upkeep of these foundations, he allotted the tax revenue of four villages in the district of Korča (including Bostocte and Piskopolye), the revenue of a village near Premedi, a hamamâ and seven shops in Istanbul, and another hamamâ and a mill in Janinnâ (Yanya) in Epirus (extract of the waâfiyye by Gökîbilgin, Paşa İnâs, 427-8). The full extent of the foundations of Ilyas are not known, with certainty. According to a late 15th-century source, the Hadîdîl al-kitâbâmûr, Istanbul 1030/1624-5, I, 196, Ilyas Beg founded "benevolent works like an imârât, a mosque, a madrasa, and a tekke" in Korča. The Kâmîs al-kâmîn, (v. 3919) mentions: "a blessed mosque, a madrasa, an imârât and a tekke." Local tradition also attributes a hamamâ to Ilyas Beg. The Kâmîs states explicitly that the Beg "laid the foundations of the town" by building the above-mentioned objects. It is possible that Ilyas Beg, or his sons, added to the foundations of 921/1514-5, at a later date.

The Kâmîs further states that Ilyas was one of the dignitaries of the time of Mehemmed Fâtih and tutor and mirâdîh of Bâyezîd II. The Hadîdîl notes that he was an Albanian by birth and that he was buried in Görđije. In a waâfiyye of 924/1519-10 (see Gökîbilgin, Paşa İnâs, ii, 212), he styles himself "Ilyas Beg b. 'Abd Allâh." He was thus of local Christian origin. Ilyas Beg was married to the Ottoman princess Hündî Khâtûn, daughter of Murad II and Umm Kılıkham Khâtûn. The place where he erected his buildings, Piskopolye, explicitly styled a "village" in the giû waâfiyye, must have been the seat of a local bishopric in pre-Ottoman times. The Kâmîs states that Ilyas Beg constructed his buildings on the site of a destroyed old monastery. The title of "Görđije," sc. Korča, came to be used for the new urban settlement which developed around the nucleus formed by Ilyas's buildings. In the Istanbul Taḥâṣir of 935/1525-6, edited by Barkan and Ayvârcî, (Istanbul 1970, 375), the buildings of Ilyas are situated in the "hasaba of Görđije." The new settlement thus supplanted the old one and probably absorbed its population, as it did with that of Mborje or Enbovë 3 km. away from the new centre. The latter sank down to a hamlet of a few houses around the preserved Byzantine church of 1390.

The development of Korča in the 16th and 17th centuries cannot have been a spectacular one. Hâgdiî Khalîfî, (tr. Von Hammer, Rumeli ve Bosna, 172) mentions it in the first half of the 17th century as an administrative subdivision of the sanjak of Ohrid. Ottoman lists of the Hâgdiîs of Rumeli from 1009/1608-9 and 1201/1788 mention Görđije as the seat of a hadîlî of one of the lowest orders (Çarîce, Ushâçars保险公司, Anâncî, 1970, 265, 309). Neither Muhammed-i Șâhî nor Rûâyîya Çelebi describes Korča, nor does Marie Bizzî or other travelers, without doubt because it lies almost 60 km. off the Via Egnatia, the main road through the country.

In the second half of the 18th century, the development of the town received a strong impetus from the immigration of inhabitants of the Walachian trade metropolis of Voskopojë (Moschopolis), 20 km. due west in the mountains. Between 1768 and 1779 this
large urban settlement fell prey to the disorder which at that time reigned supreme. The French consul of Thessaloniki, Félix Beaumour, and the British traveller Colonel Teake, both writing in the first decade of the 19th century, describe Korçë as a place with 400 houses and a population of 3,000 souls. After that time the development of the town increased in speed. J. G. von Hahn (Albanische Studien, Jena 1854, 55) spoke of “dem rasch aufblühenden Gortsha.” Other sources mention 10,000 inhabitants in 1859. In the eighties of the last century, Sami Bey describes the town in his Këmbët e-tllën as a place with 18,000 inhabitants, 727 shops, 23 hellas, two mosques, one medrese, one tekke, one imaret, two hamamart, a clock tower and four churches. At the end of the century the town was burnt down in a great conflagration. It was rebuilt under Ahmed Eyyub Pasha according to a new and modern plan with wide and straight streets which crossed at a right angle, a plan which still characterises the place. Between 1887 and 1902 Korca possessed a special Albanian school, the very first school where lessons were given in the Albanian language. As such, the place played a role of first importance in the development of Albanian nationalism.

From the sixties of the 19th century, Korçë was the capital of a sizeable sandjak which comprised much of south-eastern Albania and a part of present day Greek Macedonia. Around 1900, Heinrich Gelascher counted 9,027 houses in Korçë, of which 1,420 were inhabited by Muslim Orthodox Christians, 275 by Vlachs and 905 by Muslim Albanians (Vom Reden der Berge und aus Macedonien, Leipzig 1904, 200). Other sources also mention population two-thirds Christian and one-third Muslim. During the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the town suffered particularly from the struggle between pre-Greek Albanian-speaking Christians and Albanian nationalists, both Muslim and Orthodox. During the French occupation, in 1916, a short-lived “Republic of Korça” was proclaimed. After the First World War, Korça remained within the frontiers of the new Albanian state. According to a French census of 1916 it numbered 22,23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,779 were Orthodox and 5,464 were Muslim, all Albanian-speaking (Justin Godart, L’Albanie en 1922, Paris 1922, 94). The total number in the district of Korça was 39,533 Muslims and 17,571 others. At present, the number of inhabitants of the town has passed the 50,000 mark.

Korçë is the native town of the “Ottoman Montagues”, Korçë Beg [q.v.]. His family lies buried in the yard of the Mirakjor Mosque. The famous man himself rests, according to Bursulj Mehmed Tahir’s Oğmazıl mırelisi, in the graveyard along the Manastir Road, but according to Babinger (Geschichtskreis, 185), in the yard of the Korça mosque itself. The family of the famous viscount of Egypt, Muhammad Ali [q.v.] also came from Korça.

Korçë is today a modern industrial centre, manufacturing textiles. The mosque of Mirakjor Ilyas Beg remains standing and is, together with the türbe of the Beg, an officially-recognised Monument of Culture. It lost its tall minaret during the fury of the Albanian Cultural Revolution of the spring of 1967. The mosque is one of the best examples of early classical Ottoman architecture in the country, a building which contributed considerably to the formation of Islamic architectural forms in Albania in the succeeding centuries.

Bibliography: Given in the text, but see also A. Birken, Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches, Wiesbaden 1976, 71. (The Topkapi defters, preserved in Istanbul and Sofia, have not yet been published). (M. Kiel)

KORDOFAN (Kordofán) a region of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan lying west of the White Nile roughly between lat. 10° and 15° N. and longs. 29° and 37° E.; it is now divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern Kordofan, with a population of 3,103,000 (1973 census). The name, often pronounced locally and earlier written as Kordóñ, is said to come from a small hill some ten miles south-east of al-UBayyid (lat. 15° 21' N., long. 30° 57' E.); before the present century the name referred to the central settled area rather than to the whole region.

1. Geography and Ethnology

A vast (about 147,000 square miles) open plain, forming a segment of Africa’s Sudanic Belt, Kordofan may be divided into a number of ecological zones; the semi-desert in the north, a central gđđ (stabilised sand dune) zone and the Nuba Mountains of the south-east. The mean annual rainfall ranges from less than 100 mm. in the far north to between 6 to 800 mm. in the south; the human ecology reflects this transition from camel and sheep nomadism in the northern zone which itself merges into the Baydja Desert, to mixed hoe agriculture and pastoralism in the central zone and cattle nomadism in the south. Only in the Khayra depression north of Eları is irrigated agriculture practised.

The ethnography of Kordofan is complex, being historically the result of an Arab or Arabised component immigrating and intermarrying with a diverse indigenous population; Arab nomads and semi-nomads, predominantly Kabdhah, Dar Hamed, Hamar and Bidaariyya live in the north and centre, while in the south the cattle nomads (Bakhdhah), Misfiriyya, Hijum and Hawazma, form but a part of the “Bakhdhah belt” that stretches west to Lake Chad and east across the White Nile. The towns, established in the 18th century mainly by Dā’aliyya and Dālqūla immigrants from the Nile Valley, are found in the central zone, al-UBayyid, Bārā, Umm Rawba and al-Rahad, an area of rain-fed agriculture which produces Kordofan’s main export, gum arabic from the bakhdh tree (Acacia senegal). The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by a medley of ethnic groups, whose generic name, Nuba, conceals a linguistic and ethnic diversity which defies generalisation; at least thirty languages belonging to several different language groups are spoken. In the 20th century, partly because of colonial policies, the Nuba have increasingly moved their settlements down from the mountains onto the plains below.

2. History

Neither the name nor any certain information about the region appear in the mediaeval Arabic geographical literature; nor can anything very certain be said of the early peopling of Kordofán or of the course or chronology of the Arab immigration. A letter from the ruler of Borau dated 794/1392 to Sultan al-Qahir Barkūk of Egypt may imply the penetration of Ḩudham and other Arab nomads through Kordofan and beyond to the Lake Chad region (al-Kalkashandl, Sīh al-‘aṣra, vii, 718-18; Yūfuq Fadl Ḥasan, The Arabs and the Sudan, 165), but of the two possible directions from which the original Arab nuclei of the modern Bakhdhah tribes might have come, North Africa seems more likely than the Nile. The Bakhdhah tribes in their present formation probably do not go
back beyond the 17th century. Oral traditions remember the existence of an Arab nomad confederation, the Fazzara, in Northern Kordofan in the roth-11th/16th-17th centuries; recent research has discovered references to Egyptian merchants trading with merchants from Har al-saladin-fanara ca. 1530. The Kababish of Kordofan and the Zayyadiyya of Dar Fur [p.4] appear to have emerged out of the debris of this confederation. In sum, it would appear that the earliest Arab penetration cannot be dated much before the 8th/9th century, probably following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Nile Valley.

Funj, Musabba'At and Fur rule. Following the break up of the Islamic Funj [p.4] sultanate of Sinnar at the beginning of the roth/17th century, Kordofan experienced a secondary wave of Arabisation and Islamisation through commercial and political influences from the Nile Valley and the missionary activities of itinerant fakih. The spread of Islam among the indigenous inhabitants is illustrated by the emergence of Takall, a small Islamised kingdom, whose foundation at least as a Muslim state is traditionally ascribed to Muhammad al-Din'ali, a fakih who came from the north in about 930/1520. Occasional glimpses of this spread of Islam may be found in the biographical dictionary of Wad Dayf Allah; in the early 11th/17th century Taji al-Din al-Bahari from Baghdad visited Takall. Later in the century the fakih Ibn al-KaddAl visited Kordofan; he taught a local fakih, Djeddaat Allah, whose son Mukhtar was killed by Djanjal (see below) (Muhammad al-Nur b. Dayf Allah, KtddAl al-Takall, ed. Yusuf Fadl Hasan, Khartoum 1971, 127-9, 87-8, 130, 345-6).

In historic times Kordofan became a "buffer territory, now the prey of its eastern, now of its western neighbours" (MacMichael, Kordofan, 5), that is, between Sinnar and the rising Dar Fur sultanate (established ca. 1620). Badi II of Sinnar (1634-92/1645-1682) invaded and subdued Takall, and Sinnar and occasionally recruited Nuba as mercenaries. Thereafter Sinnar exercised an informal overlordship over central and eastern Kordofan through their proteges, the Chudiyay, living to the south of al-UBayyid, some of whose chiefs appear in Funj documents with the title shaykh Kordofan.

Sinnar's overlordship was disputed in the late 17th and 18th centuries by three generations of Musabba'At (sing. Musabba'Ati) chiefs, who attempted to carve out a kingdom for themselves in Kordofan. By origin from Dar Fur, Djanjal, Hazal and Hahim, grandfather, father and son, attempted to play off Sinnar and Dar Fur against each other. Although the Musabba'At succeeded in ousting the Funj, in about 1760/1755-6 Hahim's activities provoked an invasion by Sultan Muhammad Tayyib (ca. 1665-1720/1755-6 to 1786-8) from Dar Fur. Thereafter, despite Hahim's attempts at resistance, Kordofan was ruled by Dar Fur. Among Dar Fur's governors (mahadim pl. mahidimm) in Kordofan, Muhammad Kurra and Musallim al-Tardjihf encouraged trade in gum, ostrich feathers and slaves, granted land to fakhis and others around al-UBayyid and Bahr, and curbed the nomads.

Turco-Egyptian rule 1821-85. In 1821, as part of a wider invasion of the Northern Sudan, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha [p.6] took Kordofan with an expedition of 3-4,000 troops and an artillery battery under his son-in-law, the dafardar Muhammad Bey Khusraw, to conquer Dar Fur and Kordofan (al-Djabarti, 'Adizah al-KtddAl, iv, 318). After successful

fully crossing the desert, the dafardar's army destroyed the Dar Fur garrison and killed the mahidim Musallim at Bahr on 20 August 1821. Khusraw was prevented from invading Dar Fur by a fierce revolt along the Nile. Al-UBayyid continued as the capital of what was now a province of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, although the actual administrative arrangements fluctuated greatly (the governors are listed in R. L. Hill, Rulers of Sudan, 1820-1885, in Sudan Notes and Records, xxxii/i (1957), 85-95).

Muhammad 'Ali had conquered the Northern Sudan to obtain slaves and gold; Kordofan yielded both, some alluvial gold from Djabal Shaybun in the Nuba Mountains and slaves from those owned within Kordofan or captured by Bakkara raids upon the Nuba and other southern peoples. As in other parts of the Sudan, the authorities themselves organised slave raids to the south; Rustum Bay (governor 1628-33) on one raid in 1826 seized 1,400 captives. Despite prospecting by W. P. E. S. Ruppell, J. von Russegger and others, the hopes of substantial gold deposits proved largely chimerical. For most of the Turco-Egyptian period neither the Bakkara nor the Nuba were ever brought under an effective administration; Djabal Takall put up a particularly prolonged resistance.

The Mahdiyya 1883-98. Kordofan was the scene of the first and final acts of the Mahdiyya (see MAHIYYA). In the Sudanese Mahdiyya. Although its history belongs to the wider history of the Mahdist Sudan, events in Kordofan contributed decisively to the success of the Mahdist Revolution. Thus, among the Dja'dalyyin settled in the province, a bitter conflict had developed between two factions led by Ilyas Pasha Umm Birayr and Ahmad Bey Dafa Allah al-Awardi. The former was appointed Governor of Kordofan by C. G. Gordon, but was dismissed following a revolt by the Chudiyay instigated by his rivals. It was with Ilyas and others, embittered with the Turco-Egyptian regime, that Muhammad Ahmad, the future Mahdi, made contact on a visit to al-UBayyid, probably in 1879.

Following his manifestation (zukur) on 29 June 1883 and initial successes against the Turco-Egyptian authorities, the Mahdi, following prophetic precedent, made his withdrawal (hijra) into Kordofan to Djabal Kadlr in the Nuba Mountains. It was in Kordofan that the Mahdi found the support and won the victories that firmly established his rule; on 19 January 1885 al-UBayyid finally capitulated and the destruction of the Hicks Pasha relief expedition at Shaybun, south of al-UBayyid, on 3 November 1885 gave the Mahdi complete control over Kordofan. In the context of these victories, Gordon's proposal that the Mahdi be made "Sultan of Kordofan" was disdained.

During the Mahdist period, Kordofan was basically administered from al-UBayyid by a deputy-governor (wakil), but for most of the period was combined with Dar Fur to form one great province of the West (Simdat al-sharh) under Umman Ahmad (1888-91) and Mahdun Ahmad (1894-96). Not everyone in Kordofan accepted the Mahdiyya; the Kababish under their Shayki, Sibii Fadl Allah Salim, who was in touch with the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, resisted until he was killed in May 1887. A revolt of a different nature was the mutiny of the gudkilayya, slave troops armed with rifles, at al-UBayyid in 1885; they marched off to the Nuba Mountains killing the provincial governor, Mahdun 'Abd al-Kadlr, when he attempted to stop them.

In late 1886, under the threat of the Anglo-Egypt-
riot advance, the Khalifas' Abdallahi ordered Mahmut Ahmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of Kordofan and Dar Fuir. After the defeat at Karrat (Omdurman) on 2 September 1898, the Khalifa withdrew into eastern Kordofan to Shirkaya; he was hunted down and killed at Umni Dhibaykarit, near Kosti, on 24 November 1899.

Condominium rule 1898-1956 and independence. At the outset of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the Sudan, Kordofan was in a state of chaos; bands of Mahdist supporters roamed unchecked and the tribal order had largely disintegrated both as a result of the deliberate policy of the Khalifa and through the loss of herbs and slaves. Order was gradually imposed by punitive patrols, the Nuba under their mohibs (chiefs) and hejads (ritual experts) forming particularly strong pockets of resistance until the 1920s. By 1911 the railway joined al-Ubayyid to Khartoum and the gum trade was revived.

Kordofan since independence (1 January 1956) has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the elected representatives of the tribes like the Kababish under a strong leader, Sir Ahmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of the Khalifa. With the modernization of the region, the Khalifa's successor, Sir Tahirir on 34 November 1899.

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Since independence (1 January 1956) Kordofan has been one of the most prosperous and peaceful regions of the Sudan, although the rapid encroachment of the desert has become a major threat. Provincial and local government reorganization in the early 1970s has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the administrators and locally-elected committees.

Bibliography: A comprehensive bibliography is given in Born, Zentralkordofan (see below) and numerous articles in Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum 1918; see also R. Hill, A biographical dictionary of the Sudan, London 1967.


KORDOFAN — KORFUZ, KÖRFÜS

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Edine whilst the fleet attacked and plundered Cephalonia (see Polovri, Ta'vish, Istanbul 1283/1586-7, i, 104-200; Hadiji Kedifa, Tuhib al-nibad, tr. J. Mitchell, History of the maritime wars of the Turks, London 1832, 35-6, drawing on the Ghaziati-nama of Sawaydi Murad, see Elbi, to KRAY al-dar-ras, M. D. A. D. A. Discussion. The second and last attempt took place in 1128/1716 under Ahmed III, towards the end of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea [i.e. from Venice, when the attack was led by the Ser§asker Kara Mustafa Pasha and from the sea by the Kapudan-i Derya Mehemet Pasha, and was again unsuccessful (Raghid, Ta'vish, Istanbul 1282/1585-6, iv, 186, 189, 246).

Bibliography: given in the article; for a good general account of Corfu's history, see Encyclopédia italienne, art. Corfu, and for the two Ottoman campaigns, Damymend, Iskih asamati tarikhi kronolojisi, i, 175-6, iv, 9. [Ed.]

KORITZA [see koreca].

KORKUD b. BAYAZID, Abu 1º-Khayr Muham¬
med (974-995/1567-253), Ottoman prince and elder of the two brothers of Ahmed and Mehemet III. He was born in Buyukhissar where his father was governor (Lafti, Ta'shikha, 66; Nishandji Mehemet Pasha, Ta'vish, 181; Cf. Kerem-pasha-zade, Ta'vishik-i al-i Othman, Millet nes. 32, f. 23 etc., and Huseyin Hüsedemeli, Amasya tarih, iii, 226). He spent his childhood and had his early education in the Old Palace at Istanbul in the care of his grandfather Mehmed II, after whose death in 889/1482 he was briefly placed on the throne, for some 17 days, by the Janissaries until his father returned from Amasya to assume power. Later, Korkud returned to Amasya and in 905/1502 was appointed governor of Sarukhan. His request to have the governorship of Bergama instead of Manisa was refused by his father, and perhaps upon the suggestion of his brother Abmad, governor of Amasya now, he was transferred to the governorship of Tekke and Antalya in 907/1502. Shortly afterwards, the sanqah of Hamid with a kâyas of 14,936 akdc and the se`mat of Lakhiryye, amounting to 200, 72 akdc, were added to his personal kâyas of 83,791 akdc (see the fernûn of Div-i-Ka'da 908/May 1503 in Topkapu Saray arşivi E. 6356).

The fact that his father and the leading state dignitaries, headed by the Grand Vizier Khâdîm aI Pasha, favoured Abmad as heir to the throne offended Korkud, and cause him to withdraw into seclusion on the island of Cephalonia (Mubarram 914/May 1505; see 'All, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters (for details, see 'All, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters in dossier No. 6684). However, it is clear from the Mamlik sultan's letters to Bayazid II that he was pleased to welcome Korkud, but after a month was able to convince the latter to return, in the light of "a son's obedience due to his father". Korkud was able to get through to Antalya and to send a warning letter to Sawaydi Yûnis, who was coming on later from Egypt with baggage, to postpone sailing in order to avoid attacks by the Knights (TKSA, letter in dossier No. 6684). It is recorded that his health deteriorated on his return and that he asked for treatment from the physician aIî al-Din (letter to the Viziers in ibid.). Meanwhile, he was dismayed to hear of the appointment of his younger full brother Selim to Sarukhan (TKSA E 5587 in ibid.), and he immediately left Antalya for that province (Div-i-Hicâja 916/March 1512). His sudden departure from Tekke brought about the outbreak of a Shi'î-inspired rising under Shah Fuli in that province, and the Grand Vizier Khâdîm aI Pasha had to be sent to suppress it.

Meanwhile, Korkud was being informed of Selim's movements, and sent a letter to the latter adjuring him not to act precipitately (TKSA dossier 6584). At the same time, he was aware of Abmad's ambitions for the throne. Certain of the court officials, aware of Bayazid's intention to proclaim Selim the heir, invited Korkud to the capital. He travelled to Istanbul in Egypt, and won the young prince's confidence. The Janissaries, seeking their support in a bid for the throne. Although they held him in respect, they considered him less capable as a potential ruler than Selim. Selim arrived at Istanbul on 22 Mubarram 918/19 April 1512 in order to forestall Abmad (for details, see bayazid i), and ascended the throne on the abdication of his father. He then gave Korkud the governorship of the island of Midilli, together with Sarukhan again (Sa'd al-Din, Tadj al-tawarih, ii 204). But Korkud also demanded the sanqah of Aydin, Manisa and Tekke, so that Selim, considering him a threat to the throne's stability, marched secretly to Manisa and surrounded Korkud's palace there. Korkud managed to escape with his confidant Piya§e, disguised, but was betrayed by the governor of Tekke Kâsim Bâg and caught near Antalya. He was strangled in his sleep by the Kâmi§i§h Si§n Bâg's men at Ergi§ot on the way back to Bursa, and was buried near Orkhan Çâ§ir's tomb in Bursa (Mubarram 919/March 1513; Sa'd al-Din, ii, 230 ff.).

Korkud was highly educated, and skilled as a poet and musician, being able to play many types of musical instrument (Sehi, Ta'shikha, 18). His verses, written under the pen-name or ta'khibûs of Hamidi, were collected into several works in Arabic, including commentaries and qa§is. His extant works include: (1) Wayyat al-akhbâr (dated 15 Safar 915/4 June 1509, autograph in Aya Sofya 3529); (2) Hall i§hâl al-akbâr fî hll ammul-âlbâb (Aya Sofya 1146); (3) Da'wan al-maj al-alâ'ika ila l-am'dal-palâka ila Kita'b al-Harmi fî l-tawarîh (thus in the ms. copy of R. Yelkenli, in Aya Sofya 1793); this is simply called Kita'b fî l-tawarîh); (4) Sharh al-clus hasr al-Harmi fî l-tawarîh al-am'âl (Aya Sofya 1278); (5) Korduk aya or Fardvay-yi Korukhânsîsâ (see the Korduk aya, i, 28); and (6) Divîna (Millet 1514).

Bibliography: Apart from references already given in the article, see Lutfi Pasha, Ta'vishik-i al-i Othman, Istanbul 1234; Mehemet b. Mehemet, Nukhbat al-tawarih va l-akbâr, Istanbul 1276; Bursalî Bâgî, Gûlseti-yi niyâd-i Sevin, Bursa 1302; Bursalî Mehemet Tâhir, 'OM, ii, 383-3; Von Hammer, Histore, iv, 95 ff., 212 ff., 150 ff.; idem, Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst, i, 159; E. J. W. Bibi, Hist. of Ottoman poetry, iii, 371; M. Tayyir Gökçilgin, ö. art. Korukh, of which the present article is a shortened adaptation.

(M. TAYIR GÖKÇILGIN)
KORKUD DEDE [see DEDE KORKUD].

KÖROĞLU, a rebel of the Anatolian Djelâl movement [q.v. in Suppl.] in the 10th/16th century and the hero of a popular romance. The real Köröglü came from the region of Bolu, and is probably the same person as the soldier-bard of that name who is said to have taken part in the campaigns in the Caucasus and Arhabârdâyân of Çadeniroglu Pasha in the years 992/1584-5.

Until fairly recent times, Köröglü remained a legendary personality, whose exploits were chanted by bards and storytellers in Anatolia, Arhabârdâyân, Turkeymenistan and Uzbekistan. Manuscript versions, and later on, lithographs and prints, circulated in Turkish-speaking lands, and more or less extensive episodes of the great epic-romantic cycle even passed into the story-telling repertory of peripheral Turkish-speaking communities like the Kirgiz, the Kazaks and the Tatars of Tobol, as into that of non-Turkish peoples like the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians and Tâdžiks.

The historicity of the figure of Köröglü was nevertheless asserted by writers as far back as the 18th/19th century, Ewilîa Celebi speaks of him—without giving a precise date—as an honourable bandit whose exploits were still remembered in the mountainous parts of northwestern Anatolia; and Arakel of Tabriz cites him as a Djelâl chief whose adventures, together with those of his companions, formed the core around the early 11th/17th century of a "romance" chanted by the minstrels of the lands bordering on the Ottoman empire and Persia. Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the present century several attempts at identifying him were made, some people basing themselves on contradictory local traditions, and others putting forth hypotheses about the hero's historical prototype or about the origin of some feature or other of some legendary motif of the romance concerning him.

The discovery in 1942 of Ottoman archival documents has firstly confirmed Ewilîa Celebi's information, and secondly allowed us to date his exploits as a Djelâl rebel. We have here a series of imperial orders from the years 988-90/1380-2 addressed to the Bey of Bolu and the head of Gerdes concerning a Djelâl called Körögülî Rûşneh. Now Rûşneh is also the forename of Köröglü in several oral versions, Anatolian and Arhabârdâyân, of the legend of our hero. Moreover, even in the cultural environments most distant from Ottoman territory, tradition has retained, in versions deformed in varying degrees, the name of Bolu Beyi as one of the hero's opponents, as well as allusions to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, several of Köröglü's companions are mentioned with the same names in the Ottoman archival documents as in the different versions of the romance.

The ideas evoked by the name Köröglü "son of the blind one" have contributed to the attracting around the genuine exploits of the bandit-hero-legends of diverse origin, some of them going back to a long way in time, on the theme of the "hero, son of a blind father", who rises up against the masters who had mutilated his father.

Bibliography: a bibliography of published works—studies and texts, as well as lists of unpublished texts—may be found in the following works. Perton Nabil Boratav, Köroğlu destans, Istanbul 1937; idem, Haleh hikâyeleri ve haleh hikayesitligi, Ankara 1946; idem, art. Köroğlu in IA; idem, L'etoile et le bishye, in PTF, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 24-8, 38-40, 42. See further W. Eberhard, Minstrel tales from southeastern Turkey, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955, 30-49 and 77-83 (notes to ch. vi); Faruuki Arsunar, Köroğlu [Maras version], Istanbul 1965; Mehmet Kaplan, Mehmet Akalin and Muham Balil, Köroğlu destans [Erzerum version], Ankara 1973; M. H. Tahirbas and H. Arasi, Köroğlu, Baku 1966; idem, Astarbayan destansari, iv, s.v. Köroğlu, Baku 1966; M. H. Tahirbas, Astarbayan khagh destansari, Baku 1972, 130-76; Uzun kahvel Kostomar, Tashkent 1957, i, 203-425, ii, 243-456.

(P. N. Boratav)

KORON (Ottoman Turkish Köroğlu; Venetian Koron; in modern Greek Kórogu), a fortress in the south-west Peloponnese [see morea] and on the west coast of the gulf of Koron, situated some 15 miles by land from the fortress of Modon [q.v.; modern Greek Meletavel], with which, in the period of Venetian and Ottoman rule, its history was linked and which, to some degree, overshadowed it. The Byzantine fortress of Koron, "un luogo di maggiore difesa... di forma triangolare, posta in mezzo d'una lingua di terra" (P. Garzoni, Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega, Venice 1703, 100-1) passed, with much of the Morea, under Frankish rule in 1204, but was seized by Venice two years later and was ceded to her in 1206. Koron remained a Venetian colony for nearly two centuries, serving as a vital provisioning station for the Venetian fleet and becoming, with Modon, "the chief eyes of the Republic" (W. Miller, The Latin in the Levant, London 1905, 59, 152).

As early as 1228 Koron was attacked from the sea and pillaged by the Ottomans, and after 1249, when Mehemmed II completed the conquest of the Greek principalities of the Morea, its territories were contiguous with those of the sultan. It was not, however, until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 905/1499 to 909/1503 that Koron fell to the Ottomans: in 908/1506, after Modon had been taken by storm and its defenders massacred, Koron and Navarino "yielded themselves by composition"—i.e. une ille—to Bayazid II (Kozellos, Generalle Historie of the Turkes, London 1603, 160). This event took place on 31 August 908 (M. Sanudo, I diarii, iii, Venice 1880, 827-8). Bayazid II installed in Koron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1000 'sâbîb troops (ibid., 820-1).

In 918/1512 Koron was retaken by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria while Sulayyânî I was engaged in the Guns campaign. In the spring of 929/1533 Koron was besieged by the Ottomans by land and sea, but without success, and was once more relieved by Doria. It was this setback which precipitated the sultan's summoning the North African corsair chief Khajîr al-Dîn Barbarossa [q.v.] to Istanbul, from where, having kissed the hand of the sultan and received an appointment as dîyerî begëregos, he was sent with a naval force against Koron in mid-August. According to Bayazid II's jeth-nâmâ for Modon and Koron, addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, and written at Koron on 23 August (M. Sanudo, I diarii, iii, Venice 1880, 827-8). Bayazid II installed in Koron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1000 'sâbîb troops (ibid., 820-1).

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In the reign of Sülayman I, according to a lahirir defteri utilised by M. T. Gökbilgin (Selçuk, xx, 280, 327), Koron was the seat of a hâdî with a revenue of 155,877 akçe per annum, in the sanâях of Modon, lâdîna of Mora. The fortress and its dependent territories formed an imperial fiel (hâdîn-i hümâyûn) which yielded 162,011 akçe revenues: these revenues, according to Th. Spandugino, Commentarii, 78, were bestowed with those of Modon by Bayzid II on Mecon.

Later in the 15th/16th century (by 991/1582: cf. Gökbilgin, loc. cit.) the hâdî of Koron was annexed to the sanâyah of Meostra (Mistra). At this time the town contained 300 Christian and 70 Jewish households; the entire Muslim population of garrison forces formed an imperial fief (khâsî-i hümâyûn) of Modon, liwâ of Modon, akies per annum, in the reign of Sülayman (1556-1684). What it appears to have remained in succeeding centuries (cf. the testimony of Eviľâyl Ceğeli for the late 17th century and Leake for the early 19th), i.e. of akies status.

Herban travellers apart, Koron was visited in 1040/1630 by the Ottoman historian Peçevî (Târîhî, Istanbul 1833, i, 172) who recalls the events of a century previously, and, later in the century (1668) by Eviľâyl Ceğeli, who has left a description of the fortress and its inhabitants (Seyvâhat-nâme, Istanbul 1341/1866-7 to 1938, viii, 260-3; cf. Ulrich Wolffart, Die Reisen des Eviľâyl Ceğeli durch die Monar, Inaug.-Diss., Munich 1970, 59-60).

In the Sacra Liga War of 1065/1654 to 1101/1669, Koron was the first fortified place to fall to Venice in the course of her reconquest of the Morea, despite a vigorous defence and attempts to relieve the garrison by land. (Djjâmâd 'l-Askîrî 1065/25 June to 9 August 1665: cf. Silâhabdî, Târîhî, Istanbul 1958, ii, 218 ff.; Pietro Garzoni, op. cit., 107-27; Aleksandr Liosati, Ročnîti istoriiâ della Veneia guerrî in Lustrî ... 1664-94, Colonia 1692, 124-38, 158.

Koron was recovered for the Ottomans by the Grand Vizier Çorîlu, 'Ali Paşâ in Şahîbîn 1127/ August 1725. In this last phase, the town and its trade insensibly declined. Leake, in 1805, found that the export of silk and olive-oil, which down to the 1770s had supported four French merchant houses, was no longer flourishing; the harbour, blocked and ruined already at the time of Bernard Randolph's visit in the late 17th century, offered only an insecure anchorage, while the town itself was much affected by the depredations of the 'Franks', ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Baydju's. However, with a new edition of Mâqûdî, F. Tavvetoglu as Enis Behâç Kuryûrek, 'Misir ve Güney'in Bilimi', Ankara 1971. During the last years of his life he was subjected to depression and wrote in a style pseudo-mystic poems of noedole quality supposedly inspired by a 12th/17th century sâ'âdeh, Varîdar-i Sulayman, Ankara 1940.


KÖSE DÂGH, a land-corridor some 50 miles/ 80 km. to the north-west of Siwâs where there took place in 641/1243, probably on 5 Shawwâl/25 June, the decisive battle which opened up Asia Minor to the Mongols and sounded the knell for the Seljûk sultanate of Rûm. The first contacts of the Mongols with Seljûks went back to the last years of 'Alî at Dîn Kaykûbâd I (q.v.), but at that time Anatolia was too well-protected in relation to the conquests already effected by the Mongols for the latter really to have any plans for conquering it. It was only under Kaykhusraw II (q.v.) that the threat took definite shape, without one being able to ascertain how far the invaders intended to advance. However, after the Great Khan Ögedey's death, the new Mongol head of the Caucasian region, Bayduj, seized Erzerum in the midst of the winter of 1242, and thus opened up the way into Asia Minor for the following spring.

The sources give few details about the campaign and the battle. Kaykhusraw seems only very late to have fully realised the seriousness and imminence of the danger. He summoned forces together, comprising his allies or vassals, even including Armenians, Greeks and "Franks", ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Bayduj's.
But the impatience of his young commanders prevented him from awaiting the complete grouping of the Saljuk forces. The Mongols, almost all cavalrymen, had recourse to their customary and invariably successful tactic of a simulated flight and then an unforeseen return to the attack against disorganised pursuers. The sultan lost his head and fled, and only the initiative of his vizier Muhasilhab al-Din, combined probably with the Mongols’ own prudence, allowed him to keep his throne as a vassal. In reality, the process now began which led to a de facto Mongol protectorate.

The weaknesses of the Saljuk state at the time had often been stressed; this was true, but the Mongols, partly by the terror which they inspired, had overcome many other powers. It is hard to maintain that, even without these weaknesses, the course of history would have been any different.


KÖSE MIKHAL [see mikhaleghlu].

KÖSEM WÂLÎDE or KÖSEM SULTAN, called MAHÂVÂYAN (ca. 1589-1651), wife of the Ottoman sultan Ahâmed I and mother of the sultans Murâd IV and Ibrahim I (g.w.). She was Greek by birth, and achieved power in the first place through the harem, exercising a decisive influence in the state during the regency of her two sons and of her grandson Mehmed IV.

The views put forward concerning her origin and her first name—Nassy being derived from Anastasia (Ahmed Refik, Kadîlar sultanîâlî, Istanbul 1834, 42-9, 8, deriving information from Gür, Mecâus us musica des Turcs, Paris 1747, ii, 474, see also Pétis de la Croix, Abrégé chronologique de l'empire ottoman, Paris 1768, ii, 74)—do not seem to be reliable. According to Pietro della Valle, Voyages, Rouen 1645, i, 94, she was given the nickname Kösem because of her smooth and hairless skin (köse = “hairless, beardless”). However, the epithet köse/kösemân could also have been given to her on account of her ability as a leader and virtual ruler (for the meanings of kösem in Ottoman, see Huseyin Kizim, Insan ve sûret, Istanbul 1940, iv, 279, 290, 315, 319). He subsequently came under the influence of other palace women, and Kösem Walide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the Sarây-i Divanî-i ʿÂmirî to live in a summer house outside Topkapî. When Ibrahim learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Sâlih Pasha to dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskandar Celebi garden in Florya and hanged Sâlih (Wedîhî, Taʾrîkh-i ʿAbî, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2343, fols. 429, 329b). Ibrahim’s weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs of the Janissary corps, under Kara Murâd Agha, Mustufâ al-Din and Bektaş Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Ahâmed Pasha Hazârpare and decided to depose Ibrahim. The new Grand Vizier, Sofu (or Koqâ) Memhûd Pasha, ʿAbî al-Rahîm Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Walide’s consent after a meeting with her at Topkapî, dethroned Ibrahim and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years-old prince Memhûd on 18 Radja 1048/8 August 1638 (Naʿima, iv, 314, 315; Kara Celebi-zaďe ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Efendi, Rawdat al-adâr dâyî, Istanbul Univ. Library Tunisîc ms. 2615, pp. 9 ff.; Memhûd Khalife, Taʾrîkh-i Ğazîzînî, Istanbul 1340, 22 ff.; Murâd Bey, Taʾrîkh-i ʿAbî ʿL-Fârîkh, Istanbul 1329, iv, 48). Ten days later, Ibrahim was strangled by the executioner Kara ʿAll, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a fanât from the Shaykh al-Islâm (Kara Celebi-zaďe, op. cit., 27-30, 57 ff.).

With Memhûd IV’s accession, Kösem Walide’s power started to revive, and she was given exalted titles like Bûyûk Walide “Grandmother of the Sultan”, Walide-ye Muʿassama, Umâ al-Muʿasîma, Şâhibat al-Mašākîn, Walide-ye ʿAtîba, etc. (see Wedîhî, ed. 144; Kara Celebi, ii, 357, 376; Naʿima, iv, 279, 290, 317, 319-21, 415, 418, 450, v, 200). However, her influence was not unbounded. 

KÖSE DÂGH — KÖSEM WÂLÎDE or KÖSEM SULTAN

After Ahmad I’s death on 22 ʿAdhâ ʿL-Kaʾdî 1026/23 November 1637, she supported the succession of his brother Muḥâmed I, under whose feeble rule she was able to exercise effective power in the state. Muḥâmed’s deposition three months later was a setback for her, and she was relegated to the Old Palace (Eski Saray) at Bâyesîl under Ahmad’s young son ʿOmar II, but she came to the fore again when ʿOmar was deposed and executed and Muḥâmed briefly restored (9 Radja 1031/20 May 1642). Her full influence now became apparent when her minor son Murâd IV ascended the throne in 1034/1623 and she thus became officially the Wâlidîe Sultan, ruling as regent for five years till her son was old enough to take up the reins of power himself (Kâtip Celebi, Felûkî, Istanbul 1587, ii, 226; Von Hammer, Gor, quoting a Venetian report). Even thereafter, Murâd greatly respected his mother’s opinions, and she took a close interest in state affairs when he was away from the capital. Thus the Shaykh al-Islâm ʿAbârî (Husayn Efendi’s disapproval of Murâd’s hanging the bâbî of Fazîl was communicated by her to the sultan, then on his way to Bursa; he immediately returned to Istanbul and hanged Abârî’s half-brother, Ahmed, as an act of retribution in 1631). She became the most powerful woman in Ottoman history (Kâtip Celebi, op. cit., ii, 260; Naʿima, iii, 189). She saved the Ottoman dynasty from extinction by preventing Murâd, who had executed his other brothers, including Sülâyman and Kâsim, from killing Ibrahim (Sagredo, Histoire de l’empire ottoman, Amsterdam 1732, vi, 147; Vanel, Abrégé nouveau de l’histoire générale des Turcs, Paris 1689, ii, 454; Histoire des grands veins, Paris 1766, 34; Du Loir, Voyages, Paris 1654, 117; von Hammer, Gor).

Together with the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafâ Pasha (g.w.) she became most active in affairs when İbrahim succeeded to the throne after Murâd’s death on 16 ʿAwrîm 1049/9 February 1640 (Naʿima, iii, 429), especially as her son gradually became more and more involved with his courtiers, the expenditure involved having disastrous repercussions on the treasury (Kâtip Celebi, op. cit., ii, 309 ff.). She subsequently came under the influence of other palace women, and Kösem Walide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the Sarây-i Divanî-i ʿÂmirî to live in a summer house outside Topkapî. When İbrahim learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Sâlih Pasha to dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskandar Celebi garden in Florya and hanged Sâlih. (Wedîhî, Taʾrîkh-i ʿAbî, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2343, fols. 429, 329b). İbrahim’s weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs of the Janissary corps, under Kara Murâd Agha, Mustufâ al-Din and Bektaş Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Ahâmed Pasha Hazârpare and decided to depose İbrahim. The new Grand Vizier, Sofu (or Koqâ) Memhûd Pasha, ʿAbî al-ʿAzîz Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Walide’s consent after a meeting with her at Topkapî, dethroned İbrahim and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years-old prince Memhûd on 18 Radja 1048/8 August 1648 (Naʿima, iv, 314, 315; Kara Celebi-zaďe ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz Efendi, Rawdat al-adâr dâyî, Istanbul Univ. Library Tunisîc ms. 2615, pp. 9 ff.; Memhûd Khalife, Taʾrîkh-i Ğazîzînî, Istanbul 1340, 22 ff.; Murâd Bey, Taʾrîkh-i ʿAbî ʿL-Fârîkh, Istanbul 1329, iv, 48). Ten days later, İbrahim was strangled by the executioner Kara ʿAll, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a fanât from the Shaykh al-Islâm (Kara Celebi-zaďe, op. cit., 27-30, 57 ff.).

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authority of the Janissary agas was wrong, and Turkhân Sulân, Mehemmed's mother and Ibrahim's widow, became her rival; this rivalry, and misunderstandings between the state officials and the Janissaries (Na'Ima, v, 7), caused disturbances in Istanbul and Anatolia. Kösem Wâlide and her supporters were opposed to Empress Mehmed with his brother Sâlaymân, whose mother Dîâlahû Sultan was regarded as unlikely to interfere in state matters. But Turkhân Sultan learnt of these intentions (Na'Ima, v, 108), took the initiative, and had Kösem Wâlide strangled with a curtain-string by the Palace Janissaries (Na'Ima, v, 111); her executioner was someone called Rûcûk or Rûchû Mehmed, see Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1670, 63; Na'Ima, v, 109, 112, 137; von Hammer, *GOR*. Her body was taken from Topkapî to the Eski Saray and then buried in the mausoleum of her husband Ahmad I (Weggüden, loc. cit.). Kösem Wâlide had exercised power in public affairs for nearly 30 years. She left much wealth and estates (Na'Ima, v, 122; Kara Çelebi-Zâde, 20), and most of her income was devoted to charitable and other humanitarian works, such as the hospital *Sancak Kapısı* at Çekadî, completed in 1066/1656 (Aynâmâyê-ye Huşâyûn, *Hâdle-i al-dajââm*, Istanbul 1231, ii, 184-5) and the Wâlide Kâlin in Istanbul, built in 1056/1646 (Elyâkhê Çelebi, *Seyyâhat-nâmê*, Istanbul 1344, i, 325; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait en Levant*, Paris 1664, 46) (this latter building collapsed in March 1826). Also from these revenues she financed irrigation works in Egypt and provided relief for the poor in Mecca. In fact, she left behind in the popular Turkish mind a reputation for magnanimity, generosity, and high intelligence.

**Bibliography:** Largely given in the article, but see the general histories of Von Hammer and Zinkeisen, which utilise both Turkish and European sources, e.g. the reports of the Venetian asigni, Muzaffer, *Hermes*, 29, 190 ff. There is a detailed article in *IA* by M. Cavid Baysun, of which the above is a shortened version. See also Muzaffer Ilgür, *KoSem Sultan sin avâyâyên*, in *Turk Dergisi*, xi/21 (1966), 33-94. (M. Cavid Baysun)

**KoSem BEGI,** predeceaser to KoSem Eski, title of high officials in the Central Asian khanates in the 16th to 19th centuries. There are two different etymologies and explanations of the term: (1) from Turkish *bûg* "bird" and *beg* [q.v.], thus *bûg-begi* meaning, presumably, "commander of falconers"; (2) from Turkish *bûg* "detachment of nomads or troops, esp. on the march"; "nomadic and military camp" (see Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 653 ff.), thus *bûg-begi* meaning "commander of the *bûg* (field) camp" "quartemaster". The first explanation is found in an administrative manual made in Bukhârâ in 1322/1906, where it is stated that the *bûg-begi-i kâlen* (see below) in Bukhârâ was chief of the royal hunt (see fascimile in *Fûsânînîye gümâyûntî ve yokta* 1928, Moscow 1970, 50). The etymology, however, remains dubious, because in this case one should rather expect *kosh-begi* (or *kosh-baği*) from *kosh* "falconer" (the latter post actually existed at the Central Asian courts, as well as in Iran, but the chief of the hunt had the title *mûr-ghâhâr*). Significantly, Iskandar Mûhîr [q.v.] in his *Târîh-i ilâm-ân-î Avâbî* (ed. I. Aşhûr, i, 486) mentions the post of *bûg-begi* (manap-î *bûg-begi-garî*) and, in another place (ii, 1040), the post of a falconer (*ghâd-mîr-i kosh-begi-garî*), who became later the head of the royal hunt (*ta-manâb-i mûr-ghâhâr sar-âfesî gûhâr*). On the other hand, many historical references to *bûg-begi* in the Uzbek period show them as high military commanders, mentioned among the most high-ranking Uzbek amirs, which, apparently, makes the second explanation of the term more plausible. The European Turkologists who visited Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century also transcribe the term as *bûg-begi* and explain it, in the first place, as "Chief of the Dianes or the Beamenzirkels der Fürsten" (H. Vâmberî, *Cagatayische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1857, 318), or "Lord of the household" (R. B. Shaw, *A sketch of the Turkish language as spoken in Eastern Turkey*, Calcutta 1878, 156); see also Radloff, loc. cit.

The title *bûg-begi* is not attested in the Golden Horde and its immediate successors in the Eurasian steppes in the 15th century. The *Bâyâr-nâmê* (ed. Beveridge, 274b) mentions a Turkish amir as a *bûg-begi* of Sûltân Hussâyûn Mirzâ [q.v.], but nothing is said about his duties. Frequent references to *bûg-begi* in historical sources appear only in the late 16th century. The title *kosh-begi* (or *kosh-begi-yi kaidn*) is first mentioned in the *Bâyâr-nâmê* (MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 88, ff. 332a, 338a, 339b, 340b etc.) mentions a *kosh-begi* among the chief commanders of the army of Bukhârâ. In the 17th century *bûg-begi* did not apparently play an important role in the khanate of Bukhârâ. The *Bahr al-âsrâr* by Mahmûd b. Wall (second quarter of the 17th century), in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Astarâkhânids, only mentions the *bûg-begi* among the servants closest to the *khan*, and his place was the second after that of *bûrûl-begi*, commander of the body-guards (see V. V. Bartold, *Seçenentik*, ii/2, 301, 306). The rise of power of the *bûg-begi* in Bukhârâ took place at the beginning of the 18th century, with the decline of the Astarâkhânids. In 1011/1600 Ñu§ayyûn Kâlah established the *bûg-begi* as "the upper Kâlah", because he had to live in the residence of the amir, the *ark* (citadel), situated on a hilltop; there was also "the lower Kâlah", *bûg-begi-i piyâdân*, whose residence was at the foot of the *ark* and who held the post of *zâfîkâh-i kâlah* (head of the collectors of *sâhî* [q.v.]). The "great *bûg-begi*" under the late Astarâkhânids and the Mangûts were usually of mean origin, mostly former Kalmuk and Persian slaves. Besides the general supervision of the state affairs and, especially, the administration of finance, they were also governors of one or more provinces (provinces), especially of Bukhârâ itself.

Different development took place in Khiva [q.v.], where the local historian Mûhî (early 19th century) mentions for the first time the title *bûg-begi* without defining his duties, when he tells about the administrative reforms of Abu'l-Ghâzin Khân (died in 1024/1614 [q.v.]). It seems, however, that *bûg-begi* did not play any important role in Khiva in the 17th century. Only under the Kungrat [q.v.] dynasty (from the last third of the 18th century) did the *bûg-begi* become one of the highest officials in the khanate, but he shared power with the *muhter* (Fers. *miktar*) [q.v.]. The latter was the head of the civil administration, had the title *maşr-i a'zâm* and belonged to the hereditary bureaucracy recruited from among the Sarts [q.v.], while the *bûg-begi* always belonged to the Uzbek nobility, the *amirs* (and sometimes was a relative of the *khan*), and was in charge,
mainly, of military affairs. Besides that, the kosh-begi governed the northern part of the khanate of Khiva inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Turkmens (that is, he mainly supervised the collection of taxes in this region), while the wahan governed the southern part inhabited by sedentary Sarts. This division of authority seems to be a continuation of the administrative practice of the Timurid period.

In the khanate of Khokand [q.v.] in the 17th century, the title kosh-begi is also attested by the local sources, but evidence about his duties is still unavailable; in any case, he had a lesser status than in Bukhara (the highest official in Khokand in the 17th century was the mung-begi); according to V. V. Vel'garnin-Zernov (in Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva, ii [1853], 321), kosh-begi was here a honorary title given to the governors of main towns and provinces. In the Caghatayi state of Eastern Turkestan, at least in the 17th century, the kosh-begi was supreme military commander or commander of the right wing (tirff-i koghbegi), and had the rank of the senior amir (amir al-ummar), but the civil administration, apparently, was in the hands of a sazir (see Shah Muboyod b. Mirza Fadil Curash, Tavvij, ed. O. F. Akhunzhon, Moscow 1976, text, 24, 32, 33, 76, Russian tr. 170, 176, 200, 218). Thus this system was probably similar to that which existed in Khiva.


**KOSHMA**—SOSHMA

KOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word, it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic 'arad [q.v.]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turk to the Western Turk koshma is köşhaps or köşbaş.
Many of them, like 'Ashlkh Qom, 'Ashlkh Kerem, 'Ashlkh Gharib, Doscili and Dasciiweli, obtained great fame, and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. KépruHüza de Mehmed Fu'ad, Türk edebiyatiindan 'Ashlkh Qomunun tarihi uye-tehminimi, in Milli tektebiler medenii-i, 1, idem, 'Ashlkh Dieberiyere 'Ashik iki wethila in the periodical Yedi Meqma, No. 84; G. Jacob, Türkîsâde Volksliteratur, Berlin 1901, 17-18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger, in Mélanges René Bassot, Paris 1925, III, 33-175.

The term koShma (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use, and if the Adhardbavdîn poet Dawa'd, who died in the first decades of this century, called his collection of songs Koshtna, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaizing popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form koshto in the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai koshi (on them, cf. W. Radloff, Uber die Formen der gekundten Râde bei den altsachen Tâtaren, in Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft [1896], iv, 85-114, and Kowalski, Études, etc., 140-51) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words koshma, koshuk, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that kesh, from kesh “to join together”, kashi “two and two”, etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The keshma poetry has not been without influence on more artistic forms of literature. The modern Turkish poets, for example, have taken many of their forms from popular poetry.

Finally, one should note that the term koShma applies also to a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Adhardbavdîn, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. This would be the normal setting for the koShma as a literary form.


(T. Kowalski)

KO5OWA, KO5OVO, the name of an upland plain of the Balkans, in upper Macedonia or southern Serbia, and the scene of two significant battles in the struggles of the Ottomans and the Christian powers of the Balkans for hegemony there. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it also became the name of an Ottoman administrator or province.

The Scarth Slavonic expression Ko5onopolje means “plain of the blackbirds” from hos “blackbird” in Old Slavonic, Czech and Bulgar. Ottoman Turkish
KOŠOVA, KOSOVO

The Kosova plain lies at an altitude of some 500-600 km., and is 14 km. wide and 84 km. long, covering an area of 502 km.². It is surrounded by high mountains, and has a north-west to south-east orientation. From this region, streams flow westwards to the Adriatic via the Drina, southwards to the Aegean via the Vardar, and northwards to the Danube via the Ibar and Morava. During medieval times, it was a meeting-point of several trade routes; today it forms part of the Novo Brdo-Kopavnik mining region of Yugoslavia.

The Kosova plain originally formed part of the Byzantine dominions, and Slav peoples were settled there at the beginning of the 7th century. During the 10th century it changed hands between Serbs, Byzantines and Bulgars. For the names of the Serbian bosses who were active in the Kosova region, see V. Radovanović, Kosov Polje, in Narodna Etn. Sepško-Hrvatsko-Slovenaša, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8. After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1268 by Stephen Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Kosova passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plain region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephen Dušan (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Dušan V (1355-71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

The defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Ottomans at Kosova took place according to the Serbian and Albanian sources, on 4 June 1389 at the dawn of the battle, a Serbian noble, Milojk Kobilja, contending for the name of the Serbian boss, who was active in the Kosova region, see V. Radovanović, Kosov Polje, in Narodna Etn. Sepško-Hrvatsko-Slovenaša, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8. After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1268 by Stephen Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Kosova passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plain region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephen Dušan (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Dušan V (1355-71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

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the war. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was one million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgarians.

After the First World War, the region came of course within the new Yugoslavian state, and a policy of slavicezation was followed, so that the Muslim population shrank with the exodus to Albania and to Turkey. Today it is an autonomous unit of the Yugoslavian People's Republic under the name of Kosovo-Metohija and with its centre at Priština.

Bibliography: See the detailed article in IA s.v. Korso by M. Müsir Atepe, upon which the above is based, and also the bibliography to the EI article by C. Heart, and for the first battle of Kosovo, The Cambridge Medieval History. iv. The Byzantine Empire, Part 1, Cambridge 1966, 550-1.

(M. MÓNIR AKTERE)

KÖSTENDJE (in Rumanian, Constanta), a port on the Rumanian shore of the Black Sea, situated on the ruins of the Milesian colony of Tunes (Ovid, Tristia, 1, 10, 41; i, 9, 5) founded at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and the place of exile of the Roman poet Ovid (9-18 A.D.). Mentioned in 360 A.D. (Mennin, Fragmenta historica, 354-355). The town was once again captured by the Ottomans (October 25, 1675) and its annexation did not become definitive until after 1445. since the war. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was one million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgarians.

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KOTOKO—KOTOKO

which is in fact the name of a northern group of Kotoko, first known to visitors coming from Bornu. Makari is the most important dialect among the northern Kotoko, as Lagwane (often spelled Logone) dialect is in the south. The linguistic diversity of the Kotoko reflects their political division, as the extent of each dialect is almost identical with the area of one principality. The particularism of each group is so strong that even under modern conditions no one dialect prevails, and almost all the Kotoko now speak the Arabic dialect of the Shawa. The Kotoko dialects belong to the central sub-group of the Chadian languages. They are distinctly related to Hausa, which is classified in the western sub-group of the Chadic languages (J. H. Greenberg, Studies in African linguistic classification, New Haven 1955, 43-62).

The Kotoko are considered direct descendants of the So or So people, to whom the historical traditions of Kanem [g.s.] and Bornu [g.s.] refer as the early inhabitants of the area around Lake Chad. Those So who had not been assimilated or exterminated by the Kanembus and the Kanuris sought refuge in the less accessible flooding area of the Shari and Logone rivers, where they gave rise to the Kotoko. In the second half of the 18th century, Bornu under Idris Alfa extended to the south. The northern Kotoko principality, Makari and Afade, were brought within the political ambit of Bornu and under the cultural and Islamic influence of the Kanuri. Because of the imperial and dynastic connections with Bornu, Islamisation among the Kotoko began chiefly in the courts. The southern Kotoko had been for a long period subject to the harassment of Bagirmi [g.s.]. Towards the end of the 18th century, the south was consolidated under the authority of the ruler of Logone-Birmi, who was converted to Islam at about that period. Logone was visited by Major Denham in 1814 and by H. Barth in 1824. In between these two dates, probably ca. 1830, Logone became a tributary of Bornu. The Kotoko often saw their territory invaded by their more powerful neighbours. It was the battleground for Bornu's wars with its rivals in the 1830s. It was invaded by Bornu in 1853 and 1890 it was overrun by Bâbîh [g.s.] and his successors.

The authority of the Kotoko chiefs was circumscribed by a council of high officials and by Bornu's representative, the alifâ (from Ar. aliffu'). The chiefs were also bound by pre-Islamic taboos and by the obligation to consult "the protecting animals" through their priests. The Kotoko chiefs, referred by the colonial administration as sultans, are Muslims but they must respect old traditions. Muslim imams live in their courts with traditional priests. Mosques were built near traditional shrines, whereas pre-Islamic customs and rituals are performed during Muslim festivals. Most of the Kotoko are now considered Muslims, and the number of those more fully committed to Islam grows steadily. Thousands of Kotoko are to be found in the towns of Chad and in the Sudan along the routes to Mecca. The Kotoko, who had emerged as people in refuge, away from the Muslim states of the Central Sudan, are gradually becoming integrated into the world of Islam.

Bibliography: The most important study on the Kotoko is by A. M. D. Lebeuf, Les principauté Kotoko, Paris 1959. Other sources and studies: Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, Narrative of travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa, London 1826, 222-47; H. Barth, Travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa, London 1865 (Centenary Edition), ii, 425-60; G. Nachtigal,
KOTONOU or Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). It had long been the economic capital and rival of the administrative one Porto Novo, and since independence Cotonou has established itself definitively as the capital of the republic, even if certain services still remain at Porto Novo.

The village founded by the Aizo of Allada was called Donukpa ("near the hole"), i.e. "near the lagoon"). An envoy from Abomey was struck by the reddish colour of the trees growing along this lagoon and thought that this was the result of blood. It was then believed by the Fon of Abomey that the spirits of the dead came down to Ouidah towards the lagoon and the sea; each dead person crossing the lagoon left behind a little blood which reddened the tree bark, whence the name of Ku Tonn ("deaf person", tonn "lagoon") given to the village. However, the gradual advance of the French army and the passage of armies from Dahomey in the 18th century led to the evacuation of this latter village. It was Yékpé Zinsou, a slave dealer who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1906 via Lagos, Las Palmas and Marseilles. He had connections with the booksellers of Algiers, Kaddouz Koffi (Kaddi Kudus!), who succeeded by a Hausa, Yekpe Bako, but after the latter's death there was a division between the two main Muslim communities, the Yoruba and the Hausa, with the latter reproaching the Yoruba for retaining animistic practices, of drinking alcohol, of having more than four wives and of not fasting at the same time as other people. On 31 August 1966 the Muslim Union of Dahomey was formed, bringing about the pre-eminence of the Muslim community of Porto Novo; the President of the Union was in fact al-Hadjidi All'Aref. If the meetings of the Muslim community of Benin take place at Cotonou, it is nevertheless the Islamic north and Porto Novo who have benefited from these arrangements and from aid coming from the Arab world's communities.


KÔTWAL (Persian orthography, kottwâl), commander of a fortress, town, etc. The word is used throughout medieval times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Muslimalvar times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Indian Muslim context, e.g. Mahmud of Ghazna's bestowal of the kottwâl of Nandana in the western Pandjab on one of his commanders in 405/1015 (Gardizi Zayn al-abâhhar, ed. Naqrâm, 72, ed. Habibi, 381), and the frequent appearance in Bayhaq's Târîh-i-Mas'udî of a commander Bî 'All Kôtwâl, the local governor of the capital Ghazna. On the other hand, it does not appear in Kishâhî. Gradually, the word became general throughout the eastern Islamic world, passing into Turkish languages, into Pashto, and into Indian vernaculars like Prachalî, Dangali and Sindhi. In Persia of the Mongol, Timurid and Safavid periods it was the term used for the local governor of a town or citadel, as is attested by western travellers like du Mans (1660). Cf. Doerfer,
The term kōtwal was especially used in Muslim India under the Mughals and, after the collapse of their empire in the mid-18th century, in British India for approximately a century more. But in fact, this office, in the sense of "official responsible for public order, the maintenance of public services etc., in a town" (something like the Sibāl al-Shurā [q.v.] of the earlier caliphate), existed before the Mughals, e.g. in the territories of the Delhi sultanate and in the provincial sultanates which arose in South India and eastern India during the post-Tughluq period. Cf. I. H. Qureshi, The administration of the sultanate of Delhi, Karachi 1958, 172-4, and Majumdar, Ed., The history and culture of the Indian people. vi. The Delhi sultanate. Bombay 1960, index s.v. The accounts of Portuguese adventurers in India, from Vasco da Gama onwards, speak of encounters with the Čatūrā or royal representative in the towns where they disembarked (thus also in Camaénos, The Lusíadas [completed 1572], vii, viii, passim).

In the Aṣīn-i-4 kharī of Abu 'l-Fadl ʿAllāmī [q.v.], we find a classic exposition of the duties of the kōtwal. His multifarious responsibilities included the maintenance of law and order, with the pursuance of criminals and robbers (for the recovery of whose depredations the kōtwal was personally responsible); the keeping of a register of houses and streets; maintaining an intelligence system in the town, including observations of the incomes and life-styles of the populace, the results of which espionage to be reported to the central government; the enforcement of a curfew; the supervision of weights and measures and fair market practices; the upholding of the standard of coinage and the calling-in of bad coins for re-minting; the oversight of public water supplies; the appropriation for the state of intestate properties; the care that widows did not make the sacrifice of sati against their wills; the allocation of separate quarters in the town for nuns and despised trades like those of butchers, corpse-washers [see grouk and chassal in Suppl.] and sweepers; etc. One notes the correspondence of many of these duties with those of the classical Islamic muḥāsib, whose office is certainly known in pre-Mughal India under the Delhi sultans and their successors [see Raja bāṭ in the Indikṣṇa. The Indian subcontinent); it seems that the purely secular, semi-military kōtwal now largely replaced the muḥāsib. But in many ways, the wide range of the kōtwal's responsibilities is an echo of those of the nāgarah or Town Prefect of Mauryan times; cf. Kaučuč, Arthaśāstra, ch. xxxvi. Abu 'l-Fadl's whole exposition has, however, a somewhat theoretical cast, and should probably be interpreted as a blueprint for the ideal administrative system for Akbar, rather than a delineation of actual practice; amongst other duties of the kōtwal mentioned is responsibility for seeing that the festivities of Akbar's Dīn-i Ilāh and the new Ilāhī era [see akhārī] were observed (Aṣīn-i-4 Akbār, ii, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, 45-5; cf. also Mīrāz Muḥammad Fāsān, Mīrāz-i Āḥmadī, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1947-8, i, 165 ff. [compiled in Gudjarāt, 1755/1764], section on the duties of officials charged with the safety and good governance of the state).

More definitely in accordance with contemporary Mughal practice are the reports of European travellers within India at this time. Thus F. Bernier speaks of the Čotoual or "grand Prevost de la campagne" as sending soldiers all through his town when the Mughal court passed through it, and these blew trumpets in order to scare away males (Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668, tr. A. Constable 1801, repr. Delhi 1972, 188, 169). N. Mannoni's personal observations are especially valuable. Describing the situation in the latter part of Avarangbī's reign, he tells how the kōtwal stopped the illicit distilling of arrack and spirits, and the practice of prostitution, and how he sent intelligence reports to the court based on the information gathered in private houses by the scaveγceres, ulạcer (= bāhtīhār). He also saw that ferry tolls, abolished by the Emperor, were not illegally exacted. At his disposal, he had a force of cavalry and infantry, with detachments for each quarter of the town, and vetements of justice, on the other hand, he was under the orders of the kāfīf, and carried out his written orders, such as sentence of death (Storia do mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1706, tr. W. Irvine 1907-8, repr. Calcutta 1967-9, iv, 240-1). In fact, we know that towards the end of Avarangbī's reign, kōtwals in the newly-conquered, peripheral regions like South India, managed to achieve considerable freedom of action, away from the central government's control; this was the case with the kōtwal and fādjī ʿAlī of Haydārabād, the most important city of the eastern Deccan, see J. P. Richards, Mughal administration in Golconda, Oxford 1975, 83-5.

When a new police system was introduced into British India after 1861, the office of kōtwal disappeared from most of the subcontinent, and his duties were taken over by Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors. In the North-West Frontier Province, however, the term continued in use to designate the chief police officer of the larger towns and cantonments.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article) Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a lexicon of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, 265-6, s.v. Čotora; S. M. Edwards and H. L. O. Garrett, Mughal rule in India, London 1930, repr. Delhi N.D., 185-7, 190-1; J. Sarkar, The Mughal administration, Patna 1920-5, l. 47-9.

(G. E. Bosworth)

KOUMANDÉ, at present a regional capital of the People's Republic of Benin, was founded by a clan of Bariba hunters, the Tossó, specialists in the cliffs of elephants, who provided a tribute of ivory tusks to the sovereign of Nikki. This settlement of hunters must have been ancient (perhaps in the 16th century), but a prolonged dynastic quarrel at Nikki brought to Kouamé considurable numbers of young warriors who must have used this city, every dry season, as a raiding-base.

The prince Chabi Gada of Nikki, having killed one of his pregnant wives, was expelled and took refuge at Birni Maro at the court of the Tossounon (chief of the Tossó) who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, Gnon Birso (in about 1762). Accepting the succession to the throne of his father-in-law, he renounced all allegiance with regard to Nikki. He had, moreover, carried off with him some of the ritual objects that were the property of the king: six kakaśicer (trumpets), silver and bronze stirrups, ceremonial sabres and lances, harness and bridlebits as well as the rings which were used as a tribute of young princes on the day of the ceremony of Gnon Koui, which marked the passage from childhood to adolescence.

The death of Gada (in about 1780) led to a quarrel over the throne between Onaoro Ouati, known as Tabounouf ("wearer of the ear-ring"), a prince born at Nikki, and Onoort Kpassi, son of Gnon Bīrī, princess of Bīrī. The latter was victorious and took
the title of Tossounos while Ouarou Ouari moved from Birni to Kouandé.

The foundation of Kouandé. With an army of sixty-six horsemen Ouarou Ouari arrived in the region of Kouandé where the Bariba Seko had been installed for several generations. Ouarou Ouari was well received by the Kouandé, who gave him a vast area of land at the foot of the hill and died soon afterwards. A few days later he received the regalia brought from Nikiki by Gada, and the following Friday, to the sound of the six royal trumpets, he accepted the homage of the Bariba and Seko chiefs. He took the title of Bangana (“buffalo”) and appointed another Kouandé as his colleague and chief minister, and extended his authority over Birni, Pably, the region of Oussoua (Tobré and Pêhounce), an area of some 10,000 km².

On his death, his brother Simé Verina succeeded him, taking the name Ouarou Sourou (“the Saint”). He took the young princes to task, demanding that they abandon their extortions “at once”, thereby acquiring the nickname Baba Tantani (“Papa at once”). To provide a diversion for the troublesome young princes, he mounted expeditions against the Berba, the Tangua goes to the tree on which his ancestor used to rest. This tree lies at the southern end of the village of Kouandé and is called Bouro (“good luck”). The king dismounts from his horse, leais against the throne and appeals to his ancestors for aid and protection.

A superstition holds that the man who picks up the pebbles under the tree will have his wish granted if the pebbles are of even number.

The Islamisation of Kouandé, at the beginning of the century, was very superficial. Only the community of foreign merchants was Muslim. Alfa Sabi, known as Aloufa, who was born in Kouandé in about 1853, supervised a Koranic school attended by a number of pupils. Since then, the influence of the Tijani order has developed considerably.


(R. Cornevin)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish (e.g. in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar cf. Radloff, Versuch eines Worterbuches der Türk-Dialekte, ii, 124) for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian koy (cf. Bittner, Der Einfluss des Aramäischen und Persischen auf das Türkische, in SB Al. Wies, xiii, No. 3, 103), or perhaps more correctly köy (Vullers, Les lexions; Bahçe-1 köy, 759) for a small city (or even a street). In the toponymy of the Ottoman empire we find many place-names compounded with köy, like Boghaz Köy, Ermeni Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Sultans period; the word does not occur, for instance, in Köşghart Köy in the sense of an open village as opposed to habsaba meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish place-names we always find the word kend (itself a loan-word from Soghdian) used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by köy (cf. e.g. Ritter, Erdhundert, S1, 1221 ff; Kâdi Kend, near Al-Mawali, becomes Kâdi köy).

(J. H. Kramer*)

KÖY ENSTITÜLERİ (T. “village institutes”), a Turkish educational institution of 1940-54, founded to combat the high illiteracy in rural areas by training and equipping village boys and girls for the special requirements of each region and using them as teachers in distant or under-developed areas where city-born teachers have been reluctant to work. They were the brain-child of Ismail Halil Tengü (q.v.) a prominent educator, and were put into operation by Hasan Ali Yıldız (q.v.) the reformist Minister of Education (1958-60) under President Ismet İnönü (see İŞME TENGÜ İNÖNÜ in Suppl.). From the early years of the Republic the problem...
of mass education, particularly that of village children, was of great concern to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and Turkish educators. During this period, nearly 80% of the population of over 13 million (1927 census) lived in some 40,000 villages unevenly scattered throughout war-devastated Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Less than 20% of village children (mostly boys) attended for the most part inadequate schools, where the majority of teachers had had little or no proper training. Early experiments in setting up village teachers' training colleges, first under the young pioneer minister of education Mustafa Nadir (1894-1909), and later during an attempt at collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, failed owing to poor planning and inadequate funds. In 1936, during the ministry of Saffet Arıkan (1935-8), a new project was developed. A selected number of villagers who had served in the army as corporals and sergeants were sent to special courses called eğitim kursu (Turkish, "instructor, educator" from the newly-coined neologism eğitim "to educate" and eğitim "education"), trained as teachers and appointed to village schools. To facilitate their settlement there, the eğitimler were given land, agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, young plants, etc. In the meantime, the idea of village-teachers' training colleges was revived, and three colleges were set up in the İzmir, Eselişehir and Kastamonu areas (in Kırşehir, Mahmoudiya and Gölköy respectively). The new minister, Hasan Ali Yüreğ, gave Tonguç full authority, and the latter was able to put into practice extensively his long-cherished project, elaborated in his many works (particularly in Cemlanırdılaşak köy, Istanbul 1947). On 17 April 1940 the law No. 3803 on Village Institutes was passed, and with the law No. 4274 on 19 June 1942 they were fully organised (for the texts of these laws, see Distler, Öğretmen İktisadi, İzmir 1946, 692-7 and xxii, 1942, 1575-6 respectively). The Institutes were put under the direct control of Tonguç and after a survey of local conditions and requirements, 20 of them were set up in the following regions of Turkey (the nearest provincial centre is shown in brackets): South-East: Dicle (Diyarbakır); East: Pulur (Erzurum), Cilavuz (Kars), Ahmet Kadi (Isparta); Central Anatolia: Hasanoglan (Diyarbakır); with a three years' training course consisting mainly of "cultural subjects" (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, a foreign language, military science and art) for 22 hours per week; agricultural subjects (farming, gardening, fruit growing, poultry farming, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) for 11 hours per week; and technical subjects (metal working, carpentry, building, tailoring and dress-making, etc.) for 11 hours a week. The curriculum was mainly functional and was based on the essentially concrete and practical, with special emphasis on skills needed in the peasants' daily lives in a particular region. The aim was not merely to train village school teachers, but also to equip them to participate in the leadership of the community by developing their sense of personal responsibility and their ability to cooperate with villagers (specific aims which so far was only city-born and trained teachers had been unable to realise). In 1943 a special teachers' training college was set up in Hasanoglan near Aksaray (Hasanoglan Yüksek Öğretim Dairesi) with a three years' training programme. Up to the school year 1946-7 these Institutes trained more than 3,000 village teachers and 700 health officers.

With the ending of the single party régime (1945) and the authoritarian rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP, see DEMOKRAT PARTI), the Village Institutes began to be subjected to violent attacks both by the conservative wing of the RPP and the newly-founded (January 1945) Liberal Democrat Party (DP, see DEMOKRAT PARTI). They were accused of fostering an unruly, subversive, anti-traditional generation and being the hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination. This campaign was waged mainly by the great landowners in and outside Parliament, and their mouthpieces in the press. The campaign reached such dimensions that President İnönü replaced the Minister of Education, H. A. Vezik, with the conservative Regat Şemseddineddin (1946), who in turn removed I. H. Tonguç, the brain behind the Institutes, from office, closed the Hasanoglan Teachers' Training College and changed most of the staff of the Institutes. Under the ministry of Taşkin Banguoğlu (1948-50), the gradual liquidation of the Institutes continued and was completed by Tevfik Ileri (1951-61), the second Minister of Education (appointed August 1950) of the Democratic Party, which won the general election of May 1950. Ileri put an end to the co-educational system in the Institutes (1951) and reformed their curriculum to bring it into line with classical teachers' training colleges of the cities. Their abolition was officially registered when their name was eventually (1954) changed to Türkiye'deслужители

KOY, KOIL, a town of northern India situated 75 miles south-east of Dihl and coming within the United Provinces in British India, now Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. The more modern town of Allâghâ (s.w.) has expanded out of a suburb of Koil. In 1590/91 the commander of the Ghûrids, Kûth al-Dîn Aybâk (s.w.), captured Koil on a raid from Dihl, and henceforth there were usually Muslim governors over large Rûd-jut rulers, such as Kûtûk Ahi under Bâbur (932/1526) (Bâbur-nâma, tr. Beveridge, 176). Ibn Bâtûtâ visited Koil on his way southwards from Dihl to the Deccan and Malabar, and speaks also of a noted shaykh of Koil (as he writes the name), one Shams al-Dîn b. Tâj al-Arifîn, whom Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk did to death (Râbi’a, iii, 307-9; tr. Gibb, iii, 704-5, and iv, 6-7). The minaret of Koil (now destroyed) had on it an inscription of the Slave King Nâsir al-Dîn Mahnûd Shâh from 632/1234 (see C. Vaidyan. The inscriptions of the Turk Slâvins of Delhi . . . in Epigraphia Indica Mesopotamica, 1913-14, 22-3). Koil is listed in the Ârin-i Aksâr, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett, Calculata 1939-40, ii, 197, as a zarûh in the âgâr subha of the Muğhal empire, with a revenue of 55 million damu.

In ca. 1572 Koil was captured by the Jâhâ’i jãb*/hartî Mal and then in 1590 by the Aghlânîs, its strategic position on the Dihl-Agra road giving it importance. It was re-named Allâghâ "the high fortress" by Nadjâf Khân in 1776, when he rebuilt the citadel. All the upper Dâhâm passed into British hands in 1804, but with Koil/Allâghâ only captured from the Marâchâs after a prolonged siege. Native troops there mutinied in May 1857, but order was restored in August by a British force after internal strife between the Jâhs and Radjouts. For the town’s subsequent history, see pp. 1050ff.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, v. 209-11, xxv, 334; and see Dûman, Shaykh, in Suppl. (C. E. Bosworth)

KOYLU HISÎR (KOYUN ULISîR), modern Koyluhisar, centre of an îce of the province (il) of Sivas in the valley of the Kelkit River along the old route from Nîsisar to Şâhinnâzar-i Erzurum in the so-called "left wing" (îcel sîby) of Anatolia within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times.
The origin of the Közan-oghlu dynasty and its name is uncertain. According to Ahmad Djewdet Pasha, the family came from the Arif tribe, one of the Warsak (Farsab) tribes which settled the Taurus Mountains in the 13th century A.D., and its name originated with an ancestor from the village of Közan near Aynab (Teğerhis, III, 106-9). The family had gained leadership of the tribe by 1689 (Ahmet Rejik [Altunay], Anadolu'da Türk aşiretleri, 89) and went on to control the entire area and exercise the functions of government in virtual independence of the Ottoman administration. Only in 1865 were the Ottomans able to defeat, capture and exile the derebeys, settling the tribes on which their power had depended and establishing normal administration. Közan was of concern once again in 1878 when Közan-oghlu Ahmad Pasha tried to re-establish its control, but with his defeat the area ceased to be of special importance.

**Bibliography:** The most detailed accounts of Közan and the Közan-oghlu are those of Ahmad Djewdet Pasha in Mağtuda, in TTEM, x (87), 278-82 and Teğerhis, III, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1953, 107-15, 117-19. A general description of the area as it was in 1830 is given in V. Quinet, La Turquie d'Asie, ii, Paris 1852, 90-7. Selected documents concerning the Közan-oghlu are found in Ahmet Rejik (Altunay), Anadolu'da Türk aşiretleri: 984-1790, Istanbul 1950. On the Taurus tribes, see Feruk Sümer, Çukurca tarihsine dair araştırmalar (Fethiye XVI. yüzyılın ichtisatı ve tarihi), in AUDTCFD, i, 70-93. The most recent study of this area in the nineteenth century is A. G. Gould, Paschas and brigands: Ottoman provincial reform and its impact on the nomads of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, unpublished.

(A. G. Gould)

**KÖZAN-OĞHULLARI, a family of derebeys[1] in Ottoman southern Anatolia, with their centre of power in the 19th century in the sandjak of Közan [2] (i.e. western Közan) and the hadia of Közan, in the plain of the Taurus Mountains which lies between the Taurus and Cilician plains.**

The Közan-oghullari claimed descent from a Tärkmen tribe which had entered Cilicia in the middle years of the 13th century A.D., the ancient capital of mediaeval Little Armenia (see V. F. Büchner, art. Sts, in EPr), which was also concerned lest the Slav and Armenian influence be extended to Cilicia. The Közan-oghlu family was, however, rent by internal rivalities in the middle years of the 19th century. In 1865 the central government was able to reduce the power of the Cilician derebeys by the despatch of the military "Reform Division" (Fırka-yi İlahiyye) to Iskenderun; various members of the Közan-oghullari went over to the government side, and after some attempts at resistance, the family finally submitted. Several of them were given official posts in the Ottoman administration, and others brought to honorary exile in Istanbul; after a final local rising in 1878 just after the Russo-Turkish War, the region of Közan was substantially pacified.

**Bibliography:** see A. G. Gould, Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia, in JMMES, vii (1976), 491-505, with references to the sources, and a kinship table of the family as it was in 1865 at p. 492. (Ed.)

**KRJ [see xika].**

**KRIZ (Russian designation, Kral [from the awl, Krala]), a small Caucasian ethnic group, forming with the Khaput [gou] and Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezgin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek), of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.**

According to the 1926 Soviet census, ethnically there were 5 Kriz, and linguistically 4,343 (including speakers of Dzhek and Khaput dialects). According to a 1954 estimate, there were some hundreds of Kriz living in a single awl, that of Kriz, located in the basin of the Kur, in the Khachalan area (Konak-kef district, Azerbaijan SSR). The Kriz are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i rite. The traditional economy of the Kriz was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture. The Kriz language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Khaput), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language. The Kriz are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

**Bibliography:** A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, opéra démographique, in REI (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Haldis-Ra, Kupers and Menges, Peoples and languages of the Caucasus, The Hague 1959. S. A. Tokeray, Ethnographia narodov S.S.R., Moscow 1958. (R. Wixman)

**KRJUJE, a town in northern Albania, lying around the foot of a picturesque rock, a spur of the steep Krjuje range, with the fertile plain of the Isha river to the south and west.**

Under the Ottoman administration the town was officially known as Aş Hoër [71]. It was the chief administrative centre of the vilayet and after 1466 of the hadia of this name. For most of the second half of the 19th century the hadia was part of the vilayet and of the sandjak of Skutari (cf. Th. Ippen, Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Albaniens im XIX. Jahrhundert, in L. von Thälmann, Illyrischen Forschungen, Vienna-Löpiz 1922, i, 381). The hadia comprised a nahiye, an area north of the river Mat, known as Öhleri i vogël (cf. F. Seiner, Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme, Graz 1922, i), which was inhabited by the Kithella tribe (cf. Detailbeschreibung von Albanien, i. Theil: Nord-albanien mit den angrenzenden Tiethen Dalmatiens und Montenegro, Vienna 1960, 110 ff., 130 ff.). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Northern Albania in 1916, the hadia of Krjüjë functioned as part of the administrative district of Matja and Öhleri (cf. F. Seiner, Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österreich-ungarischen Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete, Vienna-Löpiz 1922, x). In the independent Albanian state the area of Krjüjë became a sub-prefecture of the prefecture of Durres (cf. Albania. Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division, Oxford 1945, 196). After 1949, the position of the town was affected by various administrative changes; cf. Die
York 1958. 294) - New administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, Albania, which Albania had been subdivided by the order for Shkodër. These constituted one of the sir zones into which the town itself, which is known for the characteristic architecture of its buildings (cf. Koco Zheku, La Kullë (manoir) de Krüjë, in Deuxième Conférence des Etudes Albano-Logicques, ii., Tirana 1970, 263-8 (text), 269g (illustrations)), amounted to about 7,000 souls (cf. Zheku, ibid., 263).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the region of Krüjë was the scene of various anti-Ottoman rebellions, mainly in response to the imposition of new taxes (cf. Luan Bajo, Faqe nga Lutfa t këuktav, Tirana 1937, 61). First, King of the Albanians, in the quarter of the town of Krüjë where it took place—named after the quarter of the town of Krüjë where it took place—the battle of Tallajë—named after the quarter of the town of Krüjë where it took place—was fought between peasants from the Krüjë area and Ottoman forces under Shemsi Pasha (cf. Luan Bajo, Mbi "Lufte e Tallajes" në rethnin e Krüjes në vitet 1906-1907, in Studime Historike, vi [1969], 147-30).

Accounts of these events as well as of the revolts against local landlords belonging to the Toptan family, within which the office of këuktav briefly [q.v.] had become a hereditary position, are preserved in local oral tradition and were collected, studied and analysed by G. Komnino, Expeidia folklorike t Krujes, in Buletin për shkencat shqipore, iii [1955], 235-61.

During the general insurrection of 1922, which led to the proclamation of Albanian independence, the region of Krüjë was one of the major centres of anti-Ottoman activity (cf. F. Bartl, Die Albanischen Muslimen zur Zeit der Nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878-1912), Wiesbaden 1968, 180, and for a more detailed account, L. Bajo, Mbi krye ngritjen e pergjithshme e vitit 1912 në rethnin e Krüjes, in Studime Historike, viii [1971], 1, 131-54; and in 1914 it was the centre of the Essadist movement, which was partly pro-Turkish and directed against the Albanian sovereign Wilhelm von Wied. The town was captured by anti-Essadist troops of Mati tribesmen under Ahmet Zogu (cf. C. A. Dako, Zogu the First, King of the Albanians, Tirana 1937, 62).

The population of the kulla was predominantly Muslim and the town of Krüjë was inhabited by Muslims exclusively (cf. Seiner, Volkszählung, 14). The majority of its inhabitants belonged to the Bektaşî order (see BEKTASHIYA) which had several shrines in and around the town and a tekke in the plain below Krüjë (Fushë e Krüjes), which was visited and described by F. Babinger in 1928 (F. Babinger, Bei den Derwischen von Kruja, in Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung, ix [1928], Heft 38, 128-9; Heft 10, 164-5; and idem, With the Derwishes of Kroosa, in The Sphere, xxvii [1929], no. 1525, 63).

For photographs of the tekke, see E. Rossi, Credenza ed usi dei Bekiacci, in Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni, xvii [1942], 60-80. Until 1907, the tekke was the seat of a gjirok (grandfather) who had under his jurisdiction the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Shkodër. These constituted one of the six zones into which Albania had been subdivided by the order for administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, Albania, New York 1938, 204).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see J. G. von Hahn, Albanische Studien, Vienna 1833-4, i, 87, and J. Müller, Albanien, Rumänen und die österreichisch-monarchischen Grunde, oder statistisch-topographische Darstellung der Provinz Osterreich-Ungarn, Prisern and, Tobi Monatsschr., Jadovci, Tirana, Kusje, Eastonian, and Ohrida, se wie des Gründierers von Budja in Osterreich-Albanië, nach eigenen Beobachtungen dargestellt, Prague 1844, 72 (for descriptions of Krüjë in the first half of the 19th century); A. Dozon, Excursion in Albania, in Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie (Paris), 6e série, ix (1877), 616 (for a short description of Krüjë in the second half of the 19th century); A. Baldacci, Itinerarii Albanesi (1802-1902) con uno studio generale all’Albania e alle sue comunicazioni stradali, Rome 1917, 477 f. (faucal observations on the town and its physical environment); Th. Ipen, Denkmäler verschiedener Altersstufen in Albanien, in Wissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen aus Bosnia und Herzegovina, x (1907), 99 f., S. Adhami, La fondation de la citadelle de Krüjë et ses principales reconstructions, in Monumenti, i, Tirana 1974, 61-77 (on the citadel); and F. Bonacera, Il "Kastësi" nei centri albanesi, in Lares, xx (1954), 1-2, 132 (for the banner only).

(F. de Jonge)

KUBAČI, self-designation, Urbreg; Russian, Kubantsi; Arabic and Persian, Zirülgarān), a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Kubāči inhabit the single asl of Kubai, located in Dakhadav rayon, DāğHESTĀN. They are a Caucasian people whose language belongs with Kāytāk and Dargin to the Dargino-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) group of the Ibero-Caucasian language family. Kubāçī is now regarded as a dialect of the Dargin language, and they are considered in the Soviet Union as a sub-group of Dargi rather than as a distinct ethnic group. The Kubāči use the Dargin literary language, and they are being assimilated by the Dargins. In 1926, according to the Soviet census, there were 2,232 Kubāči.

The first mention of the Kubāči appears in Arabic sources of the 14th/15th century from Darband (see BĀR AL-AWĀR). Although the Kubāči maintained patriarchal clan divisions and had a strong self-rulling free society, they paid tribute both to the Sultanate of Kārkšān (4th/8th/10th-14th centuries) and the Umayyad of Kāytāk (9th-10th/15th-16th centuries). The asl of Kubai was part of the Gārgsī free society, a division of the Umay-Dargā, a Dargin federation. The Kubāči are Sunni Muslims of the Shāfi‘i school. They, along with the Dargins, accepted Islam in the 6th/12th century.

Since the middle Ages, Kubāči artisans have been renowned as gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and as makers of fine jewelry and weapons. So famed were they as makers of daggers, sabres, and chain-mail that they were, and are, called Zirīguārān ("makers of mail"") by the Arabs and Persians. Even under the Soviets today, the Kubāči masters are still famous for their fine jewelry, gold and silver smithing.

Bibliography: Geiger et al., Peoples and languages of the Caucasus, The Hague 1959; Narodē Dagestana, Moscow 1955. See also DĀGHISTA, DARGIN, KAYTĀK, KUBAIJ and IJAM.

(R. Wixman)

KUBĀDĀBĀD, a residence of the Rām Sādādī al-Dīn Kaybūdāb I (616/1219-27) [q.v.] on the west bank of the Lake Beyrāgh, 110 km. south-west of Kōnya. On the spur of the Gūnlüce Dağları, probably in 624/1227 chosen by Kaybūdāb I as a site for its scenic qualities, a palace-city was constructed under the direction of Sādād al-Dīn Kōpe Şek, his Court Architect and Master of the
Royal Hunt (a'mir-i qyldv u mir'vdr). The first palace is said to have been erected in the presence of the ruler according to his detailed indications. But it may have taken longer to erect the buildings of the area, which measures ca. 430 x 200 m. and on which until now there can be identified the ruins of 15 constructions, as well as the outline of a quad and a fenced enclosure perhaps to be identified as an enclosure for animals. Unambiguous evidence for continued building activity is provided by an inscription, dated 639/1240, commemorating the foundation of a mosque by Badr al-Dîn H附加值, governor (may) of Kûbadbâd, later transferred to the mosque at Kûrît Kûyâ, at a distance of ca. 3 km. to the south. The palace was inhabited temporarily by Ghiyâth al-Dîn Kaykâbûdd (r. 655-90/1237-61), but its importance must have declined sharply after the occupation of Anatolia by the Mongols (641/1243).

The ruins were identified in 1949 by M. Zeki Oral, who made limited, trial excavations up to 1951. The systematic excavations in 1965 and 1966 by Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Onder included a topographical survey of the area, but remained restricted to clearing the two main buildings located at the lake shore. Both buildings are characteristic palaces with central double rooms: a raised iwan, probably a throne-room, preceded by a barrel-vaulted entrance hall. The smaller building of 30 x 29 m. of dressed stone, by a quad and associated with a courtyard, is probably the older one of the two palaces. This is indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which have been excavated; with its simple, angular, interlocking bands it points to the early years of the reign of Kaykâbûdd. The greater palace of 90 x 35 m., erected probably only slightly later in an isolated position on the northern side of the building area, is a rubble construction clearly less pretentious as far as masonry is concerned. It is, however, distinguished by an outer court and a terrace which border upon the shore of the lake.

The rubble walls of the greater palace, not very notable by themselves, were originally richly decorated. Up to a height of 7.5 m., the inner walls of the main rooms bore a revetment of underglaze-painted tiles mostly arranged in an all-over star and cross pattern, the sight-pointed stars bearing figurative subjects and the crosses fleur-de-lis ornaments. The tiles, datable ca. 627/1230 or a little later, show a variety of iconographic themes side-by-side, apparently reflecting the multiple functions of the building, as a royal residence and as a hunting lodge; on the one hand, there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription al-walids on their breasts or lions; and on the other, astrological symbols and fabulous creatures, or trees of life which may well be allusions to paradise. Finally there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which remained restricted in the chronicle of Karim al-Dîn Mâyînî al-Arûzî; Mus'marât al-ahhâb; F. Iqânî; I. H. Konyali, Kûbadbâd saraylan kazilartnda iân fâsîatur ve hikayeleri (in Ihtifat-i Farkulûcî Dergisi (1955), 177-208; L. A. Mayer, Islamic architects and their works, Geneva 1956, 83 f.; K. Erdmann, Ibn Bîbî as historiographische Quelle (— Publications de l’Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, xiv), Istanbul 1962, 3, 16, 18; I. H. Konyali, Abdeleri ve hikayeleri sâ Konya tarihî, Konya 1965, 183-92; O. Turan, Selçûklu hanedanına Türkiye, Istanbul 1971, 397 f. Since the re-discovery in 1949, the constructions and excavated material have often been studied: M. Zeki Oral, Kûbadbâd, Karreafliese von Kûbadbâd, in Turkeische Keramik (— Veröffentlichungen der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Ankara, eisix—Schriften des Kusanhistorischen Instituts der Universität, i), Ankara 1957, 39-40; K. Erdmann, Seraybauten des dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Anatolien, in Ars Orientalis iii (1959), 82 f.; K. Otto-Dorn-Mehmet Onder, Bericht über die Grabung in Kûbadbâd (October 1965), in Archäologischer Anzeiger, lxxxvi/1 (1966), 170-83; idem, Kûbadab hastar lar, in Türk Etnografya Dergisi, x (1967) [1968], 5-9; idem, Kûbadbâd saraylar lar hastarlarnda yeni bulunan resimli darb iini, in Sanat Tarihî Yâlîs, ii (1966-67), 110-11; M. Akoç, Konuyâda Aladâkin noelini Selçûk saraylar (in) in Sanat Tarihî Yâlîs, iii (1969), 20 f.; K. Otto-Dorn, Die menschlichen Fügurendarstellungen auf den Rosten von Kûbadbâd, in Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in memoriam Kurt Erdmann, Istanbul 1969, 111-39; Mehmet Onder, Selçûklu devrinen ait cam tabak, in Türk Sanatî Tarihî Araşturmalar ve İncelenenleri, ii (1969), 1 f.; K. Otto-Dorn, Engraved Ceramic Medallions in the Islamic Architecture of the Ancient Middle East, in American Journal of Archæology, xxii (1968), 438-506; F. Tundag, Die Menschendarstellung auf einer Karreffassene von Kûbadbâd, in op. cit., 404-6; G. Oney, Die Karreffassinen im Grossen Palast von Kûbadbâd, in op. cit., 496-500; J. Sourdel-Thomine, Les inscriptions, in op. cit., 500-5; Mehmet Onder, Kûbadbâd nearlingser Sultan Aladâkin Râkûbûdd in, in ibd., in Sanat Tarihî Yâlîs, iii (1969-70), 121-4; G. Oney, Kûbadbâd ceramics, in The art of Iran and Anakilia from the 7th to the 10th century A.D. (— Colloques on art and archaeology in Asia, iv), London 1974, 68-69; B. Marzougui, Fayenceden Dönenmeden siddetîcî sakrabauten in Kleinasi (— Istanbuler Mitteilungen—Beihaupt xiii), Tübingen 1975, index. (M. Minnecck)

KUBÂDHIYÂN, KUWAĐHIYÂN, in medalieval
Islamic times a small province situated on the right bank of the upper Oxus, and also a town, the chief settlement of the province. The latter comprised essentially the basin of the Kubādhiyān (modern Kafirnihan) River, which ran down from the Burtanān Mountains and joined the Oxus at the fording-place of Awzdād (modern Ayvazād); accordingly, it lay between the provinces of Caghāniyān (see on the west and Wālīsh and Khuttal (q.v.) on the east. Administratively, it was most often attached to Khuttal. It now falls substantially within the Tajikhīlān SSR.

The name Kubādhiyān/Kuwaclhiyun seems to appear in the Chines Buddhist pilgrim Huenv-Tsang's travel account as Kuo-ho-yen-na, according to Marquart, Erdnahr, 226, 1913. The 19th-century geographers describe it amongst the upper Oxus provinces of Transoxiana. Its chief seat was the town of Kubādhiyān itself (modern Kabadian), also called in Ibn Hawkal Fazza, but in Mukaddasi B.Y.A. (?); this was a strongly-fortified town on the Kubādhiyān River, smaller however than Tirmidj (q.v.). In the north, on the upper course of the river, lay the fortresses of Wāshgird and Śhāmān, frontier posts against such predatory peoples of the Burtanān Mountains as the Kumādīja (q.v.); indeed, the whole province was well-supplied with rībād and defensive posts. According to Ibn Hawkal, the Śāhū-Barūr or postmaster and intelligence agent [see barracks] for the Sāmānids in Kubādhiyān received the salary for each three months (ṣ̄aqqīniyān) of 200 dirhams. The chief product for exports from the province was saffron, a crop whose marketing was strictly controlled by the Sāmānids (see bibliographic references for the spread of Islam, since several of the Muslim missionaries in Togo have received their religious education there.


**KUBAN** (called in Nogay Turkish, Kuman, in Cerkes, Plęgur), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Kuban). It is about 500 miles long. It rises near Mount Elburz at a height of 3,990 feet. Its three constituents (Kürrüz, Ulā-Kam, Uş-Kulan) join together before reaching the delta through which the Kuban enters the plains (at a height of 1,237 feet). The Kuban at first runs through the wooded upper spurs of the mountains and then, along a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are the Da'at, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urum, Loba, Bëšaia, Fëdshib, Pselyup, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Proloka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the 17th century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Kuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Kuban—before 1918 the province (elazar) of the Kuban Cossacks—also included the valleys, further north of the Baisugh, Celbaš, Ĝasika and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this
great province, which is divided into 7 districts (Veya, Tenmur, Kavtszosti, Ekatorinodar, Maykop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Batllpashinsk), was estimated at about 30,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, 89, estimated the tribes of the Kuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population in about 1861 was 200,000 men (?), but as a result of expatriations on masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 by about 1883. Russian colonisation, which was begun by the Cossacks in about 1861, had reached 3,500,000 by 1894. In 1912, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnis" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms, which lack precision, included the remainder of the Cerkes and Abaz tribes [q.v.] (related to the Abkhaz, q.v.) and Turks of Kara-Cay. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (aul) of Kart-Djurt, Ot-Kulan and Khurzuk, etc. in the upper waters of the Kuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Noghay). They were at one time under the Cerkes princes of Kabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Kuban was re-organised on an ethnic basis; besides the Kabarda-Balkar region (on the Terek) (now an Autonomous SSR) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Kuban: first, the Kara-Cay-Cerkes, east of Urup with its capital Batl-pashinski; it has about 70,000 Cerkes. Both these are now Autonomous Regions.

The basin of the Kuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maykop go back to the second (according to Rostovtseff, to the third) millennium B.C. Scythian tombs of the 4th-5th centuries B.C. are very numerous (Kelemes, Voroneszka) and Sarmatian tombs from the first and second B.C. to the 1st A.D. The Greeks called the Kuban Hypasus, Varanes and Anteoi. In Byzantine authors we find Koprg, Koprics (Marquart, *Ost-europaische Strenge*, 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adilghe (Cerkes), according to local legends, dates from the emperor Justinian (527-65); cf. M. Nogmov, *Istoria adlgheskago naroda*, Nizhni Novgorod 1922. All the

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**Bibliography:** Cf. the articles *Kuban*, *Kerke*, and *Kabarda* in *Archaeology*; H. Minas, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1931, 634-6 gives a complete bibliography; N. Rostovtseff, *Iranians and Greeks* in *South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages in classical authors relating to the Caucasus are in E. Latschew, *Scythica et caucasica*.
KUBBA, the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome.

Purpose and significance. The term is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of m. The classical word turba was driven out of use by kubba until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have gumbad for kubba, so we occasionally have turbat for turba in Iran. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, and these usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the masjd, which according to its extended meaning, is a place where a shahid is buried. As a rule a masjd is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endowed with a semblance of divinity; but then the masjd is not only a grave, but a memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (maqam) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say, it is not a burial-place for any Muslim, but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints. The general term in Shi'ih lands for the tomb of a saint is imam-rid or gish shieh. In lands where Arabo is spoken, these domed tombs are called marbili, shayb, wali, naib, and as places of pilgrimage, maqam.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the kubba is a square building covered by a dome, which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process, the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised. This evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diet, Kunst der islamischen Völker, Berlin 1952, 59). This development began with primitive corbelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and in the end took its own way in West and East, as will be dealt with under the separate countries. Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of kubba, which is found from the Magrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples, such as northern Iran, Mazar-and the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Central Asia. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decorations in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Iran, and exceptionally also in Anatolia, is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Ayyubid and Mamalik periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus, attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo kubbah covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Iran.

We shall now deal with the form and development of the kubbah in the various lands.

Magrib. These kubbah or mausoleums of the Magrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficult to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques, sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people. The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style; the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture; the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramidal roof, which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Mazar-and the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the high Algerian plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory, with the egg-shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure.

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the kubbah, we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of kubbah—a dome on four pillars—as represented in the Cubbah of Palermo, is the oldest in the Magrib (Marçais, op. cit., 352). Several kubbahs of the cemetery of Rayrân might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (Marçais, op. cit., fig. 17). To the same group also appears to belong the kubbah of Sidi el-Mazeri in Monastir which can be dated to the 6th/12th century.

In al-'Ubbad al-Sufi ("the Lower") near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Ma'mu'd kubbahs (i.e.
The oldest buildings of the Kubba type in Cairo belong to the Fatimid period. The oldest is the Kubba of the Marifis in Shali (Chella) near Rabat built up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 735-801/1336-98 were buried four successors of Abu 'l-Hasan Ali. One of these Kubbas has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches, and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives. The mausoleum of Abu 'l-Hasan there, the most splendid of the Marinid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Bassett and E. Lévi-Provençal, Chellia, une nécropole mérinide, in Bespreis [1922]; Marçais, op. cit., 497). Next to these Kubbas just mentioned the closed Kubba is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind niches. This is the form of the Kubbas of Sidr Bâ Medjen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the 8th/14th century and restored at the end of the 18th century. The dome is divided inside by painting with interwining bands into twelve sectors. The Kubba in Tlemcen now called Sidr Bâlîn was built by Sidr Abû Hamâm Mûsâ II (753-833/1352-60). The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their socles ornamented with glasses and their painted stucco relief. The dome divided into eight parts rests on Magribi arcades in the form of semi-pendentives. These two last-named Kubbas have pillared outer halls for the pilgrims. As elsewhere, in the Magribi, particularly in Tlemcen, mosques and mausoleums were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a Kubba (Marçais, op. cit., 586).

Egypt. The oldest buildings of the Kubba type in Cairo belong to the Fatimid period. The oldest is the Kubba built by Badr al-Djalâmî, the builder of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afdal—the Mashhad of al-Djuyûşî on the Mokattam hills. Amin al-Djuyûşî, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr's title. The date of the inscription was read as 478/1085 by van Berchem, Notes d'archéologie arabe, I., in JA (1891), 478-9 = Opera minora, Geneva 1925, 144-5. The building consists of a rectangular chamber, roofed by a high arced dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, Die Kunst des Islam, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 159; M. S. Briggs, Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine, Oxford 1924, figs. 35-8). The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, resembles the tomb of a famous saint, whom the natives call Sidr Djuyûşî, and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (Notes, 487-8 = Opera minora, 153-4; idem, Une mosquée du temps des Fatimides, in Méms. de l'Inst. égyptien, ii [1888], 605-9). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco mihrab. The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian fashion. There are four small Kubbas of this period in the Karâla near the Kubba of Sidr 'Ukbî called by people as-sab'ûs banât, "the seven daughters" (van Berchem, Notes, loc. cit.). These are small square buildings with octagonal drum and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Makrizi.

A Kubba with tombs of 'Abbasid caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the Ayyubid style (van Berchem, Notes, ii, in JA [1892], repr., 20 ff.). A date 649/1250 in an inscription gives the terminus ante, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Ayyubid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of mausoleums (4e) niches which shows Turkish influence. This Kubba, however, still follows Fatimid tradition as a single building and in its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (Notes, ii, 21). From the Ayyubid period also date the Kubbas of Sulân Šâli Nadjin al-Din Ayyub of 648-8/1250-90 and of his widow Shadjarat al-Durr of 651/1253. These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin, egg-shaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it. Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. The façades of this Kubba are ornamented with keel-arched flat niches and ogee-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Akmar mosque (519/1125) and other Fâtîmid buildings. In the interior, the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and mukarnas, the mukarnas were decorated with ornament and framed above with keel-arched mukarnas in the form of a font (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation ..., in R. L. Devonshire, Some Cairo mosques and their founders, London 1922, fig. 32 and Briggs, Muhammadan architecture, figs. 72-3).

With the Bahri Mamluks (1250-1370) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the drum, as could be seen in the ruins still standing in the early 20th century of the Kubbas of the family of Sultan Kalâwûn (678-95/1279-90) (Díez, Kunst d. isl. Völker, figs. 187 and 153). The two Kubbas, which were associated with mausoleums, had rectangular sub-structures of stone with an octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Kalâwûn and al-Nâşir Muhammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recesses with pillars from ancient buildings, but was otherwise bare. The sub-structures had carved bases of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the Kubba of the Bahri Mamlûks disappeared. The Kubba of Kalâwûn himself is an exception; he had it built after the model of the Kubbat al-Sahnîra (4e) in Jerusalem, and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in, and was given a wooden cupola. In the
The kubba of Zayn al-Din Yusuf, a Sufi shaikh of the line of the Banl Umayya, of 697/1298, is one of the most beautiful kubbahs of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squash area, a dome full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it, and a dome dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, muqarnas (picture in Briggs, op. cit., 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments, the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (picture in Devonshire, op. cit., 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the domes of the kubba just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupula, the domes of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cell-work evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with muqarnas honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamluks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the caliphs" all belong to the second Mamluk period and are similar.

Lists of the kubbahs of Cairo are given in K. A. C. Creswell, A brief chronology, in BIFAO, xvi, and Devonshire, op. cit., 123-7.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list, there are still in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred kubbahs, which are there called turba and cell and are usually connected with small madrasas or dawans. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squash storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Ayyubids that architecture began to flourish again. As, however, the sepulchral dome over the Nur-iyya madrasa, with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nur al-Din b. Zangi was still dependent on other lands, and in this case imitated the Mosopotamian form (F. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, Damascus, die antike und die islamische Stadt, Berlin 1924, ii, pl. 4b). Saladin's kubba above the Azziziyah mausoleum is a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure.

From the period of the Bahr Mamluks, 1250-1350, many turba still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders, the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in so far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Baybars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the drum becomes higher and the silhouette steeper . . . In particular, the portal niche now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 7). In keeping with this towering tendency, the turba of Rukn al-Din of 621/1224, which has a muqarnas associated with it, has already two transitional storeys on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian concave squinches and the other 16-sided with windows, and a dome-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 44, pl. 85 and 9b). Very similar is the turba of Yuz al-Din of 696/1296-7 (fig. 7) (Wulzinger and Watzinger, op. cit., 84, figs. 34, 35; pl. 7b, pl. 10a). A more modest type is represented by the Kilihiyya turba of 645/1247 built along with a madrasa for Sayf al-Din Kilihi al-Nuri. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway, but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch-arc was sufficient, since with the help of pendentives the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular conocones, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed drum windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, figs. 10-12; cf. also fig. 47). Open kubbahs with four great gate arches are also found in the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7e). As an example of a very inner Syrian form, the tomb of the mufta of Cairo may be mentioned al-Salihiyah turba of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

As in Egypt, so also in Syria under the Curzanian Mamluks, the architectural form rapidly lost vigour, and was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Tawhidiyya of 754/1352 betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window-storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 22b). As the al-Turtel kubba of 828/1424-5 shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and sixteen-sided figure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 25a). The rich dome of the turba of 850/1444 is built along with a kubba and a minaret, as in Konya (al-Salihiyah, pi. 22b). As an example of a very inner Syrian form, the tomb of the mufta of Cairo may be mentioned al-Salihiyah turba of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

In Egypt, little of interest and little variety. They are, as the turba of Darwish Pasha of 977/1570 shows, mainly octagonal with two drum storeys in the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches, although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pi. 59).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In Saljuk Anatolia more than in other countries, the association of madrasas with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In Konya and the towns under its influence, such as Aksaray, we find in the open madrasas, as in those with domes courts, at each side of the kubba-tuana in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room; exceptionally both are tombs (Indge Minareli; cf. masgir, Architecture).

In Konya the transition to the dome is made partly still by fan-shaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (Kara Tep, 659/1262-3, Indge Minareli, 650-684/1253-85, Sirkeci Madrese, 641/1243-4). The earliest, still clumsy, trihedral console friezes shrink in the course of development to narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric rounding off of the angles was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in wood-
work. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like Nigde, Kayseriyası etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominates. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in Konya to the tomb of Fakhr al-Din ʻAli (866/1269-83) which was also built as a mausoleum with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. F. Sarre, Konya, reprinted from Forschische Baudenkmale). The independent kübbas, usually called turba or gunbad, also minor, forms in Armenia and Azerbaijan a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor, round in Armenia, with pyramidal or conical roofs.

A list of the more important turbas, so far as they have been published, follows. In Kayseriyası: Cifte Gümüş, 615/1219; Dünler Gümüş, 655/1256; Sırdje Gümüş, 750/1350; Ali Daʃir 750/1350; Amr ʻAli, 751/1350, all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof, except the last named which is square (cf. A. Gabriel, Monumentum turbae et lukiubi). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The Kış Başar in the same town (740/1340-41) has an octagonal turba standing in its court. The mosque of Lafe Faghi has an octagonal turba of the 8th/14th century built on to it. In Nigde the mosque of Sincr Bey has an octagonal turba of the year 690/1293 added to it. Outside of the town stands an octagonal turba of Kızılabanda (713/1313-14); there are also several undated turbas in the vicinity (Gabriel, op. cit.). In Siwaq is the octagonal turba of Husayn b. Daʃir (629/1230-1) and the square one of Shaykh Hasan Beg (Guduk Miyand) of 718/1318 (cf. van Berchem, Matériaux pour un Corpus ... Asie Mineure, 1, 17 and 39, pl. ii). In Diwirgi are the octagons of Amir Kamal al-Din, 529/1134-5 and of Amir Shâhshâh (Sayyida Maïqua), 529/1134-5, also an anonymous turba (van Berchem, op. cit., 94, pl. xi). In Teke, a village near Zara-Diwirgi, is the undated turba of Shaykh Marzuban. In Bayşehir the Agari Kam Dâm has a square turba attached to it with a conical roof, the inner dome of which is decorated with unguessed mosaic such as we occasionally find in Konya. These stone roofs on the exteriors have bands of relief and in the entrance doorway with mukarnas lunettes. Of the turbas in Akşehir, Sarre mentions that of Sayyida Miyand, 607/1209 (Kleinzeich, 22; Cf. Haurt, Épigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure, in Revue sémantique [1894-5]).

In Armenia there are several turbas of structural interest by Lake Van. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with mukarnas lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in relief and Armenian twin domes, like domes of mud-brick. The combination of Turco-Islamic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great turbas in Akgâlt date from the end of the 7th/13th century, the small one from 862/1457-8, the turba in Vostan from 718/1318-19 (cf. W. Bachmann, Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan, 1925; Dies, Kunst d. isl. Welt, fig. 106 k, 128 f.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of turbars continued under the rule of the Ottomans without, however, new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with trilids of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these turbas as a rule look plain and practical. In addition, the inner chambers lost in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here, in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art; see on them G. Goodwin, A history of Ottoman architecture, London 1971.

'İrak, Iran and Central Asia. In 'Irak these are the polygonal tombs with mukarnas domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of Sayyida Zubayda near Bagdad. Others are al-Najmî, al-Asteb, Imâm Dûr, Imâmâzût Tûlî, etc. This type was also taken to Kûm (figs. in Sarre Horstfeld, Archäologische Reise im Elburs- und Tigris-Gebiet, Berlin 1912; Sarre, Persische Baudenkämmer; Dies, Kunst d. isl. Welt, 100-202; or p. 80, 72-73 and mukarnas). Kvam [q.v.], as one of the holy places of Iran since an early date, still offers, with its 16 turbars still standing, the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Iran. They are almost all polygonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception, they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glass. They date from the 6th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries. They are Şâhâzâde İbrahim, an octagonal domed building with eight deep niches, a Sâlîdî (?), perpetrator of the similar Sâfatî type (Ködîya Rabî); Şâhâzâde İbrahim near the Kâshân Gate of 721/1321 and restored in 808/1402; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl 770/1371; Ali b. Daʃir 740/1340; Ali b. Abî ʻAbd Allah near the Kâshân Gate 761/1361; Ködîya İmâd al-Dîn near the Kâshân Gate 792/1391; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl al-Mâqal near the Kâshân Gate; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl outside the Rây Gate; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl outside the Rây Gate; Şâhâzâde Kâbir 707/1307; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl (Köhî Ferâdî); Şâhâzâde İsmâîl Kâsim; Cihâl Ağaşan 905/1499; Şâhâzâde Hânezâ; Şâhâzâde İsmâîl (A. U. Pope, Preliminary report on the tombs of the sultans at Qu'am, in Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology, 6/3 [1953]). The İmâm-zade Kâram in Bûzûn dated 528/1134 east of Isfahân was published by M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld [Arch. Mitt. aus Iran, vii [1955]]. It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Iran along the Elburz chain, much more frequently than the normal kübbas we find in the period of the 4th/9th to the 7th/13th centuries cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called mihr or gunbadî: Dâridjian, Rayî, Radûn, Dâmûn, Dârband, Khozam, Wârâmî, Nîâbân, Marâgha, Bistâm, etc. (figs. in Sarre, op. cit., Dies, Chur. Eidem, and Kunst d. isl. Welt, etc.).

The type is found with variations beyond Iran as far as Khâvarz (Old Urgench), although the norm in Central Asia is the domed kübbas. These towers are mediæval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppe for their tribal chiefs and leaders. In form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Dies, Persien,
KUBBA

islamische Baukunst in Churasan, 1933, 51-5, 73 ff.; R. Hillenbrand, The tomb towers of Iran to 1550, Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1974, unpublished). A particular type which is closer to that of the normal kubbah developed in the province of Mizan-dar-e in the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal tower-arches mainly belonging to the 7th/8th-9th/10th centuries and are undoubtedly of an older native type of wooden building (figs. in Sarre, Persische Baudenkämter; Diet., Kunst d. isl. Völker, figs. 98, 99 or 73.) The kubbah proper was already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The oldest kubbah in Irâq is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the Kubbat al-Sulaybiyya in Sâmarra, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the caliph al-Muntasir, in which al-Mu'taz and al-Muntasir were perhaps also buried, as three graves were found; a domed building quadrangular within the interior, which in Sâmarra in the case of the squinch dome, with which, however, it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sâsânid domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older Iranian type of house (cf. the eastern Iranian, Sâsânid domed building Ribât Sefid in Dizeh, Persien, fig. 2). Domed buildings of the kubbah were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The building is of colossal dimensions. The square base measured 70 feet long, and was 20 feet thick. It was surmounted by four corner arches rising out of the corners; the inner arches were 30 feet wide, and the outside 45 feet. The entrance was in the middle of the long sides, and 12 feet wide. Its whole appearance has remained much as it was in the 7th/12th century (Zhukovskii, op. cit., figs. 30-31; Sarre-Herzfeld, The Kunst des Islam, 292-3). The kubbah of Sâsânid origin opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausoleum kubbahs of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinches area. We see the process completed in the kubbah of New Sarakhs on the Persian side of the Harî Rûd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Dizeh, Chur. Bldm., 51 ff., pis. 12-18; Glüeck and Dizeh, Die Kunst des Islam, 292-3). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum forming a step in the intermediate storey. However, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the kubbah of Tus, the almost contemporary with that of Sarakhs (Dizeh, Chur. Bldm., 55, pis. 19-20; idem, Kunst d. isl. Völker, coloured plate; idem, Persien, Bankh. in Chur., fig. 40; Glüeck and Dizeh, op. cit., 294). In Tus the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. Chur. Bldm., fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Tus is not dated (8th/14th century?), we cannot fix the time relation of this kubbah with the Western bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The squinches between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with mubarnat. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fan-shaped and cross-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, to which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tondril patterns (Dizeh, Persien, etc., 93 f.; E. Cohn-Wiener, Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar, in Jb. d. As. Kunst, x/1, 925; idem, Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarakhs on the Harî Rûd in the modern Turkmistan S.S.R. is a kubbah similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (V. Zhukovskii, Rasulpul Storagor Morca, fig. 33). Two others in the region of the Murghâb and Zaraštân oases are Talāqâlân Bâhâ and Mazâr Sultan Israilî in Bûkhârâ, both of the 6th/12th century (Zhukovskii, op. cit., figs. 30-31; Sarre-Herzfeld, The Kunst des Islam, 292-3). Their squinches are still funnel-shaped like the Sâsânid ones and without a gallery. Like the tomb of Sandjar, they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Harî Rûd area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small size of the building, its brick decoration, and interior belonging to the form of Ribât of Sâsânid origin in Mashhad is probably an outlier of this style on the Iranian highlands (Dizeh, Churassamische Baudenkmäler, 52 f., pis. 12-18; Glüeck and Dizeh, Die Kunst des Islam, 292-3). The kubbah of Sandjar opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausoleum kubbahs of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinches area. We see the process completed in the kubbah of New Sarakhs on the Persian side of the Harî Rûd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Dizeh, Chur. Bldm., 51 ff., pis. 12-18; Glüeck and Dizeh, op. cit., 292). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum forming a step in the intermediate storey. However, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the kubbah of Tus, the almost contemporary with that of Sarakhs (Dizeh, Chur. Bldm., 55, pis. 19-20; idem, Kunst d. isl. Völker, coloured plate; idem, Persien, Bankh. in Chur., fig. 40; Glüeck and Dizeh, op. cit., 294). In Tus the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. Chur. Bldm., fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Tus is not dated (8th/14th century!), we cannot fix the time relation of this kubbah with the Western
Persian one of Sultan Muhammad Oljeytu Khudabanda, 902-6/1501-16 in Sultanhyra. In the interval, a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latent since the **kubba** of Sangjar. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Tchier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant imitated in Iran. The interior gallery with corridor here becomes a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within, which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand, a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey, which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight enormous pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terraces to buttress the dome (cf. the illustrations in **Kunst u. Ges. Völker** and Diculafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bildem,*). We shall return to this type of **kubba** in the section on India. Another **kubba**, the only one of its kind in Iran, is the Diabat-i-Sang near Kirman, an octagonal building of cement with dome and drum of brick, which resembles the Syrian turbas (Diez, *Persien,* etc., fig. at p. 79; Creswell, *Persian domes before 1400 A.D.,* in *Burlington Magazine,* xxii [1925], 208, pl. 2). With the sepulchral dome of Oljeytu, the **kubba** in Iran reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction, there was a second which began probably as early as the Saljuk, but certainly in the Timurid period; this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double-shelled dome. In both cases, the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The Kubba-yi Sibz in Kirman is the oldest—at least dating from the middle of the 7th/13th century—sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker,* fig. 115). The models for these domes may possibly be found in the equally towerlike stupas of Afghanistan and the Tumain basin, with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Timur's **kubba**, the Guri-Mir in Samarqand of 808/1405, the dome of which structurally resembles the Kubba-yi Sibz, is the next monument of this style still standing; after it come the **kubbas** of the Timurids at Shah Zinda near Samarqand and others in Herat and Turkestan (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker,* figs. 116, 119; J. M. Rogers, tr., *V. V. Barthold's article O pogrebenni Tymur* ("*The burial of Timur*"), in *Iran, Jnl. of the BIPS,* xii [1917], 63-87). Guri-Mir has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, so that it is possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herat there have been many **kubbas**, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan,* figs. 153, 154); others east of Herat (figs. 182-4).

The last phase of evolution in Iran was reached in the Safavid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khosru Rabii of 909/1610-21 near Mashhad and Kadam-gah of 909/1680 east of Nishapur (Chir. *Bldm.,* pls. 23, 39) are octagonal **kubbas** with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with the Hasht Bihisht in Isfahan shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the **kubba** of Shaykh Djum which has a court mosque and madrasa adjoining in Turbat-i Shaykh Djum near the Afghan frontier, as an example of a **masar** on a large scale (Diez, *Chir. Bldm.,* 78 ff., pls. 35-7). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imran Rida in Masjhad, with the domed sepulchres of the Immar (Diez, *Persien,* etc., figs. 44-50). In Afghanistan, the **masar** of Khwaja Akasi in Balkh and Mazari Sharif, with domed tombs, may be mentioned (O. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan,* 64 ff.).

**India.** The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Kubba Aybak [a.v.], a former slave of Muhammad Ghur who was chosen by his master as vicerey in Dihli and on the latter's death declared himself independent (692/1290). It is only with this dynasty of the "Slave Kings" or Sulhhs of Dihli that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the 7th/13th century, however, the building of tombs in the Muslim regions of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islam over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more **kubbas** than in the other lands of Islam. The influence interacted with the peninsula were very varied; the main genetetic principle in the style of the **kubba**, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native Arabo-Turkish-Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions, which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of **kubba**.

In the course of the general development, we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, or local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (Archaeological survey of India, *Reports,* iii, iv): 1. The Indo-Turkish, which began with the Slave Kings dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of controlled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting, and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sultan Ilutmish in Dihli (*Kunst d. isl. Völker,* fig. 228, 187). 2. The style of the Khiljis of the second dynasty (659-720/1260-1320), or decorated Turkish style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Tughluqids, called after the third Turkish dynasty (720-817/1320-1444), with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horseshoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red lime-stone are panelled with white marble frames: **kubba** of Tughluq Shah in Tughlikabad (op. cit., fig. 226, 168); also brick buildings lined with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukan al-Dawla in Multan. Later, we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco, which was probably decorated and painted: **kubba** of Firuz Shah in Tughlikabad. 4. The Afghan style, called after the Afghan dynasties (Sayyids, Lodis and Suris, 817-952/1414-1555) with perpendicular walls; mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shih Shah (op. cit., fig. 244, 173), decorated with coloured stucco or with strips of glass: **kubba** of Bahidi Lodi near Cirak-Dihli; the octagonal mausoleums of...
Sikandar in Old Khairpur and others in Mubarakpur-Kotla and Khyerpur. Later, a coating of different coloured stones was preferred to the covering of stucco: mausoleums of Shah Shāh and Husayn Khān in Sahasrāram. 5. The Turkish style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faience work: tombs in Haddat Pandua (769/1368) and Gawr with curved brick roofs. 6. The Turkish style of the Shaikids in Dewas (705-831/1304-1479) a provincial style similar to (1) and (2): tombs in Dewaspur.

The early Mughal style comprises the buildings of the kings of Akbar and Bahadur (663-1037/1266-1628). With the tomb of Humayūn, finished in 860/1452, the Persian style established itself. In Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vilāta type) to reappear in Bahadur's tomb in Lahore—in the faience which decorates it, at least (861/1453). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Mughal style under Shah Dādān (1337-868/1919-1957) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tījā Muball, which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect mutual harmony.

To this list may be added: 9. The Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Turkish dynasties which founded Muslim rule in the Deccan. 'Ala'-al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh of Dīlī was the first to establish himself here in 699/1494. Half a century later the Bahmanids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (748/1348-1547). Their capital was Gulbargā. At the end of the 15th/16th century the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the Imam Shāhs in Bārā (890-980/1483-1574), the Nūrūdīn Shāhs (807-1028/1402-1619) in Bālīr, the 'Adil Shāhs (895-1097/1490-1686) in Bīljāpūr and the Kutb Shāhs (928-1069/1512-1607) in Golconda. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Gulbarga, the oldest capital, then Bīljāpūr, Bālīr and Golconda; Bīljāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of them, like the Ibrahim Rawāja, the mausoleum of Ibrahim II (1087-1056/1679-1657), and the incomplete All II Rawāja of the last 'Adil Shāh in Bīljāpūr, are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone; in Bīljāpūr and elsewhere we also frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome here again effectuated from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentive-like arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening couvre.

By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest kubba in the world, is that of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (1036-90/1626-99), the celebrated Gūl Gumbār in Bīlijāpūr (pictures in Kunst d. isl. Volker, 233 and 171; Die Kunst des Islam, 319 and many other works); a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, i.e. larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basin of about 205 feet in diameter on which rises the dome—entering an inner gallery open—about 170 feet in diameter; the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives, but is counteracted by the weight of the dome, so that it was necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Gulbargā, which was the capital of the Bahmanids (748/1348-1547-1514), still stand the simple kubbās of the early rulers of this dynasty, among them the tomb—here reproduced—of its founder Hasan Gangā 'Allī al-Dīn (748/1348-1537). The kubbās of the later Bahmanids from Ahmād Shāh Wali onwards (825-8/1422-39) are at Bīlār and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated, especially the mausoleum of Ahmād Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each of which the central ones on the north-south axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal mihrāb. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin, but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Kohlīa Rabī' (in Khurāsān; see above), as does the form of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned, but: without decoration in the interior, is the kubba of Mubadda Shāh II (887-924/1482-1519). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khudābanda Shāh in Sultānīya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Khallīl Allāh Husayn, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Ahmād Shāh Bahman. The tombs of the Barīs who followed the Bahmanids are open kubbās standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Kutb Shāhs of Golconda lies outside the town in a large walled garden, the kubbās of the last rulers of the dynasty, 'Abd Allāh (1045-83/1635-72) and of Aḥmad 'Alī-Ḥasan (1083-98/1672-82), who died in Mughal captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bīlijāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the illustrations). In the country around are kubbās of prominent families and saints, like the Cāhr Gumbād reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last group to be mentioned is: 10. The style of Gudjārat, with Ahmadbād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sultans of Gudjārat, Ahmad Shāh I (842-49/1241-12); his descendants ruled till 991/1583. Ahmad Shāh's kubba or rawāja in the centre of the town beside the Dīnjā Masdjid, a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by covered halls. The preference for rich, pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cornices and fillings of the windows. In kubbās outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Daryā Khān of ca. 857/1452, we again find the Turkish-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (Kunst d. isl. Volker, fig. 214, and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. For the most notable Mughal tombs, which are only briefly mentioned above, see ḤIND, VII, Architecture, and MUGHALS, Architecture.

Finally, it should be noted that kubba "cover" occurs as a technical term in the construction of scales and balances, where the housing for the pointer (lišān), often used also as a carrying handle (cf. Pedro de Alcalá: cābba = manila del peso), was called the kubba. See J. D. Latham, The interpretation of a passage on scales (mawāra) in an Andalusi manuscript, in JSS, xxiii (1978), 255-7.
KUBBA

KUBBA (now Kuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bakû and Derbend [q.v.]. The district of Kuba, with an area of 2,800 sq. miles, is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samur, which flows into the Caspian, on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shah-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Babi Dagh, 11,900) which separate Kubba from Transcaucasia. The history of the district of Kubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shahrwan; Shabaran (now a ruined site on the river Kubâ) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muçaddasî, 376) before Shahrwan became the capital of Shirkhân. On the banks of the river Kuban may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bâbâ Dagh. Near the town of Kubâ is the tomb of the Shirkhân-Shâh Kâwâs b. Kaykhšâb (d. 774/1373).

It was only in the 18th century that Kubâ enjoyed a period of independence. In the time of Shâh Sulaymân Safawî, a member of the family of the īsmân of Kaytâk (cf. dâghistân) called Husayn Kâhân arrived at the court of Isfâhan. He became a Shâfî and gained the favour of the Shâh, who appointed him Khân of Kuba and of Sulîyân (at the mouth of the Kura). Husayn Kâhân built the castle of Khânâd. His grandson Husayn Ali b. Ahmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the Kâhân, but his power was threatened by the alliance of Suleyman, prince of the Kâhân, with Hâfiz Dâwâd, religious chief of Muskûr, who with the help of Turkmen played a considerable part in Daghistân from 1712. Nadîr Shâh restored Sulîyân to Husayn Ali (after the death of Nadir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Husayn Ali moved his capital from Khânâd to Kubâ where he built a town and annexed Shâbard and Kuban. He died in 1171/1758. His son Fath Ali Khân who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189/1775 sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academical Gmelin, who had died on 27 June 1774 in captivity with the ōmî of Kaytâk. With the help of the Russians, Fath Ali re-established his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Daghistân, Kubba, Shâlwan). He also took Shirkhân, and the Khân of Bâkû appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fath Ali Khân gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1213/1798 he sent 9,000 men to Gilan to restore Hidâyat Khân, who had been driven out by the Khânîs [q.v.]. In 1220/1805 he seized Khânâd and placed on the Shâh-sewân (q.v.) recognised his authority. The Khân of Kuba and of Tabâr sought his support. Fath Ali is credited with ambitious designs on Daghistân. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Frâdul of Georgia, Fath Ali met the latter at Shamîrûn (Shamîkor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1220/1799.

The political and military work of Fath Ali Khân crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shâykh 'Ali Ághâ succeeded in 1791 had a very adventurous career. This young Khân relied on the support of the Khânîs, but Count Zâbîb took Derbend on 4 May 1796, and entrusted the government to his sister Pêt-Áddân Khanum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shâykh 'Ali Ághâ escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shâykh 'Ali returned to Derbend. In 1807 he and the other Khânîs sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1808 we again find Shâykh 'Ali rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1236/1811. The Khânate of Kubâ was occupied by the Russians in 1806, and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Kubâ formed a "government" of Shirkhân (bùrân of Bâkû). Since 1919 Kubâ has been part of the republic of Daghistân, at first independent and then a Soviet SSR.

Bibliography: cf. the articles Dâghistân, Derbend, Shekî and Shîrwan. See especially the works of the local historian 'Abbas Kull Ághâ Bakû-Khânow (a descendant of the Khân of Bâkû, who were related to Fath 'Ali Khân), the Gilâstân-i 'Irân, of which a Russian version by the author

2. Bukhara. Mausoleum of the Samanid Isma'il, 4th/10th c. (Photo A. F. Kersting)
3. Marw. Mausoleum of Sulṭan Sandjar, 5th/11th c. (Photo Karin Ruhrdanz)


7. Cairo. Mausoleum of Qalūbī, ca. 877-9/1472-4. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

himself (1794-1846) was published at Bâkî in 1826 (Travaux de la société scientifique de l’Afghanistan, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by A. Bargès, Thèses 1866 ff., L-xi, index under ‘Obebdin-Kûbba.

**AL-KUBBA, KUBBAT AL-SÂLAM, K. AL-ARQ, K. ARQ** "the dome of the inhabited world, of the earth, of Arin," expressions used by the Islamic geographers and astronomers to denote the geographical centre of the earth (waqat al-arq) at the zenith of which exists the kubbat al-sanâ or waqat al-sanâ; the kubbat al-arq, defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points or dîdâl (see e.g. Ibn Rusth, 8, tr. Wiet, 2). It is theoretically to be found at 90° from each of the poles and meridians of longitude zero and 180°, passing through the two extremities of the inhabited world (whether the longitudes are calculated starting from the east or the west). It is thus situated on the equator, and, for those authorities who followed Ptolomy, at 90° to the east of the meridian of the fantastic Jâles (see [AL-QALAAZ AL-KHALIFAT] taken as the starting point. Now, if the theoretical position of the kubba causes no problems, its localisation in practice does in fact pose an interesting one.

The author of the *Hudud al-Sâlam* (tr. Minorsky, 58, § 4, No. 13) echoes a tradition which places the centre of the inhabited world in an island called Yâra (read as Bâra by Minorsky) at a longitude of 90° east, and he adds that the satellites and fixed stars were calculated in relation to this equinoctial island (istifa al-lâyli wa-‘l-nahâr; cf. Ibn Rusth, 8 tr. 92, "Ille équatoriale"). However, al-Bîrûnî in his *al-Kâmûn al-Mâs’dîd*, whilst noting the fact that this island is mentioned by al-Fâ’Âdî and Ya’ûb b. Târîk, places it at 90°-50° longitude east, i.e. at 50° to the east of Yamakufi (Djemsîk/Djamasîg), which marked the extreme eastern boundary of the inhabited world, and he states that there are some more or less unknown places there. In his *Ind.*, tr. i, 303-4, al-Bîrûnî notes that the name Yamakofî is reminiscent of Kankdiz/Gangdiz, which Abû Ma’shar al-Balkhî took as the starting-place for the longitudes, calculated from east to west and no longer from west to east (cf. D. Pingree, *The thousands of Abû Mas’har*, London 1963, 45 and index). Al-Mas’ûdî, *Marâdî*, ii, 134 = § 555, records an ancient Iranian tradition, attributes to Kay Khwariz the foundation of Kankidz and he notes specifically that certain authorities equate it with Yang-ch’ou; he further adds that several Chinese kings made it their capital. Al-Bîrûnî, loc. cit., mentions Kay Kâwîs or Djînâ, Djamasîg as founder of this legendary town which was to remain, at least theoretically, as the extreme limit of the known world for later scholars. Abû Ma’shar likewise places it to the east of China and at 90° from the kubbat al-arq, but he identifies it with Îzây, which is a dangerous error.

The Indians used to calculate the longitudes from Lanka (Ceylon), whose southern tip is not very far from the equator, but they were led to displace the original meridian westwards and to adopt instead that of Udi-djâyn, which is near to the Tropic of Cancer but not at all near to the Equator. The name of this town, which has indeed a genuine geographical existence, was written in Arabic script Ûzâyn/îzây. (cf. Ibn Rusth, 22, tr. 19 and n. 6, with bibl.; al-Mas’ûdî, *Tanbih*, ed. Sâwi, Cairo 1357/1937, 192, and then, by means of a wrong reading, Arînî arînî; it is under this latter form that this toponym appears in later works, that it is transcribed in the mediaeval Latin translations, and that it appears even in some French lexica (Arînî). Being unaware of the exact position of Udi-djâyn, some authors tended to consider it as an island in the Indian Ocean (cf. *Udi-djâyn*, tr. 296), or at least to place it at 90° from the equator, totally unaware of their error (thus Ibn Rusth, loc. cit., or al-Mas’ûdî, *Tanbih*, loc. cit.). In this way, kubbat Arîn and kubbat al-arq became synonymous; an astronomer as recent as al-Rûdrînî correctly defines the kubbat al-arq or al-Sâlam as the point of intersection of the equator and the dîridâl wa-‘l-nahâr and still calls it the kubbat Arîn, but he probably saw only there a traditional name without any direct connection with the town of Udi-djâyn.

Finally, it may be noted that the use of the word *kubba* to denote the geographical centre of the earth has given rise to the idea that a particularly high point of the earth is involved here. The Indian tradition which makes the zero meridian go through Ceylon, where Adam’s Peak rises, may conceivably be influenced by this conception, which al-Bîrûnî attacked in his *Kânûn* (cf. A. Bausani, in *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 28-9).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources already mentioned, see above all the *Udi-djâyn*, comm. 189-243, 335-6; M. Reinard, *Introductio generalis à la géographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, pp. 638-39; Bâltînî, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Naâhino, Milan 1899-1900, passim; art. *ugglewâra*.

(Ch. Pellat)

**KUBBAT AL-HAWâ** "the Dome of the Winds", a popular appellation for isolated monasteries situated on rocky spurs, for example, the (undated) domed tomb of a Sâhabî on the west bank of the Nile (cf. M. de Muray, *‘Handbook for travellers in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 9th edition, ed. Mary Brodick, London 1896, 920) above Aswân. This presumably postdates the destruction of an adjacent Coptic monastery, attested by a graffito, in Shams al-Dawla’s Nubian expedition of 1173, though the monasteries of the area, to judge from desecratory Muslim visitation inscriptions in Arabic dated, *inter alia*, 894/1294-5, in the neighbouring monastery of *St. Simon* (not mentioned in U. Monneret de Villard, *Description générale du monastère de Ste. Simon à Assûn*, Milan 1927), survived for a further century or more.

The most celebrated edifice of the name no longer exists. This is recorded by al-Khûndî (Nâdirî Mîrîr, *Gest*, 147, li. 14-15; cf. al-Makîrî, *Khâtâf*, ii, 1853, 201, li. 21; 202, li. 3-32) as a palace built by Hîthâm b. Hârîm, governor of Egypt in 604/609-10 on a spur of the Mukaﬁm hills. This was deliberately destroyed on the fall of the Fatimid dynasty and no trace of it exists. The exact site has been disputed, but its total disappearance makes it more probable that it was on the site later occupied by the Ayyûbîd Citadel of Cairo (K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 6, and references) than higher on the Mukaﬁm hills in the neighbourhood of the Fâtîmid ma’sâhid, generally known as the Masjih al-Dîwâni. The site of this Kubbat al-Hawâ was subsequently converted into a cemetery, and various mosques, which have equally disappeared without trace, were erected there (P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* [= MMABC VI], Paris 1894, 586).}

Though the possibility that the Cairene Kubbat al-Hawâ may be identified with the presumed Fâtîmid observatory on the Mukaﬁm hills must be
discounted (cf. A. Sayih, The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory, Ankara 1960, 130-58), the sense of the term *Kubbat al-Hawā* suggests the persistence into Islamic tradition of some reminiscence of the Athenian Tower of the Winds, described as an *horologium* by Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.5.17) and dated accordingly pre-32 B.C., but also representing the winds on its eight facets (H. S. Robinson, *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman market place*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvi [1914], 291-305; J. V. Noble and J. J. de Solla Price, *The water clock in the Tower of the Winds*, in *ibid.*, ii [1968], 34-55). The term *Kubbat al-Hawā* may have been taken over from this structure associated with time-keeping or meteorology, though the evidence for this in the standard authorities is lacking. The reasons, incidentally, for the use, in the 18th century A.D., of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as a *sacri-lībāh* of the Kordīr dervishes (Hasslick, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1928, i, 12 et passim) have still to be elucidated.

**Bibliography:** given in the article.

(J. M. Rogers)

**KUBBAT al-SĀHRA, the Dome of the Rock,** at times called the Mosque of ‘Umar, is the oldest remaining monument of Islamic architecture, and probably the first conscious work of art of Islamic civilization.

**Location and description.** The Dome of the Rock is located on an artificial platform, roughly but not exactly in the centre of the Haram al-Sharif (q.v.) in Jerusalem. The shape and emplacement of the platform were probably determined by the ruined state of the old Jewish Temple area, together with whatever Roman constructions may have been left; it is also possible that there were pious and historical or legendary associations with parts of this area of the Haram, but these are difficult to demonstrate (see below).

A celebrated inscription, in which al-Mahmūn replaced ‘Abd al-Malik’s name with his own, dates the construction of the Dome (*kubha* in the inscription) to 72/691-2. It has been superbly described in all details by K. A. C. Creswell, and recent repairs have only confirmed most of his reconstruction of the original monument. It consists of a dome (20.44 m. in diameter and 30 m. in height) surrounded by two octagonal ambulatories, each side of the outer one being around 20.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns; the dome was set on a high drum being around 20.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns; the dome was set on a high drum (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory’s roof were visible, since painted ones may thus have been an Islamic form). The second characteristic is that, from the point of view of its plan and composition, the Dome of the Rock belongs to a high tradition of Byzantine architecture represented by monuments found in Ravenna, Syria (St. Sixton, Bosra), and Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Ascension). It is almost certain that its builders and planners were Christians from Syria or Palestine.

The Dome of the Rock was lavishly decorated with marble, mosaics, and gilt bronze plaques. The cupola was gilded on the outside and the outer walls were in large part covered with mosaics. Most of the exterior decoration has disappeared, but, in spite of numerous restorations, the interior still approximates to its original appearance of a glittering sheathing of mosaics. Almost every part of the walls was covered with vegetal and geometric designs, and these included the very unusual motif of royal crowns and jewels. A fairly complete description of all these themes has been provided by Marguerite van Brechem in *Creswell’s Early Muslim architecture*. Although there is some debate about the origins of the mosaicists (Syrian or Byzantine), there is little disagreement about the stylistic origins of the decoration. Most of it derives from the mosaics of late Antiquity and early Byzantine art, but there are also definite Iranian elements. Together with the important absence of any figural representations, this mixture of sources indicates that a conscious new Muslim taste affected the decoration of the Dome of the Rock far more than its architecture. We shall return later to the interpretation which could be given to these mosaics, since it is closely related to the problem of the meaning of the whole monument.

As we shall see, a key document for whatever interpretation is given lies in the long inscription in gold mosaic cubes which runs along both sides of the octagonal arcades. In addition to providing the date of the building, this inscription contains numerous **Kur’anic** passages which range from statements of the faith of Islam (**CXLII, XXIII, 54, XVII, XXI, etc.**) to the major **Christological** passages in the Holy Book (especially iv, 159-71 and xix, 34-7). These are our earliest dated fragments from the Kur’ān, and C. Ressas has shown recently that many letters were already provided with clear diacritical marks (see *Bibl.*).

Although the Dome of the Rock has been amazingly well preserved, it was affected by many alterations and repairs over the centuries. The exact chronology of all these changes is difficult to establish. The cupola was redone in Fatimid times and under the Ottomans; the roof of the octagon was repaired in Abbāsid times; and their ceilings transformed under the Mamlūks. These changes added a horoscope to the screen around the Rock, which has now been removed, but it was the Ottomans who in the 16th/17th century covered the building’s exterior walls with some of the best-known examples of Turkish ceramics. Between 1956 and 1964 a Restoration Committee under the leadership of Egyptian and Jordanian architects and authorities undertook a complete restoration of the monument. Some part, such as the dome, was totally redone, others, the mosaic for instance, cleaned and repaired. The guiding principle of this work was to put every part of the building back in its earliest documented shape. Although future research may quibble at some of the decisions taken (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory’s roof were visible, since painted ones were found there), it has been one of the most successful jobs of restoration known anywhere, and it is hoped that a carefully-kept record will soon be published.

**Significance.** The Dome of the Rock has excited more scholarly concern than any other Islamic monument, and this for several reasons. It is a unique building which was rarely copied for its shape (a few later mausoleums like the Sulaybīya in Sāmarrā or Kāflān’s tomb in Cairo may have used it as a model), and never for its functions. It does not fit into any architectural series. Also it is located on the site of the Jewah Temple, in the holy city of
Christianity, without showing obvious traces of impact from the two older monotheistic faiths. It does not look like a mosque, and the Al-Aqsa nearby fulfilled the congregational needs of the Muslim community. Finally, literary sources on the Dome of the Rock are confused and contradictory, even though the inscription on the building indicates that it was a major effort of the Umayyad dynasty.

The many explanations which exist can be divided into three broad groups. The first one is the traditional pious Muslim view, which interprets the Rock as the place whence the Prophet went on his celebrated Journey into Heaven (mi'raj). That such became eventually the holy meaning of the Dome of the Rock is undisputable, since the whole Haram became the Masjid al-Aqsa of Kur'an, XVII, 1. But, while the association between the Rock and the Prophet's Journey may have been made quite early, there is no trace of it in the most authentic document about the monument, sc. its long inscription.

The second explanation is specifically historical, and goes back to a passage from al-Ya'qubi. This explanation holds that, during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Ka'ba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Caskel revised the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a building was constructed at the time. The necessary conditions could be altered. Furthermore, al-Ya'qubi was a violently anti-Umayyad polemist, whose interpretations are open to criticism.

The third explanation is cultural-historical. Starting with the evidence of the inscriptions and of the mosaics, it proposes to see in the Dome of the Rock a monument proclaiming the new faith and empire in the city of the older two religions. It sanctified anew a Jewish sanctuary and slowly incorporated within itself the memories of Abraham, Joseph, among others. It set up the crowns of the Rock, sacred in Jewish tradition, and went back to a passage from al-Ya'qubi. This explanation holds that, during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Ka'ba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Caskel revised the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a building was constructed at the time. The necessary conditions could be altered. Furthermore, al-Ya'qubi was a violently anti-Umayyad polemist, whose interpretations are open to criticism.

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be paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghiyath, who abolished it (Rashid al-Din, Ge-
schichte Gsch-Din's, ed. Jahn, 300). The sources consequently sometimes use the term šibb-i
manāḏiş for the animal-levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, Mongolian
tributary practices of the thirteenth century, in
HJAS, xiv (1956), 304-85; J. M. Smith, Jr., Mongol and nomadic taxation, in HJAS, xxv (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrashewsky, Zemlede i agrarnaja äYeslovost', i. 17. XIV-XVI I.,
Moscow-Leningrad 1926-9, 560-9; G. Dozy, Tür-
kische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersi-
ischen, i, Wiesbaden 1965, 387-91; and see for
this tax in Persia, KHAERIJA, 2. Persia.

KUBILAY, Mongol Great Khan (1260-94), the
brother and successor of Mongke [q.v.], was born in
1215. In 1251 Mongke entrusted him with the ad-
ministration of Northern China, and he took part
in the subsequent war which his brother launched
against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest
of the Sung was finally completed only during his
own reign (1259), when the whole of China was again
united under one ruler for the first time since the
ten century. Already in 1260 he had transferred
the capital of the Empire from Karakorum [q.v.] to
Peking, in Mongol Khán-Bâlgh [q.v., i.e. "Khâns
Town", and in 1272 he proclaimed the foundation of
the Yuan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese
Official Dynasties. His right to the Khânate was at
first disputed by his younger brother Arghun, who
who perhaps had the stronger claim, and who finally
succeeded only in 1264; the struggle was then taken
up by Kaydu [q.v.], who remained a thorn in Kubil-
lay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was
Kubilay more successful in his campaigns against the
Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to
gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he
encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Budhism, but, like most of the Great Khans, was favourably
persuaded to abandon his concern with the exter-
nal religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Śīff path. He then spent some
time in the company of two other preceptors, 'Amânâr b. Yâsir al-Didllis and Ismâl al-Kasîr, from
both of whom he received the ritual kẖîra, before returning to the Shaykh-Abd Allah in Egypt. By
then, Râshîbân evidently regarded Kubrâ as fully
mature, for in about 1340/1345 he sent him back to
Khârazm with full authority to train and initiate
disciples. Kubrâ swiftly gathered a large following,
including a remarkable number of individuals who
attained prominence in their own right as gnostics
and writers on Sîfism; he is, in fact, frequently
designated as sîfis-šâhâs, the "manufacturer of
saints". Among his foremost disciples were Ma'dîd
al-Dîn Baghâlî (d. 616/1219), Nâdir al-Dîn Dîvy Râzî (d. 643/1246; author of the celebrated Sîfî
compendium Murûdî al-fâlîth, ed. Amin Râyîh,
Tehran 1352/1972; Eng. tr. Hamîd Alûgar, The path
of God's bondsman from origin to return, forthcoming);
Sa'd al-Dîn Hâmûyâ (d. 650/1252), Bâbâ Kamâl
Djândjî, Sâyî al-Dîn Bâkhrâyî (d. 653/1256; ed. Sa'd
Nâfi'î, Sâyî al-Dîn Bâkhrâyî, in Madjâla-y Dânînâ-
kada i Abây-yâllâm, ii/4 [Târîx 1314/1955], 1-15;
and Târîx al'âzâr, Sargunbâghî i Sâyî al-Dîn Bâkhrâyî,
Tehran 1341/1962), and Râzî al-Dîn 'Âlî Lâû (d.
642/1244). Kubrâ died during the Mongol conquest
of Khârazm in 647/1250; according to the traditional
accounts, he refused an invitation by the
Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded
with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at
the head of a band of followers while engaged in
hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been
buried at the site of his kẖânâbakh outside the city,
and his tomb, located in what subsequently became
known as Kâhû (see KAHû), became a centre of pious
veneration, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, Relikti
domusul'manskekh vernovani i obradyv v Uzbek
Khoremâ, Moscow 1959, 260, 433).

Kubrâ left behind a number of brief but important
works dominated by a concern with the analysis of
the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for
example, the various significances of dreams and
visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are
manifested to the mystic; the different classes of
concept and image that engage his atten-

Kubrâ also embarked on a Sîfî commentary on the
Kûrâân in which he was able to complete but was
continued after his death first by his murîd Nâdir
al-Dîn Râzî and then by another Kubrâi, 'Âlî
al-Dîn Simand (cf. H. Corbin, En Islam iranien,
Paris 1972, iii, 127-4, 276 n. 90, and Sîleyman Atef,
Ipar Türkî oãhos, Ankara 1974, 125-60).
The line of Kubra was perpetuated by several of his disciples. Sayf al-Din Bahkazari established a well-endowed Mahabadi in Bukhara. Wakh documents relating to the khanabad have been published by C. D. C. Eickhoff, Europaische dokumente XIV u., Tashkent 1965; it was there that Berke Khan, fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, proclaimed his acceptance of Islam (J. Richard, La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'Islamisation de la Horde d'Or, in REI, xxxv [1967], 173-9). Sadr al-Din Samarkand, a murid of Bahkazari, travelled to India and established there a branch of the Kubrawiya that came to be known as the Firдавсиyya; its most important figure was Ahmad Yabja Maneri (d. 727/1327), author of widely-read Maktabat (publ. Lucknow 1921). Sa'd al-Din Hamaya established a khanabad at Bahshabad in Khurasan, the direction of which was assumed by his son, Sadr al-Din Ibrahim, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of Shhak Khan, the Ikhshid ruler of Iran (cf. Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah, Tavrib-i Mubarak-i Ghomai, ed. K. John, London 1940, 76-80). Another murid of Sa'd al-Din Hamaya was Faizi al-Din Nasafi (d. 661/1264), author of several important treatises (published by Nok under the title Khdli al-Tawil al-mamii, Tehran, and Paris 1942).

The most long-lived and prolific initiate line deriving from Nadim al-Din Kubra was probably that descending by way of Radl al-Din 'Ali Lldi and two further links of the chain to 'Ali al-Dawla Simman. Simman further elaborated the analysis of the liqaf and also formulated a critique of Ibn 'Arab's doctrine of ma'qul al-wujud that was to have much influence on Indian Naqshbandi circles (see H. Landolt's introduction to his edition of Shhakhd) and also put forward the theoretical posit of the Kubrawiya in its Central Asia and Turkestan (ed. G. Buxhori, Tashkent 1955, ii, 327-8); and at some point the Kubrawiya spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China (cf. Muhammad Tewa'du, al-islam wu 'l-Shi'a, Cairo 1360/1945, 112). Finally, there are traces of the Kubrawiya in Turkey—a Kubrawiya Shuhayd by the name of Mustafa Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Istanbul (Aytvansar'ai, Hadad al-jamaliyeh, Istanbul 1285/1861, ii, 201)—but no lasting imprint of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or the Arab lands. Only a nominal trace of the Kubrawiya in Iran remains a Western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations professed by Naqshbandis of the Mudjaddidi-Khul'fi lines (cf. Muhammad As'di al-Irsh, al-Jesala al-'as'adiyya fi l-irshdi al-islami, Istanbul 1343/1924, 29).

Bibliography: (in addition to that contained in the text): Meier's introduction to his edition of the Fawr al-djalall contains a comprehensive listing of all sources on the life and work of Kubra. See also Kami al-Din al-Harizi, Thibb al-isa al-khakani, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Suleymaniye) 430, iii, ff. 196-244; Mde, Le Kubrawiya entre Sufisme et Shtisme aux huitièmes et neufièmes siècles de l'Istaire, in REI, xxxx (1961), 61-142 (a pioneering study, despite excessive emphasis on allegedly protos-Sht elements in the early Kubrawiya); cf. Algar, Some observations on religion in Safavid Persia, in Iranistan Studies, viii/1-2 [winter-spring 1974], 289-90); Ye. E. Berti's, Cetuvardagh Shtski khanad al-Dina Kubra, in Sufism u sufiiskaya literatura, Moscow 1965, 348-8; Corbin, L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien, Paris 1972, 93-146; J. S. Trimmingham, The Sufi orders in Islam, Oxford 1977, 55-8.

(H. Alcar)

KUBRUS, modern Turkish Kbrus, Greek Kpras (etymologically derived probably from the word for "copper"), in western languages Cyprus, is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a surface area of 9,251 km². The nearest distance to the mainland is from Cape Kormakiti in the north to Anama on the southern coast of Turkey, 72 km. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpdr rising to 1,019 m. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpdr rising to 1,019 m. The altitude in the north, and Troodos rising up to 1,952 m. in the south-west. In between lies a plain, the Messoria (Turkish Mesarya, Mesalaya), which supports most of the island's agriculture, although its rainfall is meagre and the percentage of irrigated land is not large. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy. Copper has been mined since before 3,500 B.C., but its known veins, like those of other minerals (iron pyrites), are near exhaustion. Non-metal minerals are available in exportable quantities, e.g. asbestos. Refining of salt is still revenue-producing; it is being extracted from coastal salt lakes in the low lands near Limassol and Larnaca (old names Las Salines, Turia). The geopolitical situation of Cyprus within the spheres of the ancient civilizations of the Near East explains why the island has always played a certain
role in history, although its importance has sometimes been overrated. Lying on the main sea routes of the Levant, within striking distance of the mainland, the island has always been in a dependent position to any of the surrounding big powers; political independence has rarely been attained (see below, Lusignan period).

1. Byzantium and Islam (628-1292)

Cyprus' history in antiquity will not be dealt with here. When the expansion of Islam began, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantia, ancient Salamis. Since 431 (Council of Ephesus) the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous under an archbishop who ranks immediately behind the four great patriarchs. The church has moulded the island into a social, religious and cultural unit. The old and strong links between clergy and people have created a sense of social solidarity, which has remained characteristic for the history of the Orthodox Greek population of the island during the succession periods of foreign dominations. Cyprus' important cities at this time were: Salamis-Constantia, Citium (near Larnaca), Curium (near Episkopi), Tamasus (= Nea Paphos), Neapolis (= Limassol), Amathus, Arsinou (Marium) (= Chrysochou), Lapithos, Karpassia (Near Rhio karpasso), Contrily (= Kykkos), Tremithus, Soli, Kerynia and Ledrak-Leukadia (= Nicolia).

It was after the reign of Heraclius (610-41) that Cyprus began to be invaded by the Arabs. According to a Greek writer, a raiding party under the caliph Abu Bakr appeared on the island in 632, which is not very probable. In 637 (648, 649?) Mu'awiyah, governor of Syria, organised an expedition against the island, which was in fact the first large-scale maritime enterprise of the Arabs in the Mediterranean (cf. Baladhuri, tr. Hitti, i, 233 ff., 431 f.). His fleet of 17,000 sail, commanded by 'Abd Allah b. Kays, landed the Arab forces at Constantia. The city was besieged, surrendered and sacked. The whole island was overrun. Cyprus was compelled to pay a tribute of 7,000-7,200 goldpieces, to be paid annually to the governor at Damascus, a sum equal to the is¬

2. Byzantium and Islam (628-1292)

The peace treaty concluded between Constantine IV and Abd al-Malik in 685 and renewed in 688-9 with Justinian II provided for the division of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia and Cyprus. The last-mentioned emperor decided to transplant the Orthodox population of Cyprus to the south coast of the sea of Marmara near ancient Cyzicus, where the city of Nova Justiniana (Justinianapolis) was founded for the archbishop of Cyprus and his flock. (This town's name still figures in the title of the head of the church of Cyprus. This exile of the Cypriots lasted till 698, when the island became resettled by its old inhabitants, and also by those who had gone to

Muslim Syria). For two-and-a-half centuries longer, there persisted the intermediate status of Cyprus between the Roman Emperor and the caliph. The island was normally used as a base for Arab maritime actions against Asia Minor.

In 747 a fleet from Alexandria was destroyed by a Byzantine force commanded by the admiral of the Ghyreraiote Theme. Raids and attacks followed each other in 772, 790 and 866 under command of the Abassid governor in Syria, Humaṭ. The island nevertheless remained a part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Emperor Basil II (867-86) reorganised its administration temporarily into a theme, the general Alexius being governor. The tribute to the caliph was continued (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Thematibus, Bonn ed., 40). Cyprus served as a base during the campaign of Himeras against the Arabs in Crete [see 915, 916] in 902. In 911-12 an Arab force under Dimyana occupied the island for four months. Byzantine authority was restored after the recovery of Crete in 963. After ca. 983, Cyprus was hardly ever more troubled by Arab invasions, and was able to restore its economy. Evidence for the island's renewed florescence is the new foundation of many of the old cities, sites on the sea coast being abandoned. In 1060-3 and in 1094-9 against the Emperor Alexius Comnenus occurred.

Towards the end of that century, Cyprus became a base for operations of Byzantine land and sea forces, sometimes in combination with those of the Crusaders (in particular, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, and his successors at Tripoli). Scanty evidence for the interior history of Cyprus in this period points to maladministration and the economic draining of the island's resources by the Byzantine government. The source of Nicolas Monzaon, one-time archbishop of Cyprus, must, however, be considered suspect because of prejudice against the emperor. The first half of the 12th century left Cyprus in peace. Pilgrim traffic passed through it as usual, and relations with Muslim powers were correct. The amir of Beirut and many inhabitants of that city found refuge on Cyprus when Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, captured it on 15 May 1120. The first Maronites probably settled on the island around this time. Inhabitants of Tell Hamdān in Little Armenia were removed to Cyprus by the Emperor John II Comnenus (Caloióannes) (Ibn al-Kaláníš, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, The Damascenes chronicle of the Crusades, London 1932, 241). In 1148 Manuel Comnenus extended the commercial privileges of the Venetians to Crete and Cyprus. This marked the beginning of the Latin penetration.

In 1153 or 1156 the Crusader Renaud of Châtillon, in co-operation with Thébaud II (1145-68) of Little Armenia (Armeno-Cilicia), launched an expedition against Cyprus and put the Byzantine authorities of the Duke John Comnenus out of action. Cyprus suffered badly, and had to pay ransom for hostages from among principal members of the clergy and the lay population.

In 1553/1558 a fleet from Egypt raided Cyprus, and in 1561 pirates equipped by Raymond III of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, raided Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. The last period of Byzantine dominion over Cyprus was the rule of Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the self-styled Emperor of Cyprus from 1185 to 1191, who was able with support of the Norman King William II to defeat an expedition sent by the Emperor Isaac II Angelus against him and to rule till he was dethroned by Richard the Lion Heart in 1191.
King Richard's fleet ran into heavy weather on its way to the Holy Land. The ship carrying his sister Joanna and his bride Berengaria, daughter of a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after force on Cyprus. Having been joined by Crusader lords from Syria, among whom were Guy de Lusignan, a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after failure of a peaceful settlement, opened war against Isaac and defeated his forces. Isaac surrendered at the end of May 1191. The people of Cyprus delivered half of their possessions to the King of England, who confirmed the laws and institutions as granted to Cyprus by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. Frankish garrisons took the place of the Greek ones, and two English gentlemen were appointed as justices and sheriffs to administer the island. It was to serve as the base to provision the Crusaders in Syria, and the island became essential for the operations of the Franks in the Holy Land during the next century, after Saladin had almost destroyed the Latin's position there at Hattin (1187).

2. The Frankish period (1192-1291)

(a) The rule of the House of Lusignan (1192-1489).—The King of England sold the island in July 1191 to the Knights of the Temple. During their rule, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed at great cost. In May 1192 King Richard resold Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, husband to the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem. The Byzantine Emperor could only raise a protest on the diplomatic level.

Aimery de Lusignan succeeded his brother as lord of Cyprus (1192-1209). He continued the feudal organisation, granting fiefs to many Latin nobles and founding an extensive private domain. The state acquired its administrative institutions, and the castles of St. Hilarion ("Dieu d'amour"), Kyrenia (Cérines) and Buffavento were built. By Papal bulls of 20 February and 13 December 1196 a Latin hierarchy was installed under the archdiocese of Nicosia, with three suffragans, as a parallel to the Latin feudal institution. In 1197 Aimery acquired the title of King, holding his dominion from the Emperor Henry VI with Papal assent. In the same year, the Syrian Crusader barons elected him King of Jerusalem in Acre. This personal union was restored under King Hugh III (1207-84) of Lusignan in 1259, to remain as a honofrific title of the Kings of Cyprus after 1270. A third royal title was collected by the Lusignans, that of Armenia in 1388—again an empty title without land.

The new kingdom kept the peace with the Muslim powers in Syria till the 5th Crusade (1228-9). The Cypriots also participated in the expedition to Damietta of 1219-21. During the Seventh Crusade, the King of France, St. Louis, used the island as his support base in the campaign against Egypt, when Damietta was again taken in 1249, and both Kings entered the town triumphantly together. The Kings of Cyprus remained involved in the Crusaders' wars till the end. In 1269 Hugh III became King of Jerusalem, but could not establish his authority over the unruly Crusader barons of Syria, Cyprus and the maritime republics of Italy. He withdrew from Acre in 1270, and when that town fell to the Mamelukes in 1291, Cyprus became the last refuge for the Christians fleeing from Syria. This new position in the Levant was of advantage to Cyprus.

The 14th century was the great period of the king-
In October 1365 Alexandria was temporarily occupied, but the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa stopped any further confrontation with Man- lith power. These two merchant republics were to dominate Cyprus's politics in the last century of its independent existence. At first, it was Genoa which gained the upper hand in the competition with Venice. In 1372 the Genoese Podestà (in Famagusta) defeated the Venetian Bailo, whose party received support from the Greek Cypriots. A Genoese force invaded Famagusta and Nicosia. In October 1374, a treaty was concluded which assured Genoa complete economic hegemony on Cyprus for 90 years. The Maona Cypri was the private mercantile organisation of Genoese bankers established at Famagusta. The King of Cyprus had to cede the town as a guarantee for the payment of reparations amounting to 2,146,400 florins and the yearly tribute to Genoa of 40,000 florins.

The next blow to Cyprus's independence was an invasion by the Mamlik Sultan Barabiy [g.r.]. On 7 July 1426, King James (1398-1432) and his army were defeated near Khiroclita, and Nicosia was plundered. The King was set free on the condition of becoming a vassal, paying 200,000 florins' ransom and a yearly tribute of 8,000 florins. After this invasion, the island's economy began to decline. Social unrest within the Greek population worsened the situation. In 1448 Goshigos fell under control of the Karamun amrate [see KARAMAN-OGULLARI]. Cyprus lost her last continental interest.

When in 1458 Charlotte, the daughter of King John II, came to the throne, her half-brother James the Bastard (1440-73) disputed the succession. He applied to the Mamlik sultan for support. In 1460, with the aid of Mamlik auxiliaries, James II defeated the legitimist opposition and took the last stronghold of the Queen, Kyrenia, and the Genoese held Famagusta in 1461. To defend himself against a Genoese counter-attack, James II enlisted Venice as an ally, and chose a Venetian subject, Caterina Cenaro (d. 1510) as his Queen in 1472 after his death (1473). She was to rule as the last monarch of independent Cyprus till 1489. During her reign Venice installed a virtual protectorate. A Genoese garrison and two Venetian counsellors to the Queen were not considered enough by the Venetian government to safeguard the island from the Ottoman Turks' expansion. In 1488 an Ottoman fleet appeared before Fama- gusta. On 26 February 1489, Queen Caterina abdi- cated in Famagusta, and the Venetian Capitàn Generale da Mar, Francesco Priuli, took over the government of the island.

Thus it was Christian Venice that ended the last of the Crusader states in the East. The Signory of Venice duly notified and offered justification of the take-over to the Sultan Kâzî Bây [g.r.]. On 7 July 1458, the envoy carried with him presents and 16,000 ducats, being the tribute for 2 years. The Sultan therupon agreed to the transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus to Venice (February 1490).

(b) Venetian rule (1489-1571). — With the acquisition of Cyprus, the commercial "colonial" empire of Venice reached its greatest dimensions. The new possession was reorganised. The centralised government, the Rettori, consisted of the Luogotenente and two counsellors. Venetian nobles elected for a two years' tenure, controlled the finances and administration, and resided at Nicosia. A quadrennial census was instituted, the first reliable population data of Cyprus's history. The governor of Famagusta, the Capitàn del Regno di Ciprd, acted as commander-in-chief of the army and the fortresses in peace-time, and had a share in the civil administration. In time of war or menace, a provost-general was elected for two years to command. From the period of the Lusignan rule, two offices were retained only, the viscounties of Famagusta and Nicosia being reserved for Cypriots. A Great Council replaced the Haute Cour, and did not leave any real power to the Frankish baronage, now a commingling of military adventurers from all over the Mediterranean world.

On the whole, Venetian administration was inefficient and corrupt. It estranged the local Latin ruling class and did not manage to gain the loyalty of the Greek population. The island remained a colony and a military base only for the Venetians, and one inadequately manned at that. The economy continued its decline, aggravated by natural disasters in the course of the century. The burden of the tribute to the Mamlik sultans remained till 1517, when it became payable to the Ottoman sultan at Istanbul. The monopolistic exploitation of the island's resources did not encourage local enterprise. Apart from salt and grain, cotton, cultivated since the early 14th century, became the major source of revenue, replacing sugar cane. Various forms of taxation pressed hard upon the labouring population. A conspiracy against Venice in 1562, led by a Greek, one Jacob Diasorin, was suppressed. Its dangerous aspect was that the rebels had made contact with the Ottomans. The Venetians now modernised the island's defences, and three fortresses, those of Kyrenia, Nicosia and Famagusta, were to be the sole defensible places; old fortifications like St. Hilarion, Duffavento and Kantara were dismantled by 1567.

The Ottoman threat hovered over Cyprus during the rule of Venice, and in the years following the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1540 (cf. texts ed. by Bonelli, Lehmann and Bombaci), pressure increased. The admiral Phyle Pasha promoted the continuation of a naval policy aimed at annexing the Latin-held islands in the Levant seas on the routes of Ottoman communications: Chios and Cyprus, the principal among them, were both already tributary to the Porte. In the end, the pro-Venetian peace party at the Porte, Sokollu Melhem Pasha's, gave in to the war party, and the attack on Cyprus was decided for the early spring 1570. Joseph Nasi, alias Don Juan Micas, seems to have been implicated here.

Selim II (1566-74) issued his orders for war in 1568. A fezda by the sheykh ül-Islam provided a justification for breaking the peace (cf. text in J.E.S. [B.], 1, 365-7, tr. in d'Ohsson, Tableau, vol. 2. 1814, p. 73 f. = GUR, III, 366 f.). Preparations continued during 1569. On 28 March 1570 the Ottoman envoy Kubîb formally bade to the Senate and the Doge Sultan Selim II's demand for the cession of Cyprus, which was refused. In the meantime, Lala Mustafa Pasha, the fifth vizier [g.r.], was appointed seeder, and Phyle Pasha, the third vizier [g.r.], was made commander of a fleet of 80 galleys and 30 galliots, followed by 'Ali Pasha with troops, munitions and materials for the land campaign.

On 3 July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared before Larnaca (Les Salines). A Holy League created by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice failed to organise a timely counterattack. The Venetian commander, the Luogotenente Nicolò Dundolo, had to limit himself to the defence of the fortress towns. On 25 July 1570 the siege of Nicosia began, and ended on 9 September when the city was taken by storm. Kyrenia capit- ulated without a fight 5 days later. The population
in cash. In practice as well. From 45 to 67% of taxes were paid in kind, as elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces; djīya and iṣpandī [q.v.], were paid in cash.

A squadron of galleys was stationed at Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman troops garrisoned on the island numbered 3,779 including 1,900 Janissaries, estimated in Nicosia, Limassol, Paphos, Famagusta and Kyrenia. A great number of Anatolian Turks from the regions of Konya, Karaman, Iğdır, Isparta, Antalya, Menteş and Dehli were settled on the island as so-called sūrgūl [cf. Barkan, in İFM, xi (1949-50), xv (1955), forımān of Djumādā I 980/1 September 1572 to the Kādī of Karaman, Anadolu and Djūsādariyye; see Muḥi'mān dextār, 19, pp. 334-2, no. 669, publ. in ibid., 525-3]. In total, 186 families immigrated by 1572, mainly farmers. In 1581 8,000 families were registered as immigrants (MD 43, cf. C. Orhonlu, art. in Kibris tarihleri kongresi [see Bibl.], 39-195). Conversion of Latin and Greek Christians added little to the number of Muslim 'Turkish' population, amounting to only about 400.

A major contribution to the welfare of the native Greek population was the Ottoman decision to abolish the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to restore the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under its archbishop. This prelate was made representative of his community vis-à-vis the Ottoman government as the Ethnarch or head of the Greek community. It meant an increasing degree of autonomy for the Orthodox Greek population under its own chosen leaders, and the relatively unhampered development of its own cultural tradition into modern times. This privileged status of the Greek population, together with the new dominating but smaller group of Turkish Muslims on Cyprus, was to form the basic situation of the Cypriots down to modern times. The Latin element entirely lost its former status. It survived only in small numbers, profiting from diplomatic protection within the framework of the Capitulations system [see tavrīyāz].

Ottoman possession of the island was not seriously threatened after 1571. The Grand Duke of Tuscany organised a raid on Famagusta in 1607 at the time of his grand oriental scheme involving Fakhr al-Dīn, amīr of the Druzes, and the rebel Djiḥamūlī ʿAli Pāșa [q.v.]. The Veneto-Ottoman war of Candia (1645-9) did not have any great effect on Cyprus. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cyprus was still an important centre of Levant trade, cotton and salt being valuable commodities. Consuls of Venice, France, of the Dutch Republic (since 1673), and of England resided at Limassol, the last being the statutory (sehole [q.v. in Suppl.]) of the island. The consuls and their national groups of foreign residents sometimes played an important political as well as a commercial role on the island, especially in times of rebellion.

The importance of Cyprus decreased after the conquest of Crete was completed in 1669. At that time, the beglerbegī was incorporated into the province of the Kapudān Pāshā, who sent a deputy-governor, the müstifim. The role of the Orthodox hierarchy in the administration increased at the same time. Strife among the Ottoman notables of Nicosia led to armed conflict, which in its turn caused the Porte to interfere by sending troops repeatedly. Çufutoglu Ahmed Pâşâ at last succeeded in defeating the rebels and executing their leader Muḥimed Ağa in ca. 1700. In 1703 Cyprus was transformed into a hikâs of the Grand Vizier. The government was now exercised by a muḥāṣṣil (takṣīṣāt) in the name of the latter, who was a farmer of taxes at the same time. The frequent change of these functionaries, as elsewhere, led to overburdening by taxation. In 1745 Cyprus once more
again became an independent province under its own pasa for a few years. Abu Bekir Pasha (1746-8) exercised his charge satisfactorily, bequeathing to the island an aqueduct serving Larnaca, the harbour and passing ships (vakifyya of 12 Rabii 1 1161/12 March 1774, in Lycia, Cyprus, 60-74).

In 1754 a bifl-s hamayt was issued at the request of the archbishop and suffragans to fix the amount of the kharadji together with the mit/iaffU and nazîl taxes at 214 piasters per head on 10,006 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of kâdhâbah (Gr. demogenor), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population. In 1764 Cil Cctmân Agha, mukaffâl of the Grand Vizier and a miletusin, doubled the kharadji on Christians and Muslims alike, who rose in revolt and killed him. The revolt lasted till August 1765. Cyprus suffered the depredations of the Russian fleet after the destruction of the Ottoman one (Chesme 3-7 July 1770) till 1774. From 1777 to 1783 Elâhîddî Abu 'l-Dâkî Agha was mukaffâl. By this time, the actual administration and levying of taxes was shared between the Ottoman administrator and the Archbishops and bishops, who employed the Greek administration and levying of taxes at 214 piasters per head on 10,006 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of kâdhâbah (Gr. demogenor), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population.

In 1770-1774 to 1783 'Abd al-Mu'min was in office. In 1780 a revolt of the Turkish troops broke out against the Archbishop and the dragman Hâdimî Georgiakos (executed in 1809), and this lasted till 1805. The Greek Cypriots contributed little to the Greek War of Independence (1821-2). The little involvement there was (1821) gave the mislumîn the pretext for, firstly, a general disarmament of all Christians. Then the leading personalities were arrested and put to death in July 1821, among them the Archbishop Kyprianos (1790-2) and three bishops. After the massacre there followed a partial confiscation of the possessions of the victims and of the churches and monasteries on the islands, although much was restored later. The Christians living within the fortresses of Nicosia, Famagusta and other towns were ordered to remove themselves to the outside, a situation which has remained. The archbishops never recovered their powerful pre-1821 position. The Greek Kingdom was recognised by the Porte in 1829, and this caused the beginning of nationalist aspirations of enosis amongst the Greek Cypriots. The overtaxation of the island's resources continued to frustrate a fundamental improvement of its economy, and revolts by both groups of the population occurred in 1833.

In 1838 the era of the Tursmîdi [q.v.] set in. By 1849 Cyprus was reformed as a sângat of the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea, Djezd-Pir-i babr-i sefid [q.v.] and administuted by a mislumîf, assisted by a mislumîf council where Christians and Muslims were represented. Governors followed each other in quick succession. In 1861 Cyprus became an independent sângat (Hill, IV, 230). The second largest decree of 1856 was applied in Cyprus, and the effects of reform were becoming noticeable during the last decades of the Ottoman administration (1856-78), when courts came into being. The population increased from ca. 160,000 in 1840 to 200,000 in 1862. The island's economy progressed moderately, and Larnaca remained the principal port. The administrative status of Cyprus was however reduced again in 1866 to a sângat in the wilâyet of the Islands, but restored in 1870.


A few days before the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain concluded with Sultan 'Abd ul-Hamîd II [q.v.] a secret Convention of Defensive Alliance in which she promised help to defend his empire against Russian encroachment. The sultan ceded Cyprus for occupation and administration as a “place d'armes”. In an annexe of 1 July 1876 it was provided that the annual surplus revenue of Cyprus, assessed from the average of the previous 5 years, was to continue to be paid to the Sultan. The sailing 'tribute' in fact never reached the Sultan, but was diverted to the creditors of the Ottoman Debt instead, and this arrangement remained in force till Sir Ronald Storrs's administration in 1927. The Sultan retained his sovereign rights to the island and continued appointing its mukffî and kâdhâb. This status gave little incentive to the British government to develop Cyprus, but elementary reforms and ameliorations were effected. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Great Britain annexed the island. A representative régime was instituted (1922), with a council of 18 members, comprising 9 Greeks, 3 Turks and 6 British officials. Any proposal for union with Greece, enosis, could thus be deadlocked by the Turco-British bloc. The repeated refusal of Greece to accept the partition between the Greek and the British part in the Peace of Lausanne (1923), Turkey formally renounced all claims to Cyprus, in 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony.

A small number of Turks, however, opted for the Turkish nationality and left. The first great conflict between Greeks and British broke in 1931 during Sir Ronald Storrs's tenure as governor. A state of emergency was proclaimed. Military government remained till after World War II. Already in 1941, however, political parties were permitted again: a communist party A.K.E.L., a Greek nationalist party K.K.R., and a Turkish party. Trade Unions came about mainly under communist leadership. Municipal elections were held in 1943. After 1945 the British government did not consider any change of status for Cyprus. In 1950 Greek Cypriot nationalists organised a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots, and 96% voted for enosis. The young Bishop of Kition, Michael Mouslios, was the organiser of this demonstration. On 18 October 1950 he was elected the “Most Blessed and Most Reverend Archbishop of New Justiniana and all Cyprus” under the name Makarios III (1919-77). In 1954 a Cyprus-born Greek officer, George Grivas, began organising an anti-British guerrilla organisation, E.O.K.A. The British government devised a new constitution for the colony without giving any hopes for independence. In early 1955 the first discussion of the Cyprus problem in the U.N.O. failed to have a pre-Great result. Soon afterwards guerrilla warfare by E.O.K.A. began. In July 1955 the British Premier Sir Anthony Eden held the first tripartite talks on the question, with Greece and Turkey, the latter also invited to have a say as an ally of N.A.T.O. Turkey's point of view was maintained by the status quo as a guarantee against enosis. The leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios III, protested against discussion of the interests of Cyprus without the presence of its own people, meaning only the Greek Cypriots. E.O.K.A. stepped up its activities. Field-Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed governor. He opened talks with Makarios upon the base of “a wide measure of self government”. This was acceptable for the Turks and nearly so for Makarios. The talks were unexpectedly broken off by order of the London government, and Makarios deported to the Seychelles Islands (9 March 1956).

E.O.K.A. terrorism came into full fury. The
British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen, who consequently also fell victim to Greek bullets; the beginning of inter-communal violence dates back from this time. A Turkish militant organisation grew up, and a Turkish Cypriot leader emerged, Dr. Faizil Küçük. At the U.N.O. meeting in February 1957, neither Greece nor its Turkish answer taksim (division of Cyprus into two partial got sufficient support. The new British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, decided to refuse Makarios, who was not, however, allowed to return to his island, and Sir Hugh Foot was appointed governor. The Menderes government in Ankara protested against this liberal figure succeeding the Field-Marshal, and blocked the plans for self-government of Cyprus, the return of the Archbishop and talks with all Cypriot leaders. A revised Foot-Macmillan constitutional proposal contained many elements later used in the London-Zurich treaties of 1959. At the time of its announcement, Cyprus experienced the worst terrorist fighting between the two communities, between E.O.K.A. and F.M.T., the Turkish National Defence Organisation, with 200 dead in two months. At this time there were 20,000 British troops on the island.

Civil war suddenly came to an end in July 1958, although E.O.K.A. continued its fight against the British. Makarios, fearing an Anglo-Turkish cooperation to divide Cyprus, came forward in September with a proposal for independence under auspices of the U.N.O. Grivas did not support it, and enosis remained his only aim. Great Britain did not consider it either, but began to change its own position: 25,000 troops on Cyprus became too heavy a burden, and a Greco-Turkish conflict would have endangered the N.A.T.O. Sovereign base areas in Cyprus would be sufficient for Britain's strategic needs. Athens wanted to prevent taksim; but Ankara could accept any compromise which prevented enosis. The U.S.A. made it clear that it would not continue supporting Great Britain in the Middle East. Any Greco-Turkish solution must be accepted.

In December 1958, the first talks between Greece and Turkey (by Averoff-Tosssizza and Zorlu respectively) were held. In February 1959 the prime ministers and foreign secretaries reached agreements in Zurich. At a second meeting in London these and a number of fundamental articles of its Constitution, the independence of Cyprus and its status as defined its Turkish and Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Service, and could thus mobilise a Greek National Guard to control the extremist bands directed by Grivas from Athens. The situation worsened in the course of the year. The U.S. President Lyndon Johnson warned the Prime Minister Ionin in June that Turkey would not be protected by N.A.T.O. in case of a Russian attack after Turkish unilateral action. All over the island the Turkish Cypriots withdrew inside fortified enclaves surrounded by Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Guard. This meant a definitive change of the old settlement pattern of 120 all-Turkish and 106 mixed villages. There was a relocation to Turkish-dominated areas of at least 25,000 Turkish refugees. In 1969, 115,189 Turk refugees still remained unsettled. A precarious balance was maintained by the U.N.
Force in Cyprus (U.N.F.L.C.Y.P.). Greek Cypriots dominated the greater part of the Republic. A U.N. mediator, Golo Plaza, began his work in March 1965. Makarios and Kılıçlık did not act together any more, nor did the cabinet or parliament. Makarios kept on insisting that the imposed constitution was impracticable. Kılıçlık maintained that a limitation of independence was necessary for the survival of the Turkish community, which must never be treated as a minority, and proposed løksis. Neither of the two Cypriot parties was able to make concessions.

Greco-Turkish talks in 1966 led to no results. In the autumn of 1967, violence flared up again after Greek Cypriot provocation. The Ankara government threatened intervention. The Athens Junta government gave in, and withdrew Grivas from the island. Makarios's position had now become the stronger one. Kılıçlık proclaimed a separate transitional government for all Turkish sectors in December 1967. On 25 February 1968, presidential elections were held which resulted in a 95.4% vote for Makarios and his independence policy. Concessions were granted to the Turks. R. Denktas was allowed to return and was elected president of the Turkish Communal Chamber. He conducted intercommunal talks with G. Clerides in June, July and autumn of 1968 and in the spring of 1969. On 8 March 1970, an attack was made on President Makarios, probably by Greek ex-E.O.K.A. members. Parliamentary elections were held in July 1970 separately by both communities.

The year 1972 saw talks on Cyprus by the governments of Athens and Ankara in Lisbon (by Foreign Ministers Okşay and Xanthopoulos-Palamas). The communal talks between Denktas and Clerides were also continued. In September, General Grivas returned secretly to organise a new E.O.K.A. terrorist movement, mainly directed against Makarios' government on 23 July 1974. M. Zeka, "The privileges granted to the Orthodox and Latin Churches in Cyprus" (T. S. R. Boase and A. H. S. Megaw); "The kingdom of Cyprus 1291-1489" (Sir Harry Hill, with the addition of Greek bias and anachronisms); H. F. Alasya, "The privileges granted to the Orthodox Church of Cyprus" (second part of 4th book); 'Arif Dede, "Kibris tarihi feth-i Kibris, ms. ONB (Vienna) 974, cf. GÖIV, 113 f. no. 95; see also M. Durmujoglu, "Zlrekl, Türkischen Dienlen, Zyperns privilegier, ms. ONB (Vienna) 1961, Tarih Bdlumu Tez no. 615; Yusuf Ziya, Kibris'in Türkler tarafindan fetih, unpubl. thesis, ibid., 1961, Tarih Bölümü Tez no. 615; Yusuf Ziya, Kibris'in Türkler tarafindan fetih, unpubl. thesis ibid., Tez no. 105 (Universität Library).

KUBUS — KUBU

since independence (1963).

is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.

The predominant religion in 1949. In 1938, the monarchy was abolished and he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom of the last king, Hasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The family which ruled this area until 1958 was finally settled in Sarawak; some of his descendants and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and Alawl bin c threw up as a defence against raids by pirates. Kubu was transformed into its present administra¬

Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer, left the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers in 1843. Some of them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The migration of Pcntianak, situated in the south of the delta of the Great Kapuas river, in the Indonesian province of Western Kalimantan in Borneo (Java in Suppl.). In 1971 it had 16,951 inhabitants, and among them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The scattered population is mainly of mixed Arab, Buginese, or Malay origin, besides the Chinese and few Dayaks. Since 1955, the Indonesian government has tried to open some areas for Javanese immigrants.

The family which ruled this area until 1958 was of Arab descent originating from Hadramawt. The founder of the kingdom was Sayyid (according to some Sharif) Tidrus al-Idrus, who settled not far from the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers in 1700, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer Sharif 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kadri, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an antecedent (Malay kubu) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company, who recognised him as a ruler with the title tana (lord). One of his sons, 'Alawf bin Tidrus, because of his opposition against the Dutch and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and finally settled in Sarawak; some of his descendants have had a certain political influence there, especially since independence (1963).

In 1909, the Dutch introduced a bestuur comité in Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The last king, Hasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head of the bestuur comité by the Japanese in 1941, before he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom in 1949. In 1958, the monarchy was abolished and Kubu was transformed into its present administrative position as a kampung. The predominant religion is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.
KUBU — KÜÇAK KHAN DJANGALI

Bibliography: see that for KUBU in EI, and also J. U. Louta'an, Sejarah hubun adat dan adat-adat Kalamantan Barat, Pontianak 1975.

(W. H. Rassner — [O. Schumacher])

**KÜÇAK KHAN DJANGALI**, Mirza, known also as Shaykh Yûnus (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and the first person to declare a republican regime in Iran. He was born into a lower middle-class family of Râgh, in the north of Iran, and studied Arabic and other religious subjects in the traditional schools in his region. He then moved to Tehran, continuing his studies in a religious school called the madrasa-yi ma'hadîyuyûn. His early training in traditional schools, together with his association with the Russian revolutionary in Tâlib and Bâku in 1908, plus his close co-operation with the militant Iranians involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-17, developed in Kûçak Khan a strong sense both of revolutionary patriotism and also of devotion to Islam. We therefore see him occasionally consulting the Qur'an as well as setting up sessions for reciting the heroic poetry of Firdawsi [q.v.] (Dâhirân Ferkhâr, Sardâr-i Dîngal Mirzû Kûçak Khân, Tehran 1965, 37-8). In 1909 Kûçak joined the revolutionary group of Gilân aimed at overthrowing the then despotic Shâh. Muhammad 'Ali (reigned 1907-9). The Gilân Bâkhtiyâr forces moved on Tehran victoriously in July 1909 and Kûçak Khan was taking to the authorities. afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.

Kûçak Khan's writings and manifestos suggest that he was aiming at a united Iran without any foreign interference, including that of the Soviets. He believed in land reform and in compulsory education, and during his short control over Gilân, he did carry out some land reform and founded a number of public primary schools in Sawmâ'âsar, Shafi'i, Rasmî, and Malek Tehran.

The evaluation of the revolutionary activities of Kûçak Khan has caused controversy, and many contradictory accounts have also been given concerning the factual history of the Dîngalî movement. He has been called a "willing puppet" of the Soviets (George Lenczewski, *Russia and the West in Iran*, 1918-1948, Ithaca 1949, 60). On the other hand, Soviet writers (*The borders of Soviet Central Asia*, *in Central Asian Review*, iv [1950], 287-331), as well as the Iranian revolutionary groups (S. 'Awn Allâhî, *Inbîd-i hâkî-i siyâsî-yi whudb va nadvâd-i adl-va hârâgî-yi Iran, and Tâjî Mâwzî, *Inbîd-i whudb va nadvâd-i Gilân*, both in *Inbîdî-î whudb va Iran*, ed. Hâdî-i Tâlâ-yî Iran, 1967, 241-4, 65-74; *Dîngalî-hûn vesâlîn-i Iran, in Tâlâ-yî Iran, 1918-1948*). Maydânî and a number of the 'Adâlat Party members, who considered Kûçak Khan to be a national hero. A third group of the accounts are hostile to the movement, expressing openly the attitude of the big landowners of Iran, particularly of those of Gilân; the best example of this group of literature is the anonymously-written book *Tâlîbâ-yi Dîngalîyân*, Tehran 1928.

Bibliography: Abdûl-Hadi Hairi, *Sûret-i Kâbindâ恰当 and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iran in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977; Mahdi Bâkdî, *Shâhî-hârâgî yî Gilân*, Tehran 1971; Husayn Mâkhlî, *Mûkhtâsar az 'indîsî-yi yîsâl yî Sâlim Ahmad Shâh-kâfird', Tehran 1944; *Idem, Tarîf-hî bîstilî-yi Iran*, iî, Tehran 1944-6; 'Abîd Allah Mustâdfî, *Shâhî-zâl-va hârâgî-yi men*, iii, 1954; *Ali Kûdbî, Kitâb Kâbindâ yî Fîzîyân dar Khûrâsan*, Tehran 1973; Mahdi Kull Hidâyat, *Khûfîrît va hâbîrat*., Tehran 1965; *Mazâkî, Asâd-dî dîmbî-yi hârâgî, sâzuyîl-dîmbî-yi Dîngalî-yi Iran, and the opposing British and Persian troops. There were also intermittent fights between Kûçak Khan on the one hand and other Dîngalî leaders, such as Hûdâ Allah Khân and Khâtû Kûrdân and a number of the 'Adâlat Party members, who held extremist communist views. These conflicts finally resulted in the murder of a prominent revolutionary, Haydar Khân 'Amîd Ughîr [q.v. in Suppl.]. In the meantime, the pro-British Sayyid Diyar' al-Dîn Tâbahâbâ set up the Zarganda Committee, which was joined by a number of the large landowners of Gilân such as Fath Allah Khân Sardar Mânâsîr. At the same time the Soviets decided to establish friendship with the British and the government of Tehran, culminating in the Soviet-Persian Agreement of 1921, on the basis of which the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, M. Kotskevî, wrote a long letter to Kûçak Khan urging him to put an end to his revolutionary activities. Thus abandoned, Kûçak Khan took refuge in the forests of Gilân, and shortly afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.
KOCAN, modern form of the medieval Islamic Khabbashan/ Khudan, a town of northern Khurasan on the main highway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It lies several miles upstream, sc. to the east-south-east, of the mediaeval town.

Khabbashan was apparently the earliest Islamic town of its name, although nothing is known about its form during the period of the Arab conquests and the ensuing two or three centuries. But already in the 4th/5th and early 5th/6th centuries, such writers as Ibn Hawkal; ed. Kraemer, 433, tr. Kraemer-Wicz, 140, Mashhad; and C. E. Bosworth in the Hadid al-Gilan, tr. Minorsky, 105, § 23, and Bayhaqi, Tarikh-i Mas'udi, ed. Ghani and Fayyad, 604, 607, tr. Arends, 573, 579, spell its name as Khudan. Samani (who had personally visited the town), As'udib, ed. Hyderbadi, v, 223-4, repeated in Yakuti, ed. Beirut, ii, 399-400, says that the locals pronounced Kudjan. The geographers and others describe it as the chef-lieu (kazaba) of the rich and flourishing rural district (rustaq) of Ustuwawa (the Artoor of Greek sources), which was administratively a dependency of Nishapur and comprised 93 villages. It constituted the granary of Nishapur, growing corn and fruits in both rain-watered fields (masabah) and in those irrigated by the Khurasan and the Sals, and because the pasture grounds to the north and east were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saljuks under Toghril Beg during the 6th/7th century, and the Sals under Toghril Beg during the 6th/7th century. But already in the 4th/5th century, the name Ustuwawa was going out of use, the local pronunciation "Kudjan" had taken over.

Khuban makes sporadic appearances in the mediaeval Islamic chronicles, since it lay on the principal route from Gurgan and the Caspian provinces to Tus and Nishapur, and because the pasture grounds of the upper Atrek valley were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saljuks, the Mongols and the Il-Khanids. It played a part in the manoeuvrings of Nasir of Ghur during the 13th/14th century, during which it was occupied by the Mongols under Mustafa Khan. The town suffered badly during Cingiz Khan's invasion of Khurasan in 1218-19, and was burned by the Mongols, who remained in occupation until 1221.

After the Mongol invasion, the town continued to decline. It was later occupied by the Il-Khanids, who granted a charter to the town in 1292-93, during which period the town enjoyed some measure of autonomy. It was later recaptured by the Mongols, who granted a new charter to the town in 1300-1. The town suffered badly during Cingiz Khan's attack on Khurasan. According to Djouwari, the Mongol general Sibetyam brought great slaughter at Khabbashan, Isfarkin [gaz.], and (?) Adilian, and for nearly 40 years the town lay devastated and depopulated. Then in 654/1256, Djouwani—who had with considerable assurance purchased a quarter of the town from its inhabitants—himself persuaded Hulegu to rebuild it. The latter issued a charter for the repair of the buildings and the rebuilding of the houses and markets, all at his own expense, and the Amir Sayf al-Din Aka expended 3,000 dinars on reconstructing and restoring the Friday mosque and cemetery [Djouwani-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 517, tr. Boyle, in Cambridge history of Iran, v, 342].
Khuršān thus enjoyed a recovery of prosperity under the later Mongols and Il-Khānids. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that there was an imperial workshop (kābād-dāna) there (Petrusevský, in ibid., v, 513), and also that Ghilān, when governor of Khuršān and a representative of Ghiyath al-Dīn, Uṣūldīn, established a Buddhist shrine in the town for those devotees within the Mongol court entourage and official classes (Dīnāʾī al-tawārīḵī, ed. Aliradī, ii, Baku 1957, 375, cf. D’Ohs- son, Histoire des Mongols, The Hague 1834-5, iv, 247-8). However, Khūţān had at some point of time also acquired an imām and saint’s tomb of some importance, sc. that of Ibrahim, son of the Eighth Imam al-Ridūlī al-Alī al-Ridūlī. The whole Ateş-Rashīf Rūd corridor lay in the front line of Persian defences against the Özbegs during the Safavid period. Hence Shāh ʿAbbās I settled Kurdish tribesmen in northern Khuršān, to the number, it is said, of 15,000 families, and subsequently, what were in effect a string of Kurdish tribal principalities grew up along the frontier, with hereditary chieftains and exemption from taxation in return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia. Khūţān came within the area of the Ẓafarānī Kurds, whose hereditary leaders had the title of Ḥabībī bestowed upon them. Nādir Shāh had an especially consistent policy of resettling peoples in frontier regions for strategic purposes, and during his reign (1148-60/1736-47) there were considerable further implantations in northern Khuršān, including the Khūţān district (see on all these population movements, J. R. Perry, Forced migration in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Iranian studies, Jnl. of the Society for Iranian Studies, vili (New York, Autumn 1973), 205 ff.).

The local chiefs of Khūţān were nevertheless frequently in revolt against the Persian central government. Nādir Shāh was killed in 1260/1847 whilst engaged in the subjugation of the town, and a nearby hill is still called Nādir Tepe. In the reign of the Kādārī Fath ʿAlī Shāh, the Ḥabībī Ṭabī Ṭabī Khān (who entertained the British traveller J. B. Fraser in Khūţān in 1832) revolted against his overlord, so that the Ḥabībīs would led or heṣar, ʿAbbās Ṭabī [q.v.], came and suppressed the outbreak, razing the town’s walls and causing much destruction within it. Severe earthquakes in 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 increased the devastation, and Curzon, who was there in 1889, found many ruined houses there, estimating the population at less than 12,000. With the pushing forward in the latter 19th century of the Russian frontier in Central Asia up to the natural frontier of the Kopet Dāgh-Khāh Hazar Masjīd range and the subjection to Imperial Russian rule of the formerly predatory Türkmen, the three Kurdish principalities of northern Khuršān, Khūţān, Budjīnūr [q.v.] and Darreh Caz, lost much of their military and strategic raïsouns d’être, and Curzon noted that the power and prestige of the then Ḥabībī, Shujaʿī al-Dawla Husayn Khān b. Ridūlī Kālī Khān, had diminished (G. N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1894, i, 94-112).

In the present century, Khūţān has remained the centre of an important wheat-growing area, supplying much of the rest of Persia; these crops are grown, as in mediæval times, both on sun-dried irrigated land and on damānī, dry-farmed (cf. Admiralty hand- book, Persia London 1945, 49, 43, 429; 457). Administratively, Khūţān is now the chef-lieu of a shahrastān or district of the 5th wāzīd of or province of Khuršān; the population of the shahrastān in 1950 was ca. 111,000 (cf. Farhang-i diwānī-yi ʿIrān, iv, 307).

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 393, and for the accounts of European travellers who visited Khūţān, see A. G. Curzon, Die Entforschung Persiens, Vienna 1892, 157-65, 221, 2, 252.

KÜÇÜK KAYNARDJA (modern Tăkh, Köçük Kaynarca, "little hot spring", a village in northeastern Bulgaria, 25 km. south-east of Silistra, noteworthly as the place at which was concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Empires on 12 Djuilād I 1188/89 July 1774 one of the most famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy. The Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja, which brought to an end a disastrous war over the partition of Poland on which the Porte had irresponsibly embarked six years previously, contained terms which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the ğlāhānate of the Crimea.

The peace which consisted of 48 articles and a separate secret convention of two articles, was the final outcome of protracted negotiations for a truce which had been conducted by the two sides since 1186/1772. Only in the campaign of 1288/1774, with Russian forces strongly entrenched south of the Danube and with the strong fortress of Shumen (Shurli, Shuruni), which commanded the passage of the Balkan range, abandoned by the Ottomans, were negotiations pushed rapidly to a conclusion. The Ottoman field-commander (serdar-i ekmek), the Grand Vizier Muḥṣin ʿAbd al-Muṣīm, was Prince Nikolai Ropsin, who had served as Russian ambassador at the Porte prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Negotiations were begun and rapidly concluded in the Russian camp before Shumen on 8 Djuilād I 1288/89/1, July 1774; the actual date and place of signing were stipulated by the Russians for their historical significance. The controlling text of the treaty was drawn up in Italian; Russian and Turkish versions were also signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. Contrary to a widely-held belief, there are only minor textual variations between the Russian and Turkish versions.

The consequences of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja were most unfortunate for the ğlāhānate of the Crimea. Although by the terms of art. 3 Russian forces were to evacuate its territory with the exception of the strong points of Kerč and Yeřči Kal’ev, the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish their suzerainty over the ğlāhānate, and to concede to the Crimean Tatars a specious and unlooked-for "independence" (serbestiyyet). Religious supremacy over the Muslim inhabitants of the ğlāhānate was reserved to the Ottoman sultan as rightful caliph ("Supremo Califfo Maomettano"), a concept entirely foreign to the Muslims of the Crimea. In return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia, the treaty was drawn up in Italian: Russian and Turkish versions.

The famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy, which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the ğlāhānate of the Crimea.
terms of the treaty were equally ominous. Through her possession of the fortresses of Khilburn (Kilburn) [q.v.] (art. 18), Herceg Veli Balce [q.v.] (arts. 3 and 19), Azak (Azov) [q.v.] (art. 20) and Greater and Lesser Karaband [see kasabas] (art. 21), and despite restitution to the Ottomans of Özal (Ochakov) and Bessarabia, including, inter alia, the fortresses of Asz-Kermen, Kili, Itamlik, Bender and Khotin [q.v.], Russia gained a secure and permanent strategic foothold on the northern shores of the Black Sea, thus bringing to an end its four centuries’ history as an Ottoman “lake”. This new position of strength Russia was able immediately to exploit through further concessions (art. 21) which gave her unrestricted commercial privileges in the Black Sea and through the Straits into the Mediterranean, and the right to establish consulates and vice-consulates at will on Ottoman territory and to maintain a permanent embassy at Istanbul. A further detailed clause afforded Russia a privileged position with regard to the Christian population and the semi-autonomous hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia (Bogdahn and Elik [q.v.] (art. 18), while by art. 13 the Porte was to cede to Catherine II and her successors the title of padişah (tawaddum Rusaylarını padişahî, i.e. “Emperor of all the Russians”).

Two articles in particular (arts. 7 and 14) of the treaty have given rise to much subsequent misunderstanding. Art. 7, which in fact specifically recognised the protection of the Ottoman government over its own Christian subjects, permitted Russia only to make representations on behalf of a single church building—an Orthodox church in Ghalata [q.v. in Suppl.], separate from the Russian embassy chapel, where services were to be held according to the Russian rite—and those who served in it. Art. 14, which actually gave to Russia the right to establish a church in Ghalata to serve the Russian community resident there “on the example of the other Powers”—i.e., France and Austria—had already been proposed in the negotiations of 1772-3, related to Moldavia and Wallachia, or to the Archipelago and for the payment by the Ottoman side, of Cerme Tuhin, Küçük Kaynardja, in I.A. vi, 1041-77. The sole monograph devoted to the Treaty of Küçük Kaynardja is E. I. Drufinina, Kucük-Kaynardjası mir 1774 года, Moscow 1955; a collection of essays of unequal value by Soviet and East European historians (N. Todorov, E. I. Drufinina and others) is contained in Etnics Bolkaniques (Sofia), 1976, 74-127. For the effect of the treaty on the khimate of the Crimea, see A. W. Fisher, The Russian annexation of the Crimea 1774-1783, Cambidge 1970; for a more extended treatment from the Ottoman side, cf. Cemal Tuhin, Küçük Kaynardja, in I.A. vi, 1041-77. The most recent study is R. H. Davison, “Russian skill and Turkish imbidity”: the treaty of Küçük Kaynardja reconsidered, in Slavic Review, xxxv (1976), 403-83. All these works contain supplementary bibliographies and further references to sources in the relevant languages.

(K. J. Hnevood)
fear of poverty. It was during these later years that Sa'id Efendi came into contact with Prince 'Abd al-Hamid, advising him on administrative matters, so that one of the latter's first acts after his accession to the sultanate was to raise him to the rank of Pasha and appoint him as Chief Secretary (1875-8), at which time he acquired the nickname *Kâzîk* ("the small one") to distinguish him from Ingiliz Sa'id Pasha, who also advised the sultan for a time until he was dismissed due to implication in the *All Sulât* affair.

Küçük Sa'id now became the Sultan's chief instrument in the Ottoman cabinet. As minister of justice (1878-9), he worked to modernise the Nikâm-i-iyye secular court system, introducing the institution of public defender, and also securing promulgation of new commercial and criminal codes of law. In seven terms as Grand Vizier (1879-80, 1880-2, 1882-5, 1885, 1901-3, 1906), he faithfully carried out the sultan's reform programs, also taking the initiative to introduce important reforms. He developed a program to centralise government control of the provincial, modernised the financial system, increased tax collections and balanced the budgets, negotiated the settlement with the empire's foreign creditors that led to the creation of the Public Debt Commission (1881), established the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to develop native trade and industry, modernised and expanded the system of secular schools on the elementary and higher technical levels in particular, reorganised and modernised the regular police, and made the secular courts fully independent of government interference so they could administer justice without fear of intervention.

He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty. As the sultan became increasingly withdrawn and subject to the influence of his palace coterie, Sa'id Pasha became more and more fearful of his master. At the same time, his rivalry with Melimed Kamil increased to the point of prompting the latter to seek the sultan's call to resume the Grand Vizierate. As a result, Sa'id Pasha became more and more fearful of his master. He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty.

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The name of 'Izker' for the capital of Küçük (near the confluence of the Tobol and Yenisei) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Küçük was never a capital; it is not clear whether he was driven out of his kingdom after the defeat of his father but had expelled his predecessor Vägidar; in 1563 Vägidar is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Küçük. In 1582 'Izker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of firearms, then still unknown in Siberia. Küçük's son Mähtem-Kul (Muhammad-Kull) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1586 or 1587) that 'Izker was vacated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Küçük did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till 20 August 1599. He is said to have been slain by the Nagay, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's death, and not in battle. The document used by Radloff (Aus Sibirien), Leipzig 1893, 146 f., dealing with an embassy from Küçük to Bukhârâ and the order by 'Abd Alîth Khân to his governor in Khâzârn to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. Khâzârn was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khân of Bukhârâ. The form "Közeim" adopted by Rudloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.
KUDĀ'A, a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. The opinions of the genealogists about their origin are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Ma'add, others say that they were from Hijāry. Both parties had recourse to traditions and utterances attributed to the Prophet, in which he is said either to have declared that Ma'add's blocky was Abū Kudā'a, or to have stated explicitly that Kudā'a is a descendant of Hijāry. Harmonizing traditions reported that the mother of Kudā'a was the wife of Mālik b. ‘Amr b. Murra b. Mālik b. Hijāry and later married Ma'add, bringing with her Kudā'a, her son from the first marriage. Kudā'a was therefore later called Kudā'a b. Ma'add. A contradictory tradition of this kind claimed that Kudā'a was the son of Ma'add; later his mother married Mālik b. ‘Amr al-Hijāry, who adopted the child, Kudā'a, and thus he was called Kudā'a al-Hijāry (see M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Cachet's Gambhara an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1976], 56-2, and references in notes 43-51; also ‘Nār al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Ma'dīnas* al-masīhid, repr. Beirut 1967, ii, 104-3; A. Ḥāshī, vii, 77-8; al-Ḥamdānī, al-Mīlī, ed. Muhammad al-Akwārī al-Bīlāwī, Cairo 1385/1965, i, 126-90). Some traditions say that the Kudā'a tribes related themselves to Ma'add, but turned to the Hijāryi nasab under Mu’awiya's pressure and bribes (see e.g. Kister and Plessner, *op. cit.*, note 57-7; ‘Nār al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, i, 104; A. Ḥāshī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Naqqāṣ, al-Aḥṣābiyya al-habishiyu wa-ẓāribīhā fi l-ḥūṣ al-muṣilīni, Beirut 1964, 340-3; and see al-Kūṭāmī, al-Dhūw, ed. Ibrahim al-Samarrī and Ahmad Māṭiţī, Cairo 1960, 34, 145, 147, 149; al-Kumayt, *al-‘Amīdī*, Cairo 1959, i, 60-1). The name Kudā'a is an early one and can be traced in fragments of the old Arab poetry. The tribes recorded as Kudā'a were: Kalb (q.t.), Djuhayna, Bahl (q.t.), Gilawān (q.t.), Mahra, Dhuwa, Dārām (q.t.), Udhrā (q.t.), Bahlāy (see al-Kays), Tanūkh (q.t.) and Salīb; the attribution of some of these tribes to Kudā'a (like Tanūkh, Khawāt and Mahra) was the subject of dispute among genealogists. Several of the clans of Kudā'a joined other tribes, adopting their pedigrees and changing their tribal identity.

Among the prominent divisions of Kudā'a one may particularly refer here to Djuhayna and Bahl. 

r. The vast territory of Djuhayna, controlling the coastal route of the caravans between Syria and Mecca, included the localities of Sa‘īdī, al-Mawā‘il, al Marwa, al Awā‘ār and Yamū‘; to them belonged the mountains of Tabar (q.t.); and see M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1943, ii, 361, on the mountains of Ra‘āw, al-Mawā‘il, al-Iṣlibür, al-Musul, and al-Aqṣārī, ed. Muhammad Hanifullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was Abū Allāh b. Unayz who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in Al Bawabī during Ra‘āw, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramadān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the Dhu‘ayn". It refers, of course, to the laylat al-bar‘ūr (see e.g. al-Ghazālī, al-Iṣlibür, vi, 133; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 670).

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kahlīl, a Djuhayni, ‘Abd al-Dīr b. Ḥudayr (or Dhu‘ayn) in another version, intended to build a sanctuary in one of the centres of Dhu‘ayn, Kawmād, to rival the Ka‘ba of Mecca; however, he encountered opposition on the part of his people who were reluctant to aid him in carrying out his plan (Ibn al-Kahlīl, al-Amānī, ed. Ahmad Zaki Pasha, Cairo 1343/1924, 455; ‘Abdālī, *s.v.* Kawmād). This report may give us a clue for assessing the attitude of some other tribal groups of Dhu‘ayn. Ibn Ḥishām records a tradition according to which al-Ghawb, who was in charge of certain pilgrimages practices in Mecca, used to announce during one of the services, "O God I am following the example of others; if there is a sin it is Kudā’a’s" (Ibn Ḥishām, *Sirā, ed. al-Sākā, al-Abyārī, Sharabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 126, l. 21; Guillain’s translation, *The Life of Muhammad*, Karachi 1967, 53, of the second hemistich “If that is wrong, the fault is Kudā’a’s" is inaccurate). It is evident that this description points to certain of the Kudā’a who were reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Mecca and the sanctity of the Ka‘ba.

The relations of Dhu‘ayn with the Aws and Khatrazj seem to have been quite close; some Dhu‘ayn are recorded as allies of the Medinan families or clans (see e.g. Ibn Hazm, *Djahmara an-nasib al-‘arab*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Ḥarūn, Cairo 1952, 444). It is noteworthy that among the Ansārī group who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the Aqṣārī was an ally of the Banī Salīmā of Kalbi extraction, who joined Dhu‘ayn and stayed with them, ‘Abd Allāh b. Unayz; he gained the honourable titles of al-muhādīr, al-‘anṣārī, al-Salīmā, al-‘uqūdī al-habī (see e.g. Ibn Ḥishām, ii, 126 sup.; Ibn al-Kahlīl, *Dhulmān*, Br. Mus., Add. 22346, f. 73; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Tabbāh*, ed. ‘Ali al-Biṣālī, Cairo 1380/1970, ii, 15-17, no. 453; Ibn Kudā’a al-Makdisī, *al-‘Iṣlibūr* fi nasab al-ṣāriha min al-ansār, ed. ‘Ali Nuwayhid, Beirut 1952/1972, 166-8; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-‘Iṣlibūr*, ed. al-Biṣālī, Cairo 1380/1970, 606-29, no. 1477; al-Baladīrī, *Anṣārī*, ed. Muhammad Hanifullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was ‘Abd Allāh b. Unayz who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in Al Bawabī during Ra‘āw, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramadān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the Dhu‘ayn". It refers, of course, to the laylat al-bar‘ūr (see e.g. al-Ghazālī, al-Iṣlibūr, vi, 133; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 670).

On the Day of Bu‘āshī (q.t.), Dhu‘ayn fought on the side of the Khazraj (Aḥzāhī, xv, 162-3; ‘Abd al-Kahlīl, *al-Iṣlibūr*, Cairo 1956, ii, 602), but on the eve of the encounter of Badr al-mu‘addī they were said to have hurried to Medina (together with Bahl) as allies of the Aws (al-Wakīl, *Mughrāb*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 385, l. 11).

When the Prophet settled in Medina, he was, of course, concerned to establish peaceful relations with its neighbours, Dhu‘ayn. Dhu‘ayn, making a careful assessment of the fundamental change in the situation in Medina with the advent of the Prophet, were eager to secure their position in the new structure of power. According to some traditions, a delegation of Dhu‘ayn came to the Prophet in Medina, pointed out that the Prophet ailed...
"among them" (bayna azhunna, i.e. in the area controlled by them) and requested him to conclude with them an agreement of mutual security (fa-as'ul khallat a'manah wa-salamah). This treaty was indeed agreed upon between the Prophet and Dhuayna. A peculiar aspect of this treaty was the tacit agreement by the Prophet for Dhuayna not to convert to Islam; this is clearly indicated in the account of the treaty, wa-lam yusulim. The implementation of the treaty occurred a short time after its conclusion; the Prophet sent a troop of less than hundred warriors to raid a tribal group of Kinana which dwelt in the neighborhood of Dhuayna. When the Muslim warriors realised that the Kinana outnumbered them, they retreated asking refuge with Dhuayna. When the Dhuayans interrogated them as to why they had gone out fighting in the holy month of Rajab, they justified their deed by mentioning that they were driven out from the Haram (of Mecca) during the holy month. The account further tells about dissension among the Muslim warriors; a group of them wanted to remain in the place where they were staying, whilst another one planned to return to the Prophet to obtain a decision from him. When this group met the Prophet, he expressed his anger about the division that had occurred within the expedition, which having left in unity returned divided. He then appointed 'Abd Allah b. Dhuayna as the commander of the troop; 'Abd Allah b. Dhuayna was thus the first appointed amir in Islam (Ibn Abi Shayba, Ta'rikh, Ms. Berlin 9409 — Sprunger 804, ff. 823b-824a; cf. Nūr al-Dīn al-Haytham, Madīmna al-ansādī, vi, 66, 7, with an essential variant, that the Dhuayans converted to Islam after the conclusion of the treaty; and see al-Bahṣikī, Dalāl al-mubawwasa, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Uhmān, Cairo 1385/1966, ii, 325-4 [the commander of the first troop, dispatched by the Prophet, was Sād b. Abī Waqās]; Ibn Dhuaynal, Ta'rifī, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 5912, i, 226b).

The reports about the first cases of cooperation between Dhuayans and the nascent Muslim community at Medina, though sometimes divergent or even contradictory, point clearly to the period preceding the battle of Badr and are connected with the earliest attempts of the Prophet at impeding the free traffic of the Kuraishi caravans. The detachments dispatched by the Prophet were relatively small and served a twofold purpose: that of reconnoitering in case a greater force of the enemy made an appearance, and of an attacking troop in case they met with a smaller division of the enemy. It was essential in such a situation to have at their disposal a territory with a friendly population both for military enterprises and as a resort to which the Muslim troops (see e.g. Ibn Hazm, Dīvān, i, 288, no. 640, iv, 747, no. 5485; al-Wāṣilī, 401; al-Baladhurī, Amīr, i, 289). Another Dhuayn, Khashad, granted shelter to two other spies of the Prophet, Talba b. 'Ubayd Allah and Sa'd b. Zayd; he misled the men of the Kuraishi caravan who inquired about the spies sent by the Prophet. After the departure of the Kuraishi caravan, Khashad accompanied the two spies to Tūrūba, where he met the Prophet; the Prophet wanted to grant him Yahūdī (as an iṣlāh or fīsīʿ), but Khashad advised the Prophet to grant it to one of his relatives (see e.g. al-Wāṣilī, 19:20; Ibn Ḥadīdār, v, 390, no. 7409; Ibn Abī-Ṭālib, Uṣūl, iv, 539; al-Maqrīzī, Ḩalāl al-ansādī, ed. Māmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 62). Another Dhuayn, Maqīd b. Amr, performed an even more complicated service for the Muslim detachment; he interposed between the small Muslim force under the command of Hamza b. 'Abd al-Mulkīb and the Kuraishi caravan escorted by 300 Kuraishi riders under the command of Dhuayna (see e.g. al-Wāṣilī, 10:10; al-Bayḥāqī, Dalāl al-mubawwasa, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1385/1966, ii, 302; Ibn Ḥāmid, Dīvān, i, 245, 265). Maqīd succeeded in accomplishing in his task as he was an ally (halāf, musāwī) of both parties (i.e. of the Muslim party and the Kuraishi). It is noteworthy for the assessment of the personality of Maqīd and the reliability of the traditions that some reports state that he did not convert to Islam (see e.g. al-Zākfi, Shākīr al-muṣāwī al-ḍāliyya, Cairo 1345, i, 321).

The reports about the participation of Dhuayans in the first encounters of the Prophet with Kuraishi seem to be sound, and are confirmed by a tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarānī, stating that the first tribe to fight on the side of the Prophet was Dhuayna (al-Ṭabarānī, al-ṣerīb, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 1350, f. 156b).

Some factors which motivated Dhuayna in concluding the treaty with the Prophet can be deduced from a report recorded by al-Sāmḥūdī and al-Ṣayfūzābādī; the Prophet awoke at Dhu l-Marwa; Dhuayn people assembled at the place from the mountains and the plains and complained of being pressed by alien people, who were trying by force to get hold of their wells. Then the Prophet granted the people of Dhuayna the lands of Dhu l-Marwa, forbade them to be treated with iniquity and announced that the angel Dārūrī ordered him to consider Dhuayna as his allies (al-Samḥūdī, Wājīf al-ṣerīb, ed. Muḥammad Muḥ'īl b. ʿUthmān, al-Raḥmān Mūḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1375/1955, 1565-6; al-Fayṣālī, Dālāl al-mubawwasa, ed. Muḥammad Muḥ'īl b. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1375/1955, 1565-6; al-Ṣayfūzābādī, al-Majān al月中āb fī maṣālik l-faṣl, ed. Huṣayn Muhammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1385/1969, 375). It is plausible that this utterance of the Prophet confirmed Dhuayna's rights to their landed property and formed a warning for tribal groups to refrain from transgressing on the wells (see wells and other property of Dhuayna, as they were the allies of the Prophet and their rights would be defended by the Prophet. The lands of Dhu l-Marwa were in fact granted by the Prophet to a man from Dhuayna (see Ibn Sa'd, Taḥābādī, Beirut 1385/1960, i, 271; see on 'Awṣāda b. Ḥarmāma, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caṣṣīl, Samarhābit an-nsana, ii, 216; Ibn Ḥadīdār, al-ṣarīb, iv, 753, no. 6093; on Dhu l-Marwa see al-Bakrī, Maṣāʾiṭ, s.v. Marwa).

The Prophet concluded several treaties with the various tribal groups of Dhuayna. Some of these treaties can be traced to the very early period of the Prophet's stay at Medina; they do not contain any stipulation as to conversion to Islam. There are, however, some treaties which may be attributed to a later period, when conversion to Islam became obligatory, and include instructions concerning the religious duties to be performed (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i,
A tradition recorded by Ibn Sa'd (I, 333) says that a delegation of Djuhayna embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet to Medina; this story may, however, refer to a unit of Djuhayna, and certainly not to the whole tribe.

The early conversion of several groups of Djuhayna and another Kud'a group, the Aslam, is reflected in some traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which Djuhayna is counted among the tribal groups surpassing (in virtues) the great tribes of Asad, Ghaffar, Tan'im, and 'Amr b. Sa'da (see e.g. al-Humaydi, Musnad, ed. Habib al-Rahman al-A'zami, Beirut-Cairo 1381, ii, no. 1048; Abdel al-Razzak, al-Musawwara, ed. al-A'zami, Beirut 1392/1972, xi, 47, no. 1987; al-Tabarani, al-Mu'jam al-aghir, ed. Abdel al-Rahman al-Uthman, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 54, ii, 85), i.e. the leaders of Djuhayna. The sources are based on the early organization of the tribe. Only few cases of opposition by some units of Djuhayna against the Muslim community are known (see e.g. al-Wahidi, 774-5; al-Tabarani, Ta'rikh, ed. Muhammad Abu Ta'fail Ibrhaim, Cairo 1969, i, 39, about the expeditions of Abu Hurayra). When the Prophet set out into the fields of Hudsayiba, some nomad Djuhanis were disinclined to respond to his summons and to join him, fearing that the Muslims might be defeated by the Kurayshi forces (see e.g. Djumshid, Tafsir, ed. Abdel al-Rahman al-Thir al-Sarati, Beirut n.d., 601 inf.; Muhammad, Tafsir, Ms. Abnet ii, 74/11, ff. 160b, 165b; al-Wahidi, 574, 619; al-Nawawi, al-Dawri, Marai ibad, Cairo 1305, ii, 305 inf.; al-Kurthi, Tafsir, Cairo 1387/1967, xvi, 265, 348; al-Suyuti, al-Durr al-mannur, Cairo 1314, vii, 72-73).

Djuhayna appeared as a strong force of 800 warriors and 50 riders (or 1400 warriors according to Tabari, Ta'rikh, ii, 65 sup.) on the expedition for the conquest of Mecca; four banners were borne by its leaders (see e.g. al-Wahidi, 799, 820, 864; al-Mustakhi al-Hindfi, Kaws al-farid, Hyderabad 1908, 1970, xvii, 78, no. 199; and see Ibn Hidjar, al-Ihza, ii, 445, no. 2549; i, 604 sup., no. 2897, vii, 165, no. 8096; Ibn al-Athir, Usd, i, 124; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, isbikhi, 871-2). The Djuhanis Ra'af b. Makth was appointed by the Prophet as tax-collector (nawzadid) of his tribe (al-Wahidi, 1073). A number of Djuhanis emigrated to Medina; the Prophet himself fixed the place of the tribal mosque of Djuhayna in Medina (Ibn Sa'd, i, 332).

Djuhayna remained faithful to Islam after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Wahidi, 1122) and favourable utterances attributed to the Prophet emphasised their virtues. The Prophet is said to have considered Djuhayna among his mawali (see e.g. al-Ayni, Umudat al-kaw, Cairo 1348, xvii, 76-6; al-Khumasi, Farid al-hakir, Beirut 1391/1972, iv, 53, about the Djuhanis' support). The Prophet is said to have recommended seeking refuge in the mountains of Djuhayna during the periods of strife, fitan (see e.g. al-Bakri, 134; Hamad al-Dijar, Abu Ali al-Hajjani, Ri'yad 1388/1968, 192; and see the utterance of the Prophet in Ibn Sa'd, i, 333). In an alleged utterance, the Prophet is said to have recommended marrying Djuhanis women (Ibn Hibbani, Kitab al-Majdhirin, ed. 'Aziz, Preq al-Nakahbandi, Hyderabad 1939/1970, ii, 10). A peculiar tradition attributed to the Prophet forbids anyone to harm Djuhayna, saying "he who harms Djuhayna harms me, and he who harms me harms God"; this utterance was instantly denied when transmitted to Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Muttalib (al-Majlidi, al-Majlidi, 60, no. 247).

Djuhayna participated, together with other groups of Kud'a, in the conquest of Egypt; some of them settled in Fustat (cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futuhat Murs, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index). Djuhanis lived in Mansfahat and Askuf. After clashes with other tribal groups, Djuhayna migrated to Upper Egypt and settled in the region of Khitan during the Fatimid period; they became one of the powerful Arab tribes of Egypt (see Makrizi, al-Bayan, 1397, "Annam fa asf ir mid min al-anaw, ed. Abdel al-Majdidi, Cairo 1961; and see the researches of 'Abdel, in ibid., 57-72). Groups of Djuhayna penetrated in the 8th/14th century into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and got mastery over it. From Nubia, Djuhayna continued to push forward into the Sudan and mixed with the native tribes (see C. H. Becker, Zur Geschichte des 8tlichen Sudan, in ibid., i, 153-73; iedem, EP art. Djuhayna; F. C. Thomas Jr., The Juhaina Arabs of Chad, in MEJ (1959), 144-53; von Oppenheim, op. cit., ii, 359). In the Djuhan territories of the Arab peninsula, the different sections of that tribe became controlled by the descendents of Ali, who succeeded in acquiring a great deal of landed property in these regions. Nevertheless, the Djuhanis were always on the move, succeeding in keeping their identity throughout the centuries. Although wandering at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of the tribe followed the sons of the Sharif Husayn; later, they changed attitude and became loyal subjects of the Sa'd dynasty (see von Oppenheim, ii, 360). In recent times, they have been exerting themselves in developing their region (see Hamad al-Dijar, Bilad Ya'aba, passion).

2. To the north of the territory of Djuhayna was the region of Bal, another branch of Kud'a. Starting at Wadi Idam, their usual habitations extended far to the north, including the places of Shaghab, Bad' and Tayma (cf. Ibn Khaldun, Thar, ii, 326; von Oppenheim, ii, 355, 365-3). The Kud'a tribal groups of Bal, Djuhayna and 'Udra migrated, according to tradition, to the Wadi 'Udair in which they settled and cultivated the soil, dug the wells and planted palm-trees. According to an agreement between the Jewish settlers and these Kud'a groups, the Jews undertook to give them a certain payment; in return Bal, Djuhayna and 'Udra were under obligation to give protection to the Jewish settlers against the Bedouin tribes, including other Kud'a units (see Yaqut, s. v. al-Kur; al-Bakri, Madinat, i, 43). The stipulations of this agreement remained valid until the advent of Islam; then the 'Udair Djamra b. al-Numan visited the Prophet and was given by him a grant of land. The Jewish settlers of the family of 'Umayd (or 'A'id) were allowed by the Prophet to stay in their places; they were granted by the Prophet the privilege of receiving a certain annual payment (see Ibn Sa'd, i, 379; al-Bakri, i, 44; cf. al-Ashraf, ed. M. A. 그리고, Medina, Oxford 1926, 109-9). Some clans of Bal got involved in internal fighting; one of the fighting groups, the Bani Hisina, was compelled to seek refuge with the Jewish settlers of Tayma, and at their demand converted to Judaism. Some of these refugees left later for Medina and embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet (see al-Bakri, i, 29). A corroborating report counts among the Jewish tribal groups at Medina three groups from Bal (see Ibn Khaldun, op. cit., i, 505; and cf. al-Samhawi, Wafal wa-'awaf, ed. Muhammad Mubayyid-Din 'Abd al-Hamid, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 162-5, 199, 206, 223). Some traditions, in reporting of the migration of the Balawi clans to Medina, remark that they became allies (akalud) of the Aws and Khazzad (see e.g. al-Bakri, i, 28; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Tabarani, 317).
In the conquest of Egypt, the forces of Ball played an important role. The expedition against the Ball sent in 8 AH was intended to gain their allegiance and secure the territory for the Muslim community; it was essential for the latter to secure the co-operation of the Ball who dwelt in the northern regions of the peninsula, who controlled the road to Medina and Mecca, and of whom some members were in the service of the Byzantine army; the commander of the troop which fought the Muslim force at Mu’ta was a Ballawi (see al-Wakidi, 760). It was a shrewd decision of the Prophet to appoint *Amr b. al-‘Aṣ, whose mother was from Ball, as commander of the Muslim force (ibid., 770); the expedition was also directed at the Mahra and Balkayn, two Kudass tribesmen in the region of Ball. In 9 AH the Prophet met the delegation of Ball, who embraced Islam (see e.g. Ibn Sa’d, i, 330; al-Zarkānî, Sharḥ al-masālik, iv, 57-8; Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya, Zad al-ma’dî, Beirut n.d., iii, 49).

The forces of Ball played an important role in the conquest of Egypt; *Amr b. al-‘Aṣ fought under the banner of Ball (see Ibn *Abd al-Hakam, i, 62). Umar established the pay of Balli warriors as equal to that of Mu’ta, Kalb and Tayyîn, sc. 300-400 dinars; it was lower than that of the Yemeni tribes because they were closer to the places of migration (see al-Djalîl, al-Uthmanîyya, ed. *Abd al-Salâm Hârîn, Cairo 1974/1955, 242). When Umar was informed that a man from Ball summoned his people in Syria by the battle-cry *yâ Kudâa, he ordered a third of Kudass to be removed to Egypt, as Ball formed a third part of Kudâa; they were indeed transferred to Egypt (Ibn *Abd al-Hakam, 116; al-Makrizî, al-Muyayn, 29). It was a Balawi, *Abd al-Rahmân b. *Udâys, a Companion of the Prophet, who was at the head of a troop of riders in revolt against Uthman. He was later imprisoned by Mu’tawiya, and was killed on his flight from the prison (see al-Samâ`î, al-‘Arabî, Hyderabad 1964, ii, 324, Ibn al-Athîr, Ust, iii, 309-10; Ibn Hadjâr, *IbSa, iv, 334, no. 5166; Muhammad b. Yahyâ al-‘Ashârî al-Mudâlî, Tâ'kîm, s.l. m. nashîl al-‘Ashârî Uthmanî, ed. Muhammad Yûsuf *Yâsîr, Beirut 1964, index).

Ball settlements are mentioned in the regions of Alghmîn, Asyût and Ushmîn; they were expelled by the forces under the command of *Abd al-Qâdir and were compelled to move to the south. In the 8th/14th century the Balli entered together with Djuhayna, the Sudan and contributed considerably to the Islamisation and Arabisation of the native tribes of the Bedja and the Bakhrâ [scr.]; the Arabic language is known among the Bedja even today as “Balawiyat”, i.e. the language of Ball.

In the Arabian peninsula, the Balli played during the First World War an important role in the conflict between the Sharîf Husayn and the Turkish authorities, finally (in 1918) following the lead of the sons of the Sharîf Husayn.

Some groups of Balli joined the new régime in the Hijâz in 1925 and became loyal subjects of Sa’dîd Arabia, but some rebellious units of Balli took refuge in the kingdom of Trans-Jordan. They crossed the borders at ‘Akkaba and raidied, together with other rebels, the northern districts of Sa’dîd Arabia in 1932, but were defeated by the Sa’dîd forces (cf. von Oppenheim, ii, 354).

In Spain descendants of the Balli tribe lived in the region of Cordova or Kurtaba and it was reported that they excelled in hospitality. They were unable to speak Romance (al-lafiniyya), and spoke only Arabic, according to Ibn Hadjâr, *Djumhura, 443. Bibliography: given in the article essentially, but see also W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, Cambridge 1885, 8-9, 155, 246-9, and H. Lammens, *El art. s.v.

[M. J. Köster]

KUDÂMA, D. *Ya‘far al-Kâtîb al-Bahlâdî, Abu al-Farahî, philologist, historian, and one of the first scholars to introduce the systematic study of the figures of speech in Arabic literature. The date of his birth is nowhere mentioned and may have been as early as around the year 260/873-4. He died at an uncertain date which is variously given as “during the reign of al-Muktafl” (i.e. not later than 310/921, 328/1939-40, and 337/1958). The dates “shortly after 300” and 350 cannot be correct (see below).

Almost every aspect of Kudâma’s biography, his work, and his personality as a scholar raises delicate problems which cannot be fully discussed, let alone answered, in the context of this article. The only data which are certain, or at least have not been questioned, are (a) that he converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafl (289-95/906-8); (b) that he held important positions in various diwans of the central administration in Baghdad till he won an appointment in *Shawwi
al-Muhassin was in charge of the dfudn al-maghrib 297/910. or shortly thereafter, to the of al-Hariri (quoted in commentary on the Kitdb Nakd al-$hi'r written by fcudama, since al-Mufarrizi fcud.) in his Kitdb Nakd al-$hi'r famous and often-quoted (c) that he was alive in 320/932; and (d) that he was [q.v.] FurAt dlwdn al-ma&rib in the when Abu M-Hasan b. al-Air. 13), who lived three centuries later, is the only author to mention that the Nakd was sometimes attributed to Kudama’s father. The Tavikh Baghdad does not have a biography of Kudama. It only mentions (vii, 205) one Djafar b. Kudama b. Ziydi whom the Khattb describes as a learned and distinguished secretary. The Khattb also mentions that Djafar wrote books dealing with the secretarial art as well as other subjects, that he was often quoted as an authority by Abu 'l-Faradj al-isfahani, the author of the Aghdih, and was himself a pupil of, among others, Hammad, the son of the famous Isfah b. Ibakhir al-Mawsil. Ibn al-Nadim states that this Isfah b. Ibakhir was a pupil of Kudama’s father. Djafar, was a man without scholarly distinction, and this statement is repeated by Ydkht, who clearly borrowed it from Ibn al-Nadim. Since Ydkht (ii, 412-15) also has a fairly elaborate biography of Djafar b. Kudama b. Ziydi al-Khit (he adds the kunya Abu 'l-Khit, cf. Aghdih, x, 281, l. 7) he apparently did not believe that this Djafar b. Kudama was the father of our author, since otherwise he would have noticed the discrepancy between the facts as they appear from this biography and the characterization of Kudama’s father as a man without learning (if the “poet-secretary”, Djafar b. Kudama, mentioned in the Fihrist, 168, l. 7, is identical with the scholar mentioned in the Tavikh Baghdad and in Ydkht, Ibn al-Nadim must have held the same view). Ydkht’s contemporary, al-Mutarrizi does not, however, hesitate to identify the scholar mentioned in the Tavikh Baghdad as the father of Kudama. The question is of considerable interest, since according to the Aghdih (v, 280-3, xii, 54), Djafar b. Kudama b. Ziydi al-Khit (in several places in the Aghdih) was a close friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz (q.v.), the author of the Kitdb al-Badi*. Yet Kudama is reported to have written a book to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz (according to the version of the title of the book in Ydkht, in order to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz’s views on the poet Abu Tammam) and makes no mention of his predecessor in the Nakd, even though some of the subject matter is the same and may even have been borrowed by Kudama from the Kitdb al-Badi* (see Naka, introd., 20-30). Kudama also fails to use the term badi*, but here the explanation may be that, unlike Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Kudama was not concerned with the identification of the figures of speech to which this term was applicable, and that the practice of using the term as a collective for figures of speech had not yet been established (cf. Kitdb al-Badi*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1955, 57, l. 15-58, l. 3, and S. Bonnebakker, Ibn Abi 'l-Isha’s text of the Kitdb al-Badi*, in Israel Oriental Studies, ii [1972], 89-90). One could also suggest that the Nakd was written shortly after the abortive attempt to bring Ibn al-Mu'tazz to the throne and that Kudama thought it wiser not to make any reference to the unfortunate “one-day caliph”, His attack on Ibn al-Mu'tazz could have been written in the same period as an attempt to dissociate himself from his famous predecessor. Still, the possibility remains that there were two personal¬ties by the name of Djafar b. Kudama who could easily be confused. The first would have been a member of a Christian family and a professional secretary who occupied a minor position in the central administration, in which he was succeeded by his son, Kudama; the second a Muslim official who enjoyed considerable reputation as a scholar, distinguished himself as a poet, and won the favour of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, of Ibn al-Mu'tazz’s champion, the vizier ‘Ali b. Isa (see below), and later of ‘Ali b. ‘Isa’s rival, the vizier Abu 'l-Hassan b. al-Furat (see Hitti al-Sabi*, Tha'far al-mun'tad*tarib al-musarab, ed. H. F. A. Meroz, Beirut 1904, 211-12; Ydkht, ii, 414, l. 9-10). It is curious that the Aghdih nowhere mentions that Djafar b. Kudama was a Christian, and even suggests in two places that his name was Djafar b. Muhammad b. Kudama (v, 134, note and xxxii, 315). That both this Djafar and Kudama were acquainted with members of the Ibn al-Furat family and with the vizier ‘Ali b. ‘Isa [q.v.] may be due to the fact that both of them pursued the same type of official career (for ‘Ali b. ‘Isa and Djafar, see Ydkht, ii, 413, l. 16-18, and for ‘Ali b. ‘Isa and Kudama, see below). Similarly, the fact that Djafar and Kudama distinguished themselves as men of letters would account for their reliance on the same sources: Kudama, in his Kitdb al-'Ahdhur, used the same sources as Ibn Khusrudadih (q.v.) (see de Goej’s ed., introd., xxxii). Djafar was acquainted with the same Ibn Khusrudadih, and 'as is shown by an swad* in the Aghdih, xxii, 201, l. 6. It appears certain that Kudama knew a definition of the tefsim as Ibn Khusrudadih, and a definition of the taksim by Isfah b. Ibakhir al-Mawsil and a definition of the taksim by the same scholar (see Bonebakker, Notes on the Kitdb Naka al-Usgid*, Istanbul 1968, 18-19: idem, Materials for the History of Arabic Rhetoric, in AION, Suppl. no. 4 = vol. xxxv [1922], 35, 45, 48-50; cf. also Naka, introd., 26, l. 17-21). Djafar was a pupil of Isfah’s son, Hammad. Less likely to be coincidental—and therefore to be considered an argument in favour of al-Mutarrizi’s identification of the author of the Fihrist, as two authors with the family of the Tha’iris (see Materials, 35-7; Aghdih, v, 390, xi, 337, xviii, 125). Finally there is strong evidence that the author of the Aghdih, who related many traditions from Djafar, also knew Kudama’s work and may even have met him in person (see Notes, 17-18, 27-9: Materials, 39, 51). If al-Mutarrizi is correct, one could suggest that Ibn al-Nadim had wrongly identified a certain Abu Kudama as the father of our author. This Abu Kudama appears in al-Muzahhbin’s al-Mu‘adhdib (Cairo 1936/1955, 572) as a kutib who composed bad verse (cf. also an anec¬dote on a certain Ibn Kudama whom Ydkht, ii, 414-5 is apparently unable to identify, and al-Soll, Kitdb al-A’rabi: Advabb al-Radi wa-l-Mudabihi, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1935/1935, 21-23). The date 1348/44 for Kudama’s death which is reported by Ibn al-Djawari (al-Mustasama, vi, 365) and repeated by others, is rejected by Ydkht (v, 204). Ydkht also rejects a statement by an un¬named commentator on the Makdnat of al-Hariri who makes Kudama a secretary of the Buwayhids. He argues that Kudama was a contemporary of Tha’ibah (adraha zamana Tha’ibah†), al-Muharrad, Abu Sa'id al-Sukkari, Ibn Kultabya, and other scholars of the same generation. Ibn Taghrizbidi, Nujum (Cairo 1934, iii, 297-8) goes further and says 319
explicitly that Kudama was a pupil of al-Mutarrad, and according to Ibn al-Dajwiz, he consulted Ibn Thahab; but in the N subt there is evidence only of a personal acquaintance between Kudama and Thahab (q. 291/964) (Nabid, text. 33, 44, 45, 502, 115, 117, introd. 23). If Kudama was indeed a pupil of Abu Sa'd al-Sukkarli (q. at the latest 275/888), this would mean that he was born around 260, which would not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Dajwiz. Yaqut offers the year 320/932 as the only reliable terminus post quem. Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, to whom Yaqut refers, mentions that in that year Abu 'Amr (sic; read Abu 'Umar wa-7) Kudama b. Dia'i attended a famous dispute between Abu Sa'd al-Sirafi and Abu Bigh Matta b. Yudai, in the presence of Abu 'l-Fath al-Fadli b. Dia'i b. al-Furat (in 326 according to Abu Hayyan's Intikha, Cairo 1373/1953, 1, 108, but cf. i, 129, 1; in 323 according to his Muhkamati, Cairo 1347/1953, 69, and Yaqut, iii, 106 and vii, 204, see also JRAS [1905], 82, 84-5). According to a second report by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (Intikha, ii, 145-6), Kudama attended a famous dispute between al-Khardi and the vizier Firdaws b. Zayid b. al-Sayf at the vizer's home in that year.

The two other dates for Kudama's death, "during the reign of al-Mutakrid" and 328, appear respectively in al-Suyull, Tarikh al-khulafa' (Cairo 1351, 256 — Cairo 1383/1964, 380) and in al-Dhayl tarif, al-Baghdadi of Ibn al-Nadikjar (q. v.) as quoted in an unedited section of the Wafiq li l-Wafayd of al-Safadi (see Tabana, 9 and 71).

Finally, mention should be made of de Slane's assertion that Kudama belonged to a Christian family from Basra, possibly based on a statement by al-Idrisi, who mentions one Kudama al-Basri among the sources which he used in compiling his monumental geography (Opus geographicum, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 6).

It is not easy to determine the range of Kudama's scholarly interests on the basis of the titles of his works. So much seems certain that he was competent in the administration, especially in the fields of government, taxation and its historical, geographical, as well as a historian, a philologist, and an expert on linguistic usage, literary traditions, and the proper elements or to combinations of these elements. The success of the poems thus depends on the ratio between good qualities and defects (safa' and 'unfa'), as defined by the metre). In passing, he reminds his readers that the use of the four constituent elements separately or in combination is not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Dajwiz, that Kudama himself added a ninth (Tabana, 93). This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Mutarrad, which had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the Fihrist (quoted on p. 144 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al-Mutarrad's assertion and suggests that the 8th manzila did not originally belong to the Kitab al-Khardi, though it may have been identical with a Kitab al-Siyyan by Kudama which is also listed in the Fihrist. This 8th manzila is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th manzila, which is clearly a copy of al-Mutarrad's Introduction to Fihrist, xi, 306). Ibn al-Tubb, a pupil of Ibn al-Mubarrad, earned Kudama his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Hariri, Hakamati, ed. of Sary, 9; al-Kalkashandi, Sibth, xi, 306; al-Makarim, Nafal al-Teb, ed. Jasan 'Abbas, Beirut 1358/1970, ii, 1570). There is no satisfactory explanation for the statement of the Fihrist (repeated by others) that the book consisted of eight manzila, to which Kudama himself added a ninth (Tabana, 93). This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Mutarrad, who had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the Fihrist (quoted on p. 144 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al-Mutarrad's assertion and suggests that the 8th manzila did not originally belong to the Kitab al-Khardi, though it may have been identical with a Kitab al-Siyyan by Kudama which is also listed in the Fihrist. This 8th manzila is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th manzila, which is clearly a copy of al-Mutarrad's Introduction to Fihrist, xi, 306). Ibn al-Tubb, a pupil of Ibn al-Mubarrad, earned Kudama his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Hariri, Hakamati, ed. of Sary, 9; al-Kalkashandi, Sibth, xi, 306; al-Makarim, Nafal al-Teb, ed. Jasan 'Abbas, Beirut 1358/1970, ii, 1570).
poet's mind. He will therefore limit himself to the principal "aims" (asba'ah), i.e. subjects or themes which can be associated with these mads and to which the mind should correspond. Panegyric, satire, elegy, description, and the nasib (i.e., which he sees as an erotic theme). The various figures of speech which come next are interpreted as ornaments pertaining to the mads or as successful combinations of the four constituent elements. In the classification of these figures Kudama shows much ingenuity. He has to recognize, however, that there are no figures of speech that can be classified as combinations of lafs with wasin and mads with wasin: all technically good poetry that adequately expresses the poet's intentions illustrates these two combinations. Specimens of bad poetry are therefore the only illustrations of the principles involved. The section on the defects in poetry follows the arrangement of the section on the good qualities: Kudama examines the faults resulting from a wrong use of the four constituent elements and classifies certain errors under these four elements or the combinations of these elements two by two. He also shows how the figures of speech are sometimes handled incorrectly. In both sections the discussion follows the pattern of term-definition-example found in the Kiblat al-Badî and the Kawnid al-kayyil of Thâlab [q.t.]; but whereas the two earlier treatises usually do not comment on the examples, Kudama often analyses his examples in detail.

There are some further points in Kudama's presentation that deserve to be mentioned. The following are perhaps the most important: (a) his interest in Greek philosophy which appears, for instance, in his analysis of the function of the four cardinal virtues, 'abd, shafa'a, 'adl, and ifîsa in panegyric, elegy, and satire (he goes on to list other virtues as deriving either from these cardinal virtues themselves or from combinations of these cardinal virtues two by two), from a quotation from Galen's Pulp 169 in the chapter on satire, and from arguments based on Aristotle's Categories (further details in Naâd, introd., 56-54 and the recent studies cited in the Bibliography). There is no clear evidence, however, that he was influenced by the Poetics and the Rhetoric of Aristotle; (b) his defence of the hyperbole (ghulûw) and the simile (qa'un) throughout his work, and his recognition of the existence of hyperbole in ancient poetry; (c) his lack of interest in the early 'Abbasid poets (mudhâthim). This tendency appears clearly from the above-mentioned list of the "principal aims" from which verses like the love lyric (ghazal), the wine poem (dhuwwûya), and the hunting poem (lawadîyya) are conspicuously absent. Kudama nowhere expresses a categorical judgment. One could suggest, however, that his choice reflects a belief, which was perhaps not uncommon in his days, that "Abbasid poetry did not represent a real break with ancient, that is classical, tradition. Consequently he may not have felt that there was a need to justify his choice. The same may be true of the examples, most of which are taken from ancient poetry, though Kudama occasionally discusses examples by later poets (see Naâd, text, 80-1, 83; for a list of mudhâthim poets quoted in the Naâd, see p. 72 of the article by Kratchkovsky cited in the Bibliography).

Kudama may have been more dependent on his predecessors than is apparent at first sight (see Naâd, introd., 22-26). He may have followed Ibn Kutaiba and Ibn al-Mu'tâazz respectively when he discussed the lafs and the mads as independent constituent elements and distinguished between the proper and the erroneous use of the figures of speech. He may have depended on Ibn al-Mu'tâazz and on earlier critics for the choice of his terminology and examples. Yet the theory on which he based the framework of his thesis, as well as many aspects of the elaboration of this theory, appear to be unique. However, his system did not provide a sound basis for a theory of literature and quickly fell into oblivion: the four-element scheme was rarely taken over and never in its complete form. The same is true of the distinction between masâ'î and 'ufûd and the system of cardinal virtues. By contrast, those aspects of his work that conformed closely to the system of Ibn al-Mu'tâazz and the 2nd and 3rd century scholars who preceded him were readily accepted, in particular his terminology and definitions of the figures of speech. Kudama's figures were combined with those of Ibn al-Mu'tâazz and came to be known collectively as 'aâdî. The exact extent of Kudama's influence is not, however, always easy to determine, since direct references to Kudama are far exceeded by instances of unacknowledged borrowing (Naâd, introd., 44-60). In other cases it is clear that scholars used not only the Naâd, but also the Kharr al-dawâ (ibid., 57 and 47 note). There is a third category of borrowings where scholars borrowing from Kudama without having any direct knowledge of the text they are quoting (ibid., 58; Bonebakker, Notes, 16-17 and the above-mentioned article in AIJON, 309-26). Parallel to this we find that biographers after the time of Yûsûf copy out their predecessors or other erroneous information on the author and his work (see, for instance, al-Sharîfi, Sharh Mudhâm al-hâiri, Cairo 1372/1952, i, 26).

Kudama's Naâd was the subject of rejections and commentaries, none of which appear to have survived. A complex system of division into sections, chapters, and paragraphs introduced by Hamza al-Ishânî [q.t.] was recently discovered in a manuscript in Tunisia (see Bonebakker in a forthcoming article in ESO, which also offers minor corrections to the text of his ed.). A work with the title Naâd al-ma'lıh, erroneously attributed to Kudama, was identified in 1949 as the Kiblat al-Burhan fi wasil al-bayân of Abu 'l-Husayn Ishâk b. Ibrâhîm b. Sulaymân b. Wâhid al-Kittîb (ed. A. Matjûb and Sâlih al-Hâdhâbî, Baghdad 1387/1967), though it is occasionally still quoted by its old title [see ibn Wâhid in Suppl.]. The Shî'î bias of this last work may have prompted Aghâ Buzurg al-Târirî to include Kudama in his Ta`ahhit al-dâ`îm al-shi`î (al-Karn al-
KUDAMA — al-KUDS

I. The last six hundred years

1. Names. In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was 'Ilyakh shadow of the Temple' (Tabari, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, 'Ilyakh', or, more commonly, Isfah al-mudfr, was used. 'Ilyakh' (Ilyakh) as such was not the original name, but Mash'ad, or Mash'ad, ed. 1945, i, 141, 1. 5, 247, is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Christian scholars, they suggested various other ex-

I. The first six hundred years

A. History

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the life of the city was so enervated by the hands of an conspicuous tribal commander, the period of the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exception of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious fellahin or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamluks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamluk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sutayman's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrahim Pasha in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muhammad 'Alî could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1834. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem.

By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a mutawasirlik, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally).

Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mudir al-Din al-Úlaymi, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book al-UN al-jordâni bi-ta'rikh iil-Kuds wa l-Khadîj in 1949, rightly observes (p. 6) that besides material of the type of the al-Jordâni ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "Umar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (122, 262, etc.) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu l-i-Kasim al-Makkî, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (245). The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

2. Names. In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was 'Ilyakh shadow of the Temple' (Tabari, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, 'Ilyakh', or, more commonly, Isfah al-mudfr, was used. 'Ilyakh' (Ilyakh) as such was not the original name, but Mash'ad, or Mash'ad, ed. 1945, i, 141, 1. 5, 247, is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other ex-

322 KUDAMA — al-KUDS

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the towns to the hands of an conspicuous tribal commander, the position of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exception of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

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plansations, such as the sanctuary of Elijah (Mutahhar b. Thahir, al-Bid to ta'arikh, ed. Huarte, iv, 87, i. 8; from Hebrew, since the Kuranic form of the name is Iyya, or "the House of God" (Yah as name of God is mentioned by Mutahhar). Bayt al-masdah is Aramaic beth mashakhshuh, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. Yed al-faraid, 1321, ii, 984; in the prayer found: "God, from all places you have chosen Iyya and from Iyya—bayt al-masdah". Soon, however, the term was also used by Muslims as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This was borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, when call the city bayt al-masda, but the Temple area al-kuds (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mans. Texts and studies, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza [g.v.] fragment in S. Assaf, Texts and studies, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Kuba al-Abbi tries to induce the caliph 'Umar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire al-kuds, that is, al-masdah al-karunan (1) will be before you (Suytj, Ihaf al-aghfa, Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 8ta, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 9thcentury, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called 'ir hak-kudshah, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", Ihaf al-aghfa, ii, 98-100 enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (Midrash Tehillim, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"). Suyutj's list does not include here the Kur^anic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as masdah al-ahab (see below), or masdah al-anna, "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. next sched, Jeremiah xxxi, 22). Al-arid al-mu-kaddasa (V, 21), "the Holy Land", also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (Ihaf, fol. 183b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of bayt al-masda as bayut al-mu-kaddasa.

Vastous Arabic versions of Hebr. gedol (Ps. lxvi, 3) and Aram.URBAH (Arabicised urba) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (Sallam, al-Ash'a, al-Bakri, 144, l. 22, 872, l. 177; Salim, Ihaf, l. 300). Whether dar al-salamin, "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, Texts, 108-10, corresponding to Hebr. 'ir hask-shelah, Gottheld-Worsel, Geniza fragments from the First Collection, New York 1936, 26), founded in Genizah letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. Jerusalem in the Kur^an. Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Kur^an. But "the city of the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sura XVII, significantly named both al-Isr^a and Banu Isr^a'il, in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called masdah in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banu Isr^a'il. Al-masdah al-aqsa in the opening verse of the Sura is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Kur^an the "nearer" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 19), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz, cited in akb2ag). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definitions were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying al-masdah al-aqsa for the purposes of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the kibla, or direction of prayer (II. 133-36). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first kibla" is no doubt genuine; since the new kibla, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. The Conquest. The battle of Anjnadajn (q.v.) in the summer of 1363 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracen, "who boast they would conquer the entire world!" Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 635 (end of 15, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmuk (q.v.) (Radjab 15/ Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khulid b. Thabit al-Fahmi, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Baladhr, Fudkh, 139, ii, 49). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Ya'subi, ii, 167, and Eutychius, Annales, ii, 17, reproduces a treaty,
but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Ballaghur’s version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition “that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem.” This condition is found also in Tabari, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Tabari’s source here was Sayf b. ‘Umar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, vi, 3–7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Tabari, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymân b. ‘Abd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong data and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthless. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamluk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagoge in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed. In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by ‘Uni, 225, adds several conditions of the legendary ‘Covenant of ‘Umar”, in which the Christians undertake, inter alia, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ‘Asakir, ii, 323 (peasó-áwakeilâ), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by ’Uways (a scribal error for Yusha*), b. Nûn. This is a “harmonising” legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5. The beginnings of Islamisation. Tabari, i, 2406, itt., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ‘Umar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthless. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kab al-Albâb [g.t-.] suggested to ‘Umar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two ñibâb should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Ka’ba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the bida’ of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely uncovred, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ‘Umar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet’s court poet Hassan b. Thâabit. Aws was a disciple of Ka’b al-Albâb and himself a pietist; Ibn Sa’d, vii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Dîn, ‘Uni, 253. Several other Medinese are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Sa’d, iii/4, 57; vii/2, 123, etc. Among them the famous “companion” ‘Ubâda b. ‘Amr, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-Dhahabi, Duwal al-Islâm, 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Ansâr were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemeni auxiliary corps, al-madad min ahl al-Yaman, also was stationed there (Ibn Sa’d, vii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muhammad’s Jewish concubine Raybâna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (‘Uni, 253).

The strange hadîth running ‘umkra bâyi al-malâbîsh âhârû yâhârîs, ‘The building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina’, might have been originally a bon mot on this exodus from the capital of the Hijâj to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the madâkîm literature. Its continuation: wa-khalîsh yâhârû al-malâbîsh ‘al-malâmâ, ‘and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days’ (Mukaddasi, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mugjîr). ‘Uni, 120, al-Sirâqî al-munir, i, 460, where are further sources).

Mukaddasi, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ‘Uthman, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umâ al-Darî, the wife of the wise kadi of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where “she sat among the poor” (‘Uni, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 760. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As Mukaddasi tells us (184, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian asceticism (S. D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic history, 141, 146).

6. The Umayyads (29–172/640–750). About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Mu’awiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muhammad, as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Mu‘awiya in the latter’s favour (‘Uni, vi/2, 1, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Safar-Rabi‘ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Mu’awiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Mu’awiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nökleke, in ZDMG, xxix, 55). This was hardly mere politics (ibid., 83), but a manifestation of the chiliasmic state of mind of the time, so Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monothestic religions.
During the long rule of Mu'awiyah, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in ca. 680 (see L. Bieder, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, cit.), Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Mutahhar b. Tahir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Mu'awiyah built the Muslim sanctuary there “after ‘Umar”. It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Mu'awiyah. The inscription in the dome bears the year 726/fig-2, but the beginning of ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign (68/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ‘Abd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Mu’awiyah is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and mujahidin, in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, Some reports concerning Mecca, in JESHO, xv (1972), 84-91).

Goldschner, Alm. St., ii, 55-7, Erg. tr. ii, 44-5, expounded the theory that ‘Abd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ‘Abd Allah b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many “traditions” in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ‘Abd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muhaddith, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, the allegation that ‘Abu ‘Aas, ii, 68/29, and others, report expressly that the sovereignty of ‘Abd al-Malik’s expeditionary force participated in the hajj. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Baidhur, Anas, ii, 360. Moreover, it is obvious that ‘Abd al-Malik would not have had to struggle, but endangered his position by trying to divert the hajj from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Qur’an, and this after the hajj had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a kafir, against whom the dhikr was obligatory. The two older sources that mention that ‘Abu ‘Aas, ii, 68/29, and others, report expressly that the sovereignty of ‘Abd al-Malik’s expeditionary force participated in the hajj to Jerusalem, are, Tawfiq, ii, 342, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves. Nasir-i Khurasan, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the hajj, assembled in Jerusalem wa-br-nsify b-Island, “and performed the wukuf”, the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ‘Arafat (q.f.). This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldschner’s thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Basra and Fustat; it even had a special name, tabayf, derived from ‘Arafat, Ibn Taghribirdi, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the hajj, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajah b. Hayyva [q.f.] of Baytān, who was in charge of the building operations (Ums, 241, and others: probably only the financial aspect, while the mawsil Yaqub b. Salam supervised the actual work) was the most prominent theologian of the time, a priest and ascetic, (Ibn Hanjar, Tahāhiq, iii, 286), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chilastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 22, etc.), which had become incunabula for the Moslems (Ibn al-Fakir, BG, v, 97, l. 11-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon’s Temple (Kusa, 59, l. 20). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the “prophethood” of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goltein, Grabar and Caskell; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Khazzaz (d. 201/817-4) in his book on wukuf, 341, says: “If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the Bayt al-makdis or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them.” Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a wukuf for specific Muslim purposes. An Italian Jew of the 16th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil “to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside,” (Alkazzaz’s chronicle, ed. B. Ritter, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the masjid al-aqsa and the daj al-imārah, see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kajir, xi, 256, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Hajjaj, at that time governor of Fustāt, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ‘Abd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (RGCA, no. 13). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem’s population.
The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Aqṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ḫirītīya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [q.v.] as capital city of the province of Filēstīn by the new project Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run it was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Khārīr, ix, 174; cf. also E. Sivan, in Israel Or. Stud., i, 170, n. 31), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Mūṣṭağhār b. Tāhīr, one of them, observes (iv, 72, l. 2-3): *bayt al-madās min sawād al-ramlā bā'd mā kāhan dār al-muḥsī fiyyāmin Sulaymān wa-Dā'ūd, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

7. The Abbasid Period (132-238/750-969). The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwūn II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Baghdad from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/759-80 (Tabari, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masūdī, vi, 272, l. 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 140/757 (Tabari, iii, 129). As in connection with the event in the Maghrib, al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balāghūr, Futūḥ, 233, l. 4-5, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 469). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Tabari, iii, 500), but Hārūn al-Rashīd, who made the ḫidīdī almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Maʿmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later Abbasid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflects the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidās, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, Chronographia, i, 446, reports that a ṣuflār, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo on their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient ḫadīth assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Fāḍīl, BGA, vi, 94, l. 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early ṣufls, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (JAOΣ, lx, 207), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, Itinera Hierosolymitana, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, op. cit., 1, 302).

Co. 800, the Jewish High Council, the yevuwh, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites [q.v.], a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaita dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the *Ṣofūbīyya [q.v.], emphasizing the return to the Bible, the revival of the *ḥagak, a par excellence (Eutychius, ii, 15), and the return to the Torah, the survival of the Book of the Law. As is the case in general, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaita settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 9th and 10th centuries, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Pāṭīnids, repr. 1970, ii, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to cooperate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Pāṭīnids recognized the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbānīte Jews in their empire (see Gotthelf, A Mediterranean society, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, 3 ff.).

During the period of the Crusades, Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fiddātīn, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Muʿtāsīm (228-27 853-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-
Mubārakāʿ ("veiled one")—as former impostors had been—and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyākā, or messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Mustasim's successor (Ibn al-Athir, vi, 372-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Synes, ii, 541).

In 255/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amādūr, Ibn al-Athir, vii, 165, ii, 8-7), but this did not change the ways of the Abābid regime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppression. [Ibn. Sādiq, Kitāb al-Ittār, vol. v, 1400, ed. 1626, and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, Itinera, 319).]

Amād b. Tūlūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Tūlūnid and the other Íkhshīdīs [q.v.], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the Abābid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgment and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Fākīh, BGA, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Tabari, i, 485, l. 24, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Ḥimyarītē" Jews buried their dead in the Beth-Sha'arāyim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/5th century it must have become popular among Muslims. Iṣāṣ b. Māzir al-Nāṣirī, the first Abābid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Tūlūnīs, was buried in Jerusalem in 396/1006; the founder of the Íkhshīdish dynasty, the Turk Muhammad b. Ṭughjūlī, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

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The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/4th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boating threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964, that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called maqṣūrāt ʿUmar, probably in order to emphasize, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had preferred the Christians' demands); only in 952, under the caliph al-Mustasim's successor (Ibn al-Athir, vi, 371-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Synes, ii, 541).

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Sala'ha collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 23 July, at 4 p.m., J. Mann, Texts and studies, I, 315). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yābūr b. Sa'd al-Anḍālī, ii, 201). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1055, so lively described by Lamber of Hiersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Fatimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1065, In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Seljuk invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsh b. Yuvāk [q.v.], whom the Fatimids government, paralysed by faction, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine. But Atsh turned against the Fatimids and took Jerusalem in 469/1077 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there had been replaced by the Armenian convert Bahr al-Dānānī [q.v.], and Atsh was forced to retreat (469/1077).

In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fatimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsh's forces (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from AJSL [1906], r-34). The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsh had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Akāba mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsh was soon liquidated by the brother of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shāh, Tutush, who then was governor of Damascus (490/1099). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Seljuk empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kāheghūr to Jerusalem" (Yaḥyā, Muṣṭafā al-Ǧānānī, iii, 136). Tutush assigned Jerusalem to Artuk [q.v.], the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuk took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-Ḫidrī, 7, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 494/1093.

In the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events. The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B. Al-Mu'adaddās, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bīb al-Asbūt (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, i. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 53, i. 16; 166; 2, 16; n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (184, i. 9). During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Haram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Hakīm's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the dawāsir mentioned by Muḍhir al-Dīn, 264. The Persian religious group of the Karrāmīyya [q.v.], which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected Ǧānābūs for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Damascus gate, other enclaves, one near the Easterners, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭlaḥār, Niṣrār Kūrāwraw and Khātim, might have been identical with the madīrās or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called Ḍarūt al-mashārīk, the quarter of the Eunuchers, since most of them had come from Persia and Ṭirāq. It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Niṣrār Kūrāwraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the "id al-ḥabīb", but Ibn Aḏīr, xi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Kāmilīya quarter settled in Jerusalem. Al-Mu'adaddās is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, i. 9), or more populous than many a provincial capital (169, i. 13). The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching
invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aqsa mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1020s. The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Mufcaddasī, 166, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (ibid., 167, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of foreigners' (Mufcaddasī, 166, l. 6).

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Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do some business, with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude. al-fdhjAli sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to teach or to study, cf. Yākūt, i, 356, 589, 887, etc.; Ibn 'Asakīr, i, 397-98, ii, 54, l. 31 164, 144, iv, 353, l. 10; 134, l. 2. But for characteristic traits of Yākūt's Dictionary of learned men Basra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing: In the K. al-āghānī it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muqaddasī's complaint, 167: "The mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is not empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputes and no instruction", was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-Jāzā'ī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Unayzah times (Tabari, i, 150, l. 10; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 550-5). Thā'far b. Yazid had to leave Damascus because of his Kadari [q.v.] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 453/1062 (Ibn 'Asakir, i, 68, l. 2r: iii, 383-84). Tekin, the Turkish governor of Jerusalem (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 421/933) banished thither the Sufi Abu l-Hasan al-Dinawari (Suyūṭī, al-Muṣūlah, i, 294). In Mamluk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.
Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mkr Sb'â near Jerusalem in the second half of the 4th/10th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian manuscript from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, ‘the manuscripts of the Geniza’, in J. Blau, ed., five scholars of the Geniza, 1966, I, 34, 53, 55). E. Stone, The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, in Tarbiz, xii (1972), 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mughrîl al-Dîn, 263-5, the main local madkhâb in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shâfi'a, with a sprinkling of the Hanbali, introduced by the Persian Abu 'l-Fardâl al-Shâ'âbî, while a Hamânî Turk was the hâdî, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interrelated elements: Jerusalemite of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests; the great traveller al-Mukaddasî, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Mu'âthhâr b. Tâhîr, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bâist, eastern Persia; and Abû Sulaymîn Muhammîd b. Ma'sâbîr al-Kâdî al-Bâsî. According to Abu Sulayman al-Manîdî, was the author of the rasâ'îl of the Ikhwâ' al-Safa' [1972, p. 33].

The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu 'l-Fâdî b. Tâhîr al-Kayyârânî, active in Arabic language study, hadîthi, and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamadhân, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Abu-Mu'âthhâr al-Murâdîja, the author of a book on the Fadîl al-Kâdîs (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, the shaykh al-Shâ'îs in the whole of Syria), Abu 'l-Fâth Nâsîr b. Ibrahim, left the city for Tyre (Yâlîf, Mirîlî, iii, 197-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (ca. 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

16. Crusaders and Jews. The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Scilly, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fâtimî commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkénazîm" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Edel as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 2/3 dinars per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of large numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Regnum Hierusalem, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian centre was the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1099, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usâma b. Munkird [88] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace ca. 1170.

After the decisive victory of Hattin (Rabi' II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuable buildings and to destroy the buildings on the Haram al-Shâ'î, an agreement was reached in Ramadan 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were
dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Salahyya madrasa, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Muristan, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1229.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The disposessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of Ḥashāla in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the Maghāribiyya—a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Mukaddisi, see § 9 above. Inversely mentioned in the same source are the Jews from Yaman, Ḥaṣā', and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period ca. 1120-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyubid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 9th/10th century was cut, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Mu'azzam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Mu'azzam did much to adorn the Haram, and erected there the miḥrāb of Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples are the often quoted by B. Tarbis, Historia major, iv, 190, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in Tarbiy, xii [1972] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbīs, al-Malik al-Sālīḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn, enlisted the help of the wild Khārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Khārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabī' I 629/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Khārazmians and al-Malik al-Sālīḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Dūmādī I 542/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1250, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 923/1516-17.

II. The second six hundred years

11. The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Fadhil al-Kuds. The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the Tafsir of al-Mukhtārī (d. 520/1126), the Musannaf of 'Abd al-Razzāk (d. 622/1227) and the two oldest books of Fadhil al-Kuds still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the various trends on the subject and the present stage of research is found in F. Sivan, Le carnet de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles, in SI, xxv (1967), 149-82, and idem, Les commencements de Fadhil al-Quds, in Israel Or. Stud., i (1971), 267-91.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§§ 4-6, above). The hajj ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the sultan of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Hijājī (the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Ḥudhayfah: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two pace-stones, I would not go there", quoted in M. J. Kister, You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition, in Le Mésion, lxix [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular pieties. The notion that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see arba'at] and as the scene of Muhammad's Isra' and Mi'raj [q.v.] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Coeur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, Caractère sacré, 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from those themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kathir, Bidaya, vii, 260, l. 4 ff., formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the Sīrat (the bridge suspended in the air) as the corridor of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophets, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-10th centuries did not com-
mand a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *fadd'il* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wasīṭī, a *khaliṣ* of the al-Aqsa mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kaiser in the library of the al-Ḥijāzī Fatḥ mosque of Acre, in the course of publication by Y. Haszon), and another by Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj al-Mugharrar b. Muradīdhī, a *khaliṣ* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Siwan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *hadiths*, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Malākī al-Makdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when ʿImād al-Dīn Zanjī's conquest of Edessa in 339/1532 suggested to an influential ruler that territorial aspirations could well be furthered by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zanjī and his son Nur al-Dīn took up the topic of the *dākhil* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apex. While no *fadd'il* for Jerusalem worked appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Mu'arrāzī's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Kāmil's coding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *fadd'il* of Jerusalem multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Siwan, *Curators 1549*, p 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Tayniyya [et al.] in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bidā'as* disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolizes the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Rūḥ (d. 1966) writes in his huge work on the *kurūf* with reference to Sūrah XVII, 1: "The *Isra* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muhammad..."

Jerusalem under the Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1356). At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khawārizmians in 624/1224 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1256 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbis*, xli [1971], 89-93). After the victory of the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Dāhūt [q v] in Shawwal 588/September 1289, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy of Damascus. In 728/1328 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled naẓīr, or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Haram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", nāṣir al-haramayn, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafīyya (see section B), the amirs and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasas*, *sādiqiyas*, *bānūnaks*, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison at any site, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *faddīls*. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayallon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamlūk empire. (Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamlūk society, in *Israel Or. St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, ibid., 335, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, there is evidence to prove that the amirs assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicuous aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or 'repetitors' in madrasas, as *khaliṣ*, *bidā'īs*, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *hadith*, *Ṣibā* (qāf and *surūb*), *tafsīr*, *sira*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetoric. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always
to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into

desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim
divines during almost the entire Mamluk period (and
also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn
Djamāʿa, who originated in Hama and in-
habited in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the
north-west corner of the Haram. The biographies of
the more prolific authors of this family show, how-
ever, that they passed most of their adult lives in
the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo
and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as
khāsis and qāfīs. One branch of them, the al-
Khaṭṭāb family, is still extant. There are other
families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bear-
ing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Karaḵān-
dis, shared with them: the prerogative of the office
of ḥāfīs in the al-ʿĀṣa mosque. The Banū ʿAlāmīn,
also living on the northern edge of the Haram,
mostly hold the position of heads of the large al-
Ṣāliḥiya aš-ṣāḥīh. All these were ṣāḥīfs. The
most important Hanafi family were the Dayris,
natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafis judges
in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as
well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Hanafi al-Maḡ-
ẓamīyya maddīnī, and one of them became nāṣir
al-barānumayn. The well-known modern al-Khaṭṭāb
family (see §§ 23 and 14, below) derives its origin
from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were
smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local
and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of
juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them;
positions were often held in partnership). Of the
more distinguished scholars who passed considerable
parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Ḥāmin, an
expert on arithmetic and the science of the division
of inheritances (d. 422/1031), and Kamāl al-Dīn
Ibn Abī ʿShārif, a native of Jerusalem and great
authority on Muslim law (822-905/1419-1500), both
prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in
Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmmūlāt cemetery
(ʿAṣīr al-ʿArīf, Muḥṣafāt fi taḥlīl al-Quds, Jeru-
salem 1961, 566, 568).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious,
was the proper domicile for Ṣūfis. Mujār al-Dīn
notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most
of the major orders and several less known orders.
E. Ashor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamluk
period (the most comprehensive one on the subject,
see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations
prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the
two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the
mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of
a ṣāhiya studying at a madrasa or about prominent
scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other
hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially
the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental
music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply
condemned. A collection of ʿaṭārīs in this spirit,
written by an Ibn Djamāʿa and copied many years
later by a Dayris, has been described by Ashor:

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely
Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were
strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan
monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion
with its many religious associations, the "Tomb of
David", the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper)
and the Dormitic (the place where Mary, the mother
of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of
endless contests between Christians and Muslims
and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erected
and renewed destruction of buildings down to the
very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B.
Other Christian buildings were also objects of at-
tacks. The demolition and restoration in 1379/1474
of the synagogue of the then small Jewish
community is described in great detail by Mujār al-Dīn,
653-46, by Ibn Ḥāmath, ii, 754-5, and in a book
especially devoted to this matter by the Shāfiʿī bābī
de Ummayr al-ʿABBAYA (analysed by Goitein, in
Zion, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 38-39). Against orders from
Cairo, Ibn ʿAbbaya three times decided that the
Jewish place of worship was to be closed; it was
finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī gāyīb.
Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn
ʿAbbaya and others involved were summoned to
the capital, ʿAbbaya stayed his post and ended his days in Damascus, con-
soling himself with writing poems; the synagogue
was restored. These happenings were typical for their
time and place. Ibn ʿAbbaya was certainly right in
asserting that the synagogue was "new", that is, a
building erected after the advent of Islam and used
as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against
the provisions of Islamic law. But the government,
naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of
life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded
in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿAṣīr al-
ʿArīf, Muḥṣafāt, 256-57, describes fifty-six) should
not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity.
The endowments were mostly limited in size and
dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials
who had often to buy their offices for considerable
sums and frequently also served for only short terms,
had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions,
first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well.
Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing
in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap
made from the oil produced in the then rich olive
groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by
the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk
government, which monopolised production and
forced the population to buy quantities not needed by
it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity
inside and, in particular, outside the city added to
the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no
one could make the bābād from Jerusalem for ten
years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel
between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mawer,
A sequel to Mujār al-Dīn's chronicle, in JPOS, xi
[1931], 95-9, Ar. text xi-xii). At that time, as travel-
lers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt
areas within the boundaries of the city. But the
core of the Old City outside the Haram, as it
appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk
period.

The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jeru-
usalem during the victorious campaign of Selim I
against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His
successor Sultan Suleyman ʿKhanul left most dur-
ing impressions on the city: the wall, constructed
between 944/1537 and 948/1544, as indicated in its
seven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome
of the Rock and the four beautified fountain, the
ʿAbbāsī, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's
Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion.
The many ʿaṣārāt made by him and his wife ʿArūrīn,
further contributed to the welfare of the city
during his reign. The soup kitchen, ʿammār, donated
by her for the feeding of the poor and of students,
naturally does not operate any more, but its caul-

AL-KUDS
The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in Studies in the Ottoman Archives, in BSOAS xvi/3 (1954), 476, and Yerushalayim, ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 217-27 (see ibid., 177, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his Notes and documents from the Turkish archives, Jerusalem 1954). The population movement during Sulaymân's reign is illustrated on p. 242 by lists of taxpayers: A = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hejri</th>
<th>Hijri</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>933</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>2166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>932</td>
<td>1228</td>
<td>2160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>931</td>
<td>1218</td>
<td>2139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite this data, the total increase in the Jewish population, which until the end of the sixteenth century was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Jerusalem had not been predominantly Jewish since the Second Temple. By 1553 it was inhabited by a mixed community of Christian and Jewish pilgrims, who paid a large share of the tax revenue. The first Jewish community in Jerusalem was established in the late 18th century, and by 1800 it numbered about 1,000 persons.

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymân's reign (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the sixteenth century was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Christianity was the official religion of the Ottoman Empire. By the 17th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the ûbitân only 500 lire, one-twelfth of that of Sidon, ibid.) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A firman by Selim III (1205/1206) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 14 lire, and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Maçoğlu, Christian pilgrims during the Ottoman period, in Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the sâdik of the nâshâma menâiriyya of the city. Arif al-îrîf, Mufassal, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the hâdid in the presence of the two menâisib in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries and mahr through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the nabi id-al-âqîfî and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in Arif al-îrîf, Mufassal, 312-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the sâdîk and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The hâdid was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Hanafi rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of waqfs and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly recruited locally). The well-known families of the Khâlid, Khâlid (see sec. 12, above) 'Alamî, Anassi, Dâjdânî, Husaynî, Nâshâhîbî, Nasâyîb and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Otto-
man domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu T-Fath ad-Daljjuni (d. 1660), entitled 8ait al-hajaj al-masaghil. It shows the harem al-gharif as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmanna, A seventeenth century examination concerning al-Quds, in Israel Oriental Studies, III [1973], 263-93, reproducing the Arabic original of the Dajaniyya).

The 17th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Mahmud II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was Garrisoned by other troops, invited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the wali of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribi horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (Sharif Al-Arif, Mu'aṣṣalat, 356-3, quoting Milkiyy al-Burayk al-Dinashiri). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged with conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the wali of Damascus and the firm attitude of the khatf of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another wali of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and jellabāni alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1835 and raised a fine of 100,000 dinars from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back when the population rose again; the mutasallim, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege to the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytoς of Cyprus, Annales of Palestine, 1821-1841, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem: 1938, 3:4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

III. Modern times

14. 1837-1877. A time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalry states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people. This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrahim Pasha, the stepson of Muhammad al-Nasir, in 1831. His actions, of particular
world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its station-buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by the Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in *Abd al-'Aziz bin Wādā, Muḥaṣṣarīyat al-Kuḍūs waḥādī al-Sāhib al-Ṣāhib al-Utbīyah*, in *Palestine Affairs*, iv [Beirut 1991], 128-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Ma'oz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent (*muḥāṣarāt*) directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance,iffs (land registers), ‘awal, security, agricultural control and charity funds for foreign affiliates, and also special committees for foreign consulsates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and veshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1884; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1890, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely examined, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abu Ṭūl) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Dījūz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The “German colony” of the Templars in the south-west, and the “American colony” in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly noisy. Selma Lagerlöf’s famous novel *Jerusalem* (1902-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal pigrimage of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *šābh* of the Shaykh Dāʾirah mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Shī ṣī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility. 35. *After 1917.* The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1922), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1922, the population comprised 90,501 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 12 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Ahmad Sā‘ūd al-Ḥishābi, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Ishāq Mūsā al-Husaynī and A. L. Tāhiwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isḥāq al-Najjāri, Ṣahl al-Salākhīn and ʿAlī Baydās, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādhī ‘Abūn al-Iḥsānī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as muftī of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council.
created by the government (1949). For the next seventeen years al-Hajjid Amin strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Raghib al-Nahshibli and the amir (since 1946 king) Abd Allah of Transjordan. The Western Wall - Burals fa-v.l affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Safad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Hajjid Amin's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Haram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muhammad 'Ali in the western portico of the Haram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Intermittent warfare between the followers of al-Hajjid Amin and his adversaries exacerbated the situation. Among the many victims were a Danish archaeologist and two Arabs famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two Arabist authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after this decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sephardi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Hurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a corpus separatum. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1954, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices of a modern society.
most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim Waqf and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the “reunification” of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the status quo prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aksa mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During this time, not only the inner wall of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim Waqf several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.


The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the peculiarities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Haram al-Sharif (q.v.). The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e., of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Muṣṭif al-Dīn. Since his text a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Haram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-HARAM AL-ṢAMĀK, the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣa mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Haram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyubid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we will give about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 3rd/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyubid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to 1517; (4) Ottoman periods. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.
city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest; may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the southwestern corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zien and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudoxia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built . . . quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus ca. 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Al-Asr mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under Abd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Haram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of Abd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 716/7. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge hexastyle portico or courtyard or exedra or underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates provided by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the marturium tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Koranic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fatimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamluk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been re-done with superbly coloured tiles in the 16th/17th and 18th/19th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the
Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (isdā' and mi'raj); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Ka'ba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition.

Too many arguments (see above, section A and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of 'Abd al-Malik.

The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strongly like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Koran) for the link between the Dome of the Rock and Islam. The fact that the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated eccentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (contra Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aqṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Haram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walid (86-96/705-13). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aqṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the ḫāṣa wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern contra Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Haram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aqṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aqṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aqṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings which succeeded the Aqṣā mosque and with known associations with Judaism and Christianity had been completed by the time of al-Walid. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (dīr al-imāra) mentioned in papryi, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Haram al-Sharif, or, as we probably must call it, the mutājil bayt al-maldūd, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Haram, whether it be the strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aqṣā mosque under al-Maṣṣūr and al-Mahdi) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Haram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main sources for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Haram. Each gate was provided with a wooden portico ordered by the mother of al-Mu'tadid, who also paid for the repair of the Dome of the Rock's porch. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Haram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Fakhr and al-Muṣaddasī or through litterateurs like Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Haram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of maṭabs and of ṣubbas, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through miḥrābs, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange ṭubbah al-Silhīa (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a ṭubbah of
the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Haram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Il-khānīd Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cult grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

 Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Mukaddasī (ca. 385/085) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of the city into a unique Islamic sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the streets of the city and possibly also to the west, the Haram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

 Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Haram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (Maiestas, Ville. no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/xoth century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

 3. From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders.

 In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fatimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

 The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓahir, probably around 921/1030-3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Haram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Haram), but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bab al-Silsila, and Nasīrī Khirshaw, which was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aṣṣā mosque which are Fatimid (cf. below). It is also from the Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

 The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aṣṣā mosque also under al-Ẓahir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fatimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fatimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Haram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aṣṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Kur’ān, xvi, v the sarat verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fatimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated minbar now in Hebron (G. Wiet, Notes d'épigraphie arabe, in Syria, v (1924), 217 ff) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fatimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

 It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fatimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

 3. The Ayyubids and Mamluks.

 As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Haram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Haram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Haram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aṣṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bab al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

 It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1300 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mudīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have
not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of the number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatible to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Haram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Alqâ’ mosque, where Saladin put up a new mihrab with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nâr al-Dîn’s celebrated minbar made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 25, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resacralize all the holy places which had existed on the Haram. As van Beekem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonry are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/14th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyûbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval khalîf until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Haram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognize and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Ka’itbay in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinarily broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlík period: schools, orphanages, libraries, madrasas, baths, dhûnbâ’s, ribats, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, madrasas, baths, tenkizes, ribâts. The latter bear witness to a quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of masjids.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the size of the building or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo’s) with one to four aisles. The most visible feature of each building was always its facade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlík portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb muqarnas series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bâb al-Silsilah’s domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyah, the Aghûnîyâ, and the Sûk al-Kattânîn for the 8th/14th century and the Aqûfriyâ or the jewel-like fountain of Ka’itbay on the Haram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlík architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Haram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Haram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Haram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Haram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Haram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith’s beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor the imperial taste of the Umayyads, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4. The Ottomans.

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a madrasa like the Risâliyâ (947/1540) still follows Mamlík practice and Mamlík ideals. A large number of fountains are even later.
But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 19th-century achievements attributed to Sultan Abdul Aziz, the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottoman consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Haram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century, when European interest, significant and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Haram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircase of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, Hashiridim min 'atikufa hamuslamit hadasom b'zakor har habayit, in Hademoniot (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamluk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of Levant, Jnal. of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Haram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in Levant, viii (1975), 159-61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Alif 9all (1465-6) and of the Al-Saltibeya (1477) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.


No understanding of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages can avoid a thorough acquaintance with pre-Islamic Jerusalem. Among the huge bibliography dealing with the latter, the most convenient works are L. H. Vincent, Jerusalem de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age, Paris 1934, summarising and revising his older work; J. Simons, Jerusalem, Leiden 1954; and A. Aliv-Yunai, The Mutasim mosaic, Jerusalem 1934.


KUDSI, MUHAMMAD DJAN, poet at the Mughal court in India. He was born and raised in Maskhad, from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was then engaged in the grocer trade before he went to India. In 1651/1652 he joined the court of the Emperor Shah Jahan's poets. Daghistan, the author of the Riyad al-daw'ara, states that Kudsi preceded Kallam as poet-laureate to Shih Dihshah, but this is not confirmed by contemporary sources. He died in Lahore in 1656/1657 and, according to Ashar's Atsh-hada, his remains were removed to Khurasan.

Kudsi's poems are distinguished by a felicity of style. Like Kallam, he was also engaged to compose a poetic history of Shah Dihshah's reign. Though less talented than his more famous contemporary, he seems to have been held in high esteem, and was regarded as a leading poet of his day.

Bibliography: Abd al-Nabi Fahhr, al-Zamani Karwani, Maykhada, Lahore 1926; Abd al-Nabi
KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 5' N lat., called Kontumble on the English Admiralty charts and Qotanbul in Admiralty handbook, Western Arabia and the Red Sea, London 1946, 133. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjim (d. 930 [1233]). Kudummun, which lies near Harmila on the Arabian coast off Asir [q.v.], once marked the boundary between the land of the Kotihi and Yemen.


**AL-KUDURI, ‘ABD AL-HUSAYN AL-AHMACD B. MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD B. DIIFAN B., HAMMAN AL-BAGHDADI, HAMDI Pasha al-Abas b. Said b. Mihb al-Hakim, who was born and who died at Baghdad (325 [935] Radjab 428/972-24 April 1377). He was head of the Hamzah school in ‘Irak, and had occasion to lead several public discussions, in which he defended his own viewpoint, with his contemporary, the Shafi‘i Abn Haidar al-Isfarayn, whom he however especially revered. A number of pupils gathered around him, the most famous of whom was al-Khath al-Baghdadi [q.v.].

As well as various works like his K. al-Nihayah on marriage and his K. al-Taqriyyah on the differences between the Hanafis and Shafi‘is, al-Kuduri wrote a Muhkamah, which had a great scholarly renown and entered into the comparison so as to set right the Ruhul al-Khayr wa al-Wahdat al-Mi‘kil. It is a concise legal manual, but clearer than the one of the same name by Khall b. Idris [q.v.]; it deals with ritual, contracts, personal status, criminal law and the law of succession, without particular care for logical order. This Muhkamah inspired many commentaries, including e.g., al-Dawwara al-nasyiria of Abn Bakr b. Abn al-Abbاض (Istanbul 1951, 191, 1323, Delhi 1327) and al-Luhbah fi sharh al-Khitab of Abn al-Qar Dhi al-Mayyadah (in the margins of the previous work, and Cairo 1342/1927). Numerous ms. of the Muhkamah exist, which has been published many times, notably at Delhi in 1847, at Bombay in 1903 with tr. in Persian and Frgtn, at Istanbul in 1851 with a Turkish paraphrase, and in 1909 also. The chapter on the holy war was edited and translated into Latin by Rosenmüller, in Arabica, Leipzig 1855-6, and in French by Ch. Solve, Paris 1859; that on marriage was edited and translated by G. Helmstoffer, Frankfurt 1852; and more recently, G.-H. Bousquet and L. Bercher edited and translated extensive passages in Le statut personnel en droit musulman et la France, Tunis n.d.

**Bibliography:** Intro to Istanbul 1903 ed.,...
basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Tabari situates the place ‘Akūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kūfa, probably to the north of the ‘anēr. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Persianised form Kūfas (Sarkis, in *Studer* [1954]). Only a text of Sayf b. ‘Umar (al-Tabari, ed. Cairo, iv, 40 ff.) gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the ḥādiyya of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madā‘īn. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited; this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor’s palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen mānāḥidj or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five mānāḥidj of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thāqif, handān, Badjila, Taghlib and Taym al-Lāt; to the south, the asad, Nakhā, Kinda and Azd; to the east, the Ansār, Muṣayyana, Tamūn and Muḥārīb, asad and ‘Amir; finally, to the west, Badjila, Baglā, Dājila and Diḥayyana. This picture, it may be seen, contradicts a tradition of al-Ṣalḥi cited by al-Baladhūrī (Futūḥ, 276) according to which all the Yemenis were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Nizaris to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kūfa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the rst/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the ‘Abis. The problem of the great tribes of Ṭabī‘a, Bakr and ‘Abd al-‘Alāys still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa—including the ancient family of Ḥū ‘Iyya—at the time of the caliphate of ʿAlī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Baṣra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kūfa are to be noted: settlement of the main part—but not the whole—of the Arab mukātīla who had to confront the Sāānim armies; heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Baṣra; presence of a majority of Mudar and Ḥaṣāyq elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamūn, asad), or from clans of the Ḥ cred (Thāqif, Sulaym, ʿUṣayn, Muṣayyana, Muḥārīb), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemeni minority, completely unaccompanied elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kūfa did not contain a majority of Yemenis, who later became a weaker and weaker minority; certain modern authors have gone as far as to assert that the ḥādiyya of Kūfa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥ cred, rather than the others (M. Ḥind, in *IJMES*, ii [1921], 346-67). The pure Yemeni elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Handān, Ḥadramawt, Madhhabī) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Badjila in particular, Azd Sarit and Tayy), but the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenis and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Handān, was not settled at Kūfa as early as the Madhhabī, Baglā and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (mukātīla), who had come under Ḥimyar, ʿAlī and perhaps Muṣayyana. It remains a fact that the Yemeni phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kūfa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it is through the influence of the old Yemeni element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kūfa was effected; hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early on. Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Baladhūrī, Futūḥ, 276), although Yāḥūl gives the figure of 40,000 (Baladīn, 401). A text of Abū ʿUmar (al-Tabari, v, 79) speaks of the mobilisation by All of the 57,000 mukātīla, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Suʿūma, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 69,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Baladhūrī (Futūḥ, 345) concerning the people registered in the dhīnak. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 90,000 men and 80,000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or mamlīkī. Certainly at the same period the figure for the population of Baṣra (200,000) registered rather outnumbered that of Kūfa, but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantation by Ziyād to Khurāsan of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Baṣra and 10,000 from Kūfa. It is probable that after Ziyād and throughout the Umayyad regime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Hadījī (73-95/694-713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new mamlīkī flocking to the ‘anēr, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the population of Kūfa, in the earliest and Umayyad period, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17-23/638-73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration. The topographic framework of Kūfa during the rst/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kūfa, that of ‘Umar (17-23/638-43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Iranian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (idbr) for huts, in labīn or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughaṭa b. ‘Abī ‘Amra (22-4/642-4). In fact, all this information given by Yāḥūl and reproduced by Massignon. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kūfa in labīn was decided very rapidly, before the ḥādiyya itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50-1/670-3) that the idbr or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor’s palace which adorned it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or idbr. Considerable ex-
conquest, *AdI b. Hatim. DJarir b. ’Abd Allah al-
sen ’Umar. Abd Mfisa al-Ash’ari and his descendants

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crossroads by the Iranian form of

Kfifa. The
masddijd, the

or tribal lots which constituted the main

Kfifa was to undergo profound
changes during the high 'Abb&sid period. The early
'Abbisids considered making it their capital and
established themselves there for some time, but the
'Aldi presence and sympathies were so strong that
they wavered for some time between Kufa, Anb&r
and the new city of H&shimiyya which was coupled
with Ba& Ibn Hubayra, before al-Mu&uir founded
Baghd&d (145-6/762-3) and moved the dayr al-nash
and dayr&nda there from Kufa (al-Bald&ji, F& modes, 291), which indicates clearly that Kufa had assumed
the role of administrative capital of the empire,
even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132-46/
750-63), there took place an Islamicisation of a part of
the Kuften toponymy, following the influx of Kufan
soldiers: for example, the streets of Lab&jmn "Ar& and H&dij‘am ‘Antara and the naming of
crossroads by the Iranian form of bah&jld, such as
the bah&jld of Badji (al-Bald&ji, F& modes, 280).

On the other hand, the early 'Abbisids undertook
the building at Kufa of al-Ru&fi and the castle of
Abu ’-K&j‘a; above all, al-Mu&uir, after the move
to Baghdad, had the city surrounded by ramparts
and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of
It is probable that the enclosure did not
not surround the Kudais and some gi&bd&ni outside the
centre, thus creating a differentiation between a
madina and suburbs. The term madina in the sense
of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely
packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its
appearance for the first time in the account given by
al-Tabari with regard to the revolt of Ibn Tab&tab (199/814). The same author remarks that the Kudais
contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in
his writing the idea of a suburb or rabd (viii, 561).

Thus we are in the presence of the "process of
civilisation" of Kufa in every sense of the term:
it became a classical Muslim town after having been
an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre
after having been a military camp. Finally, during
the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained
clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city
began to live in osmosis with the Sawad’iyun or
people from the Sawad who started to become
Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing
whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kufa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the madina became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Muqaddasi and much later Ibn Djubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Najaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kufa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kufa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of 'Irak, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kufa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military arba', the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kufa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted to the tribunal of the Buyids the same time as the majority of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kufa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Bagrá for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society, indeed as a civilisation: even more, one might say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kufa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Isma'il outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kufa was the primordial crucible and of which the Isma'ili phenomenon vanished. The urbanised space in the heart of the town. But these same disturbances was made there at that date. The great mosque, the cupola had been erected by al-Mukhtar had been repaired and over which a diawba of Kufa as it was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Bujids, of Najaf or Mashhad. The city was the capital of the Buyids from the end of the 3rd/gth century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kufa. Shi'i religious symbolism was concentrated there, and as it happened, the old Arab Kufa which was far from being identified with the Shi'i phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing thrust from a new nomadic world of the Arabo-'Irak steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahá' al-Dawla ceded Kufa as an ishtá to the chief of the 'Okaylids. The Banu Asad, the Tayyi', of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammar, newly-come on the scene, dominated Kufa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kufa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, the all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kufa, the new incarnation of Lugal, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1091, with the emergence of al-Hilla, Kufa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Djubayr (539-61/1144-1227), who visited it a little later (578/83-1182-5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khashdāja. Kufa, Beitir 1950, 187, 188. The whole built-up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns leaning on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges in 927, the mausoleum of 'Ali, the timar of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. 'Askil. After the Mongols had conquered 'Irak, Mustawfi Kaswini wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (Nushtal al-hilal, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kufa as having ramparts with a circumference of 28,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Ba'ttuta (9th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kufa, reproduces in part Ibn Djubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfi, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the ksa al-hidra, nothing more than the foundations remained, but the marabouts, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the disappearance of Kufa as if there were no more than one, where the tomb of al-Mukhtar had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected (Kufa, Beitir 1950, 210). In the Ottoman period, Kufa fell to the rank of a sāhīya dependent on the kādī of Najaf, which was dependent in its turn on the sāhīya of Karbalā'. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the 'now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolitan', which, of just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the Djamé, the tombs of Hāni', the Banu 'Ishaq and the Bayt 'Alla, two large houses, one of which was built as the English, the small oratory Hannāna and the madrasa al-Sabha. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Najaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Hira (Tablot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1928, the site of Kufa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the 'Irāq academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building; it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The 'asr, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sabha to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kufa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

II. Politics, ideology and culture in Kufa.

While in the ist/7th century Kufa played a political
role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdad and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kufa aside; but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 250 to 350/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kufa: a political Kufa (up to 150); a cultural Kufa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kufa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shi'ism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kufa were: the participation in the revolt against Uthman (34/655-4); the support given to Ali for the two great internecine battles of al-Daimal (36/656) and Siffin (37/657); the emergence in its heart of the Kharijite movement; the beginnings of political Shi'ism with the accession, which was suppressed, of Hujir b. 'Ali al-Kindi (31/651). After that, the pro-Shi'i revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. 'Ali and the massacre at Karbala' (60-1/659-60), the march of the Taawubah (63/664), the uprising of al-Mugthar (66/685-6), the preaching of al-Mughira and of Baytun, the revolt of Zayd b. Ali (122/740) and that of 'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kufa which was the directing brain behind the 'Abbasid da'wun, and it was at the great mosque of Kufa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly invested (76/799). But Kufa equally underwent numerous rounds of Kharijite assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabiha, and more seriously in 127-8/744-5 by al-Dahhak. It participated, in 82-3/701-2, alongside Basra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the ansar without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kufa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shi'i consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunni side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "sacred Baghdad will be destroyed and Kufa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the kitab of Salman, "Kufa is the kabba (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sights for it" (Massippon, Explication du plan de Kufa, repr. in Opera Minora, iii, 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kufa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the ansar at least until 30/650, the date at which Basra outstripped it in the conquest of the Iranian East, Kufa sheltered the conquerors of 'Iran from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the Ahi al-Ayyam until the Ahl al-Kadisiyya. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the Ridda, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kufa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the Sawadd and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Basra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kufa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or najdall, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the caliphate of 'Umar, the equilibrium was maintained, and the armies of Kufa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of 'Uthman that the internal conflicts began to appear; the former Islamic élite, raised up by 'Umar, yielded ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the awliya and now their position reinforced by the waves of najdall of their own tribes; at a typical case of opposition is between an Aghfar Nakhita and an Aghfar b. Kays). The activism of the 'Abi al-Ayyam, disappointed by the new polities, resulted in the murder of 'Uthman in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of 'Ali. 'Ali's coming to Kufa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the ansar over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs; for four years, Kufa was to be if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kufa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to 'Ali and his family. Nevertheless, from its origins, the faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The 'Ashraf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Kadisiya, and being enrolled in the jahfa of the 1st/7th, were lukewarm towards the cause of 'Ali and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the jahfa (q.v.), of whom a majority cast in its lot with 'Ali and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that 'Ali could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his ahl, in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the jahfa fell into Kharijism and the conservative group of the 'Ashraf abandoned him; whereas the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whenever the minority character and powerlessness of the jahfa for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the 'Ashraf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is this which explains why the 'Ashraf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time that a Shi'i insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shi'i troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of Husayn; they mobilised actively against al-Mugthar, who threatened their privileges; and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. 'Ali's action. Only the great revolt of 32-3/701-2 was a specifically Shi'i revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Sham, the tyranny of the governor al-Hadjdad and, because of this, it was led by the 'Ashraf as well as by the jahfa. But there followed a large-scale militarisation of the mshir and the foundation of Wasit, the settlement of the Syrian army in 'Irak as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the 'Ashraf showed themselves hostile to the
Shi'i movement, certain of the Ashāfīs nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Muhājir himself, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sufyān al-Shābānī. But after al-Mu‘āthir, it was above all popular elements which supported Shi‘i activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenis in particular, and more precisely, Yemenis from certain clans of Hamdān (Khwārij, Shāhīr, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant wave, a mass operation utilised by al-Mu‘āthir. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenis to the Shi‘i cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clans of ra‘ī and shaykh) and that the call for the rights of the ‘Alī b. Abī Taﬁl found some echoes in the old Yemeni consciousness. It is this which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mu‘āthir (66-76/685-95), perhaps the most important Shi‘i revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kufa for some time; above all, it fashioned the Shi‘i consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysānīyya (q.v.), who derived from it, would be, after Abū Ḥasan, at the root of the ʿalawī for the Family.

With the Abāsids dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of Shi‘ism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 293/808 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Tabāṭabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yabāb b. ‘Umer, far less dangerous, to break out. But Shi‘ism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it very quickly became the quasi-unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at this moment that the Shi‘i imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kufa was able to export its Shi‘i consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Kūm, especially, Kūm was indeed a projection of Shi‘i Kufa, as Balūk, Marz and Nishābūr were a projection of Başra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kufa showed itself less active than Başra. Each of the two cities is known to have had its ‘ulama‘ and its ma‘ṣūla (q.v.). The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the ma‘ṣūla of Kufa, and Isbāhān depended on it, but the ma‘ṣūla of Kufa, so, Nishābūr, showed itself less active than Basra. Each of the two cities is known to have had its ‘ulama‘ and its ma‘ṣūla (q.v.).

The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the ma‘ṣūla of Kufa, and Isbāhān depended on it, but the ma‘ṣūla of Kufa, so, Nishābūr, showed itself less active than Basra, so, Dīnawar, although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the ma‘ṣūla of Kufa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Iranian territories, from 294/899 onwards, that Başra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Khurāsān, while Kufa had to content itself with ʿAṣhārābād, a province of little account, with Kāshān as an extreme ma‘ṣūla. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specificity of Shi‘i nature of Kufa was never completely lost in the rest of Iran, but rather became integral into the whole Shi‘i consciousness of Islam by way of Baghdad and, by that of Kūm and Mashhad, to the whole modern Iranian lands, while Başra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunni Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of ʿism into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kufa should not be limited to the transmission of the Shi‘i tradition. Far more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kufa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great ʿism of the first two centuries. Baghdād was to be the heir of Kufa and Başra. These two fundamental matricles which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius: Kufa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Kur‘ān, in law and genealogy, whereas Başra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Mu‘tazili speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kufa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (77/696-706/9); the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (250-254/767-864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kufa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Hira, and Kufa, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sasanid ʿilmār. It is also in very early Kufa that Ibn Mas‘ūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: Alkama b. Kays, al-Aswad b. Yazid, Masrāk b. al-Adīda, ʿUbayda, al-Hanfūl and Sufyān. Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Mas‘ūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 310/719-745, establishing the chain Hamdād b. Abī Su‘aymān-ɪbrāhīm al-Nagha‘īl b. Mas‘ūd, but that nevertheless ʿiskh, which preceded kadsh, was created by the single key centre of Kufa. In fact, it seems clear that the three key-personalities, in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, kadsh and exegesis: ʿIbrāhīm al-Nagha‘īl, Sā‘īd b. Dinawar and Abī ʿAmr b. Shurhābīl al-Shāhīs. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ṣanān al-Basri, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Karad and Rāfī‘ b. Khudaym. Let us cite in the sphere of ʿaṣf and al-khābār the names of two precursors: Muṣjīd b. Sa‘īd and Muhammad al-Kalbī, for the collection of poetry that of Hamdād; and for poetic creation, the names of ʿAshā Hamdān and al-Kindī.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kufa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the Abāsids dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and systemisers: Abī Ḥanīfa, master of the school of ʿaṣf in canon law (d. 156/772); Abī ʿAbd Allāh, one of the first great Arab historians (al-ḥāmashiyyān) (d. 155/772); al-Ku‘ayfī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, ʿArīb b. Bahdāl (d. 137/754) and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAmr, who, together with al-Risāla, established three of the great eras of the Kur‘ān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 280 and 300/796-816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abī Yusuf (d. 272/986) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 258/874) in law; Ḥaqqī b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 260/874), highly erudite, a genealogist and al-khābār, well-versed in
knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing; and finally al-Kisāʾī (d. 179/795), who was the master of the grammatical school of Kufa. This school collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Basra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies opposed to that of Basra, engendered a line of grammarians marked by two wijsrs.

But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of Kufa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shi'ism, perhaps because this is what delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of al-Farḥād, who is comparable to al-Astakh. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Shbahay at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Astakh. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Shbahay at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Astakh.

Two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic school of Kufa and Basra for the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two wijsrs. A particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Basra, according to the Islamic world the admirable work of al-Farḥād, who is comparable to al-Astakh. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Shbahay at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Astakh. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Shbahay at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Astakh.

But already Baḥdād, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kufa and Baṣra for two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic school of Kufa and Basra for the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two wijsrs.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kufa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shi'ism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consensus. Kufa is thus assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab city which, along with Basra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

**Bibliography:** The most ancient sources on the history of Kufa, consisting of monographs written by the al-Murrahāyyn of the 2nd/8th century, have entirely disappeared as such, but some more or less important fragments of them are to be found in the great well known standard works which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. 'Abdi, Kitāb Kūfah al-Kūfah, K. Ittiḥād al-Kūfah, K. Kūfah al-Kūfah wa l-Bayyin, K. Faḥāṣ bi l-Kūfah, K. Islām bi l-Kūfah, K. Shabāb al-Baṣrī, Kitāb al-Kūfah, K. Ummad al-Kūfah, al-Kūfah, which have derived from them the main part of their material part.

Kufra, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara in the Libyan Desert half-way between Cyrenaica and Wadai. For a long time it was known only from Rohlf's account, who managed to reach it in 1879. Subsequently, Kufra has been visited by two other Europeans, l′Arche de Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920-1). Their descriptions have completed and corrected that of Rohlf.

The name Kufra applies to a number of oases...
which stretch from the south-east to the north-west in a line about 300 km. long, between 24° and 26° N., 18° 40' and 21° 40' E. The most southerly oasis lies about 1,350 km. south-east of Tripoli and 900 km. south of Benghazi. There are five in all, and they are separated from each other by air, or plains of compressed gravel. The total area of the group amounts to about 17,842 km². It occupies the bottom of a depression which rises in altitude from 250 m. in the north to 450 m. in the south. The soil is generally formed from overlapping strata of marly sand in the northern area of the dunes which join those of the Libyan desert. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous mountains which rise above a base of Numidian sandstone; their summits are table-shaped and similar to that of the gap of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs or running water at Kutna, but everywhere the water-table rises to between one and three metres from the surface. At various points of the landscape the water forms brackish lagoons or even permanent lakes, of which the most imposing is 10 km. long. They can be regarded as the remains of an earlier situation when the lacustrine nature of the oasis was much more marked than it is today. The subterranean water is sufficient to support plentiful and varied vegetation. In the dried-out basins had (cornus oleosa monacantha) and dis grow, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, barley, camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, barley, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, barley, camels.

Almost the entire population belongs to the Zawiya tribes, Arabised Berbers who took the place of the Tubu, the previous masters of the oases. Most of them are semi-nomadic and occupy only temporary encampments. The geographical position of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It was a stopping place on the caravan route leading from the interior to the coast. The oases have been used for livestock such since the beginning of the 19th century. According to Muhammad al-Hashālī, there was a market at Dhût, where business was conducted by barter. As in all Saharan markets, the chief item of trade was slaves.

There is very little information on the history of Kufra. According to Rohlf's, it could have been inhabited by the Garamantes. Buildings there are comparable with some at Fazzān [q.v.] which Duveyrier pointed out and which seem to go back a considerable period in time. When its history began, the country was occupied by the Tubu, who left many traces of their stay from this period—cemeteries, houses and fortified villages built on the summits of mountains. The population of these places was pagan, and this may explain the origin of the name Kufra, the previous masters of the oases. In about 1730 they were succeeded by the Bashkardis, a group of dialects making up Bashkard form a distinctive Iranian language of its own, to be separated from Balū, which is the Kirman-western Balūcistān region, in early medieval Islamic times.

The name, literally "mountain dwellers", probably stems ultimately from O. Pers. kufi£i/kufīl ("mountain"); the name of a people in the Diabāl Bāzīr in eastern Kūrān, where dwelt the Balūc. Grosso modo, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bashkard/kushkard [q.v. in Suppl.] in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mālib and between the Dīz Murūt depression on the north and the coastal plain of Mālik to the south. Whether the Bashkardis are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfīls is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia; one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bashkard form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūc on the other.

The Arabic and Persian geographical writers of the 9th/10th century (Yṣṭāfi, I. A. Haskalw, the Huddāl-al-Islām, etc.) mention the region of the Kūfīls as a mountainous one, lying to the south of the Diabāl Bāzīr in eastern Kūrān, where dwelt the Balūc. Grosso modo, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bashkard/kushkard [q.v. in Suppl.] in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mālib and between the Dīz Murūt depression on the north and the coastal plain of Mālik to the south. Whether the Bashkardis are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfīls is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia; one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bashkard form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūc on the other.

The Islamic sources agree on stigmatising the Kūfīls on the 4th/5th/7th-12th centuries as a predatory people, nominally Muslim, but behaving with inhuman cruelty to the travellers and others whom they intercepted within the Dīgāl-e Lāt, into which they raided from their hill fastnesses; there is a classic description of their characteristic savagery in al-Muṣīlīd (writings: cf. 375/985), 488-90, of Schweitzer, Jean (in Moniteur, 1823, 2). The Dīgāl awaits Muṣīr-al-Dawla and his nephew Ajūd al-Dawla took draconian measures against the Kūfīls as they extended their rule eastwards from Fārs to Kūrān and put an end to the independent power in Kūrān of Muhammad b. Iyās [see LisyD.S.]. In 326/936 Muṣīr-al-Dawla defeated the "chief of the Kūfīls and Balūc", All b. al-Zanjādī, at Daghfir in the sadīt or mountainous zone of Kūrān, but had to leave him in control of the Kūfīls' mountain haunts.
After the death of Muhammad b. Iyâs in 336/947, 'Abd al-Dawla invaded Kirman and wrested the province from the former's sons and their allies the Kûfish. During 360-1/970-2, two campaigns were launched against the Köfiz, as a result of which the Köfiz lands lay waste, and large numbers of them deported or taken as hostages (for details, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Banû Iyâs of Kirman* (320-359/932-58), *in Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 111-28).

The Köfiz did not, of course, disappear after this. They continued to prey on travellers through the Great Desert, although the establishment in the 9th/10th century of the Great Saljûk suzervative and the autonomous Saljûk amirate in Kirman seems to have reduced their activities to manageable proportions. The amir of Kirman Kâwûr [q.v.] is said to have massacred the Köfiz chiefs in their strongholds in the Djibal Bâriz, and after this, mention of the Köfiz as a distinct ethnic element drops out of mention in the histories; presumably they now mingled with the general ethnic stock of south-eastern Persia.

**Bibliography:** The information of the medieval geographers is given in *La Strage, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 316-17, 424-3, and Schwartz, *Iran on Mitteleast*, 261-6, etc. also *Hudud al-Slam*, 65, 154, 201, 371-5. The Köfiz campaigns are described by Miskawayh in his *Taškâr al-arman*, later repeated in Ibn al-Aghâr; see Bosworth, *The Bush ãyûs of Köfiz, Inc. ii*. All these sources are utilised in the detailed study by idem, *The Köfizh and Qays in Persian history*, in *Iran, Iran: the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1975), 9-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

**KûH-I BABBâ**, the mountain massif of central Afghanistan, being the westwards and southwards extension of the Pamirs "knot" and the Hindu Kush [q.v.] of north-eastern Afghanistan. The name Köhâ-Babbâ is properly given to the west-east chain of magistral running westwards from Kâbul and lying to the south of the upper Heri Rôd, with outliers running southwards and westwards through the regions of the Ghûrât and Hazârâyât [see GUR and HAQZARAYAT in Suppl.] between such river valleys as those of the Helmand, Arghandab and Tarnak. On the northern side of the Heri Rôd, stretch the Paropamisus Mountains, rising to 3,600 m./11,800 ft., and northwestwards to the Murghab valley and the Russian border, the Köhâ Bbîr (4,230 m./13,880 ft.) and its continuation the Band-i Turkistan (3,500 m./11,500 ft.). To the east of Kâbul, the Safî Köh stretches to the south of Djalâhâb-shift towards the Khyber Pass [see KHAVIR PASS] and the Pakistan frontier, attaining a height of 4,760 m./15,580 ft. The central Köhâ Bbîr has as its highest point Shâh Fûlaâr, 3,140 m./10,300 ft. high and covered in perpetual snow. The whole region is thus a ganglion of mountain chains and upland plateaux, across which communication has always been arduous; thus the Uzun Pass between the headwaters of the Kâbul River and the Helmand lies at 3,330 m./10,900 ft., the Shîkhir Pass between the Kâbul valley and northern Afghanistan via the Ghôrbân lies at 3,000 m./9,845 ft., the Hadîjâg Pass from the Unâî district northwards to Bâmâyân at 2,700 m./8,856 ft., and the Khîrûn Pass connecting the valleys of the upper Heri Rôd and the Helmand lies at 3,700 m./9,790 ft.

Because of the difficult communications, the historic routes linking the principal towns of Afghanistan, e.g. Kâbul, Kandahâr and Herât, have often gone round this central massif southwards or northwards, and today, it remains one of the most thinly-populated and least-known regions of the country. Much field work, archaeological, ethnological and topographical, needs to be done here, and this will certainly throw important light on Afghanistan's past history. Because of the configuration and the harsh climate, much of the region is totally unpopulated, but on the plateaux and in the villages there is pastoralist transhumance and nomadism and some agriculture. The population of the Ghûrât and Hazârâyât regions is predominantly Tadjik, with vestigial ethnic elements like the Mongols, and with increased penetration on the southern fringes by Pashtûns. The towns of the region, like Pandjâb or Pandjâl, Qohzâh, Uzûqân and Daulâtâr, are small and have only local importance.


**KÔH-I NûR** (Koh-i Noor) a diamond, now weighing 1006/16 carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bâbûr in his Memoirs ([Babur-nâma, tr. Beveridge, 477, 702]; but ca. 1656 it was presented by Mr Dunjîl [see MUHAMMAD SA'îD] to the Moghal emperor, Shâh Djiân, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzâb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nârîd Shâh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nâdîr Shâh's grandson, Shâh Rûdî, gave it in 1755 to Ahmad Shâh Durrâd, whose grandson, Shâh Shâhjâhân, when in exile in Lahore in 1813, had to surrender it to the Sikh Maharajâ Djalî Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Ranjit Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Dâjânnâth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lahore until the annexation of the Pandjâb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria. It was subsequently incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937.


**AL-KÔHÎ [see Suppl.]**

**AL-KÔHÎN**, name of a certain number of Moroccan families, of Jewish origin but converted to Islam. One of the best-known of them is the family to which belonged ABU MUHAMMAD 'ABD AL-KÂDIR B. AHMAD, who towards the end of the 12th/18th century pursued religious studies under the direction of such famous scholars as Ibn al-Hajjâl [i.e., Hammâd b. Ahmad], and Ibn al-Hûrân [see Suppl.]. Being a immediate disciple of Mawâyî al-'Arbî al-Dârkarî [see DARSAYV] he joined the religious order which the latter had recently founded. He made his first pilgrimage, and wrote about this in a *Riha* apparently lost, then finally settled in Medina where he died in Safar 1354/April-May 1834.
Al-Kūhīn—Kūhīstān or Kūhīstān

Al-Kūhīn left behind a Fihrist q.v. called Imādat al-Dīn Abd al-Malik al-Dirayn Allah, known as Aṣība ibn al-Kūhīn (Ms. Rabat, 374, f. 120), two commentaries on al-Buhārī, Mīnak iḥyāyya wa-ma‘āshīh iḥyāyya iṣba‘al il-‘Ābī (Ms. Rabat, 34) and Nazzīf al-ward wa-t‘arrab wa l-misih al-‘ābī bi-sharh al-Thālibī (Ms. Rabat, 892 D), and finally, a Muyay al-fahīr al-matadārā ṣawīr al-munjīn al-munjīn, a selective gloss on the Sharh al-Adh-dhunayiyah of Ibn Aṣība [q.v.], printed at Istanbul in 13235; purely grammatical explanations are set aside, and only the allusive character is kept, in which the grammar is used to illustrate the process of the manifestation of divine light (J. L. Michon, 282, cf. 1375, where two passages from this work are translated).

One of this mystic’s descendants, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Kāsim b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Kādir (b. 1315 in Cairo) is the author of the Kitāb Taḥālah al-Shāhīyya al-kūhīsī, published at Cairo in 1347/1928-9.

Bibliography: Kattānī, Sa‘ūd al-aswāl, līth. Fās 1316, i, 305-70; Al-Hayy al-Kattānī, Fihīrīs al-fahīs, Fās 1346-7/1937-8, i, 308-71; R. Bassett, in Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l’honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalisti, Algiers 1903, 205; E. Lévy-Provençal, Chorfa; Becokkoid, S. II, 881; J. L. Michon, Ibn Aṣība et son Mīrāfī, Paris 1933, index. (En.)

Kūhīstān (o) or Kūhīstān is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhīstān meaning a mountainous country (derived from kūh, “mountain” with the suffix -istān) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Dībā‘ī. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Kūhīstān has been given, as Yākūt has already remarked (iv, 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Kāzvīn (ed. Wistenfeld, 228) says that the term Kūhīstān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Dībā‘ī. In the Shāh-nāma of Firdawsi we even find Kūhīstān used as the old name of Mā‘arward-(Nahr (ed. Vulcher, 351) but this is probably a case of erroneous identification made by Firdawsi himself (ed. also Vulcher, 261, n. 351).

The principal districts that are or have been called Kūhīstān are as follows:

1. Kūhīstān-i Ḩurāsān. This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nīshāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sīstān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yezd, and in the west Media. Although Kūhīstān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively lower productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a member of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khūrāsān, this is only because Nīshāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Kūhīstān has therefore never been a very clear-cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Kūhīstān is still little known.
Kûhîstân, especially for through trade between Kîrmân and Khûrûshân. The province was further noted for a very fine woolen woven there, which Abu Nwâs mentions under the name Kûhîyân (cf. Dâqîqî, Bâyân, Cairo 133l, 1, 29, and R. B. Serjeaut, Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest, Beirut 1973, 63-6); this industry flourished at Târûf in the mountains near such harvests and was marked there. In the year 1444/1052, Nâṣîr-i Khûrûshân passed through Kûhîstân, going from Ispâhân. He went by Tabâsh, Tûn, Kâ'ûn and Sarâqîsh and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Salûqs, Kûhîstân, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismâ'îlî heretics, who for this reason were often called al-muhdíba al-khûshîya. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamût; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been fully examined (Herzfeld, Resebeichir, 273; M. G. S. Hodgson, The order of Assassins, The Hague 1953, index; B. Lewis, The Assassins, a radical sect in Islam, London 1967, 45-5; P. R. E. Willey, The Assassins in Kûhîstân, in Jnl. Royal Central Asiatic Soc., iv (1964), 180-2). The Khûshân-âbâbîs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the mullahs (cf. Dînavârî, Taqih-dîüh, Qishân-Gûshh, ii, 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols, who exterminated the Ismâ'îlîs, at the same time brought about the ruin of Kûhîstân. The region lost all importance and the geographers—who Abu 'l-Fidâ'î only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange, Land, 352 proposes to identify with Tân-u Kâ'ûn. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idîflî, tr. Juhnber, i, 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Sevâfsids exercised some authority there, but after them, power lay in the hands of the amirs of Tabâsh and of Kâ'ûn. At this time, Kûhîstân inclined towards Afghanistan rather than Persia, until the Khâjârs succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the 10th century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shâh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1000 the amirs of Kâ'ûn no longer lived in this town but in Birjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khûshayma. Some members of this family also ruled some. The rulers of Tabâsh also governed at this time the district of Dûnâbîbâd (chief town Dûnâyân). The settled population of Kûhîstân is of a very ancient stock; their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few peculiarities. The district contains the closest groups of Tûshâr and Dûnâbîbâd and that of Kâ'ûn, Tûn and Birjand. Many villages around Kâ'ûn and Birjand are inhabited exclusively by Sayyids. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismâ'îlîs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khân, e.g. at Kâ'ûn and Birjand. There are also small colonies of Bahâ'îs, while the Sunni Afghan element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Semites, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes, and include the Khûshâyma, from whom came the amirs of Kâ'ûn. A few Turkish tribes are found only in the north as for Turbât-i Haydarî. Finally, in the south there are Balûsh, who move in summer towards Sîstân.

Kûhîstân has never in its history contained any major urban centres comparable to those of northern and eastern Kûshrûsân; when Sykes was there in 1900, Kâ'ûn had only ca. 4,000 inhabitants. This may be one reason why the region (with the exception of the more northerly part, around Zawzan, see 1sâfîr) did not in earlier times produce such an abundance of 'alamâ' and scholars as the other cities of Kûshrûsân. However, Storck, Persian literature, 1, 79-8 mentions a modern Tell Kûshûrî as the scene of Kâ'ûnî by one Dîwâ' al-Dîn Kâ'ûnî on some poets of Kâ'ûnî and Birjand, and in mediaeval times we find Thâfîbî mentioning poets with the name of Kâ'ûnî, e.g. the Abû Mansûr Kâ'ûnî b. Ibrahim Kâ'ûnî in Turtuvarî al-yul'tma, ed. Eghbal, ii, 4. Birjand has in recent times been the most important town, even though it lies in a less fertile situation than the smaller Kâ'ûn. Administratively, much of Kûhîstân falls today within the shâhrastân of Birjand, in the 4th 'asîn or province of Khûrûshân, and within this shâhrastân or district there is bâbâsh or sub-district of the same name (pop. in 1950, 43,600) and a further bâbâsh of Kâ'ûn (pop. in 1950, 65,000). The products of the region include some cereals, such as wheat and barley, opium, silk and saffron, and there is carpet-weaving and camel-raising.


The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Kûhîstân in the province of Kûrmân. One of them was called Kûhîstân Abî Ghânîm and was in the district of Dûrûf, between this town and the Diabâl al-Kus (Mukaddasî, 47, 4l, 497; Huddâb al-Salam, tr. 65, 124, comm. 37-5; Yûkût, iv, 205; Le Strange, 338). The other Kûhîstân was situated on the road from Sîrdân to Bâm, 6 jinâsh from the former town (Ibn Kuhâshânî, 66; Kudîma, 196; Mühut, 473; Le Strange, 338). 3. Kûhîstân of Bûhû in Afghanistan is a district to the north-east of the town of Bûhû and includes the districts of Pandishir, Nidjzan, Tagan, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tadjiks.
who speak Persian and Pashit, and other elements called Khuhitii who speak Pashita (a Dardic dialect, see DARDIC AND KAFIR LANGUAGES and Parachi (Iranian) (cf. Imperial gazetteer of India, xiv, 244).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swat in the north-west of India is also called Khuhistan. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swat; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Panjshir so that a distinction is sometimes made between Kuhistan of Swat and Kuhistan of Panjshir. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 300,000) seem to belong to the Indian group of dialects. The principal dialects are: Garwal (Swat Kuhl.), Tawar (Thal Kuhl.), and Mayyuri (Indus Kuhl.).

5. Lastly, Kuhistan is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Kuriati. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (Imperial gazetteer of India, xv, 353). (J. H. Kramers)
of bronze and the vessels of glass, and a special object known in Khurāsān as waṣama-dīrīk was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the narrow-necked vessels (for such an object, see G. Fechervari, Islamic metalwork in the Keir collection, London 1976, no. 38, and numerous similar pieces elsewhere).

Al-khulūd also had a specifically medical function as an eye unguent, particulars of which are to be found in Ibn al-Bayḍūr and other such writers. From this function comes the idea of al-khulūd, ophthalmist [see 5AYN].

Al-khulūd is also the origin of our word alcohol. From a fine powder used to stain the eyelids, it came by extension to mean any fine impalpable powder produced by triturating or subliming, and hence was applied to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence or "spirit" obtained by distillation or rectification. Sublimation and the distillation of drugs was known to Khalāl b. Abābā al-Zahrāwī (Abulcasis) in the late 4th/10th century, but the more complicated process needed for the production of alcohol was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 12th century. (For a description of the preparation of arak in 16th/17th century Mughal India, see Abu l-Fadl 'Allāmī, Diwan-i Abshar, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1893, i, 69.)

Bibliography: the continued publication of previously unknown scientific or semi-scientific texts such as those of al-Ḥamānī and Abu l-Kāsim Kāshānī means that the works cited in the article on al-khulūd in EI1 have become outdated, but no detailed work on al-khulūd has since been published. The reader is referred to E. O. Lippmann, Enstehung und weitere Ausbreitung der Alchemie, Berlin 1935, and to the works of Wiedemann, Beiträge xxiv, 93, 99; xxv, 228; i, 176, 185, in SPME, 1911, 1914, and H. E. Stapleton, Chemistry in Iran and Persia in the tenth century, in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, viii, no. 6, 352, 372; it is advisable to read them in conjunction with all the information now available in the Arabic or Persian texts cited above. Additional information is to be found in other geographical works, in works on pharmacology, and in semi-scientific texts such as Nahr al-Dīn Tūstī, Tanbīḥ-nāmī-yi Iṭḥānī, Tehran 1964. Much material is also to be found in WAKAS, i, 73 f.

(E. Wiedemann - J. W. Allan)

KUHRUD, Arabic form of Persian Kūhrūd "mountain river", a village in western Persia on the summer caravan route between Kāshān and Isfahān [q.v.]. In mediaeval times it fell within the province of Dibāl, and Ḥamāl Allāh Mustawfī, Nuzhāt al-khulūd, tr. 184, places it some 57 miles/92 km. from the latter town; cf. also Schwarz, Iran und Arabien, 349 n. 19. Today, Kuhrud falls administratively in the baškūl of Kūnaq, in the gāhāstān of Kāshān, in the second ıstān or central province of Iran, see Farhang-i ṣ̱anah-i ḡarzī-yi Īrān, iii, 289-290. It lies in the mountains on the slopes of a cultivated valley, and the agreeableness of its climate in summer has been commented upon by numerous European travellers, from Chardin onwards, who have passed through it. E. G. Browne was there in 1888 and collected specimens of the distinctive dialect of the Kuhrūd-Nājīn districts, see his A year amongst the Persians, Cambridge 1926, 293-8.

Kuhrud is apparently unmentioned by the earlier Arab and Persian geographers, until Mustawfī (8th/14th century) comments upon it and upon the fact that the river of Kuhrūd supplied Kāshān with some of its water (op. cit., tr. 72); this river was dammed in Safavid times by the Band-i Kuhrūd in order to assure a supply for Kāshān during the summer months, see Browne, op. cit., 202-3. Its monuments comprise a Safavid caravanserai and two 8th/14th century mosques, one apparently the Shīʿī mosque and the other possibly that of the Sunnī villagers; for these, see O. Watson, The Masjid-i 'Aqīl, Qūhūrd: an architectural and epigraphic survey, in Iran: Final of the British Inst. of Persian Studies, xii (1975), 59-74. The mountains of the Kuhrūd district produce lead and cobalt, and the village may accordingly have had connections with the great ceramics centre of Kāshān; see Hans Wulf, The traditional crafts of Persia, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 163.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KOKAWA, or KUKA, capital of Bornū [q.v.] for much of the 19th century, situated at 12° 35' N. and 13° 36' E. It was founded about 1814 by al-Hājjī Muhammad al-Ămirī b. Muhammad al-Kānimī [see AL-KĀNĪMI], better known as Shāhīr, or Shāhūn, al-Kānimī. He was a Kanembe malam [q.v.], who had established himself at Ngala, south of Lake Chad. In 1808 or 1809 Fulani forces, linked with the Shāhīr of Unman dan Fodio [q.v.], occupied and ravaged Birnin Gazzargum [q.v.], then the capital of Bornū. The Bornū ruler, or mai [q.v.], called upon al-Kānimī's help. The city changed hands several times but, although eventually the Fulani were conclusively expelled, Gazzargum never became the capital again. Mai Dunama wandered about, earning the derisive title "mai of the calabash" (a significant item of luggage) for his much travelling. Al-Kānimī received the fief of Ngornu, northwest of Ngala but still far from Gazzargum, for services rendered. Dunama was deposed by his uncle, Muhammad Ngilermu, who established a new capital, Birnin Kafala, very near Ngornu. About 1813 al-Kānimī's power had so much grown that he was able to depose the mai, Muhammad, and to reinstate Dunama, keeping however Kafala as the mai's official capital. With Gazzargum abandoned, Kafala very much in the shadow of al-Kānimī, and the mai's power somewhat at odds with local leaders in his own fief of Ngornu, there was no obvious centre of power in Bornū. About 1834 al-Kānimī decided to leave Ngornu, and built a new town, Kukk, again somewhat to the northwest, nine miles from Lake Chad. The name comes from the Kanuri [q.v.] word for baobab (Adansonia digitata) tree, one of which was growing on or near the site of al-Kānimī's own future dwelling.

For the next thirty years, an uneasy balance existed between the legitimate dynasty at Kafela, and the shehu's one at Kukk. In 1837 (Barth) or 1836 (Browne) a Bagirmi [q.v.] force invaded Bornū, intending to oust al-Kānimī and restore to the mai his traditional powers; the plan failed and the mai was killed. Schulze (p. 257) mentions a sack of Kuka by the invaders at this time, but this is not confirmed in other sources. Al-Kānimī struck his own seal, dated 1819-20, but still continued to preserve a figurehead mai. Al-Kānimī died in 1837; the hitherto generally accepted date, 1835, seems almost certainly disproved by manuscript evidence. He was succeeded by his son 'Umar [q.v.], under whom Kukk continued to become increasingly the seat of all real power. In 1846 Wadai [q.v.] was invaded,
with the intention of removing Shehu 'Umar and re-establishing the mai. Koka was partially destroyed, and for two months lay almost a desert; but again the plan miscarried. The mai was executed; after his son was killed in battle some months later, no new mai was appointed. 'Umar openly asserting that sovereignty which he and his father had long enjoyed in fact. Koka was now the official, as well as the actual, capital of Borno.

As, in the period after 1814, power came more and more to centre upon Koka, the essential pattern of government—in essence, through fiels ruled by courtiers—did not change, although there was greater centralisation than in the old days at Gazzargamu. The Koka court was characterised by relative informality, lack of splendour, and a certain religious simplicity, in contrast to the elaborate, and increasingly hollow, ceremonial at Kafela. Yüsuf b. 'Abd al-Kadir, son of a former imam at Gazargamu, was appointed imam of the Koka mosque, and presided over all religious festivals. Minor legal matters, such as divorce and inheritance, were handled by iftim appointed by al-Kanini; serious crimes and capital cases were referred to al-Kanini himself, and his six principal companions. After 1846, ceremonial tended to increase, and the number of courtiers and noblemen grew larger. With the challenge from Kafela removed, and with an over-larger number of people competing for wealth and rewards which were no longer expanding sufficiently rapidly, divisive forces appeared within Koka itself; 'Umar, a pious and amiable man, was also irresolute and weak, unable to maintain his father's firm control of the city and the state.

After the Wadai sack in 1846, Koka was rebuilt, but a new town was added to the east, and into this quarter the political leaders moved. The shah's main palace was in the east town, although that in the west town was refurbished, and the shah visited it from time to time, particularly at religious festivals. The west town, i.e. the original Koka, became the residential area of non-titled families, and foreign merchants; it had the larger population. Each town was walled separately. (Kukawa is a plural form: 'Umar was walled separately. Koka was partially de-re-established the main palace, which was distinguished by an upper storey and some towerlike elevations. Before the palace, in the open area of the court (cowries, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have been a considerable improvement by the early 1820s, when also a greater variety of goods is reported on the market, and the use of currency (coppers, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have won a wider acceptance. Trade with North Africa was at this time being inconvenienced by the extreme unreliability, in any commercial contracts, of most of the Koka nobility. Koka did not profit much from the state of affairs developing to the south. In 1891 Charles Nodier, of the Royal Niger Company, visited the city in search of a trade treaty, but the North African community there persuaded the Shehu, Hâsîm b. 'Umar, to refuse his presents and send him away.

The population of Koka was probably about 90,000 during its heyday. There were a considerable number of Kurânic scholars and teachers, and many blind beggars; shurafa' came from Morocco and the haramayn, piots men from Egypt and Tunis, Timbuktu and Senegal, pilgrims from the western Sahara and the Hausa and Fulani countries, all more or less attracted by the reputation for open-handed generosity which Shehu 'Umar in particular enjoyed.

The downfall of Koka was at the hand of Râbi'; [q. o.], a man of eastern Sudanese origin. Probably early in 1893, although precise dating of these events is extremely difficult, Râbi' and his army, moving westwards, occupied Logone, the capital city under Bornô. In two battles, at Amja and Legarwa, the Bornô forces vainly tried to defeat Râbi'; after the second defeat, organised Bornô resistance collapsed. Shehu Hâsîm had been present at the second battle, though taking no active part; he fled to Koka, and abandoned it within a few days, at Râbi's approach. Râbi' occupied the town, sometime in 1893, without a struggle. What hap-
pened next is uncertain; some authorities report the ruthless pillaging of the capital, with several thousands of people killed or captured, while others argue that the violence was much more restrained. Certainly an immense booty was captured. Readings from the Qurʾān were among the festivities celebrating the victory. Shortly after the conquest, Rābiḥ decided to move the capital to Dikwa, an older town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkaway was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

In 1902, the British installed Bukar Garbai, a grandson of ʿUmar, as Shehu, first at Mongunu then moved to Dikwa, and was later reported to be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

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The graves of al-Kūfīnī, ʿUmar, and their two immediate successors are still revered, and a baobab tree, said to replace the one from which the town was named, is held in high regard. The town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkaway was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

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Kūlūsūf, or Kūlū, a town in western Anatolia, classical Opsicum. It lies on the margin of a fertile plain, a few miles south of the upper course of the Gediz river and to the north of the main Manisa-Uşak road, in lat. 38° 33′ north and long. 28° 40′ east and at an altitude of 2,140 feet (652 m) it is in a volcanic area (classical Kastelkauene or Combusta), with the extinct volcano Kadıdevli north-east of the town; hence many of the houses are built from dark basalt. There are numerous marble remains from classical times, but the citadel, apparently late medieval, is ruinous.

Kūla came within the lands of the Turkmen khan of the Germiyān-oghullarī (q.v.), and was conquered by Mehmed Germiyānī (ca. 745-753/1340-61), and after his son Sūleyman Shāh Čelebi (ca. 765-90/1365-96) had given Kāṭahiyah and several of his towns to the Ottoman Beyzād I Vildırım as dowry for his daughter Dəwlet Khatīm, he himself went to Kūla to reside and died there. In the Taṣāf uṣūlfiyah at Kāṭahiyah of Yâkūb Čelebi b. Sūleyman Shāh (814/1415), the name of Kūla is rendered as کولا. In Ottoman times, Kūla fell within the sajmāq of Sarıkān, whose capital was Manisa (q.v.); Čelebi Čelebi mentions there 9 quarters, 2,500 households, 24 mosques, 3 baths, 6 caravanserais and 200 shops. In recent times, carpet-weaving has been a significant local craft, and it is now a centre for wine-making. Cünet (ca. 1890) recorded 6,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,653 were Muslims and 343 Greeks, together with 30 mosques and two Greek Orthodox churches. In 1939, Kūla's population was 5,600, whilst the area of which it was the chief-town had one of 38,442 and
was composed of 62 villages. It is now the chef-lieu of an île (formerly base) in the îl (formerly sivay) of Manisa. In 1975 the population was 12,807.

**Bibliography:** Hadi Hadi, Dihâb-nun, 633; Saud Dey, Kâbul al-âlam, v, 3700; V. Cunet, La Turquie âsâie, iii, 505; Admiralty handbook, Turkey, London 1943, i, 139, ii, 207, 234-5, 565; IA, art. Kula (Besim Darkot).

**KULAM,** the name given in mediaeval Arabic geographical and travel literature to the port of Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular South India, in ancient and modern Kerala (lat. 8° 53' N. and long. 76° 36' E.).

Quilon early became a centre of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, and is mentioned in a letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Hadûyâb of Adiabene (d. 650) to Simon, Metropolitan of Fars, under the name of Colon and as lacking at that time a settled ministry (Assemanus, Bibliotheca orientalis, iii, 2, Rome 1758, 437). The first mention of the place in the Islamic sources appears to be that of the Abîsâr al-asl as-i-Hind (c.e. in Suppl.) (275/851), which mentions "Kulam of Malay" (this latter name being generally preserved in later Arabic sources, e.g. Ibn Battûta, as "Al-Malayyûb"). It describes Kulam as a "hilly coastland." It possibly describes Kulam as a "hilly coastland." It describes Kulam as a "hilly coastland.

The name "Kulam" was later used in mediaeval Arabic (c.f. al-Dîn Kâzarqân, whose father was the local ruler as Tlurvari, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

From the opening of the 16th century onwards, the history of Quilon is bound up with European economic and political penetration of South India, a process which soon became unfavourable to the earlier Muslim commercial supremacy along the Malabar coast. In December 1500 Pedro Alvarès Cabral was at Cochin, and received friendly delegations from the ruler of Kannur (c.e. in Suppl.) and from the Queen of Quilon (Portuguese Coñam), both of whom had been anxious to secure Portugal's assistance against the powerful Muslim ruler in Calicut, the Zamorin. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, who promised to load two Portuguese ships per year with pepper, and in the next year the Portuguese merchants were allowed to open a factory there. Muslim opposition was strenuous; Portuguese ships were prevented from loading, and 1503 the Portuguese factor at Quilon was killed by them. In 1505 Don Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceregal of All the Indies, and received instructions to erect four fortresses along the Malabar coast, including one at Quilon. In 1516 and 1520, further treaties were made between the ruler of Quilon and the Portuguese aimed at providing the latter with a monopoly of the export of pepper from there.

In 1551 the Dutch captured the fortress of Quilon from the Portuguese, and in 1659 the Dutch East India Company made a treaty with the Queen. In December 1661 the Admiral Rijklof van Goens appeared with a fleet at Quilon, since regained by the Portuguese, and occupied the fortress without opposition; he then proceeded in 1662 to reduce the fortresses of Cranganor and Cochin (see, for the whole of this period of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence at Quilon, F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire,* London 1894, i, 86-9, 114, 185, 231, 326-7, ii, 325). But during the 17th century, the Dutch fortress at Quilon decayed from lack of cash and of profit in the trading operations there, and during the period of warfare between the British and the rulers of Mysore, Haydar Ali and Tipu Sultan (c.e. in Suppl.), in the late 18th century, these two rulers having in their expansionist phase extended Muslim political control into Malabar, the Dutch fortress of Quilon was reduced in 1766 by the British, and in 1767 by the Mysore army, leaving the area open to British control.

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Quilon, as did several western ecclesiastical envoys to the Far East in the Mongol period, such as Odoric of Pordenone (translated in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1915-16, ii, 129-30) and John of Monte Corvino; the latter mentions that at that time, i.e. the end of the 13th century, the Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders there were present and of profit in the trading operations there, and he and other sources mention corsairs, and these seem to have been largely composed of traders of Persian Shîr origin, the origin merchant being A'asî al-Dîn al-Awadi (i.e. from Awa [c.e. in Suppl.] in northwestern Persia), and the bâds a man from Khuzistan. The Muslim community was, Ibn Battûta relates, prosperous and highly-respected. He names the local ruler as Tiruvati, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

During the middle years of the 18th century, the principalities of Quilon had been absorbed by Travancore, and in British India, Quilon continued to fall within the native state of Travancore. It is now (since 1956) in the component state of Kerala in the Indian Union. According to the *Census of India 1961,* the population was 10,807 (in 1961, a total population of 5,914,928 [Hindu 64 %, Christian 25 %, Muslim 9 %]), and Quilon municipality alone 9,018 (1961 figure, 15,962).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

**AL-KULAYA** (Lat), "little castle", the diminutive of al-ka'ba [q.v.], like this last used, in one way or another, as a place-name.

1. **Muslim Spain**

Studies of the history and geography of Muslim Spain are familiar with al-kulaya as the name of a number of small or relatively small places whose importance seems to have lain only or primarily in the military purpose they served. In Spanish Omayyad history it occurs as the name of at least three different places mentioned in connection with raids and campaigns. One was situated in the Asturian kingdom, another in the neighbourhood of Guadalajara, and yet another to the north-east of Cordova (Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Exp. mores, ii, 204; ii, 40, 282, 309 [map], 310). The exact location of the first two remains uncertain, but the third, which still bears its old name in Spanish guise, viz. Alcolea, is situated 10 km. or so on the main eastward road of Cordova.

As regards the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, two places called al-Kuley's are listed in their appropriate administrative divisions by Ibn al-Khatib [g.v.]. Both are located in what is today Almeria province. One—Alcolea—lies north of Berja on the main road to Laugar. In other parts of the Peninsula, the same hiqanised name can be found in such compounds as Alcolea de Calatrava (Ciudad Real province), A. del Pinar and A. de las Fuentes (Guadalajara prov.), A. de Cuéllar (Cuenca prov.), A. de Rico (Sevilla prov.); (?l Billal al-Kula'a, Ibn Khaldun, Thar., vii, 196), and A. del Tajo (Toledo prov.). Other Peninsular forms are Alcolehia (Alcantarite prov.) and Aloceteg (Lerida prov.). In Spanish and other European writings the name appears in various guises (Alcolaya, Alcoyia, Alcolea, Alcoleha, etc.). Finally, in Spain today there are a number of place-names which are most probably literal translations of al-kula'a (Castilian diminutive: "castielcho"), e.g. Castilejo (Cáceres and Granada provs.), C. de la Iniesta (Cuenca prov.), C. de Robledo (Soria prov.), etc.


2. **North Africa**

1. **El-Golea** (the French spelling of al-Kulay'a, reflecting the local pronunciation with the usual voiced tsf of nomadic vernaculars) is the name of an oasis town situated at the far eastern end of the great western Erg (Vib); see map above, i, 369; of Saharan Algeria and lying, by road, 906 km. almost due south of Algiers on the parallel 3° 56', and 320 km. south of Ghardaia [g.v.];—air distances are noticeably shorter—at a height of 391 metres. Although the most isolated of Algeria's larger oases, it is one of the most beautiful. In 1573 the d'Arpège of El-Golea had a population of 16,670.

The place owes its name to an old stronghold (erar) built on the north side of a gara (gara, pl. al'ar), i.e. a small, isolated flat-topped hill. This gara, from which it can be seen a vast expanse of desert, sandy to the west and desert grasses to the east, is crowned by something of a protective semi-circle into which the huge oasis nestles beneath. Below the ūsar lies a town that has risen on old and new foundations: the old town, home of an original sedentary population living in mud houses similar in shape and size to the talas of Mali, and the new, modern town, which owes its foundation to the French, but its felicitously harmonious architecture to the inspiration supplied by local tradition. The latter's mosque and marketplace are the focal point of social, religious and economic life. From the outset this new town has accommodated administrative buildings. In 1958 it also witnessed the consecration of the first church in the Sahara.

Today the ūsar is deserted and in ruins. With the establishment and eventual consolidation of French rule, the need for its use as a stronghold disappeared and gradually it came mere to supply the local nomads' needs for storage. Its last inhabitants dispersed throughout the oasis to form hamlet communities alongside various plantations. The remains of the stronghold's double walls still stand, and among the ruins a small, plain mosque can be seen where it has been the custom of local women to gather for Friday prayer. The remains of rock dwellings are also in evidence. Dotted around the foot of the gara on which the ūsar stands, as well as about the oasis generally, are the ḥobbas of local holy men, amounting to between forty and fifty in all and of different shapes and sizes.

As a result of improvements in irrigation and drainage techniques first effected by the French, the oasis now covers more than 800 hectares and supports around 182,000 date-palms watered from artesian wells dug in the bed of the Wad Seguia. Fruit trees also abound, notably citrus and apricot varieties, and there are winter crops of cereals, beans and many other kinds of vegetable.

The inhabitants and frequenters of the oasis are, in the main, wholly or partly sedentarised nomads of the Sha'ānba sub-tribe Mawāalī; traders from the Mzab; negroes and hardān (sing. hardāni [q.v.]) from Twfit (Toat) and Gara (Gourara). These last two groups account for about half the population and between them work the land in one capacity or another. Formerly there was also a Jewish element.

El-Golea's early history is lost in legend. The ūsar in said to have been founded as Taruir (Berber "little castle") by the Zenata in the Middle Ages and to have then been taken by the Tuareg. Its medieval origin may be well founded: Ibn Khaldūn mentions the existence of a seemingly not too dissimilar desert advance post inhabited by Matighara Berbers and frequented in intensely hot weather by veiled nomads. It too was a kulay'a, viz. Kulayat Willan (on some European maps Guleia). Be that as it may, the Sha'ānba in and around El Golea are said, probably rightly, to have come from the region of the Matilf oasis, near Ghardaia, where there is still a branch of the Sha'ānba, and to have been in the carrying-trade there, to say nothing of brigandage, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Drifting south as population pressures grew, they made El-Golea their centre and doubtless profited from its position on the route from the Mzab to Twit.
and Tidikelt. In the 12th century, according to al-‘Ayyub, this evidently prosperous place was ruled, through a governor, by the sultan of Wargha. Its first contact with Europe was with Duveyrier in 1659. General de Galliffet reached it in 1873, and in 1891 a permanent garrison was installed. The local Shābāna provided Esquiline with the first detachments of the famous mecakristi with whose aid the central Sahara was brought under French control.


2. Kulayb, a small town of 35,000 inhabitants lying 46 km., by road, west of Algiers. Situated on the landward side of the Sahil hills at a height of 130 metres, it offers a commanding view of the Nīkjī plain. Dating from the Ottoman period, it is said to have been founded by Ḥasan Fasga, son of the corsair Khayr al-Dīn (Bacarzeca) [v.], around 1650. What is certain is that these people formed a nucleus of Muslim refugees from Castile. Andalusia, and the kingdom of Valencia, for whom the excellent prospects offered by its fertile cultivable land were the main attraction. In the sources it is therefore referred to as “Col de Mudechares” (Mudechares being the Spanish mudjafes from Ar. mudjafīn). In modern times Kulayb’s attraction has been the tomb of the “king” (on the use of this title see C. M. L. Latham, ed. De Goeje, 164–6; Ibn Sallām, Jahāk, 22; Ibn al-Kalbl-Caskel, Tab. 104, where Murra Taghlib of the Islamic period, whose murder by al-Nabīgha al-‘Arabī [q.v.], around 665, is the regular subject of the Bedouin elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muḥālīh (both contemporaries with the beginning of Islam) in our sources; in that of al-Nabīgha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulayb is found as early as the musallāk of the Taghlib ‘Amr b. Khliyīn (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulayb in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muḥālīh (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn Khayyāb, Ṣhir, ed. De Goeye, 164–6; Ibn Sallām, Tabābāl al-lahārāt, ed. Heil, 13 lines 11–16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulayb is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Ḥāhālī (cf. Miteirī, Ṣauhāb al-abhum paghanorum, Berlin 1899, 11).

al-KULAYNI, ABU DJAFAR MUHAMMAD — KULDJA

Baghdad whose Persian name Kolên, with imam is Arabicised as Kula and Kulen. His name is thus variously given in the sources as al-Kulayni, al-Kuleni, or, erroneously, al-Kalami.

Few facts are known about his life. Since his chief transmitters of Imami traditions were several scholars of Kumm, it is certain that he studied in that town for a prolonged time, most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (905-13). He also transmitted from several scholars of Rayy, among them his maternal uncle Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Kulayni al-Rafi', known as 'Ali, and al-Naḍāshi describes him as the shaykh of the Imamiya in Rayy in his time. It is uncertain if it was in Naysabur or elsewhere that he heard Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Naysaburi, his transmitter of the traditions and views of the Jimami branch of al-Firdaws, Shihab al-Naysaburi, whom he evidently held in high esteem. At an unknown date, perhaps in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (914-22), he moved to Baghdad where he lived and taught in the Darb al-Silsila near the Bab al-Kufa on the west bank of the Tigris. Here he completed his voluminous Kūth al-Kafi', on which he is said to have worked for twenty years. The book, though mostly a collection of traditions of the Imamis, was meant to be a representative of authoritative Imamite doctrine in theology and fiqh. Thus it is arranged according to subject matter and tends to contain only those traditions which the author considered as reflecting orthodox teaching. Only exceptionally are the views and elaborations of Imamite scholars quoted, such as the elaborations of al-Firdaws b. Shihab on the law of inheritance. The work is divided into the usual dealing mainly with theology, prophecy, the Imamite, and prayers: the Rusūl, dealing with fiqh; and a final volume, entitled K. al-Randah, containing miscellaneous traditions of mostly edifying or paraenetic character. His other works, all of which are lost, included a refutation of the Karaimists, a book on transmitters (ridjāli) a collection of letters of the Imamis, an anthology of poems about them, and a book on the interpretation of dreams. The date of his death is given as 328/940-41 or 329/941.

The latter date, mentioned by al-Nadjashi, is more likely to be correct, since al-Tusi who in his earlier K. al-Flsāri gives the year 329, in his later K. al-Flsālal specifies Shabban 329/May 941. The funeral prayer was held by the Imami Hasanid Abu lvirat Muhammad b. Djafer, and he was buried near the Bab at-Kufa.

KULDIJA or SHULDIJA, modern Ell or Emin, a town in the fertile and mineral-rich upper valley of the Ili river [q.v.] in Central Asia. For the medieval history of the district in which modern Kuldiya lies, see AlMALEGH.

The town of Kuldiya ("Old Kuldiya") was probably a new foundation in 1762 by the Chinese after their victory over the Kalmucks [see KALMUKE] in 1739, and they named it Ning-yuan-chen. Two years later the town of Hoi-yuan-chen was founded as the headquarters of the Chinese governor-general (ts'ung-ch'iao) of Chinese Turkestan; this was known as "Great" or "New" Kuldiya. The Imperial government resettled in the largely depopulated region, amongst other peoples, 6,000 families of Muslim Turks from Kāshgār, after the devastation of the latter province during the wars with the Kalmucks; these came to be called the Tarakes, "agriculturists". Also in the 17th century were settled there Chinese Muslims (probably, in fact, of mixed Chinese and Uygur Turkish blood) called the Dungans or T'ung-kan. In 1851 the Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Kuldja. In 1853 a trade treaty was made at Kuldiya between the advancing Russians and the Chinese, opening the upper II region to Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Kuldja. In 1882 W. Radlov visited both Old and New Kuldiya and described them fully in his Aus Sibirien, Leipzig 1893, ii, 305 ff., 316 ff., see also his Das Il Tschai in Hoch Asien und seine Bewohner, in Petermanns Mittheilungen (1860); a decade or so later, the American traveller E. Schuyler visited Old Kuldiya and its hinterland, see his Turkestan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Koo-kud, Bakkara, and Kinnish, London 1876, ii, 158-201.

Following a Dungan rebellion in Shen-si, which spread to Kansu [see KANSU] and other Muslim
KULDJIA — KULLIYYA

areas of western China proper in 1862, revolt also broke out amongst the Muslim population of northern Chinese Turkestan, sc. in the province of Dungania, amongst both Tarancis and Dungans, and in 1863 it spread to the Kuldja area. After hard fighting between the Chinese authorities and the rebels, New Kuldja was captured in 1863 by the rebels and completely razed; Schuyler, op. cit., ii, 152-4, found the site utterly deserted apart from the one or two houses of Dungan squatters. The Russian consulate in Kuldja and a Russian factory in the area were destroyed in this strife. The Dungans and Tarancis now began to fight amongst themselves, and after much internecine warfare, power passed in 1867 to a Taranci leader who styled himself Sultan Ata Khan or Abu Ya'kub (in Russian sources, often Abil-Oghda); after savage massacres perpetrated by the Tarancis, some 3,000 Dungans and others fled westwards into Russian territory for refuge. In 1867 also, Ya'kub Beg [p.1], a Khozkand by birth who had earlier fought against the Russians at the battle of Ak Masdjid (see KHOZANDI), established his power in Kagh伤aria, sc. the southern part of Chinese Turkestan. Since Ya'kub Beg was believed to be anti-Russian and received two diplomatic missions from British India, the appearance of an ostensibly hostile power in Central Asia disturbed Russia, and was a factor in the Russian decision to act completely in 1875-6 the Khanate of Khozkand (p.n.). It further led to the Russian occupation in 1871 of Kuldja and the upper Ili basin, this being announced as a temporary measure, till China should re-establish her authority in Kagh伤aria and Dungania. The local ruler Ata Khan was deported to Russia, and lived out his life there as a state pensioner.

The Russians probably assumed that Ya'kub Beg would never be dislodged from power and that the Kuldja district would eventually be permanently annexed. In fact, Ya'kub Beg was defeated in 1876-7 by the Chinese forces and died in May 1877; his state collapsed totally and Chinese authority was restored in Eastern Turkestan. In 1879 negotiations began between the Chinese diplomat Ch'ung-hu and the imperial Russian government, but the Treaty of Livdia made in that year was abortive, and negotiations dragged on for a considerable time, the retrocession of Kuldja being used as a bargaining point. In September 1909 representatives both of the Kuldja regime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial Government was proclaimed in Kuldja, independent of the Sin-kiang provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Ahmand Djan's regime in Kuldja, but by the end of 1918 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1919 representatives both of the Kuldja regime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial Government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually acceded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1934 the Kuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of Liling, Kuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.


KULLIYYA (A. lit. "completeness": Turkish: hafiz; Persian: kulliyeh) appeared in the 19th century the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning.

Islamic education in masjid, madrasa or hikmahak did not know of a division into hikliyyah, which presupposes institutionalised specialisation. So it was only in 1930 that al-Azhari in Cairo was re-organised according to three hikliyyah of higher studies: usul al-din, sharifs, and al-tahaddi al-uraqiyya. Nadif in Irag, as a centre of Shi'ah

KULDJIA, a revolutionary government proclaimed its independence in the Ili region, but in 1912 the new Chinese governor of the whole province, Yang Tseng-Hsin (1911-28) managed to conciliate the separatists and secure unification of the Ili and Sin-kiang regions (see R. Yang, Sinikiang under the administration of governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1911-1922, in Central Asiatic Jntl., vi [1961], 270-7). Yang weathered a further potential crisis in 1916-17, when thousands of Kazaks fled from Tsarist Russian oppression into the Ili and Kagh伤aria regions (ibid., 305-8), and under his long tenure of power, the whole of Chinese Turkestan enjoyed an unwonted period of prosperity and firm government. He kept up good relations with Soviet Russia, and even after the Kuomintang's diplomatic break with Russia in 1927, the Russian consulates at Kuldja and in other towns remained open. His successor Chen Shih-jen followed a similar policy, and in a secret treaty of 1931 conceded to the Russians rights to commercial offices in Kuldja or Ili, Urumchi, etc.

These governors in the far west of China had been virtually autonomous, but in 1942 Liang Kai-shhek managed to extend the direct control of Chunking over Sin-kiang, with disquieting effects on the non-Chinese population elements there. Hence in November 1944 there was a rebellion of the Kazakh Turks in the Ili region, soon joined by the Uygurs. An Eastern Turkestan Republic was proclaimed in Kuldja, independent of the Sin-kiang provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Ahmand Djan's regime in Kuldja, but by the end of 1948 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1949 representatives both of the Kuldja regime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial Government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually acceded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1954 the Kuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of Liling, Kuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.

sighari learning, had in 1963, besides a number of independent madrasas, a kulliyat al-fikh which was connected with the University of Bagdad. When modern institutions of higher education were established beside the traditional Muslim ones in the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter underwent a number of innovations and reforms which were mostly imposed by the state authorities. In this way, the faculty system was introduced into the traditional Islamic teaching, either by a radical transformation of an existing old-established institution (e.g. at al-Azhar); or by integrating such an institution as a kulliyat al-fikh or a faculty of religious studies into a new medieval or modern type of learning (e.g. at Zaytuna in Tunis); or be established completely new religious institutions with a division into faculties, replacing older such institutions (e.g. the King Saïd Islamic University in Medina). By now, the faculty system has been introduced in nearly all Islamic institutions of higher education; sometimes such institutions have "modern" faculties side-by-side with those of the Islamic sciences. These institutions provide the education of religious leaders and they perform a function in the transmission and reformulation of Islamic thought. They may lead to a career in the judiciary, in institutional teaching or in less formal forms of instruction in Islam, both within and outside Muslim countries.

The non-religious modern (state) universities [see Dajma'] and other institutions of higher education (al-islam al-fr) have been organised according to the faculty system, as taken over from the West, since their establishment in the 19th and sometimes the 19th century. They come under the Ministry of Education, or in some cases the Ministry of Higher Education. These universities expanded greatly in number and size after the independence of the different countries, and they serve the modernisation and development of the societies of these countries by providing them with professional intellects, besides the general role of such institutions in the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. There is a direct link between the modernisation of a society and the expansion of its educational system, including higher education. The educational institutions undergo during their development the influence of those ideological forces which constitute, or accompany, the modernisation process, the dynamic of the modernisation process. The planning of higher education has started in most countries according to the needs of these countries, following western models and resulting in the growth of faculties (kulliyat).

In Arab universities the following kulliyat have developed: adib (arts), habb (law), ulum (sciences) and hibb (medicine), the first two of which are called napor (theoretical), the latter two sumul (practical). Then there are those of tarbiya (education, i.e. for teacher-training at secondary schools), hibr (commerce), sada (administration), haddasa (engineering), and (agriculture), sayduliyah (pharmacy), hibb al-nsan (dentistry) and basf (veterinary medicine). In some cases there is a kulliyat al-adimin al-diniyya (social sciences), but mostly these disciplines are served by an institute instead of a faculty. Some universities, e.g. al-Azhar, have a kulliyat al-handal (women's faculty). In a number of cases, university faculties are the continuation of previously existing educational institutions which became part of the university once it had been founded.

The faculties have been organised in different countries according to French (especially law faculties), British and American models, but they have developed on their own and adjusted to ministerial directives. The kulliyat constitute together a djami'a. Within the university, the kulliyat enjoy a relative independence; their deans have great authority; they often have their own dalil (guide) besides the tahkim or takbir (calendar) of the university. They mostly have their own library and may issue their own periodical. Generally speaking, the decision-making process is slow and the bureaucratic apparatus allows for little efficiency, apart from ever recurring financial problems. Most programmes of study show an early specialisation, and the kulliyat often degenerate into function as professional schools. Certain courses on history, culture and society may be made compulsory for all students. The degrees awarded are those of bachelor, master, specialised diplomas and doctorate. The faculties (kulliyat) are each subdivided into sections (bustam, sing. sum) and specialised institutes may be attached to them. Nearly all teaching is done in the national language, and English and French are not well known; most universities have insufficient funds to obtain books for their libraries in these languages.

Given the great number of students enrolled, faculties like medicine and the sciences limit the admission of students according to the number of places available, taking into account the earlier marks received by applying students. There is evidently a job-market problem in most countries for those who obtain their bachelor degree, and even for those who finish graduate studies. A certain number of students are sent abroad or admitted for foreign scholarships to continue their studies or to specialise; a certain percentage of students, varying according to country, stays abroad. Faculty teachers, on the other hand, have a high teaching load and often take supplementary jobs besides; there is not only a lack of facilities for reading and research, but also in some cases a problem of intellectual independence.

As everywhere else, the kulliyat in Muslim countries are in transition and undergoing permanent reorganisation. The exact, natural and applied sciences have an immediate relevance for the modernisation of these countries. The social sciences, not always developed adequately, are sensitive to ideological considerations, but the dynamic of the present-day situation of the societies of these countries; this holds true for the teaching of history too. The tendency at all faculties is to spread knowledge imposed from above, and this knowledge often appears to be considered as a finite quantity, to be assimilated by memorisation. Consequently, little attention is paid to promoting the awakening of the available natural intelligence.

It would be difficult to interpret the kulliyat, and the institutions of higher education in general, apart from their social content and the function which they fulfill in societies with pressing needs and with many uncertainties. They play an important role, in particular in the construction of a modern society and in the cultural transformation of whole countries. This takes place at a time when the ideals of culture have changed greatly, not only in relation to the religious orientation of the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also since the political independence of the countries under consideration.

Bibliography: for the Arab countries, see R. D. Matthews and Matta Alrawi, Education in Arab countries of the Near East, Washington, D.C. 1949; J. D. J. Waardenburg, Some institutional aspects of Muslim higher education and their
The donors ranged from the ruler, who might assign the gift of various properties, building costs and the endowment needed to maintain the revenues of a part of the realm through office holders of greater and lesser rank, to the common people.

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KUL-OGHLU — AL-KULZUM

same merged within the general urban or rural populations.

KUL-OGHLU, Turkish folk poet of the 11th/12th century. Hardly anything is known about his life. He seems to have belonged to the Janissary corps and to have flourished during the reigns of Ögmen II, Mustafa I, Murad IV and Ibrahim, and to have found particular favour at the court of Murad IV. A contemporary of Kül Mustafa and Kılıç, he was at his best in lyric and epic poems, the best known of which is his elegy for Murad IV. His poems, scattered in most of the 17th and 18th century anthologies of folk poets (dîvans), have been collected and published by Sadettin Nurhet Ergun.


KULUMBAH b. TYAD AL-KUSHEAYRI, Kaysi notable [see s. v.] whom the Unayyad caliph Hisham b. Abd al-Malik sent to the Maghrib, in Djamál II 123/April-May 741, to avenge the bloody defeat which the Berbers, commanded by the successor of Maysara [q.v.], Khaled b. Hamid/ Humayd al-Zanati, had inflicted on the Arabs in the "battle of the nobles" (gamaar al-aghāf). Kulumbah left at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to which there were added contingents raised along the way, and he joined up with Habib b. Abi Ubayda al-Fihri, the former companion of Musa b. Nusayy [q.v.], who was endeavouring to halt the progress of the Sūfi Kādirjītes near Tlemcen.

Kulthum fought with the greatest bravery, reciting verses of the Kūrā to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One-third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Ibn 'Abd al-Haqq, 123/1038-9). Ignoring Habib's sensible advice, Kulthum sent to the front Baldj's cavalry, which succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines, but the latter returned behind them and overcrowded by their mass the caliph's troops which had taken up battle order too late. Habib and the other chiefs were killed.

KULMUR, the name given by the Arabs to the town of Coimbra, on the right bank of the Mondego River in central Portugal. The town still has some ruins from the Roman period, and was originally called Aeminium; but it took over the name of another important Roman town, Combrigia, which lay 18 km. to the south and had been devastated and depopulated during the barbarian invasions. The episcopal see of Combrigia was transferred to Aeminium in ca. 580-9, and the change of name took place towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although the usual Arabic form was Kulmūriya, Ibn al-Kitībiyya (14th/15th century) has that of Kulmūriyya (Iftisāk, 200). The occupying of the town is attributed to Abī al-'Azīz b. Ma'all b. Nusayy, governor of al-Andalus 957-774/16. His lands, like those of Santacruz to the south, appear to have been omitted from the conqueror's division of the territories, probably because of a treaty (cf. Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. mus., iii, 202-2).

The Arab geographers give descriptions of Kulmūriya. Al-Razī states that it was an ancient town, well-fortified and with fertile surrounding estates where there were cornfields, olive groves and gardens. Al-Idrīsī (588/1194) says that the walls had three gates (one of which still exists, with the name of almecina), and mentions the mills along the Mondego vineyards and gardens and also the force of Christians living there. Al-Hamdī repeats this information, and Yākūt gives a brief notice of the town.

Coimbra may have been the central town of a kita or territorial district during its Islamic period. This last was very disturbed, for the town was coveted by the Christians who set afoot the Reconquest [see al-Andalus and Burtugāl]. In 1064/1067 the town was taken by Count Hermengildo in Alfonso III's name, but al-Ma'mūr recaptured it in 1077/1078 after having briefly occupied it two years previously. It was finally conquered by Ferdinand I in 1149/1064 after a six-months' siege. He created the Mozarab Sanzandus Davidic governor as a reward for his role here. The Coimbra district was one of the Mozarabs' most lively centres; as well as the facts described in e.g. the works of Gómez-Moreno and Alonso de Lucio (P. da Costa, 37-8 and map 11) has emphasized the role of the town's Mozarabs in the peopling of northern Portugal during the Reconquest. The presence of the Muslims in the area has left many traces, as its toponomy shows. From the 10th century onwards, Christian documents make a very clear distinction between what was in the almecina (the walled town and citadel) and what was in the arrabalde (< rabada) outside the walls at that time.

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AL-KULZUM, an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea (A. Bahir al-Kulzum [q.v.], Bahir al-Find or Bahir al-Hababūn), now administratively in the province (muḥāfaẓa) of al-Swā'yah. It appears to have been a fort as well as a town, and was,
perhaps, the spot where the troops destined to guard the sluices of the canal were stationed. It was called Castrum by Hierocles and Epiphanius; and X6DEA (Clysmo), or X6X70F4 (first mentioned by Lucian. Kulzum is a corruption of the Greek name X6DEA (in both Arabic and Greek, it means most likely, without any doubt); the Greek refers to the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal, begun by Pharaoh Necho and finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphia and by Trajan. In the Muslim period, when the construction of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it.

'Umar b. al-Khattab in 23/644-4 for example it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from al-Fusṭāṭ to the Red Sea; it was called after him Khlidī Amir al-Mu'āwīya. According to Abū Sa'īd, its mouth was at al-Kulzum, according to al-Mas'ūdī and others (more accurately) at Diān (sic; Ḍiānāl) al-Fusṭāṭ, one mile from the town, where the Mercur pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The caliph al-Mansūr in 158/775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Sa'īd's time it ended at al-Sadār at the entrance to the Wādī Tūmlīt. Now but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Diāhāb till it was completely filled in (1899) for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Kulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal, for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to useful as a source of salt which was transported to the countryside, and the Greeks made use of it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well al-Suways, which yielded only a miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to the countryside, and the Greeks made use of it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well al-Suways, which yielded only a

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etymology (generally based on the Arabic imperative *kuum "rise up") have also been proposed (see for example, Houtum-Schindler, 59 ff.). There are also numerous *Shi'i traditions extolling the virtues of *Kum as a place of refuge for believers etc. (Ta'rikh-i Kum, 50 ff.; Fakhī, 75, 83 ff.); this latter attribute earned it in the course of time numeorous honorific titles such as *Dār al-Mulk, *Dār al-Ibāda, *Dār al-Mawṣūlah, *Dār al-Imām, *Khāk Farāzūn etc. (Fakhī, 14).

This region, with its strong undercurrent of religious feeling (including Jewish and Christian associations; see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangeliici, Vatican 1952, 84 ff.) became one of the first bastions of Shi'ism (on the Shi'i and non-Shi'i groups at Kum, see Fakhī, 308 ff.). The Zoroastrian community, whose chief, Vazănfādāḡīr, had in an earlier period assisted the *Ash'ārī Arabs to settle in the region, was ultimately eliminated (sometimes brutally) or Islamised; it has been observed, however, that Zoroastrian fire-temples continued to be in use in the area until the 3rd/9th century, and perhaps even later (Monneret de Villard, 339, fn. 6). The *Kuršād and the *Kūdūs are still in use today. A version of a Pahlavi text Ta'rikh-i Kum, which could have been written by the *Ash'ārīs who were fanatical Sunni (Fakhī, 222). Also to be noted are the conflicts between the people of Kum and the people of *Isfahān, who more than tripled the already excessive rate of *shādījāt extracted from the Kumīs; and a further punitive expedition ending in massacre in the reign of al-Maʿум (see Schacht, 582). By contrast, a *Shī′ governor was accorded such cooperation that he was recalled by the caliph (Fisher, 58). In the 3rd/9th century, the principal settlement was Mandjiḏ in one of the original "seven villages" or "seven fortresses" (Fakhī, 13, 58 ff.). In the 14th/20th century, Kum was described as a prosperous city, fortified with a rampart, with fields well-irrigated by means of canals, dams and pumping apparatus. The majority of the population was *Shī′, ethnically Arab but Persian-speaking (Ibn Hulkal, K. Şūrāt al-arḍ, ed. Kraner, 370). There were frequent disputes between Kum and settlements lying up-stream (Taymara/Gulpaygan and Anār/Mahallāt) regarding the distribution of the waters of the Anābār. The flooding of this river was sometimes catastrophic (notably in 292/904-5, 1054, 1069, 1081, 1093; see Houtum-Schindler, 65 ff.; M. Bazīn, *La vie rurale, 33 ff.). With its many *mālas (tradition tells of seventeen *mālas and hundreds of *Ash'ārī *mālas (see Fakhī, 37 ff.); in the 3rd/9th century there were two hundred and sixty-six *Shī′ *mālas and fourteen Sunni *mālas), and especially the facility of the famous *Shī′ī *Sādūk (Muḥammad b. *Alī b. Bāḥrāyān), Kum could boast of having preceded Nādir as a great theological centre.

The prosperity of the city seems to have begun with its administrative independence from *Isfahān in 189/804-5. In 201/816-17, *Fātima al-Maʿṣūma went to visit her brother, the Eighth Imīm, *ʿAlī b. Musa (Ta'rikh-i Kum, 9 ff.); this event contributed most to its fame. The town expanded progressively from north-east to south-west in the direction of the tomb of Fātima, which ultimately
became its centre (Fakhl, 94 ff.). Patronised by the Pahlavi (Fakhl, 127 ff.), Kum was reawakened in the Safavid period for its madrasas, for the sanctuary of Fatima (visited by Sunnis as well as Shi'is), for its religious foundations, and also for its administrators and viziers (see J. Calmar, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, Paris-Geneva 1971, i, 58 ff.) as well as for its many "ulama" and scholars, known by the nickname of Kum, Barq, Baravast, Tabrisi (from Tabriz; Tabris), etc. At the time of the Mongol conquest in 621/1224, its inhabitants were massacred, possibly at the instigation of the Sunnis (see Fakhl, 22)."Hamd Allâh Mustawfi described the town as being mostly in ruins in the 8th/14th century. It seems, however, that there was an attempt at reviving the region under the Mughals, as evidenced by some important hydraulic constructions in the town, such as Mulla (end of the 13th century) and the vaulted dam at Kebar, 25 km. to the south of Kum (see H. Gohlot, *Kèbr en Iran*, 1965, 49 ff.; the same, in *Arts et Manuactures*, Paris, June 1965, 43-9, April 1973, 15-20). Although travellers have drawn attention to the massacre perpetrated by Timur, it seems that the Timurids respected and favoured this holy city (we may note the mosque of Gohar-Shâh, wife of Shah-Rukh, near the mausoleum of Fatima, and the fact that the sultan Muhammad, son of Bayunghur, chose Kum as his capital in 846/1442: see Fakhl, 144-7). It was in any case from the 9th/14th century onwards that the town began to enjoy definite royal patronage. The Turkoman sultans Dinkdn-Shâh, Usan Hasan, Ya'rub, Murad and Alwane used it as a kind of winter capital for hunting, and this tradition was continued under the earlier Safawids, Isma'âl I and Tahmâsp I (Fisher, 56 ff.; Fakhl, 147 ff.), and on the fairness, Turkomans charged with the appointment of an official (mulawalli of the sanctuary and naqib of the sayyids), see Mudarris Ibn Tabâtabâ, in *Karbâng-î İmar-namî, xix/1-4, 118-35*.

But it was above all the religious policy of Shah 'Abbâs I—consisting in attracting pilgrims to the Shi'i shrines of Iran (Masjâd and Kum) rather than to those of 'Irâk, then controlled by the Ottomans—which endowed Kum with an unprecedented glamour. The sanctuary was embellished, and two of its four fâbâhs were transformed into madrasas, with a hostel for pilgrims. Many "ulama" came to Kum to study in such as Mullâ Mu'隐rî Fâyûd, Mullâ 'Abd al-Razâk Lâhîjî, Mullâ Qâbrî Siktî, Karî 'Abd Kumi, etc. (Fisher, 57). Traditions extolling the sanctity of the soil of Kum became current, and to the hundreds of tombs of Imâm-zâdâs (at the time Amin Ahmad Râzî counted 444 of them) were added the tombs of thousands of the faithful. The descendants of Shah 'Abbâs I were buried there, as were thirty-one other princes (M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pelerinage, 84*). No other Iranian city has such a vast number of tombs of "ulama", of distinguished people or of simple believers, and the cemeteries extend over an enormous area.

In the 17th century, travellers described at length the merits of the town's craft-products (rapier and saber blades, silks, cottons, glass, porcelain, porcelain, white ceramics, etc.; see Bazin, *Qom, 105*). But at the same time it was a kind of land of exile for deposed aristocrats (Fakhl, 151), and insolvent debtors took refuge in the sanctuary (Gemelli Careri, ii, 74-5). Money was coined at Kum in the 16th and 17th centuries, and it appears that the Safawids and the Kâdjârs sought to re-establish this tradition (Houtum-Schinder, 71; Fakhl, 39, 152 ff.).

After the terrible depression of the 18th century (pillage by the Afghans, massacres perpetrated by Ishâq Khan, brother of Nâdir Shâh and by an Uzbek governor in the service of this sovereign: Fakhl, 224 ff.), the practice of building royal monuments was revived by the Kâdjârs. The shrines of Fatima built by 'Abbâs I was embellished by Fath 5All Shâh who also built a madrasa. The vast "new court" (sabr-i ajâ'îd) was constructed by Amin al-Sülûh, vizier of Nâdir al-Din Shâh, in 1833. Around the "old court" (sabr-i 'âd) stand an octagonal monument containing the tombs of senior Kâdjâr dignitaries (Fats 'All Shâh, Muhammad Shâh, his wife Mahdî-Avâhi, etc.) and the sanctuary library (10,000 manuscripts and 5,800 volumes) which also contains a museum. The Masjîd-i A'zâm, constructed on the orders of the Ayât Allâh Burjûdî (d. 1961), stands to the west of the sanctuary which includes other monuments (for a plan of the sanctuary, see Bazin, *Qom, 91*; Fisher, 58; a history of the monuments, including a description of their contemporary state, with plans and illustrations of inscriptions, documents, etc., is supplied by Mudarris Ibn Tabâtabâ, *Turbat-i pâkân, 2 vols., Kum 2535/1976*). The city-sanctuary today (1976) comprises fourteen large traditional madrasas, supervised by the Ayât Allâh, four modern schools (Fisher, 23) as well as numerous private libraries, the most important being that of the Ayât Allâh Marâšî Najâfî (50,000 volumes including 15,000 manuscripts). After 1965, the sanctuary was administered by a mudâsawâr nominated by the Shâh (Fisher, 56). The revenues of the sanctuary and the annual number of pilgrims (about a million in 1970) are poor in comparison with those of Masjîd (four and a half million, including tourists, in 1952/1973). Nevertheless the spiritual role of Kum continues to be very important. Since 1940/1920, a modern Centre for Theological Education (*Hawârdâ-î 5îmil*) has been established there (Fisher, 62 ff.). Three of the most eminent marjâ'-î taklîf (Gulpâygâni, Marâšî Najâfî, Shârî'î Madârî) reside there (on the religious elite and the role of the marjâ'-î taklîf, see Fisher, 30 ff., and A. K. S. Lambton in *Studia Islamica*, xx (1964), 113-35).

The demographic evolution of the town—which, in spite of mistakes on the part of travellers, may be more or less traced from the 9th/15th century onwards—contributes to an understanding of the vicissitudes that have affected it:

- 26,000 houses in 1474 (Barbaro)
- 3,000 inwards in 1524 (Tenneiro)
- 2,000 hearths in 1565 (Mestre Afonso)
- 2,000 families in 1627 (Herbert)
- 15,000 houses in 1673 (Chardin)
- 50 houses (sic) in 1796 (Olivier)

(each hearth, house or family should represent five to six persons).

After 1850, the population fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants (with a drop to 14,000 in 1874-5 on account of a famine; see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant, 153*, n. 3) rising to 35,000 in 1866-7. Since 1913 (30,000) the population has grown continuously (35,000 in 1937-8; 81,540 in 1967-8; 96,499 in 1976; 134,292 in 1966; and 216,873 in 1976).

Under the Kâdjârs, Kum was a haven of refuge (bast-nishin) for political opponents of the regime. This opposition was particularly marked during the
events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-06. Under Riza Shah (1925-41), the opposition of certain 'ulamâ' was also manifested in various ways (Fisher, 62). There now exists a dichotomy between technocratic and religious power, and some influential 'ulamâ' of Qom have encouraged their disciples to rebel: examples are Kâshânî, under Muṣâbidî, and Khumaynî, who was arrested on the 5th of Khurâd (5th of June) 1973 and exiled to Turkey, then to 'Irak (see H. Algar, in Scholares, saints and Sufis, ed. N. R. Keddie, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 242 ff.); and riots involving 'Muslim Marxist. Irâd' (see H. Algar, in Chicago 1973, 136-47); they occurred in the area of Qom (Iran Central), as Bulletin of the Societé Languedocienne de Géographie (Montpellier 1973, viii, 83-92; idem, Qom, ville de pèlerinage et centre régional, in Revue Géographique de l'Est, 1973-2, 73-135; idem, La vie rurale dans la région de Qom (Iran central), POT-Études, Paris n.d.; F. Belmont, Les villages de l'Iran, i, Paris 1969, 179-92; the Hon. G. N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, i, 1-2; M. M. J. Fisher, The Qom report, an account of contemporary Shiism, draft July 1976 (typescript report); A. Houm-S tended, Eastern Persian Iran, London 1867, 56-100; Ch. Issawi, The economic history of Iran 1800-1952, Chicago 1972, index; A. K. S. Lambton, An account of the Tarikh Qum, in BOAS, xii (1948), 586-90; idem, Landlord and peasant in Persia, London 1953, index; L. Lochhaet, Persian cities, London 1960, 127-31.

Travellers. To the lists given by M. Bazin, in La vie rurale and Qom, ville de pèlerinage, add in particular A. Bâibo, Itinéraires de l'Inde à Porto- gal por terra, Coimbra 1923 (Te breaking, 24); Mestre Affonso, 232 ff.); Daufler Destands, Les Beautés de la Perse, Paris 1673, 138; Gemelli Careri, Viaggio nel mondo, Naples 1699-1704, ii, 72-7; Edward Melton, Zeldasana en Gedawakardsea Zee en Land Reizen, Amsterdam 1656, 284-86.


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of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, whilst the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest.

hemistiches 1, 2, 4 naf'asUna (fā'sīlān) mof'asUna (māfīlān) naf'asUna (fā'sīlān)

hemistich 3 naf'asUna (fā'sīlān) mof'asUna (māfīlān)

Type 2 is made up of three hemistiches of the same rhyme, but of increasing length—

hemistich 1/2/3 naf'asUna (fā'sīlān) mof'asUna (māfīlān) naf'asUna (fā'sīlān)

Bibliography: see that for Kān wa-Kān. The main sources are Dabīq, Mustafāf, Bihāl 1392, i, 275 = Cairo 1332, ii, 253 = Cairo n.d., ii, 889-91; Sa'dī al-Dīn al-Kullī—W. H. Hanerbach, Die vulgärasarische Poetik ..., Wiesbaden 1959, 97-8, 22-5. A. text (see H. H. Gies, al-Fūnūn al-sab'a ..., Leipzig 1879, 65 ff.

(M. I. Ėren Chesněs [Ch. Pellať])

KUMĀN, a Turkish people whose origin is connected with Central Asia. In all probability their forefathers are to be found in the people indicated by Ma wrs (Tabāh's al-hayānān, ed. Minorsky, 18, § 3), as Şahār (sāhār), identical with the Yellow Uyghurs, who since about 850 A.D. were living to the east of the Tarim basin. This name is probably derived from their physiognomy, varying from that of the other Turkic peoples. At the beginning of the 12th century A.D. (ca. 1012-18), the Şarī left their homeland under the pressure of the Kūn (q.v.) who were migrating to the west before the Kitis. This movement of peoples reached in the west also the regions of the Turkmen, who were driven away to new areas. In the newly-conquered regions to the north of the Şir Darya, close contact between the participants in this migration (the Şarī and the Kūn) and the Kınāk and Kipčak (q.v.) tribes who were living there, led to the formation of a new tribal confederation. It is probable that about this time the Şarī (sārī — yellow) were given by other Turkic-speaking peoples the name Kumān, derived from a root with similar meaning ( thù — yellowish).

A few decades later the Kumān pressed forward to the west. Apart from their own name, various other names were mentioned in Western and Armenian sources (polovci, poloving, polovet, polovci, Polovc, Polovens, Kozarci, etc.), but semantically these terms ("yellow, pale, sallow, bright, clear") accord with the meaning of the name Kumān. Towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., the Kumān were living in the Dniepr region. In 1062 they started launching attacks against Kiev, and in 1078, together with the Peĉenēg, against Byzantium. In 1085 they took part in the rebellion of the Bulgars, but in 1090 they were allies with emperor Alexius against the Peĉenēg. Their raids against Hungary started in the same period. Hungarian historical sources mention them under the name Kūn (enmi, chumi), but it has not yet become clear whether these tribes can be put in direct relation with the above-mentioned Kūn, who probably were absorbed later by the Şarī (i.e. the Kumān). In 1094 and again in 1114 the Emperor Alexius waged two quite important wars against the Kumān, who were to be pushed back to the other side of the Danube. The Mongol invasion put an end to the control of the Kumān over the Pontic steppes, and after the final defeat in 1235, a part of them sought refuge in Bulgaria. Thus they played an important rôle in the history of Hungary, in that the second reign of the Bulgarian Tsars ended in that in Byzantium. The Kumān, who had remained in the Pontus area were incorporated into the western part of the Mongol empire called Kipčak [see Dašt-i Kipčak in Suppl.].

The most important document of the Kumān language is the Codex Cumanicus (14th century) a collection of texts brought together in South Russia by Italian and German missionaries. Some rudimentary remnants of the language are also found in Hungarian. Important references to their language are further present in loan-words of Kumān origin in Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, as well as in place-names in various regions of these countries. Bibliography: Besides the literature given in the article Kipčak, see J. Németh, Die Volksnämme Kuman und qim, in Köchel-Comes Archiv, iii (1941-4), 95-105; K. Czeglédy, A kipqeck szókincs, in Magyar Folklór Alkotói xıv (1943). About the Codex Cumanicus, see Philologiae turcicae fundamenta, i, Wiesbaden 1959; A. Tietze, The Kuman riddles and Turkeic folklore, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956; VI. Drimka, Syntaxe Comana, București 1973; Idem, Problemes d'une nouvelle edition du "Codex Cumanicus"; idem, Miscellanea Cumana I—IV, in Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, xv (1970), 453-59; xvi (1971), 275-85; xvii (1972), 3-21.

( G. Hafat)

KUMĀSH (a. pl. akumāsha), in general sense, "cloth", but in a more particularised sense, "a Mamluk garment". The term Kumash in the later Middle Ages commonly designated "cloth" or any "woven stuff" in general and was synonymous with the classical words bāzāz and ḡiyyūb. Abu Ḫadda al-Dīnāqhi (ca. 5/11th century) does not use the term at all in his book on military science. For the Codex Cumanicus, see Philologiae turcicae fundamenta, i, Wiesbaden 1959; A. Tietze, The Kuman riddles and Turkeic folklore, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956; VI. Drimka, Syntaxe Comana, București 1973; Idem, Problemes d'une nouvelle edition du "Codex Cumanicus"; idem, Miscellanea Cumana I—IV, in Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, xv (1970), 453-59; xvi (1971), 275-85; xvii (1972), 3-21.

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and these had a decisive effect on the direction that the influence of the Shi'i tendencies of his native town Qiamhara, b. Tha'Maba (see ibn al-Kalbl-Caskel, rikf and al-Kumayt b. Ma).

It was probably the stigmatism of being a Sayf b. 'Umar world, who is not to be confused with two earlier and lesser known Asadis, nl-Kumayt b. Ma, whose hostility towards the Umayyads he shared; in Ru^ba b. al 'Ad|adi and the Kharidi! al-Tirim^n, to the poetry and the language of the Bedouins, and whose first work was a treatise on figs, which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the 'Alids similar to the 2nd/8th century, a

verses or even whole sections of which he was not

her hostility of Khalid, at a time when the latter needed assurance of the loyalty of the South Arabian elements. By a circuitous policy, the governor informed the caliph of the attitude of the poet, who was imprisoned; with the help of his wife, who had come to visit him, he succeeded in escaping disguised as a woman and, after a period of wandering, he finally obtained pardon from the caliph through the mediation of the prince Maslama b. Higham. On his return to Kufa, he must have been gratified at the dismissal of Khalid (120/738); although his successor, Yusuf b. 'Umar al-Tha'ifi [g.v.] was responsible, two years later (122/740), for the death of Zayd b. 'Abd Allah, who had allowed himself to become involved in a Shi'i revolt. Al-Kumayt had no scruples about flattering him, although he did not succeed in defusing the Yemeni soldiers of his guard, who, on an occasion when he arrived to recite a poem, inflicted on him a mortal wound (126/743).

The renown of the poet, maintained by Shi'i circles, rests fundamentally on the Hâgimîyât, which have been the objects of a commentary by Abu Ri'yâb (d. 336/950 [g.v. in Suppl.] and of a number of editions: of M. Shâbîr al-Khayyât (Cairo 1519, 1532), of Muhammad Mâhâmûd al-Râfi'î (Sharh al-Hâgimîyât, Cairo n.d. [1958]), of 'Abd al-Mu'tâl al-Šâfi'î, with a quite interesting commentary (al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadî, shâfî'î 'asâr, Cairo 1519, 1532, and most of all, of J. Horovitz, with a German translation (Die Hâgimîyat des Kumayt, Leiden 1904). In spite of the title, the poet's praises are not aimed at all the Bani Hâgim, but principally at the Prophet and at 'Ali and his descendants. Some verses (i, 79, ii, 105 ff. of the Horovitz edition), in which mention is made of 'Abd Allah, and of his sons, were no doubt added in the 'Abhâsid period, perhaps by the son of al-Kumayt, al-Mustahill, who was also a poet (see Aghani, index) and was concerned to perpetuate his father's memory. The Hâgimîyat are composed, in the Horovitz edition, of four long hâdâs (103, 140, 133 and 327 verses), of two short hâdâs (35 and 20 verses), of one fragment of seven verses of which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the hâdâs, and of four short pieces of six, two and one verses. In the long poems, al-Kumayt follows the framework of the hâdâs, but with a short and not very conventional nasîb. In the raklit, he follows the classical tradition, and subsequently he produces lavish eulogies of the 'Alids similar to those that were addressed to the Bedouin sayyids. He also borrows frequently from the Kufan, to such an extent that a scholar of Kufa, Ibn Rinkâ [g.v.] was able to compose, in the 12th century, a Kifâh Sanâhir al-Kumayt min al-K'furûn. Some philologists and poets accuse him of plagiarism and incoherence (see for example, al-Masmine, Muwadhdab, 191-8) and do not judge him worthy, in spite of his antiquity, of figuring among the poets who serve as a "proof", a hâdâs (cf. al-Baghdâdi who takes his sheikh no. 15 from a poem of al-Kumayt). His compositions are oriented towards the Shi'i circles, whose members probably did not hesitate to add to them verses or even whole sections of which he was not the author. For R. Blachère, "the simplicity of the language, the platitude of the arguments makes one think of a poetry of propaganda aimed at a public (possibly urban) immune to the lexicographical beauties of the desert poets." The language of al-Kumayt nevertheless does not lack refinement, but the artifi-
cial use of a badly-understood *gārīb* was a source of irritation to some of his contemporaries. In fact, the importance of the Ḥāshimiyāt, insofar as they are entirely authentic, resides in the opinions and the sentiments current in the Shi'ī circles—or rather Zaydi circles, so it seems—of KItāb which they reflect. Al-Kumayt, it is true, regards the first caliphs as usurpers (iv, 10), but he refrains from excommunicating them, even if they did wrong in not handing Fadāk [q.v.] back to Fāṭima; 'All is the worst of the Prophets, who bequeathed the madjdīyya to him near the pool of Kūmūm [vi, 6], which seems to be the earliest evidence of this Shi'ī doctrine: it is to the 'Alīds alone that power belongs and it is they who will consolidate afresh the foundations of Islam which unworthy rulers have shaken. The poet's enthusiasm does not, however, run to the extent of leading him to take up arms in support of the 'Alīds cause, personified especially by Zayd b. 'Alī, and his warfare is limited to virulent versified attacks on the ruling regime, although his convictions do not prevent him from addressing compliments to it, as is shown by the eulogies of Masmada and of Ḥishām himself, after his tares had been heard. He recognises, besides, that in doing this, he had used tabīyya (q.v.), in a verse (iv, 86) where this term, according to Goldziher (in ZDJS, lx, 216) is used for the first time in the sense which the Shi'īs gave to it (Goldziher, in Za, xxix [1909], cf. Arabica, viii [1969], 11), also comments on the metempsychosis referred to in iii, xv, 39-40.

It is probable that Ḥishām would not have shown so much clemency if he had really known the content of the Ḥāshimiyāt; these must in fact have been circulated surreptitiously, with or without the complicity of the local authorities. It seems clear, in fact, in spite of divergences in the traditions, that al-Kumayt owed his rebuffs to the Muhālīkhaba alone. This poem of 300 verses, of which only a part has been preserved, is a riposte to a Kalbī poet referred to by the name al-ʿArwār, who had attacked Muḥār and, among them, the 'Alīds. In the Ḥāshimiyāt there is no sign of any hostility towards the Yemenis, and the poet had even lauded the Muhālīkhaba and, among them, the Kūmālids. In the person of Muḥādar b. Yaʿṣīl b. al-Muḥallab, which seems to prove that the section in which were enumerated the displeasurable characteristics of the tribes of the Yemen is of a mainly occasional nature. Not only was this poem the primary cause of the assassination of al-Kumayt, but in addition, al-Masʿādī (Masʿādī, vi, 30-46 = §§ 2907-72) comes close to seeing here both a manifestation and a cause of the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs which led to the fall of the Umayyads. This Muhālīkhaba certainly enjoyed a dangerous renown among the tribes of Muḥār, since, at the beginning of the following century, another Shi'ī poet, al-Maṣṣūrī [q.v.] (died 619/1221) advised his readers to take up the defence of the Yemenis in a *ḥāšā*, which is said to have comprised 300 verses, of which only 25 are now extant (see ʿAbd al-ʿArūn, al-ʿArūn, al-ʿArūn, Shi'ī Divālī, Damascus 1384/1964, 193-7; idem, Divālī b. ʿAlī al-Khuṣāṣī [q.v.], Damascus 1967, index).

As for the *Malikāts*, preserved by Abū Zayd al-Kurāshī (Dimkara, 287 ff.), it comprises 56 verses and contains general and personal observations and the eulogy of Kurāshī, that is, ultimately of the Umayyads.

The *Dīwān* of al-Kumayt, which must have contained 5,000 verses, has been the object—proof of the interest aroused by this poet—of a number of recensions by Ibn Kūnās, Al-ʿAgāmaʾ, al-Sukkakh and Ibn al-Siklīṭ (*Fāḥīd*, 153, Cairo ed., 225). It has been partially reconstituted by Dāwūd Sallūm, Baghdād 1969-70 (3 vols. without the Ḥāshimiyāt).

In spite of the studies that have been devoted to him, the personality of this poet, who was capable of composing eulogies simultaneously to the 'Alīds and the Umayyads, remains inscrutable, even enigmatic, by reason of the meagre credit that may be accorded to the sources. Sunnī as well as Shi'ī, his versatility even when justified by tabiyya, is such as to throw doubt upon his sincerity and to advise the greatest caution in the use of his work.


**KUMĪDĪS,** a people mentioned in the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries as dwelling in the Buttmanat Mts., at the heads of the valleys running southwards through Khurtī and Čagānīān down to the course of the upper Oxus. The *Hūdād al-ʿIlām* (1370/1952) describes them as professional brigands and as linked with a smaller group, the Kandīna Turks. In fact, these two peoples must be remnants of some earlier waves of invaders from Inner Asia, left behind in the Pamir region probably of the Hoplithalites [see HAVĀṬILA], or even of the earlier Sakas; Polymēno mentions a Sakā tribe of Kūmīdī and it is accordingly probable that the name of our people should be read as *Kumūdī* diṣ. Sources like Gardizi and Bayḥādī mention the Kumūdī as marauders called in by warring factions during the decline of the Sāmānīds (e.g. by ʿAbd Allāb Čağānā), and during the disintegration of Ghaznavī power in the west (e.g. by the incoming Karakhānīds); but with the opening of the Saljūk period, they disappear from recorded history.

**Bibliography:** *Hūdād al-ʿIlām*, tr. Minozky, i, 120, 361-5; Marquart, *Erfanbar*, 233; idem, Wehr bei Arang, 54-9, 93; Barthold, *Turnesian down to the Mongol conquest* (1945, 456, 528, 301); Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 73, 233; idem and Sir Gerard Clausen, *Kumāvarthe people of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9. (C. E. Bosworth)

**KŪMĪS,** the Russian form of the Turkish *kumıs* "fermented mare’s milk," "koumiss", the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use by the Huns. Herodotus tells us that these staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use by the Huns. Herodotus tells us that these
Mongols how the youthful Cingis-Khân, fleeing from the Tayikût, sought refuge in a tent "in which koumiss was churned all through the night till the dawn". In this, as in other respects, the Timurids continued the practice of their Cingisid predecessors, and koumiss is prepared and drunk to this day by the nomads of North-Eastern Asia.

**Bibliography:** G. Docter, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neuerzichischen, iii. Wiesbaden 1967, 512-17 (No. 2529).

**KUMIS**, the Arabic transcription of the Latin *cumis*, a title which in al-Anulaus denoted the person responsible to the state for the *dhâdâd* (g.v.) or Scripturaries, or at least, for the Christian Mozarabs (g.v.). According to A. Fattal, "les représentants religieux des *dhâdâd* sont autorisés par le pouvoir, moyennant *wasiyya*, a exercer leur autorité. Il semble bien que les Arabes de la conquête respectent tant l’organisation administrative que judiciaire, que religieuse des populations soumises". Certain episcopalian documents (*âkâd, *sulh*) g.v. expressly affirm this: "They shall not be forbidden the exercise of their religious cult and shall keep their own laws". This was the case in al-Anulaus, as reflected in clauses 3-9 of the "treaty of Tudmir" (g.v.).

The first known cases was Arabi b. Afdâl al-Anulaus as-ṣaṣi‘a ʿAbd al-Dhimma wa-mustakhrifo *dhîrâštîn li-mawd* al-mustâlîn (Ibn al-ʿAtibb, *Hāfif*, 110), who advised the governor Abu l-Khâṣṣâ to grant to the Syrian fiefs of income (Chalosta, Concessions territoriales, in Cuadernos de Historia Hispánica, iv, 1975). According to Ibn al-Kiṭiyûa, *Iṣṭâd*, 39, "he was the first to exercise *bîrâs* in Muslim Spain". We have therefore here a concentration in the person of the protector or defender of extremely wide powers, embracing administrative, judicial and probably—to a certain degree—religious ones. At least, this is what one can deduce from the treatment as *serssissino hominum catholicae summo* which Alvaro of Cordova accords to the Count Romuans (Corpus, 211), as does Ibn Khâlidân from Asbâb b. Ṭabd Allâh. In this context, it would probably be correct to see in the confiscation of Ardubas’s properties not only a repossession of former crown domains (*ṣâfâd al-mushâd*) but also an extraordinary impost (not paid in cash) of the same type as we find in the East (Fattal, Le statut légal, 220-4) or as that which probably cost the Count Hâmir his life. The *bîmâs* was equally responsible, as *mustâbîrîf*, which could be translated by the Latin *exceper*—for the collecting of taxes on his co-religionists. As such, he had to levy not only the *khâdîjâd* and *gâyâs*, but also all extraordinary imposts (*mâsâfân, naszîdrîm*). This gave him a certain expertise and "occupation" as a professional tax-collector, and it explains the fact that we find under al-Hakâm I a *bîmâs* Rabîl in charge of all taxes, on *dhîmîs* and Muslims equally (Ibn al-ʿAtibb, *Aḥad*, 15).

The cases was, then, a Christian, appointed by the state, but we do not know whether he was official responsible to the crown or nominated after proposal and election of his co-religionists. As an official, he had his subordinates. His powers made him the supreme judicial authority over his flock, by virtue of his role as *ṣâfî* or head of the community. He was therefore by virtue of his office also *ḥâdî al-dhâdâd* or *ḥâdî al-nasdrâd*, whether in person, or by delegating his powers. Consequently, the meager list of our "counts" should be completed by adding the list of censors or *induxes* (a hypothesis put forward, but not followed up by Simonet, *Historia de los morosabes*, 112).

The names of some *bîmâs* have come down to us. After Asbâb, one should doubtless place a certain Allonzo, since the genealogy of *ʿUmar b. ʿAbas* given by Ibn Khâlidân (*Iṣâr*, iv, 134), and Ibn ʿIdhârî (*Bayân*, ii, 108), quoting Ibn Ḥââyân, gives him as the sixth descendant after a *bîmâs* Aftâmûn. Rabîl b. Thäoddell, *mawṣûlîwâlî al-muʾâṣîdîn mi al-nasdrâd* was not only the hated chief tax collector over the Cordovans, but also commander of the foreign palace guards of al-Hakâm I, and ended up by being crucified (Ibn Ḥââyân, *Djamharah*, 96). He was probably followed by the count (and physician) Romuans cited by Alvarus (Corpus, 211). St. Eulogius mentions one Isaac, a noble Cordovan who, before retiring to the monastery of Tahunos, had been *bîsâc* lingua arabica, *exceptores rei publicae officio functioner* (Corpus, 102). Kûmûs b. Antûnyûn, who served in Ṭabd Allâh’s administration and was *kâdî* to the amîr Muhammad, and who is stigmatized by Alvaro and St. Eulogius as a hateful persecutor, *Eclaresse publicanes... publicae rei... exceptors, should be included amongst the *comes* (and not amongst the "Gomes", as according to Simonet), because of (a) his function as *mustâbîrîf*, and (b) the fact that he seems to have been the official intermediary (much more than Recared, metropolitan of Seville) between the state and the Mozarabs. With this authority, he transmitted the amîr’s commands, and consigned members of his flock to jail, when necessary, not as a state official, but as the leader and one responsible for the Christians under his jurisdiction. He presided over the council at Cordova in 852 which forbade the Mozarabs to seek voluntary martyrdom. The course of events shows that he had not only the bucking of the whole state apparatus but also that of the majority of his community. The upper classes were unable to agree, and he reached the point of fearing for his life (Khurshâm, *Kaddî, 130-1; Ibn Ḥââyân, *Masâhâs*, ii, 136, 142), but things did not go as far as his assassination, as frequently happened in the East (Fattal, op. cit., 220-3). He must have been followed by the *comes* Servandus, who held power in ca. 853, according to Alvarus (Corpus, *Ibn Antun*, 21, 54, 554, 560, 586), Ibn Ḥââyân’s son, also the amîr’s *kâdî*, disappeared in 387/997 (*Bayân*, ii, 133). The Archpriest Cyprianus wrote in ca. 860 his *Epigrâphes* for the *comes* Adulus, and he also mentions a *comes* Guifridus (Corpus, 583-8). Ibn al-Kiṭiyûa (*Iṣṭâd*, 5) cites his contemporary Abû Saʿîd al-bîmâs, as well as the *ḥâdî al-ʿAdjam* Ḥâsî b. Albar, both of them descendants of Artobas. Ibn ʿIdhârî (*Bayân*, ii, 142) records under the year 293/955 that *Ḥaṣâm al-bîmâs* was imprisoned; he was tortured and underwent the torture of the iron boot until he died". It is likely that the *ḥâdî al-nasdrâd* of Cordova in 332/ 942, who acted as interpreter for Ordoñez IV, was also the "comes of the Mozarabs". This was doubtless also the case with Asbâb b. Ṭabd Allâh, who was commissioned, In the name of the *Amûtî* Abû al-ʿAdjam, to arbitrate in the dispute over the tutelage of Alfonso V between the two counts, Sancho García of Castile and Menendo Gonzalez of Léon. Asbâb must have been the successor of Muʿâwîya b. Lubb, who was *bîmâs* in 361/972. According to Ibn Bashkiwala (Sîna, No. 443), there was in the time of the caliphate a little market in Cordova called the *munasbat al-bîmâs*.

The fact that, in the course of the 4th/5th century, one finds more references to judges than to counts,
KÜMIS

in contexts where one would expect the reverse, must indicate a lowering of the latter's status, who by then had lost many of his duties. It is hard to believe that Ibn Zaydūn, appointed by Abu 'l-Walid Ibn Dha'far to "enquire into certain affairs of the ãšnisml" (Ibn al-Ābbār, Ḳīdāb al-kutub, 2:112-13), can have had the title of ãšnisml. Indeed, if he had really fulfilled this role, it would have been indicative of a profound change, since Christians would have become subject to a Muslim and not to one of their co-religionists. It is very possible that Ibn al-Kalās, kābīr al-muṣṭa′laqm of Gūnāda in 1123-6, at the time of Alfonso the Warrior's Andalusian expedition, was one of the Mozarabs (Ibn al-ʿAmīd, 113, 110). The disorders of the period of ð̣aða [q.v.], conducive to rebellions, the immigration of native Christians to the kingdoms of the north, and the severities of the Almoravids and Almohads, explain the silence of our sources for the later periods.

The term ãšnisml was applied not only to the head of the Christian kingdoms. Ibn Hayyān (Muḥtabas, v) says that Ordūnā II ruled for warfare all his counts at the siege of Evora in 308/913. He gives this title to the counts of Alaba and Djlākiyya, to the Banū Gūmis and Banū Anṣārū, and cites by specific name Sandjo b. Ḥārsiyā (Banbadulā), Fardhiland b. Glūndishālb (Khāfiyya), Barmund b. Nauf (Ṣhallānāqā), Abu 'l-Mundhir (Gūrnām), Fortūn b. Ḥārsiyā known as Abū Ḥārsīs, Rādwān b. Ḥānsīs (al-Dāmāk Tātā, the counts Manyūra and Faḥūn, and above all, al-Kūmis âšnisml Djlākiyya. At the time of al-Baḥām II (Muḥtabas, vi), the same author gives this title to Ibn Ṣafy, Ṣundishālb b. Muyno, Eximeno b. Ḥārsiyā and Ashrakā b. Úmār b. Dāwd. Ibn Khālūn, in his chapter in the Kīlmār on the Christian kings of Spain, speaks of Fernan González and García Fernández ãšnisml Abū wa-l-Kīlmā in Menendo González ãšnisml Ghāziyya, Henry of Burgundy, and the Banū Gūmis and Banū Fardhiland, as well as Alvar Ṣafy. Ibn Bāṣam spoke in ca. 1010 of the ãšnisml Raymund, lord of Barcelona. Speaking of events from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Khādīn uses ãšnisml for Raymond of Burgundy, Don Nauf (González de Lorp, and Henry of Trastamara. The Vocabularist attributed to R. Martí gives this title, ãšnisml, as the equivalent of come. P. de Alcalá has condé o condens = cónsd, anasul; whilst the Fragmentes. . . . revs. uarztensis published by Miller and re-edited by Busotmi-Quirós (Larache 1940) translates "count" by kumlīt.


KÜMIS, a small province of medieval Islamic Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed and extending into the northern fringes of the Dasht-i Kavir. Its western boundaries lay almost in the eastern rural districts of Ray, whilst on the east it marched with Khurāsān, with which it was indeed at times linked. It was bisected by the great Ray-Khurāsān highway, along which were situated the chief towns of Kūmis, from west to east Khūwār or Khwār (classical Χξξξξξ, modern Arādūn), Simān [q.v., Dāmān [q.v.], and Bishām [q.v.], whilst at its south-eastern extremity, out in the Great Desert, was the small town of Bīyār [q.v. in Suppl.], modern Bīyārī umand. The administrative capital of Kūmis was Dāmān, which is often accordingly called in the sources Madīnat Kūmis or Shahr-i Kūmis, according to a well-known toponomastic process (cf. the town of Bardsaṣ/Kirmān). The name Kūmis is obsolete today, and the lands making up the mediaeval province are included administratively in the faqrāndī-yi kūn or governorate of Simān and the astān or province of Mazandārān. The present-day town of Shahrīrd, just to the south-west of Bīyār, does not seem to have been in existence as such in mediaeval times.

The province was one of considerable importance in pre-Islamic times. In Greek sources it appears as Kβμις, and in Armenian writers like Sebeos and Moses of Khoren as Kōmē. H. W. Bailey, in JRAS (1917), 61-3, has suggested that the name derives from an Old Ir. root bā-, kā-, conveying the idea of "hollowness", plus a passive or agental suffix, whence Kōmē "opened up, excavated place". Seleucus Nicator seized the satrapy of Parthia between 332 and 331 B.C., and it was allegedly he who founded the "city of a hundred gates", Hecatompylos, although it almost certainly existed before then; a legend related in the 9th/15th century A.D. Middle Persian catalogue of the towns of Iran says that Kūmis "the five-towered" (fānd-gūr) was built by the successor Aššur Dānak, whilst from later Islamic times, Hamd Allah Mustawfi, Nāhhā, ii, 157, attributes the building of Dāmghān to the hero Hāshāb. Such classical authors as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolomy, etc. mention Hecatompylos as the royal city of the Parthians, and some of these sources give the distance of the city from the Caspian Gates (e.g. Strabo, 1360 stadia, and Pliny, 132 mili­us passum; the consensus of modern opinion tends to identify the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah defile through the Kūn-i Namak spur of the Alburz). But the site was never properly identified with any reasonable certainty, although it was thought that it probably lay somewhere between the towns of Dāmghān and Shahrīrd, until recently, however, Haustman and Stronach have examined and excavated the site of the modern spot called Shahr-i Kūmis, near Kōrh to the south-west of Dāmghān on the Simnān road. It seems that this very extensive site could well be the ancient Parthian capital, apparently largely abandoned around the middle of the 1st century B.C. when the Arsacid moved their winter capital to Ctesiphon. See A. D. Mordtmann, Hecatompylos, in SD Bayer, Akad. der Wiss., Phil. Hist. Cl. (1869), 497-536; Pauly-Wissowa, col. 2790-9, s.v. (Kiesling); Mark wart-Messina, SD Bayer. A Mad. der Via, in NS Bayer, 11, col. 142-55; S. Matheson, JRAS (1968), 111-19; ibid., in A. S. Santarén repository at Shahr-i Qumis, in ibid., 142-55; S. Matheson, Persia; an archaeological guide, London 1972, 101-2. In Sāzandān times, there seems to have been a refounding of Kōmē, perhaps by Vasaŋgird (399-421) as a defensive post against the Turks and Hephthalites [see Havātīl] who were threatening the north-eastern frontiers of his kingdom. The region
retained its old connection with the Parthians through its being the home of the noble Parthian family of Mhrât, to whom belonged the Spahpat (Islamic form: Isphahâbâd, [q.v.]) Pahlav, killed by Horniz IV (579-90); in the next reign, Kûmis was the residence of the Spahpat of Khurân, Kâran of Niâwând [see Kûmis for the subsequent history of this family]. There was there a highly-venerated fire-temple, described in Middle Persian sources of the early Islamic period as burning perpetually without fuel (whence, presumably, its N. Pers. name Khurân < M. Pers. pâstân "without fuel"), obviously a fire fed from some volcanic source or else from a natural seepage of petroleum.

Towards the end of the Sâsânid period, however, the administrative centre of the province seems to have been transferred to the apparently new foundation of Dâmhân, which thereafter acquired in early Islamic times the name of [Madnât] Kûmis. It may have been that the old Kûmis of middle Sâsânid times had never more been than a frontier post, since no Sâsânid coins are known to have been minted there. See Marqûart, Erânshahr, 71-2; Markwart-Messina, A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Erânshahr, 35-7; Hanmann, The problems of Qûmîn, 156-61.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, the men of Kûmis fought in the Sâsânid army at Niâwând and at the defence of Ray, but the province offered no resistance to the Arabs thereafter. According to al-Bal'âdhurî, Futûk, 318, Sulaymân b. 'Umar al-Dabîl sent troops into Kûmis, but according to al-Tabari, i, 2650-7, the caliph 'Umar sent an army under Suwâyd b. Mukarrân in 284/696-7, and Kûmis was thereafter used as a base for attacks on Gurgân and the Caspian region. As with Dâmhân and Ray, it was Arab warriors from Kûfâ who garrisoned the chief town of Dâmhân. Al-Tabari further records, i, 2839, that the more northerly highway to Khûrsân was less used in these early decades than the one via Fars and Kûsur, since Kûmis was vulnerable to attacks by Daylamî and other mountain peoples of the Alburz; it was, so he says, the governor Kutâmya b. Mustûlî [q.v.] who first regularly used the Kûmis route to Khûrsân and Transoxania (cf. C. E. Bosworth, Strata under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Safârîds (70-250/651-864), Rome 1968, 20). In fact, the governor 'Abd Allâh b. 'Amîr b. Kurayz [q.v.] had used that route in 31/652, according to al-Tabari, i, 192.

The region had meanwhile been disturbed by Khurjî sectaries, including the appearance there of the Azafrât leader 'Abîdâ b. Hûlî al-Yâghzûbî in 77/696 with the remnants of 'Abîrî b. al-Fugâ'î's forces fleeing before the pursuing Umayyad army [see Kûrisa and Kûrisa b. al-Fugâ'î]. Also, soon after 137/754-5, Kûmis, together with much of northern Persia, was occupied by the 'Alî pretender 'Abd Allâh b. Mu'âvîyâ [q.v.] (al-Tabari, ii, 386, 1976). Reform type dirhams were minted under the name Kûmis from 917/10 onwards, but these do not seem to have been any Arab-Sâsânid coins minted there (cf. J. Walker, A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum. i. Arab-Sassanid coins, London 1941, pp. cxxxviii-cxxxviii). Administratively, Kûmis was mostly linked during this period with Damghan and in the article, see Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 364-8, and Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 809 ff. (C. E. Bosworth)

Kûmiya, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib in the Middle Ages; they were at one time called Safûra and were descended through Fàtûn from Mâdghs al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Kûmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lêmâyà and Matîghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Kûmiya, who live in the north-
west of Algeria between Tlemcen and Aregakhâl (Râghumun) are the B. 4 Abîd, from whom was descended the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty, 4 Abîd al-Mu'âmin [590], born at Tadjiya between Humayr and Nedaama; the Nedaama who gave their name to an important town; the Saghâra, now represented by the Mäfia, the Banû Hul, of whom a section the Mäfia still exist. The Kümânya showed themselves devoted to 4 Abîd al-Mu'âmin, who was one of them. They formed the second qanûn in the Almohad army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to bharâd by the Zanâta, some of them joined another group, the Chiya and formed the powerful confederation of Târkah in the north-west of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, Nîromâmû bi ihtâr a'âm, Paris 1901, and the works there quoted. (R. Basset)

KUM(MI). Kâdi Ahmad ibnâbi 'Usaynî, Persian chronicler and chancery clerk (masnûd), was born on 17 Rabî' I 595/15 May 1166 in Koom, the son of the masnûd Shârûf al-Din Humayn al-'Usaynî. In 964/555-67 he went with his father to Mashhad at the court of the art-loving prince 'Abd al-Mírâb b. Bahram Mirzâ b. Ismâ'îl, where he was trained by well-known calligraphers. In 973/1566 he was a muqâta at the court of Shâh Tahnâhî, together with his father. At the instigation of Shâh Ismâ'îl I, he started composing in 984-85/1576-7 his chronicle Khulsâs al-ta'âmîrâb (or Tadhkîrât al-shurûq yi hâdây). For 994-98/1586-96 he was employed at the chancellery of the highest authority. In 997/1589 he was at the residence of Shâh 'Abbas I to whom he dedicated in 999/1591 his chronicle Khulsâs al-ta'âmîrâb. About his further life nothing is known; so far his works are the only sources for his life (see Minorsky, 1-2, Müller 3-7).

Koom(ni) composed at least three works: 1. Madâjîn (or Tadhkîrât) al shurûq-yi 'Abbâsî. The work has not been preserved but the author refers to it several times in his later works. According to these references the work must have been an anthology of at least seven volumes in which among other things information was given about the lives of great scholars, scientists and poets.

2. Khulsâs al-ta'âmîrâb, a chârida in five volumes, of which the fifth volume only has been preserved. It describes at full length the history of the Sâfawîs from their origin to the first years of the reign of Shâh 'Abbas I and was probably composed between 995/1587 and 1000/1592. It exists in five manuscripts. The first part of this volume, dealing with the early Sâfawîs, has been published, translated into German and annotated by E. Glusen, and the last part, in which the first years of Shâh 'Abbas I are treated, by H. Müller. This chronicle is one of the most important sources of Sâfawî history. Although the first part is highly dependent upon other known and unknown sources, the sections dealing with later times, witnessed by the author himself, give truly independent information. Together with Isâqîdan Beg Minûgî's 'Uladâm-yi 'Abbâsî, it may be considered as one of the two most important sources for the period of Shâh 'Abbas I.

3. Qânûnun bi ihtâr, a treatise on calligraphers and painters, composed ca. 1005/1597, exists in several incomplete manuscripts; it has been edited by A. S. Khânsârî, translated into Russian by B. N. Zâl'hdor and into English by V. Minorsky. The contents of this work, classified according to the various kinds of writing, are mainly based on earlier sources. There are however many important observations by the author himself on contemporary calligraphers, whom he had plenty opportunity to meet at the court of Shâhâbî Mírâb at that time a flourishing centre for calligraphy.

For other works, possibly written by Koom(ni) (Munkâkâh al-wusârâb and Majmû' al-bâyâbî), see Müller, 8-10.


(H. MÜLLER)

KUMR, the Arabic name for the Comoro Is., a group of four islands in the Indian Ocean at the northern exit of the Mozambique Channel, halfway between East Africa and northern Madagascar. The largest island of the archipelago is Grande Comoro (in the local language: Hangazidja, Langazigja, al-Mangidja, Kum[u]), with 1128 sq. km and 32,000 inhabitants (1966); followed by Anjouan (Nawari, Hangazidja; in older Portuguese and English sources Johan), with 424 sq. km and 8,500 inhabitants; Mayotte (Mayawta, Mangata), with 374 sq. km and ca. 12,000 inhabitants (1966); and Mohelî (Mwalli; in older European sources Molay, Molla), with 290 sq. km and ca. 10,000 inhabitants. The capital of the islands is Moroni on Grande Comoro. The islands are of volcanic origin (still active is the volcano Karthala, 2561 m on Grande Comoro) and consist mainly of basalt and tuff. The climate is tropical-maritime with the heaviest rainfalls from November to April. The natural vegetation is a dense rain-forest with rare varieties of wood, which, however, for the most part have been rooted out and replaced by plantations and savannas. Agricultural products of importance for export are coco palms, vanilla, coffee, pepper, aromatic plants (ylang-ylang), sisal and sugar-cane. Cattle-breeding and fishery are scarcely developed.

The population, which suffers from a very high birthrate (outside the islands, in Madagascar and...
East Africa, there already live about 300,000 Comorians, cf. Guy, Islam comorien, 149), has developed from three different ethnic elements: (a) Bantu's from East Africa, (b) Malayo-Indonesians who came via Madagascar, and (c) Arabs who immigrated directly from South Arabia (especially Makran) or from Arab settlements in East Africa. The Comorian language is divided into two main dialects, the Shi'NEgali and the Shi'-Nawadi, and, at least from the phonetic point of view, seems to be related more to the Venda, a Bantu language spoken on the middle-Limpopo river, than to Swahili (Heepe, Die Komoren-dialekte, 45). Like Swahili, which is well understood by most of the Comorians, it has incorporated many Arabic loanwords. While Arabic seems to have been used as the written language still in the last century, most of the recent chronicles and correspondences are written in the local language with Arabic letters. Arabic is taught in Kur'an-schools but is understood only by a small minority. The Comorians are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i rite, but many African animistic conceptions and magic practices have survived in popular belief (cf. Robineau, Societe, 51, with further references). Al-Nawawis Minhaj al-ahbab is widely used and still serves as the theoretical basis for Civil Law. The Shafi'i law was widely respected by the French administration, but in many fields it is supplemented by the customary law (adat) which shows many matriarchal characteristics (e.g. law of succession). The Shi'N brothers of the Shi'i religion, Tidaliyana, Fadiiyana, and 'Aliyana play a very important part in religious life (cf. Guy, Islam comorien, 149 ff.).

Local legendary tradition, as well as false identifications of place-names, have led some former historians (Gevrey, Grandichard, etc.) to fantastic speculations about the early relations between the Comoro Is. and the ancient Mediterranean world. Until now there seems to be only one hint which deserves some attention and which might establish such relations. Pliny gives as the name for an island, the location of which would fit well with one of the Comoro Is., Damnia, and Von Wissmann (art. Zangenae, in Pauly Realecyclopedia, Suppl.-Bd. xi [1968], 1390) may be right in identifying Damnia with Domoni, an old settlement on Anjouan and formerly used as name for the whole island. Arab geographers, including the pilots of the 15th and 16th century like Pliny, used the name Kumr for Madagascar exclusively and cited, if they did not all, each of the islands by its proper name (cf. Tibbets, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean, London 1974, 429). Local tradition starts the history of the islands with the legendary report (unknown on the Swahili coast) of the immigration of two families from the Arabian peninsula some years after the death of Solomon (see also Ibn al-Maherr, the name Kumr for Madagascar and the mouth of the Limpopo River. This fits with the above-mentioned linguistic facts. At least on Anjouan these Africans were not the first inhabitants, but merged with an older population, now generally called Antalacta, of Malayo-Indonesian race, which might have immigrated in the course of the first millennium (cf. Robineau, Societe, 34) via Madagascar (former European sources often call them wrongly Bushmen, cf. Reipacht, Sultanat, 50).

The local tradition of Grande Comore and Anjouan has preserved the names of the ruling houses before the coming of the Shirazi (13th century). On Grande Comore the ma-fey (or ma-fe 'chiefs', cf. Swahili ju and juma) are said to have established and ruled the first eleven villages, before they were defeated by the ma-beja (cf. Swahili wa-beja) (Harries, Swahili chronicles, 12, 71). On Anjouan the beja are regarded as the oldest ruling class, which was replaced by chiefs who bore the title fanji (Fauree, L'archipel, 33). Although we must take for granted that at that time, i.e. in the first half of this millennium, Arab or Swahilised-Arab merchants were in contact with the islands, and some of them might have settled there, it is difficult to say, whether Grande Comoro was already widespread. It is noteworthy, however, that the last fanji-rulers on Anjouan bore Arab names like 'Ali and 'Isa.

The decisive turn in Comorian history was the arrival of the Shirazi in the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who by fighting and intermarriage seized power on all four islands (the coming of the Shirazi clan with their ancestor Muhammad b. 'Isa is described through the legend of the Seven Brothers which is also well-known in East Africa, cf. among others, Cittuck, Shirazi colonization, 276; Triningham, Islam in East Africa, 10 ff.) and became the real founders of Islamic culture on the islands (the first mosques were built by them at Teuweni on Grande Comoro, at Sima and Domoni on Anjouan, and at Chingoni on Mayotte, all in the middle of the 15th century). In the following three centuries the political situation was marked by (i) very complicated internal dynastic struggles, (ii) the invasions of the Malagasy tribes, Sakalava and Betsimbaraka, and (iii) the growing political influence of the French and British in the area.

(i) Grande Comoro was divided into eleven more or less independent territories (Bajini, La Dombé, Bambao, Hambu, Itps dtra, Hammanyu, Mtsamuhu, Mbude, Mbaku, Washili, Hamahame) ruled by sultans who only seldom jointly recognised the supremacy (ulde) of one of them. Sultan Ahmad b. Miwiny (Mkau) (1793-1879), the son of Sayyid Ngome from Fute in northern Swahili country, and of Mwana Mbu, half-sister of a sultana of Grande Comoro, (women rulers) who had the beja blood, was the most powerful one of them, and the external line was often accorded higher prestige on all four islands) was the last really great personality who, at least for some years, managed to unify the islands, before he was defeated by Māsū Funu. The rivalry between Sultan Ahmad's grandson Sayyid 'Ali, the favourite of the French, and Māsū Funu (d. 1833 in prison), who was supported by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar, marked the last years of independence. Against the will of most of the other sultans 'Ali signed in 1886 a treaty of protectorate with France.—On Anjouan the political situation was characterised by the bipolarisation of the two main towns Domoni, which was made the capital by the Shirazi after Sima, and Mutsamudu, which became the political and commercial centre of the
end of the 18th century onwards when power shifted from the clan (habila) of Al Madwa to the clan of Al Masfa (both names show their Hadramawt origin, cf. B. G. Martin, *Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa, in Centre of Arabic Documentation, Research Bulletin, Ibadan 1973*). Continuous succession struggles in the first half of the 19th century were only ended by Sultan Salim (1842-53), whose son Sultan Abd Allah III (1853-1890) put his island under French protection. Neither was century was only ended by SultAn Salim (1842-1973). Continuous

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mountaineers using Kumuk as their primary language.

The Kumuk inhabit eight districts of the Dagestan ASSR: Rabbi-Yurt, Khavasav-Yurt and Kiril-Yurt on the northern plains, and Buyanaks and Karga-Budak, the eastern coastal plains. The "Southern Kumuk" (Kumuk of Kayakent) live in the Kayankent district and in the villages of Malal, Yangikent and Tumenler in the Kayntu district. The Kumuk are also found in six settlements in the vicinity of Malakha, and in the cities of Malakha, Khavasav-Yurt, Buyanaks, Iabet and Dergehsee. A number of Kumuk live outside Dagestan on the Noghay steps in the Groznyi region, north of the Terek River, as well as in North Ossetia.

The ethnic origin of the Kumuk is complex and difficult to determine. They are probably a mixture of the indigenous Ibero-Caucasian tribes and various nomadic Turkic groups (Kumon-Polovtsi, Khazar, Kipchaks, etc.) who were pushed into the lowlands from the North Caucasian steps in the 13th-14th centuries, imposing their language on the inhabitants.

The formation of the Kumuk people began in the 7th century when the Khazar [q.v.] overran the plains of southern Russia and populated them with Turkic-speaking peoples. The indigenous Ibero-Caucasian population mixed with these Turkic peoples, especially the Kipchaks [q.v.], and adopted their language. The Kumuk "nationality" appeared in the 13th century on the steps of northern Dagestan when successive waves of the Golden Horde pushed these Turkic-speaking peoples southwards. Their Islamisation began immediately, under the influence of the Golden Horde from the north and the Laks from the south, and was completed by the 14th century when the Golden Horde annexed northern Dagestan. Prior to this, the people had been Christians, Jews and animists.

The first political organisation of the Kumuk was the feudal Shamkhalat, which united all the Kumuk as well as other northern and eastern Dagestani peoples. The Shamkhal originally resided in the mountains of the Lak (Kari-Kumuk) region. When Shamkhal Coban died in 585/1578, the Laks took control of the country, and his son Shams-But, and the centre of government was shifted to Buyanaks. After 595/1650, Tariq was the capital of the Shamkhalat. In the 16th century the Shamkhal ruled most of northern Dagestan. The semi-independent states of Endirey, Aksay, Kostekho, Banniatuluk, Buyanaks, etc. were all headed by representatives of the Shamkhal of Tariq's family.

The Shamkhalams acknowledged Persian sovereignty throughout their existence, in spite of their strong diplomatic ties with Russia in the late 16th century when Russia was attempting expansion into Dagestan. The power of the Shamkhal began to decline with the wars against the Kabardines and Georgians. It lost control of the area between the Terek and Gudauta. In 1596, 1599 and 1604 were defeated by a joint Kumuk and Ottoman effort. Although the Shamkhalams were formally vassals to the Moscow state, they remained close allies of the Ottomans from the late 15th until the late 18th centuries. In 1725 the Russians ended independent Shamkhal rule and the decline of the Kumuk was completed with the creation of the Mehtulin and Bammatuh Khanates. By 1756 the Shamkhalat was reduced to a 2,500 km² strip of land along the Caspian Sea.

Imam Mansur attempted to rally the feudal nobility of the Caucasus (especially among the Kumukis and Kabardins) against the Russians in the late 18th century, but failed. The Treaty of Gulistan (1813) formally ceded Dagestan to Russia, but the Kumukis continued to be governed by the Shamkhalams. After the Russians subdued the Murid insurrection (1834-59) led by the Imam Shamil [q.v.], the Kumukis and the other Dagestani peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Native rule was supplanted by a Tsarist military administration.

A small Kumuk intelligentsia emerged in the early 20th century. They had been educated in the Didiad [q.v.] schools on the borders of Dagestan, and were among the first to be impregnated with liberal ideas. This small group was destined to provide the leadership for the national liberal movement (which was doomed to failure) during and after the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Kumuk played an important role in the North Caucasian peoples’ move for independence. Motivated by their own political traditions and Turkic cultural influences, they favoured a “Turkic” consolidation of Dagestan (as opposed to the “Islamic” consolidation favoured by conservative Dagestanis), with linguistic unification based on Kumuk or Azeri. They sought to become part of the great Pan-Turkic movement centred on Baku, Kazan and the Crimea. Following a power struggle between the religious and conservative elements led by Shadrak Uzan Haji and Imam Gotshinski and the socialists, the Soviet regime was established in the principal cities on the plain in April 1918. By September 1918, General Bifierahov’s “White” army, equipped in Persia by the English, had crushed the Soviet forces. Soviet power was not re-established in Dagestan until 1920 when the Eleventh Red Army defeated Demikin’s White Army and drove the partisans of Imam Gotshinski back into the mountains.

The Kumuk had one of the most powerful, complete and complex feudal structures in Dagestan before the Revolution. The ruling class consisted of the Shamkhal, lords, high nobility (tankha), middle nobles (sala-udzen), and religious leaders. The freemen (udzen), free serfs (tagar, organised into various groups (dinii)), serfs bound to the land (under the yoke and working the land), and house slaves (kiis, a very small group) comprised the lower classes. The merchant class grew rapidly with the rise of industry and capitalism in the late 19th century, but the working class was never large, since most industry was domestically oriented.

The Kumuk language belongs to the Kipchak-Oghuz subgroup of the Kipchak group of Turkic languages, to which the Noghay and Karay-Balkar languages also belong. Kumuk has three dialects: Khayduk is strongly influenced by the Ibero-Caucasian languages and is used by the Meridional Kumukis; Buyanaks, and Khavassav-yurt (or Aksay), which forms the basis of the literary language, developed with the Arabic script in the late 19th century. In 1927 a Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic, and Cyrillic script was adopted in 1938. Kumuk was the lingua franca of the Dagestani peoples. The first Dagestani Communists accepted this rôle for Kumuk in the 1920s, but Russian was later adopted as the official language. Although Avar has replaced Kumuk as an inter-tribal language, Kumuk remains the second or third language of certain Ibero-Caucasian peoples in north and central Dagestan (Andi-Dido-Avar, Darghin, Lak). Article 78 of the Constitution of the ASSR of Dagestan
names Kumuk as one of the nine official literary languages of Dagestan.

The Kumiks are the only Dagestan people having a true national literature which dates back to the early 19th century. These early works were generally local versions of heroic epics or adventure novels, and were often consigned to small pamphlets destined for public readings. Turkic-language publications from Kazar, Adjarbaysjdn, the Crimean and Turkey satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century were instrumental in the development of a literary language. Written in a composite language of various Caucasian peoples, they were among the first written literature of the area. 

Kumuk literature came under the influence of the Turkic modernist movement centred on Kazar and Baghchisaray in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in the nationalistic poetry of Yusuf from Yakhay and Ayjuba from Dungotay. In 1833 the Kumuk Osmaik Muhammad (b. 1843) published an anthology of Kumuk and Noglay folklore and literature. He, St. Petersburg University (b. 1925), was a member of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the Academy of Sciences. The collection includes a letter in verse, dated 1873, from the revolutionary Kumuk poet Yirii Kazak (1830-80), inviting Muhammad Efendi, then a student at St. Petersburg, to return home. This letter is one of the oldest literary vestiges of the Kumuk language, and Yirii Kazak is thus considered the founder of Kumuk literature.

Muhammad Mirza Malayyarayev established a printing shop utilising Arabic script at Temir Khyan-Shura at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1912 he had printed translations from Arabic and Kazar Tatar and the poetry of Abu Sufyan in Kumuk. Noglay Batirkurumayev (1860-1919) wrote the first modern narrative works inspired by Kumuk contemporary life in 1906-7. His son Zainalabid (1897-1919) was the first Kumuk Bolshevik writer. Together they founded the political-literary society Ta’l colpan (“The morning star”) at Khasav-Yurt in 1916 to promote the development of modern Kumuk literature. With the assistance of poet and dramatist Temik Bulat Beybulatov and other Kumuk, Tat and Russian writers (including S. S. Kazbekov and H. O. Bulat), this organisation sponsored a nationalist, progressive review of the same name, first published at Temir Khyan-Shura in August 1917. The Khasav-yurt dialect of Kumuk was adopted as their literary language. Ta’l colpan was instrumental in reviving the Kumuk national consciousness. In actuality a radical nationalist organ, it professed to be political and declined to choose between the socialist and nationalist positions. However, as a result of the short-lived Soviet occupation of Dagestan beginning in April 1918, Ta’l colpan adopted a pro-Bolshevik position. Publication ceased in July 1918. Ta’l colpan was not the first Kumuk journal to appear. In 1913 the liberal nationalist Mirza Muhammad Mavarsev of Temir Khyan-Shura requested authorisation for a Kumuk journal entitled Kumuk gazâli (“The Kumuk journal”). This demand was rejected by the authorities, and the classical Arabic publication Dzjarid Dagestan (published in 1915) notwithstanding, the first Kumuk publications did not appear until after the Revolution of February 1917. The journal Musavat (“Equality”) was the first Kumuk periodical, published at Temir Khyan-Shura in June 1917, under the editorship of Mavarsev.

This first period of Soviet domination witnessed the publication of a third Kumuk journal, Iggî gëhâ (“The working people”); it was edited by Zainalabid Battirmuzayev and adhered to a Bolshevik position. The journal Yoldash also supported the development of a national Kumuk literature. The Kumuk press is currently represented by one republican organ published at Maghachala, and several district organs (at Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt, etc.).

The Kumiks possess a very rich Soviet literature. Abd Allah Muhammadoglu Magaronoev (1869-1937) is considered the national poet of Dagestan by the Soviets as a result of his pro-Communist writings in the post-Revolutionary years. The most celebrated Kumuk prose writer is Yatuf Gegeyev, whose satirical style was influenced by the Adjarbaysjdn poet Sabur. Other literary figures of note include poet, dramatist and author of children’s books Aliapa Salavatoglu (1901-43), poets A. Beshirov and Kalyan, poet-novelist Abdul-Wahab Salaymangolu (b. 1909), playwrights Hanif Rustamov and Anir Kurbanov (b. 1909), and novelist Arvag Agiev (b. 1913). The Kumuk poetess G. I. Gadjieva is the most renowned female Dagestani writer. In addition, many Russian authors have been translated into Kumuk (e.g. Tolstoy, Lermontov, etc.).

The Kumiks participate actively in the political life of Dagestan. In 1924, Kumiks comprised 5.7% of the profsoyu of the Dagestan ASSR, and in 1927 there were 696 Kumiks in the Dagestani Communist Party.

The Kumuk educational system is less developed than that of the Avars; in 1949 there were eight Kumuk secondary schools (compared to 12 Avai); Karabudakhkent, Kayakent, Isberbash, Maghachala, Buyukbas, Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt and Kizil-Yurt. Islam seems to remain a strong force among the Kumiks up to the present time.

Modernisation is changing the character of the traditional Kumuk economy. Agriculture and animal husbandry remain the basis of the rural activity, but mechanisation and collectivisation have made the large-scale production of cereals and cotton possible. The fishing and canning industries, as well as oil (at Kayakent), hydroelectric plants and other factories are evidence of advanced industrialisation in certain sectors. Nonetheless, traditional crafts are still pursued: woven woolen goods and carpets (villages of Kumtorkol, Kayakent, Upper and Lower Kazaniche), gold work (Inmei, Kafir-Kumukh, Sultan-Yaht-Yurt, etc.), wrought iron work (Verkidneye, Nighneye, Kazaniche, Anderey-anu), and pottery (Vernignye, Kazaniche).

The Kumiks, along with the Avars, Darghins, Lakes and Lezgez, appear to be points of consolidation among the Dagestani peoples, especially in certain small groups (although certainly not all). Of the nine official languages of Dagestan, newspapers are only published in the languages of these five groups.

They may inherit in each other’s balance; God has wisely calculated their weights so that they keep together without conflict. However, they also penetrate each other’s balance, which is now reinforced. For the same reason the snake does not die from its own venom; here the venom is balanced by the right proportion of antidotes. When water freezes, this means that not only the cold which is latent in it has been enforced by outside, but also its “hidden” dryness; for ice is not only cold, but also dry. When it melts again, this process is thus not merely produced by heat, but also by humidity which was added from outside. When something wet becomes dry, it does not only lose humidity, but also weight; this shows that humidity contains “latent” weight, whereas heat does not.

The “elements” (fire, water, etc.) are thus not simple themselves, but composed of heat and luminosity. In a broad sense, as “all actions depending on man’s will” were “bodies” inherent in other bodies: fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity. As such, fire may itself be considered an ingredient of wood where it is “latent” until the wood is burnt. When it becomes manifest, other ingredients do so too: ashes, which consist of taste, colour, and dryness; smoke, which consists of taste, colour and smell; and water, which consists of humidity and a certain sound, i.e. the cracking produced in burning. In consequence of his “corpuscularism”, al-Najazān thus treated the qualities of an object and its constituent parts alike. It is possible that he differentiated between them insofar as the qualities form the ingredients of the primary elements which then make up for the more complex bodies; but we are not yet able to ascertain whether his theory implied such a hierarchy.

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KUMÜN — KUNÄ

Dirär b. ‘Amir [q.v. in Suppl.], but also from apparently al-Aṣṣūn [q.v. in Suppl.], who, in spite of denying the accidents, did not think of qualities as "bodies". The critique used mainly three arguments: (a) nothing can take place in something smaller than itself (and fire is bigger than wood); (b) several things cannot be simultaneously in the same place (which would be the case if several qualities were "hidden" in one substance); and (c) if fire were hidden in wood, we should feel it when we touch the wood, or we should find it when we cleave it. Arguments (a) and (b) were already brought forth against the Stoics (e.g. by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his Πρὸς τοὺς πάντες, ch. 5 ff.); (c) is found in Indian philosophy (e.g. W. Ruben in AO, xiii (1935), 147). The discussion turned especially around (c); al-Nazzām objected that coldness balances the fire hidden in the wood; when the fire comes forth in burning, the coldness also leaves the wood immediately and enters the cold substances in its environment, i.e. water and earth, in a leap (ταχυώνη), without getting into contact with the things in between. This is why the ashes are not cold, in spite of the fact that the fire has left; the warmth found in it is not the warmth of the fire, but the warmth which was "hidden" in it and was activated by the fire. As the "accidentalists" recurred to Aristotelian tradition (visible in (a) and (b)), al-Nazzām also criticised Aristotle's model of physics.


KUN, Arabic orthography Kūn, a Turkish tribe of Inner Asia known in the pre-Mongol period, but only in a shadowy fashion. The earliest mention of the Kun is in Biruni's K. al-Taftam (420/1030), ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 145, and he places them in the Sixth Cline, in the territory of the eastern Turks between the Kay and the Kuirids (see خي, خيرات). The tribe is not, however, mentioned in Biruni's K. al-Kuwn al-Kūn (ed. Pellenard, Dictionnaire des Comans, in JAS. Ser. 11, Vol. xv (1920), 134-5). Nor are they given in Kašghar (who does however deal with the other two tribes mentioned in the Taftam as their neighbours), but there is an important section on them in Marwazī's Taftam al-ḥayānīn (early 6th/11th century), see Minoskés, Sharaf al-Dīn Taft Marwazī on China, the Turks and India, London 1942, text ii, tr. 25 ff., comments 93-100. This was adapted a century later by Sayyīd in his Dīsāmī al-khiṣaut, section on the Turks, printed and tr. by Marquart in his ʿAlā dawrul-Viktumul-Kumān, in Bangi Marquart, Osttürkische Dialektstudien, in Abh. G. W. Göt., Phil.-Hist. Kl. N.F. xii/1 (Berlin 1914), 40-2, and used by him as the basis of a complex and convoluted commentary on the Kun, ibid., 42-77.

It seems that the Kun were amongst the easternmost of the Turkish peoples, with their original homeland in eastern Mongolia and the fringes of Manchuria. It may be that the Kun were the epigoni of the Tu-yi-hun to the north of the great northwards bend of the Huang-Ho or Yellow River; the resemblance of the name Kun to that of the proto-Hun, the Hsiung-nu, etc., had already been noted by Marquart, op. cit., 64-5, cf. also Sir Gerard Clauson, Turkish and Mongol Studies, London 1962, 12. According to Marwazī, the tribe had been converted in their homeland to Nestorian Christianity (by missionaries from the Ordos region?), but had been impelled to migrate far westwards by pressure on their pasture grounds from the Kayi. The Kun then moved into the land of the Sāhir/Sāhir (whose name Barthold, in Markwalt, World and Arabs, Leiden 1936, 144, connected with the Turkish word sart "yellow" and the Kipcha/Comans, the Russian Følt ski "pallid, yellowish ones"; possibly, however, they should be linked rather with the Sart Uyghur of Kana [p.71], and eventually ended up in the General-Sea-Kipcha Steppe area. Arguments must have been set off after Biruni's time, i.e. in the middle or later years of the 11th century, Minorsky was at first inclined to identify the Kun with the Kœrl/Kœr (mentioned in the ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, § 14, tr. 97, cf. comm. 283-6, 312-13, a savage and bestial tribe living to the east of the Kipčak (i.e. apparently to the east and south of Lake Baikal, their name surviving in the present-day Khari tribe of the Buryats), but subsequently abandoned this equation when he found the clear orthography ƶun in Marwazī. Earlier, Marquart had attempted to connect the Kun with the later Comans (in Magyar, Kun) of the South Russian-Western Siberian steppes (see Kipčak), and this was later affirmed by J. Német: that Kun and Kunan/Koman both stem from a Turkish adjective uesto "yellowish, pale" (Die Volkssnamen quanan und quan, in KCSA, iii [1947-9], 95-109).

At all events, the Kun have left very little mark on the Islamic history of Central Asia; we do not know whether they were substantially Islamised before losing their identity in some larger steppe confederation, such as that of the Kipčak or the later Golden Horde. The only member of the Kun to achieve mention in Islamic sources is the slave commander of the Saldıkki Ekbād b. Kočkar [q.v. in Suppl.], who was appointed governor of Khurāzn (490/1097); Minorsky plausibly surmised that he may have been Marwazī's informant for his section on the Kun. Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see L. Rásmany, Les Turcs non-islamisés en Occident, in PTP, iii, Wiesbaden 1970, 11±12 of offprint. (C. E. Boevoort)

KUNÄ, Qena, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (population 40,000). It is the
The town, situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea, had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Kusayr. This route took the place of the one used in the Middle Ages between Kusayr and Abyad, which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berainica road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value; it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mecca, and even during the Crusades, it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831-3 Muhammad 'Ali had the whole area inspected on the Kunbi-Kusayr road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. L’Egypte moderne, collection L’Univers, 186-6; Barron and Hurne, Topography and geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, 'Abd al-Rahim b. Ahmad b. Haddan, twelfth descendant of Djar al-Salih, was born in the envirors of Coute in Morocco. After a journey to Mecca where he spent seven years, he settled in Kunbi and died there on 9 Safar 392/23 January 1196. Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism, he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt, along with Ahmad Badawi, Ibrahim Daflad, and Abu I Haddad; Al-Jahiz. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which, if recited beside the tomb, hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about a cure. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Kunbi made circuits (jandaf) of the tomb of 'Abd al-Rahim similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Ka'ba (Adawfi, Tādž-āwīd, no. 231; Goldziher, Mun. Studien, ii, 315, Eng. tr. ii, 187; RHR, ii, 28; Gaudroy-Demombynes, Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, 224). There were descendants of 'Abd al-Rahim living in Egypt for two centuries; they were, in particular, jurists and professors (Adawfi, nos. 29, 127, 129, 304, 402, 476, 533; al-Makriri, Kāmil, ii, 423).


KUNBI SALIH, an important cluster of ruins of mediaeval date, situated in lat. 26° 59’ N and long. 19° 24’ W in Hodh ( southern Mauritania), 330 km. N of Bamako, 93 km. WNW of Kara and 70 km. NE of Timbuktu. Most modern writers agree that it was the capital of the Sarakoli kingdom of Ghana [57], which dominated the southern part of the Western Sahara and the North Sudan from around the 6th century until ca. 1076. The ruins are situated on a schistose plateau which is covered with thorn-bushes, and they stand between two seasonal pools. They extend for about 1,200 m. north to south and 800 m. east to west, but this does not include the scattered outbuildings and two extensive burial grounds. The one in the north-west covers an area 1,600 m. by 800 m. and contains a columned tomb with six chambers. The other is in the south-east at Soubi measures 700 m. by 400 m.

There are many mediaeval references in Arabic to Ghana, from al-Fazari (before 1214/800) to Ibn Khaldūn, but local oral traditions do not mention this place name. In fact, it is not until the 17th century that the name Kunbi appears in the Tarīkh al-Fatāliyyah, which says: “The name [of the empire of Kayamaga] was Kunbi, and this Kunbi was a great city.” The Tarīkh al-Salāhīn specifically states that the capital of Kayamaga was Ghana, but all the Sarakoli traditions about the Wagadu speak of Kunbi (Ch. Montefi, Métamorphoses ethnologiques, 390; A. Bathily, L. IFAN (1957), 77; W. Kamissoko, 1976, unpublished) as the residence of the serpent Bida. The persistence of the Sarakoli and Moorish tradition is best illustrated by the fact that in 1974...
Bonnel de Mézières was driven directly from Walata to Kunbi when he expressed a desire to the marabout to see the site of the capital of Ghana.

Although the ruins of Kunbi were well known to Africans, Bonnel de Mézières in 1914 was the first European to see them. He then undertook some excavations there, and the results were published in 1920, but unfortunately none of the material which was brought back from the expedition can now be located; it cannot be found in the Musée de l'Homme, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres or anywhere else. Later excavations have been made by M. Lazartigues (1930), P. Thomasscy (1949-50) and R. Mauny and G. Szumowski (1951); the most recent excavations have been by J. Devissé, D. and S. Robert and their team (1972, 1975, 1976), but as yet these are not published. These excavations have revealed many schist-built houses with beautiful Arab-Berber architecture, which predates the Hispano-Moorish style. They contain carefully-made paving stones, wall-niches, stairways and stone beds. An imposing columned mosque is slowly being revealed on the Main Avenue which crosses the ruins from east to west. It has superimposed mithqals showing that at least two sanctuaries have stood on the same site. Material remains include stones with painted inscriptions of the skhoda, countless pieces of coarse pottery with some slip-decorated ware and even some glazed (Mediterranean) ware, tools and weapons in iron, objects in copper and glass and glass and heads in stone and glass.

The north-east necropolis comprises a series of chambers for multiple Muslim burials; they are collective tombs for families or for people from the same Maghribi town or the same tribe. The most elaborate "columned tomb" is surrounded by six successive chambers, the last of which has a perimeter of 860 m.

The ruins show that this was an urban settlement with a high population density. The estimated population for the town at its peak was 15,000 to 20,000, which is an enormous figure for a Saharan town with a limited water supply (R. Mauny, Tableau geogr., 1982). Walls have been found a depth of 15 m showing occupation levels over several centuries after the 8th century. The dates provided by carbon 14 analysis are: 828 ± 115 A.D.; 933 ± 71 A.D.; 691 ± 114 A.D.; 1210 ± 121 A.D. This confirms what is already known of the history of the capital of Ghana with which these ruins are to be identified, in the present writer's opinion, despite the hesitations of Ch. and V. Montell (1952, 442-52; 1964, 58-62; 1968, 109-12), who are more inclined to follow al-Idrisi (4). In situating Ghana "on the two banks of the river [Senegal]". However, their identification must be challenged, for al-Idrisi made enormous errors in his work and, furthermore, no ruin of this importance has ever been found on the banks of the middle Senegal river. The evidence of oral traditions and what is written in the Tarikh all points to Kunbi as the correct site.

The irritating question remains to be resolved about the two places called Ghana which al-Bakri (460/1069-8) describes. The one was populated by Muslim merchants and had twelve mosques; the other was six miles away and was reserved for the king and his court. The present writer holds that Kunbi Sâlîb should be identified with the town of the rich Arab-Berber merchants described by al-Bakri. If this is so, where was the royal capital? New ideas about this problem have been suggested at a recent conference on the history of Mali, held at Banako in February 1976. Traditions show that the royal residence was apparently at Kalaka (Karka, 23 km. south of Kunbi) and the royal stockyard at Kunbi Duff, a modern village 20 km. SSE of Kunbi Sâlîb, which was in fact the merchants' town. The existence of a double or triple town can be understood because of the natural desire of the aminate kings to live apart from the Muslims and also because of the scarcity of water in the area. This is a potentially new field for archaeological investigation. Kunbi Sâlîb is the most important ruined site in West Africa—with Tagadoust (Awleaghoust) running it a close second—and because of this, fresh excavations ought to be undertaken there.


The Great Saljûqs, Tughlî Beg, Alp Arslan and Malikshâh, were served by two waṣīrs: Kundurî, waṣīr of Tughlî Beg, and the more famous Nizâm al-Mulk, waṣīr of Alp Arslan and Malikshâh. The main ambition of these two waṣīrs was to manipulate power and influence through the sultans whom they served. Nizâm al-Mulk did this with consummate skill for three full decades, outmanoeuvring his
Tughril was setting out to fight one of his rivals in Tughril's generals, as sultanate, and money was distributed among the would only serve to strengthen Islam's forces and do so, but was convinced by Kunduri that their Minhän, faced by the superior forces of Ibrahim and Kunduri to come to his aid. Kunduri wanted to arrange for Anushirwan to make a bid for the sultanate, and money was distributed among the troops for their allegiance (baya). Kunduri, Khâtun and Anushirwan contributed, as well as the caliph, the merchants and the high functionaries of Baghdad. But Kunduri's plan met with opposition from two of Tughril's generals, 'Umar and Jâhânšíh, who refused to recognize Anushirwan. Then when Tughril asked the caliph to proclaim Anushirwan as sultan, he was told to defer the matter, and to see that the city was not deprived of troops to defend it against the menace of Basâshîl. Khâtun changed her mind and went to reinjoin her husband. The sources are not expansive in their reports regarding this plot, but we later see both Kunduri and Anushirwan in the service of Tughril Beg. They later fought against Basâshîl and negotiated the latter's delivery at the hands of the Manyâzâdî Dâvûs b. Sadaka, and their success here regained for them the confidence of the sultan.

After Tughril's death in 455/1063, Kunduri once again saw his opportunity to serve under a sultan whom he could manipulate. Tughril, before his death, had designated Sulaymân, son of his brother, Čaghrî Beg and brother of Alp Arslân. This choice may have been suggested by Kunduri. In any case, the succession to the sultanate had to be secured by eliminating all other pretenders. Alp Arslân was ready to oppose Tughril, and here he had to deal with Kunduri. From the beginning, Kunduri had the upper hand, telling him to be content with the possession of Khurúsân. Alp Arslân marched in Rayy in the name of Alp Arslân. Arriving at the palace of the sultanate in Rayy, Alp Arslân did not make known his true feelings towards Kunduri, and insisted on Kunduri remaining with him in the palace when the latter wanted to move, saying "My joy consists in having you beside me, how can you entertain the thought of going away from us?". This was the beginning of a cat-and-mouse game played with relish by Alp Arslân, who kept Kunduri until he had recovered all the wealth amassed by the wars, before finally putting him to death, having taxed him with crass ignorance for imagining that he could stand against three Saljûq pretenders to the sultanate, meaning himself, Kâwûr [q.v.] and Kutlamûsh.

Kunduri's ambition had been to hold de facto power under a docile and malleable sultan, but his plans failed disastrously. He did, however, succeed in arranging the marriage between Tughril Beg and the daughter of the caliph al-Kâ'im, the negotiations for which lasted for a period of three years (452-4/1060-3). Tughril had hoped to see a Saljûq descendant assuming the 'Abbasid caliphate, but the marriage ended with his death and without issue. Kunduri's success in arranging the marriage, against the caliph's will, earned for him the enmity of al-Kâ'im who, on making the khâli in Alp Arslân's name in Bagdad (Râh II 456/March-April 1064) asked Alp Arslân to eliminate Kunduri.

Where Kunduri had failed, Nikân al-Mulk succeeded. The difference between these two waizars consisted in the political acumen and consummate administrative skill of the latter as compared with the former's lack of perception and discrimination. Kunduri supported the Mutawalli movement, and was instrumental in having al-Âshâfî cured from the pulpit of Khurúsân by the order of Tughril Beg. In Baghdad, he earned the hatred of the Sunnis by supporting the Shâfs. By contrast, Nikân al-Mulk supported the Ashâfîs, but was not averse to supporting 'ala'and of other movements wherever these last had a strong following. Also, his establishing anâkûd for the 'ulama' in the form of madrasas, masjîds and ribâh, secured the support of the masses among their followers. Not the least among Kunduri's mistakes was his personal engagement in battle, whereas Nikân al-Mulk remained a man who manipulated the pen, leaving the sword for those better suited to the battle field.


KUNDUZ, the name of a river, a town and a modern province of Afghanistan.

1. The river is one of the two main left bank affluents in Afghanistan of the Oxus. It rises in the central region of the Hindu Kush [q.v.], with Bâmiyân in its catchment area, and flows for some 300 miles/480 km. until it reaches the Oxus just below where it receives its right bank affluent the Wahshêh River. The different stretches of the river have varying names; thus the middle course, within which are situated the towns of Bagdân and Pâlî Khûrûn, is called the Surjchâb or "Red River".

2. The town is situated in lat. 36°35' N. and long. 68°30' E. at an altitude of 1,100 feet/300 m. in a region which has the general name of Khotân. The surrounding countryside, centred on ancient Kunduz and the nearby modern town of Khânâbâd, is now fertile agricultural land (rice, fruits, etc.) and pastures, but was until very recently notoriously malaria and unhealthy. The town of Kunduz (presumably Pers. kukan-dz "fortress") is not mentioned under this name by the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but it
fall within the province of Takharistan [q.e.], and is
very probably identical with, or situated close to, the
important early Islamic town of damalik or
Damalik, originally a centre of the Khattabites
[see HAYATA] in their struggles with the invading
Arabs in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, and thus an
administrative centre and mint town for northern
Afghanistan until Saljuk times (cf. Hudud al-Salam,
comm. 340, and Lo Strange, The lands of the Eastern
Caliphate, 428); today, there are many ruins in
the vicinity of Kunduz.

In the Timurid period, Kunduz is frequently
mentioned under this name. It figures in the cam-
paigns of Husayn Bayqara [see HUSAYN NIZA], e.g.
in 1390/1499-5, being until this time ruled by the rival
Timurid prince Muhammad Nizād b. Aḥbāb b. D. 1459
[see Earlhow, Four studies on the history of
Central Asia, iii, Aḥ-Ṣār, Leliaa 1662, 53, 62-3]. It then passed for some years into the hands of
Bābur, who during the years 1516-21/1522-4 used it as
a base for his unsuccessful attempts to conquer
territory north of the Oxus in Ḥūzūr and Waldhūk
(Bahār-nāme, tr. Bārāvāde, 45-6, 376, 345, 352 ff.,
and parev).

Northern Afghānistān was by now becoming
increasingly Turkicised by Oezbeğ and Turkmen groups,
and in the period of the Safavid-Oezbeğ rivalry, petty
Oezbeğ principalities were established in towns like
Balkh, Khulm and Kunduz. These submitted in
1524/1571 to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [q.e.], but in the
early 19th century Mountstuart Elphinstone again
found Kunduz under an independent Oezbeğ chieftain
Khalil Shāh Khaun], who had 15,000 men under his
command (An account of the kingdom of Cabūb, London 1839, ii, 200). A few decades later, in the
years 1840-9, the Oezbeğ principalities of Bālīk,
Khulm, Kunduz, Maymana, Aṣkā, etc. came into
the orbit of Dost Muhammad [q.e.] of Kābul. Kunduz
was visited by John Wood in the 1830s, who found it
a miserable settlement of 500 to 600 mud huts of
nomads plus reed huts and black tents of Oezbeğ
nomads (A journey to the source of the River Oxus,
London 1835, 274-8).

The present population of the Kunduz district is
highly mixed, but includes a large proportion of
Oezbeğs, Turkmenos and Kazakhs, plus some Pathanos
settled there in the present century by the Afghan
government, and some Arabic-speaking groups have
been reported from the region (see G. Jarring, On the
distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an adoraptat
at a preliminary classification, in Lundes Universitas
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There is now an important amount of seasonal immi-
gration from the Hindu Kush mountain regions,
the workers being attracted by the higher wages which
can be earned in agricultural work.

Since the 1962 administrative reorganisation,
Kunduz town has been the capital of a province
of the same name, having been previously in the
province of Kakāhān; the population of the town
has been estimated (1969) at 40,000, and of the
province at 415,000. It is now a centre for agricultural
development schemes in the Oxus lowlands, and the
local Turkish population also carries on carpet-
weaving; moreover, it has an airfield, with regular
flights connecting the town with Kābul.

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KUNFUZ. Kumaq (A., fem. kunfużī, pl. kunfużā),
a race, now preserved in all the Arabic
dialects (Maghībī, benfudī, Middle East, benfudī) which denotes, like its Hebrew counterpart,
hippod (see Isaiah, xix, 23, xxxiv, 11, and Zophaniah,
i, 14), both the hedgehog and the porcupine.
These two small excavating mammals, externally
fairly similar through the sharp, hairy spines covering
their backs and flanks and through their nocturnal
habits, are nevertheless quite different zoologically
in their respective species, dimensions and food
habits. But all the ancient authors, Greek and
oriental, systematically included them in the same
family, although the first is insectivorous and the second a rodent.

I. The hedgehog (Pers. ẖar petch, Hebr. kirbah),
of the Erinaceidae family, comprises, in the Old World,
some fifteen species which spread from the Atlantic coasts
of Manchuria and from the 6th parallel north to
South Africa, with the exception of Madagascar,
where it is not present. Thus in the Arab lands is
found, at the side of the universal Erinaceus eu-
pus, the race E. algericus in the Maghībī (nomencl.
in Algeria al-ḥadidāt Ahmad, Berber innives, pl.
invesinvisaun), E. dorus in the Saharan (Tamalaq,
Hoggar chemislaytinsia, pl. chemislaytinsaya, at
Qāht kinwīn, in Air lsbaṇisht), E. albiventris in
Egypt and the Sudan, E. aethopicus in Abyssinia,
and E. sylvicus and murinus in Ḫūṣīs Ḫuṣīs, Lebanon,
Palestine and Arabia. This unobtrusive, nocturnal
traveller, with its rapid and jerky movements like
a mechanical toy, is endowed with, as well as the
generic names kunfużī and anbah (this latter one
shared with the tortoise), various bynames evoking
its nocturnal habits, as expressed in the old, assonautal and metathesising
adage, involving its curling up into a ball like a
chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as
`khulmar, hārmah, ḥātīs, kātās, and its spines
takān, ḥusāt, ḥusāt, ḥusāt, ḥusāt, ḥusāt, the roof of its
defensive attitude, involving its curling up like a
mechanical toy. is endowed with, as well as the
other bynames evoking its nocturnal habits, as expressed in the old, assonautal and metathesising
adage, involving its curling up into a ball like a
chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as
`khulmar, hārmah, ḥātīs, kātās, and its spines
which denote, like its Hebrew counterpart,
imreis (imreis, insi), a masc. noun preserved in all the Arabic
language, which denotes even to every gentle hedgehog”. The cry of the male hedgehog is
a short sighing noise, whence its name hinama
“whining, grizzling one”. The hedgehog is considered
as one of the most inoffensive and feeble of animals,
as expressed in the old, assonautal and metathesising
adage, māk lam naḥṣi al-talunna aḥḥab kātās-
laṭunna “when one does not do what is required, one
becomes subject even to every gentle hedgehog”.

2. The porcupine (Pers. tisjād, Tishā jāb, ḥarbash kārbī)
in the Maghībī dorrīb through confusion with the
classical parshānparshān denoting the zoril, Berber arus,
Tamamaq, in Air and Adriq, emwyemwyemery, pl.
emwyemwyemery (emwyemwyemery) is from the family of Hystri-
idae which comprises five genera and some fifteen
species. It is present, with two geographical races
which are the most universal (Hystrix cristata and
H. leucura), in all Africa, the Near East, Iran,
and from the East Indies to China; but in Arabia, it is
present only in the southern half of the peninsula.
It is three or four times larger than the hedgehog
and always considered to be its big cousin, but this
vegetarian is nevertheless distinguished from the
former by al-Dībāzī (Hayyūnīn, vi, 461-2) under the

KUNDUZ — KUNFUZ
names duduludululul, skhuyamhiyyin and nays (this last preserved as nayy in the Near East). This careful observer adds, in good faith, that the porcupine is to the hedgehog as the ox is to the buffalo (see al-Damghi, Hayydi al-hayyin al-kubbd, i, 337-8, ii, 57, 267-9, and in the same edition, al-Kazwlni, *Abbâd ibn-makkhatûd, ii, 337-61) relates that the porcupine, when it has young, climbs up the vine-stems by night, pulls off the bunches of grapes and lets them fall, then comes down and rolls among its harvest and carries it off transfixed on its spines to its home territory, thus providing an ample diet of succulent grapes for its children.

Whether it is a case of the hedgehog or of the porcupine considered as a large hedgehog—and both of these are taken by the medieval Arab naturalists, together with the thorn-tail lizard (see pane) and the jerdon (yārūn [see pane in Suppl.]), as "creeping beasts" (asbūn as-rā'ī, ḍhāyār al-ard [Hayyânîn, v, 28])—the *burjûf, through its nocturnal life and its innate distrustfulness, has given rise to such comparisons as *asru min kunjudh "travelling more often by night than a hedgehog" and *asmd min kunjudh... min dudulul "having sharper ears than a hedgehog... porcupine"; whereas a night raked by insomnia may be described as *layl al-kunjudh, *layl al-anbâd "hedgehog's night". The mysteriousness of the gloom enveloping its journeys summoned up in the fertile imagination of the Bedouin the image of the *Beduqin al-ard, hashardt al-arâb (tfawûn, b) as a "hunter of the land", has remained undecided on the question and depended on the decisions of local authorities, basing themselves on the customs and usages of the region; thus amongst the Berbers in the Maghrib, no objection is met with against making the *kunjudh an article of diet.

The various anatomical parts of the *kunjudh possessed, in the ancient therapeutic inventory, numerous specific qualities, notably that of the right eye which, boiled in sesame oil and mixed with collyrium, caused nyctophilia or day-blindness; this formula was, it seems, used by rogues and nocturnal prowlers in order to facilitate their nefarious activities. Salted hedgehog flesh was beneficial for children suffering from urinary incontinence. At the present day, according to what the Touareg say, a porcupine-needle stuck in a camel's saddle prevents fatigue in the loins for the camelriders of the Sahara. Of a more practical kind is usage of a hedgehog skin, with its spines, as a muzzle for kids too inclined inconsiderately to suck their mothers' milk. The porcupine's quills are also used, moreover, for making little instruments and tools like needles for sewing, sticks for applying kohl, etc.

For some time past, the hedgehog, which is very easily domesticated, has been the domestic pet in numerous dwellings of the Saharan oases in order to rid them of cockroaches and other undesirable insects; here we have a modest rehabilitation of the *kunjudh burbâh, 'hedgehog of the stone ground', a byname given metaphorically to an individual with unattractive features but where there is still a possibility of finding someone even less attractive. From a similarity of appearance, the terms *kunjudh al-bâbî or *ghayyam habîr "sea hedgehog" denote the edible sea-urchin (*Echinus esculentus), whilst in al-Damghi and al-Kazwlni, op. cit., the term *kunjudh habîr is applied to the beaver.
A port on the Red Sea coast of the Tihama or lowland of the southern Hijâda, situated in lat. 19°6' N. and long. 41°0' E. and at the mouth of the Wadi Kanâwnâ. It lies 36 km south of Rihdājâ or Djiudâa (q.v.) and 45 miles north of Hâly.

The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representatives of the Sharif of Mecca. The town was estimated in 1850 to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000.

The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there; until recent times, however, a certain number of pilgrims on the hajj have landed there and at al-Lîth to the north by sailing craft. Trade and commerce are moderate: It exports gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Al Khat Şris still get myrrh collected in 'Asîr [p.r.] and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but Britain's sharp control made slave-smuggling practically impossible by the early 20th century. Trade with the interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and everyday necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Kuwayyâ further south has long since attracted almost all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain. Of agricultural products, cotton and maïs are grown in the district.

Al-Kunjûfâ is perhaps a very old settlement; in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debea, Pliny's regio Canauâ has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Kanâwnâ mentioned by al-Ḥamdânî, but this town lies at the mouth of the Wâddî of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Al Khat Şris still get gold from the streams. Al-Kunjûfâ, however, seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese knew it in the form Condotâ. Niebuhr calls al-Kunjûfâ a large but badly-built town. In his day (1766) it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Dijûdâ had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the İrām of Saût. It passed to the Sharif, together with the land of the Dcbae. Pliny's regio Canea still gets a mention of the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Dijûdâ had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the İrām of Saût. It passed to the Sharif, together with the land of the Dcbae. Pliny's regio Canea still gets a mention of the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Dijûdâ had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the İrām of Saût. It passed to the Sharif, together with the land of the Dcbae. Pliny's regio Canea still gets a mention of the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Dijûdâ had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the İrām of Saût. It passed to the Sharif, together with the land of the Dcbae. Pliny's regio Canea still gets a mention of the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Dijûdâ had to pay toll here to the Sharif of Mecca, although the town was within
KUNGRAT—KONKA

region to the south of the Aral Sea (M. A. Czaplicka, The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day, London 1918, 38, 40). In the 18th century the Osbog Kungrat played a dominant role in the Khankan of Kiwra. When the Arabshahid line of Khans of Kiwra became extinct at the end of the 17th century, real power was exercised in the Khankan by Kungrat military chiefs who held the title of inay [q.v. in Suppl.]. In the early 19th century, these inays came to themselves to assume the title of Khan and ruled in Kiwra until the period of the Russian protectorate [see 289969]. The tribal name was given to a settlement in the delta or "island" area of the Oxus mouth, on the road between Khodja-ili and the Aral Sea shores; during the later 18th century, until 1226/1815 and the time of Muhammad Rakhim Khan of Kiwra (1222-41/1860-69), this district centred on Kungrat was in effect an independent principality [see Bartholom, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 151, and Idem, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 192].

In 1586 a Russian military steamer sailed up the Oxus delta, alarming the inhabitants of Kungrat, and the town was an important strategic point in the Russian expeditions of 1837 under General Kaufmann and directed against Kiwra; it formed the concentration-point for the naval force from the Aral Sea and the land forces from Orenburg and from Manghlekh (see E. Schuyler, Turkestan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja, London 1876, i, 107, ii, 331, 336, 346-50). Kungrat is now a town in the Kara Kalpak ASSR; see on it BSE, xxiv, 53.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KANKA, variant forms KENKA, KENKA, KANKA, KUNKA, KUNGA, the Arabic name for the modern town of Cuenca, administrative centre of the province of the same name in Castile, Spain, situated near the confluence of the Jucar and Huécar Rivers at an altitude of 925 m. at the point where the Mancha becomes a mountain chain. According to al-Idrīsī, Kungra was "a small, ancient town, surrounded by a wall and moat". Al-Idrīsī mentions it among the 20 stages of the routes connecting Cordova and Saragossa. Al-Idrīsī mentions Cuenca in his division of al-Andalus into 26 idāb, but gives it the title of a ḥira. Al-Umair makes it the eleventh province of Spain, comprising the towns of "Orihuela, Cuenca, Elche and Denia, as well as numerous strongholds". Yāḥyā makes it part of the amal of Santaver, and Ibn al-Ashbah al-Salāṭ, who was there in 567/1172, has left a description of it.

During the period of the multāk al-andalūs, various political and economic factors reinforced the strategic importance of Cuenca. Previously, from 1317/66 to 1607/777, it had been part of the region shaken by the rebellion of Shāhīyāt al-Fātimi. It had then passed to the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [q.v.], and in 939/938 it had been divided among the three sons of Mūsā, who were these strongholds of the frontier zone, were virtually independent of the central government. At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Cuenca belonged to Isrā'īl b. Dhu 'l-Nūn, who proclaimed his independence in the 8th/14th century. Later, we find Ibn al-Farağ, who distinguished himself in military campaigns, as nāl of Cuenca for the Dhu 'l-Nūnids. Whilst al-Mutawakkil b. al-Āṭās temporarily occupied Toledo (472/1081), Al-Kādir took refuge in Cuenca. In the following year, Sancho Ramirez and Ahmad b. Hūd besieged the town, which bought them off with a sum of money. After Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (476/1085), Cuenca passed under Castilian rule and was included in the famous "dot de la mora Zaida". Alfonso probably kept the Muslim structure of the town, requiring a tribute, according to the homilies of the Mozarab Count Simancas. In 490/1097, whilst Cuenca was being protected by Alvar Fabe's army, the Almoravids led by Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Salāṭ raided the district, and after the victory of Úcles (501/1010) occupied the town; but in 531/1137 the populace rose against the Almoravids and burnt the strongholds of Cuenca.

In 567/1172, has left a description of it.

Bibliography: Given in the article.
The period from the mid-10th/16th century, when Ahmad al-Bakkar’s son Sidi ‘Umar al-Shaykh is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Chad) in the south to al-Sakiya al-Hamra’ in the north and Tuwai in the east. Some members settled in Walata and in a village in Tuwai known as Zawiyat Kunta where Sidi ‘Umar’s son, Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Shaykh, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sidi Muhammad al-Saghir b. Ahmad al-Bakkar’s hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sakiya al-Hamra’ (the Kunta al-Kibla), while those descended from Sidi ‘Umar al-Shaykh combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wadi Daria through Tuwai and the Azaqad region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlad Sidi al-Wali established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kabir b. Ahmad b. Abi Bakr (1142/1240-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In ca. 167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-HiHa in Azaqad, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Kadiiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Mukhtariyya, that most of the Kadiiriyya
groups in West Africa derive their affiliation, Sidi al-Mukhtar's role as a Sufi leader and his prestige as a scholar enabled him to mediate between warring Arab and Tuareg tribes in the area and to heal the rift between the eastern and western Kunta. His far-ranging missionary tours (siyāsā, wārid) included a multiplicity of regenerators in different spheres of endeavour such as politics (mudā'add al-siyāsā), the view of the 13th century historian al-Hallāmī, and his zayāfī at al-Hillā, which received disciples from distant areas, were supported by income from participation in the salt trade from Taroudant to the Niger and the trade in tobacco from Timbuktu to Tinnuitu.

His teachings, born of his Sīfa outlook as well as the position of his clan as a zayāfī group, emphasised leniency, the looking over of faults and the winning of hearts through "gishād of the tongue" rather than "gishād of the sword", though when Uthmān b. Faddā [q.v.] initiated a militant gishād in 1225/180-5, he expressed his approval of it. He proclaimed himself the sole "regenerator" (mudā'add al-siyāsā) of the 13th century, expressing his approval of it. He proclaimed himself as the sole "regenerator" (mudā'add al-siyāsā) of the 13th century al-Hallāmī, whose continued challenge to French authority remained a menace in the first two decades of the 20th century; and Sidi Bāy b. Sidi Umar (b. 1865), a scholar and man of saintly repute who took up residence in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas and encouraged both the Iḥghas and Ahqgar Thangr to avoid conflict with the French. Several copies of his Nāsik, as yet untried, are preserved in the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Naimay, Rép. du Niger.

The spiritual influence of the Kunta in the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries was far-reaching. The two major Fulbe leaders, Shaykh Uthmān b. Faddā and Shaykh Ahmadu Lobi, both received and propagated the word of the Mūtankiriya, though in both Hausaland and Māsinā the Tijānīyya gained ground rapidly from the mid-19th century. A list of the main groups of West African Muslims attached to the Order or branching from it may be found in P. Marty, Études, i, 140-2 (see Bibl.).

nes, vii (1951), 166–86; Kahālīn, iv, 195.

J. O. Huvvoren

KUNÄT [a.], a technical term of Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refaining from speaking", "prayer during the salāt", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allah is that of a creature to its creator", "standing"—these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Kurān where kunāt or derivatives from the root k-n-t occur. There is hardly one of them for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (see ii 176, 330; ill, 15, 36; iv, 38; vi, 121; XXX, 255; XXXIII, 31, 32; XXXIX, 12; LXVI, 5, 12).

The kundt gives more definite contexts. "The best salāt is a long kunāt" (e.g. Muslim, salāti al¬
mundūjīn, trad. 164, 165, bāb nūf al-salāt fīl al¬
‘awrūd; al-Tirmidhī, Salāt, bāb 168). Here, in the context of Allah giving all the commands (see al¬
Nawāwī in the passage), kunāt means "standing". In the well-known kundah, "allike to the fighter on the path of Allah is he who stands, who kunāt bi-‘ayāl Allāh" (Muslim, 1mdōra, trad. 110), kunāt has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abu Dāwūd, Qāhir Ramādān, bāb 5; "And he who recites two verses of the Kurān standing is enrolled among the kundtīn". Kunāt, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with du’ā', e.g. in the oft-quoted tradition which tells how Muhammad in the salāt al-suffah appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribes of Rīf and Dhakwān, as they had slain the kundt at Bīb Mā’tūna (Witr, bāb 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation yu’dī salāt (al-Bukhārī, Witr, bāb 7; Dhahād, dh 164). In the parallel tradition, when Maghāzī, bāb 28, trad. 3, there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the kunāt". Some sources (see Goldziher, Zauberelemente, 323) add that this was in the month of Ramādān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the kunāt took place in the salāt al-faṣr (al-Bukhārī, Daʿwātī, bāb 59) after the ruhk (i.e., Witr, bāb 7). It is still more precisely defined in a kundh in al-Nasā’ī, Taḥbīl, bāb 32: "... that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first ruhk at the salāt al¬
suffah, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i.e., some of the munkātīn); these upon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (III, 123). The following is another example of kunāt: "When the Messenger of Allāh passed after the last salāt at the salāt al-suffah, he said: "O Allāh, save Wādīb b. Abī Wādi’ and Salīma b. Higham and ‘Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabā’a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Mudar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā’ī, Taḥbīl, bāb 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Hurayra (al-Bukhārī, Al-Thānī, bāb 120), the kunāt consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the kunāt was regularly performed at the morning and evening salāt (sunnah and maghrib; al-Tirmidhī, Salāt, bāb 177; al-Nasā’ī, Taḥbīl, bāb 30). Al-Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the kunāt at the salāt al-faṣr. Some of the scholars of the Sahābas and later generations advocate this kunāt, such as Mālik and al-Shafi‘ī". Ahmad b. Hanbal and Iṣāq declared: "There is no kunāt ut¬
tered at the salāt al-faṣr except in case of a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a whole". In such a case "The Imām has no prayer except for him who understands, and ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān and All and that none of these uttered the kunāt prayer. He adds "It is therefore also a bi’d’ī, my son" (al-Nasā’ī, Taḥbīl, bāb 33).

Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (da’āt) at the salāt. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the kunāt al-muṣīr (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called kunāt but is given names like du’ā', etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (al-Tirmidhī, Witr, bāb 10). The same formula is found as an element in the salāt in al-Nawāwī, Musāhāt, ed. van den Berg, i. 83, 456-5; cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. k-n-t, who gives another formula.

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(A. J. Wensinck)

KUNYA [a.], patronymic, an onomatopoeic element composed of Abū (ma.) "father" or Umm (f.) "mother" plus a name. We have here a metonymic designation corresponding to a general tendency among primitive peoples to consider an individual's name as taboo and not to pronounce it unless excep¬
tively (see J. G. Frazer, The golden bough, ch. xxiv). The kunya was therefore accorded the name which should be used, but in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten, and al-Bukhārī (see J.A. 1957, 70, 82), far from seeing here any
connection with sympathetic magic, counts the kunya amongst the claims to glory of the Arabs and, seeing only one aspect of the reality, stresses the honour attaching to it. Nevertheless, it is certain that the use of the kunya was not wholly honourific, since it gave the possibility of citing a person whose name, for various reasons, including certain rather humiliating ones (e.g. in regard to an enemy), one did not wish to pronounce. In any case, usage was such that the kunya sometimes came to predominate over the name (q.v.) or name proper, to such an extent that the sets of certain personalities cannot be established with certainty, has been forgotten or may even never have existed (see e.g. Abu Ta[b, Ab[ Lahab, etc.).

In principle, Ab[ or Umm is followed by the eldest son's name, and this usage is based on the value which Semitic peoples placed upon their children, and above all their sons. This again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent upon the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the kunya and funeral rites from the facts that slaves, as a rule, had no kin name and that, unless they had been received into the familia, they were buried without ceremonies.

However, the kunya can be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter, but again, this was not necessarily expressed in reality, and since it is given to a child, the latter might well have no issue of its own throughout his life. The giving of a kunya can in effect act as an expression of the hope that its nearer will have a son and will give him a determined name. Several kunyas are traditionally attached to certain names (the v. 33) by custom or in order to show respect for a predecessor; an Ibrahim is often called Ab[ Ish[ or Ab[ Ya[k, and a [Um[ Ab[ Ha[s, Contrastwise, in principle it is forbidden to take Muhammad's kunya, Abu l^- d Kin, in conformity with the b[ d[ but not by his name or the name that the tribe would appeal to its champion for help (see Kays b. al-[hat[im, D[d[in, ed. Kowalski, fragman 4, v, 36). In official relationships, the caliph sometimes marked out one of his courtiers for special favour by publicly addressing him by his kunya and not by his name or isma, but after the 5[th/6th century, protocol forbade such familiarity (Mez, The renaissance of Islam, Eng. tr. 136-7). Similarly, in correspondence emanating from the chancery, the kunya of the addressee was used when the sender wished to honour him (see al-Kalkagand[, Subh, v, 439-7).

At the present day, the usage of the kunya has disappeared, and the term is sometimes used, in official contexts, together with the isma (q.v.), to denote a family name; but one should remark that a number of patronymics adopted after the setting-up of a civil government in Arabic-speaking countries stem from former kunyas and that the norm de-guerre of several Palestinian fighters is precisely a kunya.


KUR, the largest river in the Caucasus (according to Hamd Allah Mustawfl KazwinI, 200 farkalb[ is nearly 600 miles in length). The Kur, known as Cyrus to the Greeks; Nahr al-Kurr to the Russians (said to be derived from kurr[ or kurr[; see al-HjAbir, Verb. Ak. Wet. Amsterdam, 267; A. Spitaler, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Kunya-Namengebung, in Forsch. Wett. Cascht, ed. E. Gr[ , Leiden 1958, 336-50.

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KURA, the sphere.

1. The sphere itself. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (shabâl al-kahfa), the principle of the four magnitudes (al-shâbî al-mugham) and the principle of the shadow, i.e. of the tangent (al-shâbî al-nilâb) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in ZDMG, i [1896], 104 ff.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, Axel Bjernbo Thødbits Werke über den Mathematik, etc., part 2, 1-50. references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. Al-Kura dhâl al-turs (the globe mounted on a stand) is used in two senses:

(a) The globe of the heavens (instead of al-kura we also find al-hayyâ, the egg, in this sense, e.g. in Majâtsh al-'ulâm, 235, in al-Battanî, Opus astronomicon, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1923, i, 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, Beitr. iii, in SBPMS Erg., xxvii, [1905], 239 ff.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs. Such globes have been prepared and described, perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the Almagest and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 1435/1434 by Ibn al-Sandbadî (cf. Ibn al-Khîfî, 440). The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. 'Alam al-Dîn Kaygâr al-Tâfsîl used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidâ', Annales, ed. Reiske, iv, 497; H. Suter, Mathematischer, no. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them are fully discussed by al-Birûnî (Beiträge zur Gesch. der Mathematik, etc., in Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin, part 4, 1922, 79-93; cf. also H. Schnell, ibid., in a later part). The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Fîrâsî for King Roger of Sicily was apparently an armillary sphere.

(b) Al-Kura dhâl al-kursî is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon; it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the horizontal ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves, the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, al-fâsh, al-matâsh, the prop of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Rûsî b. Lôkî [q.v.] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e.g. that of al-Marrâkûshî; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relation to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (Libros del Saber, i).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings is added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to the parallels and meridian circles in the armillary sphere (diât dhât al-balâh), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castro, occupied themselves a great deal.


3. Al-Kura muharrîka, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly-burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Hayyâm and Kamâl al-Dîn al-Fârîsî [q.v.] investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Hayyâm starts from the values, given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority, however, meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, and this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon it, and this is looked at through the front of the ball, remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Hayyâm and Kamâl al-Dîn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.


Kûra, a term designating, in some geographers and in official documents, an administrative unit within a province. It was felt as being a loan
word, certain authors giving it an Iranian origin, although a Greek origin (from ydvo) seems more likely. The exact definition of a kura varies according to authors. Thus Ibn Khuradhdhibh enumerates, in the same region, that of Ḥims in Syria, kuras and iblims at the same time, so that in this case, the two terms seem to be equivalent [see ita'a]. But most of the geographers reserve the term iblim for a region or province, call the districts kuras, and distinguish within these districts cantons called sayassé or ruštaké; this is distinguished in particular by Ibn al-Fahhāb (passim, and tr. Massé, Abedél, index) and al-Mukaddası (passim and tr. Miquel, index). Usually, the kura has a chief-levy which is often called a ṣura.

According to Ya'qūb, the kura is the equivalent of the Persian ištān, with the istān comprising several ruštaké, the ruštaké several sayassé, and the sayassé several villages; thus Na'īn is a sayassé belonging to the ruštaké of Zayd, which comes within the istān of Istakhr, in the province of Fars (W. Juwaideh, The introductory chapter of Ya'qūb's Mu'amal al-Buldun, Leiden 1959, 56-8).

In mediaeval documents relating to Syria, acts of sale or waqf, the following classification is found: a kura like that forming the Gūta of Damascus comprises cantons (iblim) which themselves contain villages (kur'a) (see J. Sourdel-Thomine and J. Sourdel, Trots actes de vente damascins du début du IVe siècle, in JESHO, viii [1965], esp. 269 and n. 4, and also Riens foussers constitués en Syrie féodale, in JESHO, xv [1972], 289-91). This usage of the term iblim is apparently peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, according to Amr al-Iṣfahānī and Ya'qūb (Juwaideh, op. cit., 199-41). It is further used thus in al-Andalus, which is explicable by the influence of Syrian practices in that country.

In al-Andalus, a simple province of the original Islamic empire, there existed, as elsewhere, administrative divisions called kuras, of which certain ones were, in origin, "militarised zones", i.e. they held contingents of soldiers who were maintained on the revenues of land grants; these divisions were therefore termed kura mughammada (Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. Mus., iii, 47-53).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(D. SOURDEL)

KURA (a.), in a technical sense designates rhapsodomancy. It is an Islamic divinatory procedure, analogous to bibliomancy; but in current use the term refers to the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take, and this has been used following the Kur'anic prohibition of istihâdān [3:1] and of masyîr [2:4], the two principal cleromantic techniques of pagan Arabia.

I. In the usual sense of "the drawing of lots", the term kura, originally applied to "a wineskin with broad base and narrow neck" (TA, γ, 453, i. 23) which probably served as a receptacle for the shaking of the lots, is still used in the present day in the sense of choosing and electing by lot or by vote. Monks choose among the novices those to whom they propose to give the habit, by ṣura (the lots used being grains of wheat for "yes" and grains of barley for "no"). The polling station for legislative elections (istihâdāh) is called mutah al-istirâās. In Ottoman Turkish circles, kura was practised in the recruitment of constables, whence comes the expression kura'a girneh signifying "to reach the age of military service". A. Musil notes that in Arabia Petraea, the term kura refers to a ball serving the function of a lottery ticket, made out of strips of paper bearing the names of the parties which are rolled in a ball of clay or wax and which are drawn out by persons who were not present during the inscription of the names or the rolling of the balls (Arabia Petraea, iii, 294).

The permanence of this usage is attested by the fact that the Prophet used to "draw lots" (kura'a) in order to decide which of his wives could accompany him in his travels (al-Tabarî, i, 1391), a procedure that he also used for the distribution of loot taken in raids (Ibn Sa'd, ii, 78, 82, 83), and also by the fact that a chieftain chosen by the drawing of the lots was called mašrâ (TA, loc. cit., i, 5).

The legitimacy of recourse to kura was acknowledged at a very early stage through imitation of the Prophet. Haddî describes a number of cases where the latter resorted to kura for a solution to questions of distribution (ed. al-Bukhâri, Sahih; al-Katrizâ, iv, 416 f.).

In certain cases, where any decision is liable to appear unjust to one party or the other, the judge may resort to kura (cf. al-Marginînî, Hudayya, Calcutta 1318, 813-14; tr. Hamilton, and ed. London 1870, 565-6). Of the eleven cases of kura listed in the Minhâjad al-falîdîm (ed. Van den Berg, i, 119-20, 324; ii, 328, 404-5; iii, 99-100, 401-2) only two are considered impermissible.

II. In this list there is confusion between the drawing of lots and rhapsodomancy. On the latter, opinions vary as to its legitimacy. While al-Katrizâ, in his commentary on al-Bukhâri, considers its legitimacy, following the Ṣanhill Ibn Ratta (d. 397/997), other authors like Abû Bakr Muhammâd b. al-'Arâdh (d. 543/1148), in Ashkâr al-Kur'dn, Abû Bakr Muhammâd al-Turâfîâdî (d. 520/1126-31) and Shihâb al-Dîn Abu 'l-'Abbâs al-Karâfî (d. 684/1480), quoted by al-Damîrî, Hayâlî al-khaydâmî (ed. Bûlîkî, 1893, ed.), i, 119, oppose the use of the kura in jâl[f. But even the latter resorted to Auz'a for a solution to questions of distribution (ed. al-Bukhâri, Minhâjad al-falîdîm, xvi, 401-2). Ibn al-Hâdî (d. 737/1336) expands on this chapter in a treatise entitled Korâhal akhdât al-falîdî mawṣûfî (cf. Ma'dkhalî, i, 878).

Or what does Islamic rhapsodomancy consist? Like bibliomancy, it is a divinatory practice involving the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Kur'an or the Sahîh of al-Bukhâri. This practice is attested as early as the Umayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbâsid period (cf. accounts relating to the end of the Umayyad caliph al-Walîd II, d. 126/744, and to that of Abû Dîfâr al-Mansûr, d. 153/775, in al-Damîrî, ii, 119; Fahd, Divination, 215).

This consulting of the two most venerated books in Islam takes place in various forms, as the rhapsodomantic writings that are available to us bear witness:

1. Kur'âl al-'Imâm Dîfâr b. Abî Tâlib or Dîfârîyya (ms. Aya Soya 1999, fol. 218b, 21.2 x 16 cm., a fine illuminated msÎhîî text dating from 907/1501), containing rhapsodomantic interpretations of Kur'anic verses. Patronage of this art, propagated by the Shi'â, is attributed to Dîfâr, the Prophet's cousin, killed at the battle of Muta', in 8/629, because at the time of departure, one of his companions, Abî Allâ'û ibn Dîfâr, had rhapsodomantically concluded from a Kur'anic verse relating to Hell (Kur'an, XIX, 71) enunciated by the Prophet, and had foreseen the death of Dîfâr.

2. Al-Kura al-Maw'mîyya, attributed to Ya'kûb b. Isâkî al-Kindî (d. after 256/870), containing, in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers; cf. ms. Aya Soya 1999, 3, fol. 59-138a: al-Kura al-mubâraka
al-Ma'muniyya, a copy dating from 706/1306-1. The same ms (fol. 295a-v) contains an opusculum entitled Al-Kura al-Da'shan-hamadi (= ma'rifat al-bur'a) by an anonymous author, but an essay bearing an analogous title (K. al-hur'a hamadi) in the Library of the University of Istanbul (A 6262, 79 fols., 19 × 13 cm., a poor naskhi text from 1129/1719), carries the name of al-Khendi.

Two other works of hur'a are attributed to al-Ma'mun (d. 218/833); al-Daicazdhamradi f al-Kurma (— tna rma'nii'a (fols. rga-jSa) contains an opuscule of sodomantic poems attributed to various authors. (Cairo ms. 7613). These differ from the above and contain at the end some rhismatic poems attributed to various authors.

(3) al-Kura al-Dinaharriyya (ms. Saray, Ahmet, III 1600, 1, fols. 1a-23b, 36 × 18 cm., naskhi, n.d.) marks a perceptible evolution in the practice of rhapsody. In fact, the use of Kur'anic verses interpreted according to the method of tanwi' or allegorical exegesis, is supplemented by arithmowsmic procedures (nashd al-dinahar or harsh al-uri'a), which play a part in dafir [and], and in 'im al-kur'iy (al-na'ta wa l-asma'. This consists, in the event, of combining the four consonants of the word jychat dijw, dijah, dijir, dhir, etc.). Each paragraph contains a precise interpretation of the combination, followed by another in verse, introduced by the formula kala al-raddif.

In the Kura bi'urri al-mad'jam (ms. Köprüli Fazil P. 194, fols. 57a-63b, 18 × 14 cm., naskhi, n.d.), the letters are arranged according to the alphabets, on three horizontal lines: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 0.

The inscriber selects one of these letters at random and is referred to the paragraph where the meaning of this letter is explained in verse (cf. the examples in Flügel, Loosbcher, 59-70).

In the Kura bi'Daniyya, it is numbers, exomulated in two phrases, which serve as the hur'a. These phrases are arranged in the following manner:

Kura yaa ahad Kura yaa anka
Kura yaa islama Kura yaa alka
Kura yaa iga'ash Kura yaa alka
Kura yaa iga'ash Kura yaa alka
Kura yaa anka ahad Kura yaa anka.

The meaning of these formulae is explained, as in the essay discussed above, in the form of verses introduced by kala al-raddif (cf. ms. AS 523, fols. 95a-103a, 26 × 17 cm., naskhi from 840/1436-7). In the Fishdar, 314, a similar essay is attributed to Daniel, to Iskandar Dhii 'l-Kurnayn (with arrows), to Pythagoras (cf. E. Tananay, Notices sur des fragments d'onomalotnne arithmétique, in Notices et Extraits, xxxii 1886), 331-60 = Mémoires scientifiques, ix, 17-50, to Ibn al-Murtabi and to the Christians.

The greatest degree of complexity attained by this type of hur'a appears in three works which al-Biruni (d. 440/1049) claims that he translated (from Hindustani?) bearing the following titles: al-Kura al-unmamshama bi'l 'uwasakh ("The hur'a which gives clear indications of consequences"), al-Kura al-wulmahmahana li'shikat al-dama'ir al-wulmahmahana ("The eightfold hur'a for the discovery of inner thoughts in the mind") and Sharh masakir al-'ur al-wulmahmahana ("Commentary of the reeds of the eightfold hur'a") (cf. al-Biruni, Chronologie orientalischer Volker, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1876, introd., p. xiv).

(4) Too complicated for popular usage, these hur'a have yielded place to a series of much simpler hur'a, based essentially on the drawing of lots, such as hur'a al-shahyad, consisting of looking for the answer to the question that one poses in the name of the Prophet (on whom the finger falls; kur'a hur'a to be taken here in the broad sense of "fortune", good or bad) which draws a conclusion from every omen presenting itself at the moment of consultation, including the flight of birds; hur'a maymuna ("The hur'a crowned with success"), etc. (cf. ref. in Divination, 218, n. 4). Thus the term hur'a acquires a generic sense and serves to designate various forms of divination by lot (such as "Kura al-damari, Kur'a hi'ilhadi al-fa' wia l-damari, etc.").


KURAMA, according to Radloff (Versuch eines Westerbuches der Türk-Dialekte, St. Petersburg 1803, ii, 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i.e. Kazak) word hurama from (hura, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (A. Asiripir, Leipzig 1895, i, 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Ozbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (Kura to "patch together"). He further says that the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khokand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Ahugerun) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the 18th century. But as early as 1845-1855 in the description of the wars between the Kazak and Ozbegs on the Angrea we found the "leaders of the Kurama" (sar-darand n Kurama) mentioned (Maimu'd v. Wail, Bulu al-asair, India Office ms. 575, i. 1748).

Under the rule of the Khans of Khokand in the 15th century, the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khokand to Tashkent over the Kurdor-Dusan pass was called the Kurama road (Kura-i Kurnama, e.g. in the Ta'rikh-i Shihbuhki, ed. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kercuri (in the written language Kirwśi; on Russian maps also Kelyaud). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Imperial Russian rule. In the division of the territory (oblast) of Sirdarya into districts (wets), what later (after 1880) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (Kuramenskii wets). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toy-Tube founded in the reign of Madali Khan (1822-47; cf. Khojand); but the district headman (uverniki natal'snik) actually lived at Kuylik on the Chirik. Under Russian as under Khokand rule, the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian
ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i.e. Kazak) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, g.w.). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

This could still be seen in the early 20th century. Unlike the Sarts, the Kurama lived, like the Kazak, in yurts: their wives, as with the Kazak, were unveiled. In other respects, however, the Kurama had advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time, Kadoroff and other observers could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Kadoroff there were five of these Djalayr, Tekan (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djigalbajy and Taradil. This division is now quite lost; whereas traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer—as among the Kazak—considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Khokand, Bukhara, and Khudzand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

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### KURAMA

1. **Kur'amā** Ait., the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muhammad and preserved in a fixed, written form.

### OUTLINE OF THE ARTICLE

1. **Etymology and synonyms**
   - a. Derivation and Kur'ānic usage
   - b. Synonyms in the Kur'ān
2. **Muhammad and the Kur'ān**
3. **History of the Kur'ān after 632**
   - a. The "collection" of the Kur'ān
   - b. Variant readings and Companion codices
   - c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings
4. **Structure**
   - a. The sûras and their names
   - b. The verses
   - c. The basmalas
   - d. The mysterious letters
5. **Chronology of the text**
   - a. Historical references in the Kur'ān
   - b. Traditional Muslim dating
   - c. Modern Western dating
6. **Language and style**
   - a. Language of the Kur'ān
   - b. Foreign vocabulary
   - c. Rhymes and refrains
   
7. **Literary forms and major themes**
   - a. Oaths and related forms
   - b. Sign-passages
   - c. Say-passages
   - d. Narratives
   - e. Regulations
   - f. Liturgical forms
8. **The Kur'ān in Muslim life and thought**
9. **Translation of the Kur'ān**
   - a. The orthodox doctrine
   - b. Translations into specific languages

### 1. ETYMOLOGY AND SYNONYMS

1. **Derivation and Kur'ānic usage.** The earliest attested usage of the term 'Kur'ān' is in the Kur'ān itself, where it occurs about 70 times with a variety of meanings. Most Western scholars have now accepted the view developed by F. Schwally (Gesch. des Qor., i, 33 f.) and others that kurān is derived from the Syriac kerydn, "scripture reading, lesson", as used in Christian liturgy (see for example the 6th century Syriac ms., Brit. Museum, Add. 24, 432, e.g. "scripture reading, lesson, or sermon") for which the term was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kifite Kur'ānic script, and that the term kurān is closely related to the verb kara'a, "he read" or "he recited". Both views find some support in the Kur'ān, where the verb kara'a does occur, but not as frequently as the usual term for reading or reciting, tala'. In early Kifite manuscripts we find kara'hu without the hamza, causing some authorities such as S. al-Abdi and Abû Ubydaya to derive it from kara', "he put together" or "he bound together" (see Gesch. des Qor., i, 33 f.). Against this view it should be noted that the omission of the hamza was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kifite Kur'ānic script, and that the term kurān is closely related to the verb kara'a in Kur'ānic usage. The soundest conclusion seems to be that the term kurān originated in the Kur'ān itself to represent the Syriac kerydn, but was based on an Arabic masdar form (kur'dn) from kara'ah.

The verb kara'a occurs in the Kur'ān 17 times, usually meaning "recite", but occasionally "read ( aloud?)". Where it clearly means "recite", it is always the Kur'ān that is recited, usually by Muhammad (XVI, 98, XVII, 43, 106, etc.). But in one of the earliest contexts it is God who recited the revelation to Muhammad: "When we recite it, follow its recitation" (LXXV, 18), and in one of the latest contexts (LXXIII, 20) it is the believers (see below).

Kara'a means "read" in five or five verses, always with "book" (kitab), (see below). In XVII, 93, Muhammad is challenged by some unbelievers to ascend to heaven and bring down a book they can read for themselves. Three passages (XVII, 47, and LXIX, 19) refer to the record books to be read at the Last Judgment, and one (X, 94) refers to some of Muhammad's contemporaries—probably Jews and Christians—as "those who have been reciting or reading the Book" before him. Rudi Paret (Übersetzung, ad loca) is no doubt correct in seeing in the Kur'ān different nuances in the meaning of kara'a, which he translates as lesen, verlesen, restrichen, and notragen. But there may not be as much variation in the Kur'ānic usage of this verb as these terms suggest, since where it
means "recite" it could be interpreted "recite (the Kūr'ān) from written notes", and where it means "read aloud" it could be interpreted "revelation".

Most occurrences of the term būrān in the Muslim scripture date from a period of about ten years beginning when Muhammad began to perform the salāt publicly and ending around the time of the battle of Badr in 624. It is impossible to date the contexts precisely or determine their exact chronological order, but the general development of the Kūr'ānic usage of būrān is fairly clear. (Unless otherwise indicated, all statements on dating in this article are the present writer's own conclusions. In most cases these analyses tend to support the conclusions reached by Richard Bell, who also dated individual pericopes rather than entire sūras—see section 5 below.)

(1) Among the earliest meanings of būrān is "act of reciting", seen in two passages where God addresses Muhammad: "Ours is it to put it together and [Ours is] its būrān. When We recite it follow its būrān" (LXXV, 17 f.), and "Observe the salāt at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and [observe] the būrān at the dawn; surely the būrān at the dawn is well attested" (XVII, 78). This last verse provides useful insight into the relationship between the salāt and the būrān at the time when both were just being instituted. (2) In some verses būrān means "an individual passage recited [by Muhammad]." In LXXI, 1 f. the Prophet is informed that "a number of the jinn listened, and said: 'Verily, we have heard a būrān, a wonder, which guides to recite, so we have believed in it.'" See also X, 61, XIII, 31, and cf. X, 19. (3) In a large majority of contexts, dating mostly from the late Meccan and very early Medinan years, būrān, usually with the definite article, has a complex meaning involving several elements. It is the "revelation" (thawâlîd) sent down by God upon Muhammad (XX, 2 f., LXXIV, 23, etc.). It is sent down at intervals (XVII, 106, XXV, 32), and in some contexts it appears to be something in God's possession that is larger than what has so far been "sent down": "What We send down of the Book is a healing and mercy to the believers" (XVII, 82). In other contexts al-būrān refers to a collection of revelations in Muhammad's possession which were commanded to recite (XVII, 71 f.; cf. XVI, 98, XVII, 49, XXIV, 32). The expression is seen in a number of passages, such as VII, 204: "So when al-būrān is recited [by Muhammad], listen to it and keep silent" and LXXIV, 20 f.: "Then what ails them, that they believe not, and when al-būrān is recited to them they do not bow?" Specific references to other Muslims reciting parts of al-būrān occur only in one or two Medinan passages, such as LXXXIII, 29, where the believers are told to recite during the night vigil only as much of al-būrān as is convenient or easy (ma ṭayyasar) for them.

(4) In a number of contexts that appear to be early Medinan, dating from before LXXXIII, 29, the būrān (sometimes without the definite article) is said to be an Arabic version of "the Book" (al-kitāb). By the clear Book. Behold We have made it an Arabic būrān (XLIII, 2 f.; see also XII, 1 f., XLII, 2 f., and other verses quoted below). The closest the Kūrān comes to using the term al-būrān with its present meaning as the name of the Muslim scripture is where it is mentioned with the Torah and the Gospel in IX, 111, in a construction that suggests three parallel scriptures. But it must be remembered that the revelation was not yet complete, and the final scripture was not compiled until after Muhammad's death.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
later commentators. By far the most frequent usage of *kitab* in the Kur'ân is in reference to God's revelation to Muhammad and to certain religious communities that existed before and during his time, especially the Jews and Christians, who are called "the people of the Book" (ahl al-kitab). This complex series of ideas involving the Kur'ân, the Book, Muhammad, and the People of the Book is discussed in more detail in section 2 below.

The term *sura*, occurring in the Kur'ân nine times in the singular and once in the plural (suras), seems to be derived from the Syriac *sûrâ*, *sûrâh*, "scripture, scripture reading" (Gesch. der Qor., i, 31; Foreign vocab., 180-2). In the Kur'ân *sura* refers to a unit of revelation and could be translated "scripture" or "revelation". Several verses mention a *sura* being "sent down" (IX, 61, 86, 124, 137, XLVII, 50, etc.), in contexts that are similar to some Kur'ânic usages of *dyâ, kitâb, and kitâb*. And Muhammad's opponents, who are dissatisfied with what he has been reciting, are challenged to "produce a *sura* like it" (II, 23, X, 38) or "ten *suras* like it" (XI, 13). Cf. XXXVIII, 49, where the challenge is to produce a *kitâb* from God. The Kur'ân gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present *suras*.

The Kur'ânic usages of *kur'ân*, *dyâ*, *kitâb*, and *sura* converge at the following points: (1) *kur'ân*, *dyâ*, and *sura* are each used sometimes for the basic unit of revelation, a pericope consisting most likely of several verses (e.g. X, 61, II, 106, and X, 36, respectively), and *kitâb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 49, and a few other places. (2) *kur'ân* (e.g. XXXIV, 31) and *kitâb* (e.g. II, 89, VI, 92, 155, VII, 115) are used in places where *kur*âb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 2. (3) Occasionally *kur'ân* and *kitâb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXVI, 32: "And what We have revealed to you [Muhammad] of the *kur'ân* is the truth, confirming what was before it". (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitâb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *kur'ân* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muhammad, e.g. X, 37: "This *kur'ân* is ... a distinct setting forth of the *kitâb* in which there is no doubt" and XI, 1:1. "These are the *dyâ* of the clear *kitâb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *kur'ân*.

Other technical terms used in the Kur'ân for the revelation being sent down to Muhammad include the following: (1) Three nouns from the verb *dhukara*, "to remember, to mention", are used for the revelation in the sense of a reminder or warning: *tadkhirâ* in LXXIII, 25, LXXVII, 29, etc.; *dikhr* in VI, 90, XI, 120, etc.; and *dikhr* is the formula, "It is nothing but a *dikhr* to the worlds", at the end of the *suras* XXXVIII, LXXVIII, LXXXI, etc., in the introductory formula to XXXVIII where it is connected with al-*kur'ân*, and in VII, 63, 69, etc. (2) The term *ma'îthâ* has puzzled Muslim commentators and given rise to several theories among Western interpreters of the Kur'ân. Even if it is a derivative of the Hebrew *ma'îthâ* (Koran. Untersuchungen, 38-9) or the Syriac or Aramaic *ma'îthâ* (Gesch. der Qor., 1, 114-16), the term *ma'îthâ* may have a meaning in a scripture*, and *sura* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 2. (3) Occasionally *kur'ân* and *kitâb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXVI, 32: "And what We have revealed to you [Muhammad] of the *kur'ân* is the truth, confirming what was before it". (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitâb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *kur'ân* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muhammad, e.g. X, 37: "This *kur'ân* is ... a distinct setting forth of the *kitâb* in which there is no doubt" and XI, 1:1. "These are the *dyâ* of the clear *kitâb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *kur'ân*.

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The Muslim scripture and Muhammad's prophetic experience are so closely linked that one cannot be fully understood without the other. The orthodox view of the dramatic form of the Kur'ân is that God in the speaker throughout. Muhammad is the recipient, and Gabriel is the intermediary in the act of revelation—regardless of who may appear to be the speaker and addressee. An analysis of the text shows that the situation is considerably more complex than this. In what appears to be the oldest parts of the Kur'ân, the speaker and the source of the revelation are not indicated. In some passages (XCI, 1-10, CI, CII, CIII, etc.) there is not even any indication that the message is from a deity (cf. Muiy, Moham med, 35 ff.), and in some (LXXXI, 13-21, LXXXIV, 16-19, XCII, 14-22, etc.) Muhammad seems to be the speaker. In the earliest passages that mention Muhammad's God, he is not named but is spoken of in the third person, usually as "My Lord", "your Lord", etc. (LI, 1-23, LI, 1-16, LXXIV, 1-20, LXXXI, 1-24, LXXXVII, 1-25, LXCVIII, 1-8, LXCV, 1-8, etc.). From LI, 10, LXXXI, 3, and other verses it is clear that Muhammad had visions of God, and at least in the Meccan years it was the voice of God himself, and not some intermediary, that Muhammad heard. In the earliest passages to indicate the source of the revelation, God is the speaker and the direct source, e.g., "We shall cast upon thee [Muhammad] a mighty word" (LXXXIII, 3) and "We shall cause thee to recite without forgetting" (LXXXVII, 6). And a number of late Meccan and early Medinan passages speak of God relating the *dyâ, the kur'ân, and the kitâb* to Muhammad (II, 252, III, 108, XIV, 6, etc.).

But during the same period a series of passages have the effect of elevating God from direct revelation. This too is important. The message is said to be brought down by certain intermediaries, and it is connected in some way with "the Book" (al-*kitâb*). Both of these concepts occur in XLII, 51 ff., where it is explicitly denied that God speaks directly to Muhammad: "It is not fitting that God should
speak to any mortal except by inspiration (rahū), or
from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to
inspire whatever He wills . . . . Thus have We inspired
you [Muhammad] with a spirit of Our bidding (rākib-
min umaqīd); you did not know [before] what the
Book and faith were'. The role of this spirit as the
agent of revelation is seen more clearly in XXVI,
192 f.: "Surely it is the revelation of the Lord of all
beings, brought down by the faithful spirit [al-nubūs
from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to
the Book of God", since it is synonymous with the
Kūrānic expressions allardırkina tīt 'i-khād, "those
who have been given the Book"), in II, 101, 144, 145,
III, 19 f., IV, 131, etc., and alədīdkina 'ayyārānu-
i-tākhād, "those to whom We have given the Book",
in II, 121, VI, 20, 174, XIII, 36, etc. The oftendiscussed term ummīyīyn (II, 75, III, 20, 75, LXII,
3) seems to be the antithesis of these three expressions,
thus meaning "those who have not been given the
Book previously". And this is almost certainly the
sense of the singular, ummi, which is applied to
Muhammad in VII, 157 f. That is, instead of sending
to the Arabs and the world a missionary from among
them, God chose to send a prophet, Muhammad,
from among those who previously had not been
given the Book (al-nubūs 'al-ummi). There is no basis
in the Kūrānic for the traditional view that ummi
means "iliterate" (see ummīyīn; Gesch. der Qor. 4, 14-17;
Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and Elachère, Intro., 6-12). After
the so-called "break with the Jews" in Medina
around the time of the battle of Badr, the Book came
to be distinguished from the Torah and the Gospel
(III, 48, V, 110, etc.) and identified more closely
with the revelation being sent down to Muhammad
(see, e.g., the Medinan formulas, XII, 1 f., XLI, 3,
XLII, 1 f., etc.). And the expression "those who
have been given the Book" became "those who have
been given a portion (nārūd) of the Book". In III, 23,
IV, 64, 51, etc.). About the same time the plural
"scriptures" (nārūd) was introduced in two credal
statements in I, 285 and IV, 136 (cf. LXVI, 12,
XCVIII, 3).

In late Meccan and early Medinan passages
Muhammad is said to have been challenged to
produce a book the people could read for themselves
(e.g. XVII, 93), and his followers complained that
they did not have a scripture like those of the Jews
and Christians (VI, 153 f.). The establishment of an
independent, Muslim community in Medina, distinct
from the aləkhiyīn, was marked by the granting of
a separate Islamic scripture that was to serve as a
criterion (cf. farīdah) for confirming the truth of
previous scriptures (III, 3, IV, 105, V, 43, etc.). The
evidence seems to indicate that Muhammad began
to compile a written scripture some time in the early
Medinan years, but that the responsibilities of leading
the rapidly growing Muslim community forced him
to leave the task unfinished (see Bell-Watt, 141-4).
That Muhammad participated in and directed the
task of preparing a written scripture seems certain.
This is to some extent supported by the rashād, where
we are told that he dictated to scribes and instructed
them on how to arrange the revelations, sometimes
inserting a new passage into an older one [al-Buhārī,
Fadil al-Kūrān, bāb 2 f., Abū Dāwūd, Salīh bāb 2,
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do the actual writing and editing himself, especially in
Medina where he had scribes to perform menial
tasks (Gesch. der Qor. 4, 461). But it is not unlikely
that Muhammad did occasionally write out the
revelations himself (see e.g. XXV, 4-6, quoted in part
above, and Bell-Watt, 36, on this passage). The task

This raises the question of the relationship between
the Kūrān and the scriptures of the Jews and
Christians. Meccan and very early Medinan parts of
the Kūrān speak of a single revelation or Book,
sometimes called the Book of God (al-kudus), and
specify those to whom it had been "given" (al-kudis)
previously: the prophets (II, 213), the seed of Abraham
(XXIX, 37, LVII, 23 f., etc.), the Children of Israel (XI, 53,
XLV, 16), Moses (II, 53, 57, VI, 54, etc.), John the
Baptist (XIX, 12) and Jesus (XIX, 30, etc.). In II, 101
and III, 23 (cf. III, 93) the ikhād Allāh is specifically
identified with the scriptures of the aləkhiyīn
"people of the Book". This expression, which occurs
over thirty times (II, 105, 109, III, 64 f., IV, 123,
153, etc.—all Medinan), is often interpreted as "the
people who have a scripture". But it more likely
clearly means "the people who (previously) have been
given the Book of God", since it is synonymous with
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of preparing the written scripture included some revision and alteration of earlier revelations (see Bell-Watt, 80-101). The Kur’ān itself acknowledges that changes were made in the revelation: “For whatever ḥiyyā We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muhammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it” (11, 106), and “When We substitute one ḥiyyā for another—and God knows best what He is sending down—they say: ‘You [Muhammad] are a mere forger’” (XVI, 101).

A similar verse, XXII, 52, gives another explanation for changes in the revelation: “We have never sent any messenger or prophet before you [Muhammad], but Satan cast [something] into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from God]. But God abrogated what he cast as a test, and then God abjures his ḥiyyā.” These verses seem to be responses to complaints or accusations about changes in the revelation. The Kur’ān views any changes of law or revelation as responses to events and concerns of the time and place. The abrogation or changing of earlier verse is not seen as a rejection of earlier verses, but rather as a way to adapt to the changing needs and conditions of the community.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and in his Anmāles (1, 1924), al-Ṭabari records several versions of a curious story in which Muhammad is said to have received two set of verses. These are the earliest verses that were made in the revelation: “For whatever ḥiyyā We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muhammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it” (II, 106). The abrogation of earlier verses was not accepted as historical by most Western writers who had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. The story the Arabian goddesses, al-Lat, al-Uzza, and Manāt [g.v.], the Qur’ān was recited the two short verses, “These are the exalted flying cranes”, and were made in the revelation: “For whatever ḥiyyā We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muhammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it” (II, 106). The term ḥiyyā in these passages came to be interpreted as “verse”, but the Kur’ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and in his Anmāles (1, 1924), al-Ṭabari records several versions of a curious story in which Muhammad is said to have received two set of verses. These are the earliest verses that were made in the revelation: “For whatever ḥiyyā We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muhammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it” (II, 106). The abrogation of earlier verses was not accepted as historical by most Western writers who had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. The story the Arabian goddesses, al-Lat, al-Uzza, and Manāt [g.v.], the Qur’ān was recited the two short verses, “These are the exalted flying cranes”, and were made in the revelation: “For whatever ḥiyyā We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muhammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it” (II, 106). The term ḥiyyā in these passages came to be interpreted as “verse”, but the Kur’ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

3. HISTORY OF THE KUR’ĀN AFTER 632

The history of the text and the recitation of the Kur’ān after the death of Muhammad in 632 is still far from clear. The development of the canon involved three main stages, each of which is difficult to reconstruct and date: the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final consonantal text, and the process by which several readings, i.e., different ways of vocalising the text, came to be accepted as canonical or “revealed”. According to the orthodox view, the Kur’ān was perfectly preserved in oral form from the beginning and was written down during Muhammad’s lifetime or shortly thereafter when it was “collected” and arranged for the first time by his Companions. The complete consonantal text is believed to have been established during the reign of the third caliph, ‘Uthman (644-56), and the final vocalised text in the early 4th/10th century. Most Western scholars have accepted the main points of almost traditional view. But there are problems here. In addition to the usual difficulties of examining Muslim sources that were regulated by the science of hadith, the task of reconstructing the history of the Kur’ān is further complicated by the fact that the classical literature records thousands of textual variants, which, however, are not found in any extant manuscripts known to Western scholars. Several valuable works on the history of the Kur’ān were written during the 4th/10th century (see below), but later Muslim scholars, with just a few exceptions, have shown little interest in the problem of reconstructing the history of the canon. The basic European works continue to be the second edition of Th. Noldeke’s Geschichle des Koräns, especially Part II, Die Geschichtle des Qorans (1913), ed. and revised by F. Schwalley, and Part III, Die Geschichte des Koräntexts (1938), by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pettel, and A. Jeffery’s Materials for the history of the text of the Qur‘ān (1937).

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official recension, authorised by the first caliph, was also the first complete collection, etc. Muslim tradition came to accept this story as a historical account, and these points as facts. But there are serious problems with this account. For one thing, most of the key points in this story are contradicted by alternative accounts in the canonical hadith collections and other early Muslim sources (see Wenstine, Handbook, 137; Gesch. des Qor., ii, 15-18; Burton, Collection, 220-8). According to one hadith, `Umar once asked about a verse and was told that it had been in the possession of someone who was killed at Yamama, so he gave the command and the Qur’an was collected, and “`Umar was the first to collect the Qur’an” (Musahhat; 10; IbHân, i, 58). Other accounts say that Abû Bakr began the collection and `Umar completed it, or that Abû Bakr was the first to collect the Qur’an on sheets (musahhat), while `Umar was the first to collect the Qur’an into a single volume (musahhat). Others say `Umar ordered the compilation, but died before it was completed (Ibn Sa’d, ii/2, 212).

In fact, each of the first four caliphs is reported to have been the first person to collect the Qur’an (Musahhat; 10; IbHân, i, 57-9). And several alternative accounts state explicitly that no official collection of the Qur’an existed prior to `Ughâm’s. Caetani (Annuari, ii, 731) and Schwally (Gesch. des Qor., ii, 20) have questioned the significance of the al-Yamama battles as an occasion for an official collection of the Qur’an, pointing out that very few men distinguished for their knowledge of the Qur’an are mentioned in the lists of those who died there (Schwally found two). Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that the alleged collection under Abû Bakr was ever accepted as authoritative. Finally, this story fails to acknowledge the role of written copies of parts of the Qur’an left by Muhammad. These important documents for the history of the Qur’an, alluded to in the statement that Zayd “used to write down the revelations for the Prophet”, must have played a significant role in the preparation of an official text. There are thus sufficient grounds for rejecting the historicity of this story, the most likely purposes of which were to obscure Muhammad’s role in the preparation of a written Qur’an, to reduce `Ughâm’s role in establishing an official text, and to attempt to establish the priority of the `Ughâmic text over those of the (pre-`Ughâmic) Companion codices. All three purposes would be accomplished by establishing the belief that the first official collection of the Qur’an was prepared during the short reign of Abû Bakr and served as the basis for `Ughâm’s recension. See Gesch. des Qor., ii, 11-27; Bell-Watt, 40-2; Blachere, Introdt., 27-34; also Burton, Collection, 177-37 (on Burton’s view, see below).

The accounts of the collection of the Qur’an under `Ughâm assert that the final consonantal text was established during the last half of his reign, or about twenty years after Muhammad’s death. According to the dominant version (al-Bukhârî, loc. cit.; Masâhif, 28 f.; IbHân, i, 58 f.; Fath al-bûrî, ix, 14 f.; Gesch. des Qor., ii, 47-50), the occasion for the final collection of the Qur’an was a dispute between Muslim forces from Irâd and Syria over the correct way of reciting it during communal prayers while on an expedition to Armenia and Ăšharbâyjân. The general, Hudayla b. al-Yaman, reported this problem to the caliph and asked him to establish a unified text. `Ughâm obtained the “sheets” from Hafsa and appointed a commission consisting of Zayd b. Thäbit and three prominent Meccans, and instructed them to copy the sheets into several volumes following the dialect of Kuryaya, the main tribe of Mecca. When the task was finished `Ughâm kept one copy in Medina and sent others to Kûfâ, Bayra, Damascus, and, according to some accounts, Mecca (Gesch. des Qor., ii, 17 f.), with an order that all other copies of the Qur’an were to be destroyed. This was done everywhere except in Kûfa, where Ibn Mas‘ûd and his followers refused. The details differ in various versions of this story (ibid., 50-4), mainly on the number and identity of the commissioners and the cities that received official copies.

This second collection story stands up to critical analysis no better than the first. Western scholars now accept the view argued by Schwally (ibid., 57-65) and others that the Qur’an is not in the dialect of the Kuryaya (see 6.4 below). If this is so, one of the two main points of the story is discreditied, and it is difficult to see what role the commission might have played. Schwally also showed (54-7) that those named in the various accounts are unlikely candidates for such a commission appointed by `Ughâm, and he gave good reasons for doubting that the caliph would have ordered all extant copies of the Qur’an to be destroyed. It also seems unlikely that differences in the way the Qur’an was recited during the daily prayers would have caused serious dissension among Muslim forces involved in the initial conquests. These parts of the story all hint of a later historical setting.

The Hafsa element seems to be simply a device for tying the two collection stories together, while establishing an authoritative chain of custody for an official text going back almost to the time of the death of the Prophet, and explaining why this official text was not generally known (see Bell-Watt, 41 f.). For several alternative accounts that give completely different reasons and circumstances for `Ughâm’s order for an authorised text, see Burton, Collection, 136-59.

We thus have before us another story whose particulars cannot be accepted. But this does not mean necessarily that the story has no historical basis at all. The unanimity with which an official text is attributed to `Ughâm, in the face of a lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, leads most Western scholars to accept one central point of this story: that the Qur’an we have today, at least in terms of the number and arrangement of the suras and the basic structure of the consonantal text, goes back to the time of `Ughâm, under whose authority the official text was produced. This was, however, certainly not a textus receptus ne variatur, even in terms of its consonantal form (see below).

Most Western scholars also accept one other element of the story: that Zayd played some role in establishing the `Ughâmic text. Just what that role might have been is difficult to say; alternative accounts give several possibilities (see Burton, Collection, 117-26, 143-5, 150, 169-7, etc.). Burton contends that both collection stories are completely fictitious and that Zayd’s prominence in the various accounts is due solely to the fact that he had been a young secretary to the Prophet and an early Qur’an specialist who happened also to be one of the latest surviving Companions, dying ca. 436/655 (Collection, 120-4, 226, etc.). Burton has raised serious doubts about the role of Zayd in establishing the official text, and he has shown that the sciences of hadith and fiqh influenced the proliferation of Qur’an collection stories; but he has not demonstrated the likelihood of his main contention, that the collection stories were fabricated by later jurists to provide support for their abrogation theories by hiding the fact that the final text of the
Kur'an was produced, not by Uthman, but by the Prophet himself.

b. Variant readings and Companion codices. The Uthmanic text tradition was only one of several that existed during the first four centuries A.H. The general view is that Uthman canonised the Medinan text tradition and that this one was most likely the closest to the original revelation. Other text traditions, attributed to several Companions of the Prophet, are said to have flourished in Kufa, Basra and Syria. The sources speak sometimes of various readings (kita'ah, sing. kita'), i.e. different ways of reading or reciting the text, sometimes of 'codices' (masā'ahīf, sing. masā'ahīf). On the usage of these two terms, see Materials, 13 f. A number of works on the 'disagreement of Ibn Mas'ud' (khitbīy al-madīnī) are said to have been written by Muslim scholars of the first four centuries. Ibn al-Nadlm lists eleven such works (Fihrist, 16, tr. Dodge, 79), which is incomplete, including the K. Hitbīlī Masā'ahīf al-Shām wa l-Îdīlīs wa l-Tahlīs by Ibn Āmir al-Yabūbī (d. 112/326), K. Hitbīlī Masā'ahīf al-Madīnī al-Kūfī al-Bāsrahī wa l-Miṣrī al-Qūfī al-Basrahī by al-Kīsā (d. 185/800), K. Hitbīlī Masā'ahīf al-Kūfī wa l-Basrahī wa l-Shām fi l-Masā'ahīf by Abū Zakariyya al-Farā' (d. 207/822), K. Hitbīlī Masā'ahīf wa l-Dārītī al-Madīnī 'l-Mādīnīn (ca. 231/845), and three works each called simply K. Masā'ahīf by Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), Ibn an-Ămarī (d. 345/959), and Ibn Ashtā al-Iṣkhānī (d. 366/976). Of these works, most of which have not survived, the last two seem to have been the most complete and the most highly regarded by later scholars. The shorter and somewhat earlier work by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, so-called the famous traditionist, was edited by A. Jeffery and published with his Materials, which lists several thousand variants taken from over thirty 'main sources' (see 17 f.), including the classical commentaries by al-Tabāri, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Baydawī, and al-Rāzī, and various works on kita'ah, shayrādāqī, gharīb al-Kūfī, grammar, etc., including the Mādīnī by al-Farā' (d. 207/822), the Mādīnī by Ibn KU-Mawāyih (d. 370/980), and the Medīnī by Ibn Dīnār (d. 392/1002) (see Fihrist). The commentaries made by al-Tabārī (d. 311/922) on variants (e.g. on XXIII, 206) show that the text of the Qur'an was not fixed he variat in his day.

Most often mentioned in the sources are the 'readings' or 'codices' of Ibn Mas'ud, Ubayy, and al-Masūdī, said to have been dominant in Kufa, Syria and Basra respectively. All three codices are discussed in more detail below, Jeffery classifying as 'primary' the codices attributed to twelve other Companions of the Prophet: the second and fourth caliphs, 'Umar and 'Alī; three of Muhammad's widows, 'A'isha bint 'Umar, 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr, and Umm Salama; four whose readings seem to have been varied in the Medinan text tradition, Zayd b. Thābit, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; and three others, 'Umm Ṣalāmī, the Client of Abī Ḥudhayfah, 'Ali b. Abī Talib and 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Talib (see Materials, LXVIII, LXIXI, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc.) and having given up his codex to be burned when 'Uthman's text was made official. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (see Materials, LXVIII, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc.) and having given up his codex to be burned when 'Uthman's text was made official. It is reported to have included in his codex the two extra sūras of Ubayy's text (see below), and several later scholars are said to have taken their readings from him. 'Umm Ṣalāmī b. Mu'rīb (d. 10/633), sometimes called Ṣalāmī b. Ma'kīl (Gesch. des Qur., II, 20, etc.), one of the Qur'an reciters killed in the battle of Yammān, was one of four to whom the Prophet is reported to have raised his followers to turn for guidance concerning the Qur'an. Ubayy b. Umayr (d. 74/693) was an early Qur'an reciter in Mecca; his codex may have been the basis for the Meccan text tradition, which seems not to have been as strong as those Kufa, Basra and Damascus (or Syria). Compared with the large number of variants attributed to Ibn Mas'ud
and Ubayy, relatively few are mentioned in the literature for these other codices. Jeffery also collected variants attributed to a number of Muslims of the second generation: al-Awad b. Yazid, 'Alkama, Hatim b. Sa'id b. Dhuwayr, Tabita, 'Ikrima, Mundhab, 'Atha b. Rabab, al-.tabit b. al-Khuwaym, al-Mash, Dinar al-Qadi, Safih b. Rasyan, and al-Harib b. Suwayd. More variants are attributed to some of these "secondary codices" than to most of the "primary" ones. In some cases, Jeffery was able to determine the primary codex from which a secondary one was derived.

Ibn Mas'ud's codex is said to have differed from the "Uthmanic text in several important respects. The sources are fairly consistent in saying it did not contain the Fatihah and the two charms that became suras I, CXXIII, and CXXIV of the Uthmanic text (see 4.4 below). Variants in the Fatihah are, however, attributed to Ibn Mas'ud (Materials, 25), and Ibn al-Nadim reported in 377/897 that he saw a number of Ibn Mas'ud Kuran manuscripts and that one that was about 200 years old included the Fatihah (Fihrist, 26; Dodge tr., 57 f.). Of the many variants attributed to Ibn Mas'ud (see Gesch. des Qur., iii, 60-83; Materials, 25-113), some involve only different vowels with the same consonantal text, and some are purely orthographic, e.g. Ibn Mas'ud is said to have written hidala mat as two words rather than one in a number of places. But the vast majority of variants listed by Bergstrasser and Jeffery for Ibn Mas'ud involve differences in the consonantal text that would also show up in recitation. Of these, many may be regarded as explanatory glosses on the "Uthmanic text, but in some cases it is the "Uthmanic text that seems to contain an "expansion" or "improvement", sometimes apparently for theological reasons (see Materials, 17).

Among the most questionable of the variants attributed to Ibn Mas'ud are the "Sim'a readings", e.g. in V, 67, XXIV, 35, XXVI, 215, XXXIII, 25, 33, 56, XLII, 23, XXVI, 29, LIX, 10, LIX, 7, LX, 5, LXXV, 17-19 (see ibid., 40, 65, 68, etc.). More difficult to evaluate are the numerous "synonym variants", as for example the following found in Sura XXV, where, instead of the "Uthmanic terms given in parentheses, Ibn Mas'ud is reported to have read gudala, "makes, brings about", in verse 46; and he is it, "He who sends" (araqal), the winds; li-man-shira, "gives life", in 49: "That we may give life (li-nahyaya) thereby to a dead land"; bugar, "castles", in 61: "Blessed is He Who has placed in the heavens constellations (buruid)"; yasa'abahara, "ponder, consider", in 62: "For him who desires to remember (yagidkabahara)"; and al-ghana, "the Garden, Paradise", in 75: "They will be awarded the high place (al-ghrefa) inasmuch as they were steadfast". Just as frequent are cases where an entire phrase is different, e.g. Ibn Mas'ud's reading in III, 39: "Then Gabriel called to him, 'O Zachariah'", instead of the "Uthmanic reading, "Then the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary". Some variants may have significance for the early history of Islam, or the history of the Kur'an, e.g. Ibn Mas'ud's well-known reading al-haqqiyaya, "the way of the Hanifa" (4.6) instead of al-islamia in 1, 120, "Believe, the (true) religion (din) of God is Islam", and the fact that he is said to have included the basmala at the beginning of Sura IX (see 4.4 below).

Also, the order of the suras in Ibn Mas'ud's codex is said to have differed considerably from that of the "Uthmanic text. Two slightly different, incomplete lists are recorded, the earlier one by Ibn al-Nadim (Fihrist, 26; Dodge tr., 55-7) and a later one by al-Suyuti (Iltibā', l, 54). The missing suras in each list are included in the other, and it is possible to reconstruct a single list. The principle of arranging the suras in order of descending length is followed more closely than in the "Uthmanic text, but there is still considerable variation from this criterion (see Bauer, Anordnung der Suras, Table IV). Following the assumption that the longer suras were not put together until the "Uthmanic text was compiled, some scholars have concluded that the Ibn Mas'ud lists are "post-Uthmanic" and have little validity (e.g. Materials, 25 f.). But if most of the suras were written down and put into approximately their final form during Uthman's lifetime, then there would be no strong reason for rejecting the validity of these reports outright.

Ubayy's codex seems according to the extant evidence to have been less important than Ibn Mas'ud's. It appears not to have been the source of any secondary codices, and very few unique variants are attributed to it. Most variants attributed to Ubayy are attributed also to either Ibn Mas'ud or Ibn 'Abbás. Probably the best known feature of Ubayy's codex is that it is said to have included two short suras not in the "Uthmanic and Ibn Mas'ud texts, Sūrat al-Khažf, with three verses, and Sūrat al-Hādīf, with six (see Materials, 180 f.). The order of suras in Ubayy's codex is said to have differed from that of Uthman's and Ibn Mas'ud's, and again we have two slightly different lists (Fihrist, 27; Dodge tr., 58-61; and Ibn 'Abbás, i, 64). These lists are, however, less complete and less reliable than those given for Ibn Mas'ud, and some suras are difficult to identify. Dodge (60) is probably correct in identifying al-nabi as Sūra LXVI, and Jeffery (Materials, 175) has no doubt mistaken in saying it is Sūra LXV. But Dodge is certainly wrong in reading al-din (one of the titles for Sūra CVII—see Paret, Kommentar, 554) as al-din (the title of Sūra XCIV), and in failing to recognize Ubayy's two famous extra suras mentioned above. Ibn al-Nadim states at the end of his list in the Fihrist that Ubayy's codex contained 116 suras, and he reports that his source of information, al-Fadl b. Shāhba', saw a copy of an Ubayy codex in a village near Basra in the middle of the 3rd century A.H.

Western scholarship has not reached a consensus on what value this mass of allegedly pre-Uthmanic variants has for our knowledge of the history of the Kur'an. Confidence in the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed. Bergsässer (Gesch. des Qur., ii, 77-83, 92-0) still gave a fairly positive appraisal, but Jeffery (Materials, 16) wrote: "With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value", a view that came to be shared by O. Pretzl. Then after the project to prepare a critical edition of the Kur'an came to a halt, A. Fischer (Ist., xxviii [1948], 3) concluded that most of the allegedly pre-Uthmanic variants were later attempts by philologists to emend the "Uthmanic text. Recently J. Burton (Collection, 199-212, etc.) and J. Wansbrough (Qur'anic studies, 44, 5, 202, 7, etc.) have concluded that, not just some, but all of the accounts about Companion codices, metropolitan codices, and individual variants are fabricated by later Muslim jurists and philologists; but they reach opposite conclusions on the reason for this hoax. Burton argues that the Companion codices were invented in order to provide a setting for the "Uthman collection story, which in turn was invented to hide the fact that Muhammad himself had already collected and edited the final edition of the Kur'an (211 f., 239 f.). Wansbrough, on the other
hand, asserts that the collection stories and the accounts of the Companion codices arose in order to give ancient authority for a text that was not even compiled until the 3rd/9th century or later. He claims, without providing any convincing evidence, that the text of the Qur’ān was so fluid that the multiple accounts (e.g. of the punishment-stories) represent “variant traditions” of different metropolitan centres (Kīfa, Basra, Medina, etc.). Each writer has stressed a valid point, i.e., that Muhammad played a larger role in compiling and editing the Qur’ān than is admitted by the traditional accounts (Burton), and that as late as the 3rd/9th century a consonantal textus receptus ne varietur had still not been achieved (Wansbrough). But both writers seem to have overstated their cases. Neither has given convincing reasons for his own hypothesis, or for the shared assertion that the Muslim accounts should be rejected altogether.

6. Establishment of the canonical text and readings. Historically, it is better to speak of the Uthminic text and the oral tradition that accompanied it as evolving gradually over a period of about three centuries. The process by which this text came to prevail over its rivals and then became the foundation for several sets of accepted or “canonical” readings is far from clear, and the issues involved are complex. They include the difficult task of reconstructing the stages in the development of Qur’ānic orthography, the relationship between the written text and the oral tradition, and the tension between a critical evaluation of the historical evidence and the orthodoxy views on the Qur’ān.

From the beginning there were variations in the copies of the Qur’ānic text. Even the official copies of the Medina standard codex (al-imdām) sent to the main centres are said not to have been identical. Bergsträsser (Gesch. der Qur., iii, 6-19) lists and discusses a number of variations in the Medina, Damascus, Basra, Kīfa and Mecca copies of the Qur’ānic text, reported in the Muḫaḥāb of Abū ʿAmr al-Dabāʾī (d. 444/1052) and in other works. E.g. the Damascus copy is said to have had ʿaw-bi ʿimrūr and ʿaw-bi ʿbīd instead of ʿaw t-iāmar and ʿaw t-īdāb in iii, 184, and minhum instead of minhum in XL, 21; and the Kīfa copy is said to have had ʿaw y instead of ʿaw iini in LX, 35, and ʿaw an (which occurs in the Egyptian standard edition) instead of ʿaw an in XL, 26. These differences are of course minor, but they do involve changes in the consonantal forms. Such variations can best be explained as resulting from carelessness on the part of the scribes or lack of concern for exact uniformity among the authorities.

Deficiencies in the Arabic script used in the earliest copies of the Qur’ān led to further differences, in the oral tradition as well as the text tradition. During the first Islamic century, Arabic was written in a so-called scriptio defectiva in which only the consonants were given, and in several instances the same form was used for two or more consonants, e.g. ʾ and ʾl, ʾ and hā, and even very different phonemes such as r and s, and in some positions ʾ, h, ʾl, n, a, y. Since no diacritical points or vowel signs were included, the vocalisation was moreover left to the reader. This meant that even when there was agreement on the consonants, some verbs could be read as active or passive, some nouns could be read with different case endings, and some forms could be read as either nouns or verbs. The lists compiled by Jeffery in his Materials contain many examples of canonical and non-canonical variants based on forms that are indistinguishable in the scriptio defectiva of early Qur’ān manuscripts. In most cases the meaning is affected very little, as for example whether ḥālẓīr ʿalāhīr is read in II, 219 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and two of the Seven, ʿAmma and al-Kisāʾī—see below), or ḥālẓ, “mount” or ḥadāl, “tomb”, is read in XXI, 96 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and others). In some instances the alteration of a case ending or some other slight change in the vocalisation does significantly affect the meaning (see Kṛatt and Zwettler, Oral tradition, 12–21.).

During the Umayyad period (42-150/661-750) the Qur’ānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the Uthminic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. By early ‘Abbāsid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish Uthminic from non-Uthminic ones, or to recover with confidence the “original” Qur’ānic text. Some order was brought to this confusion by the establishment of a scriptio plena, a fully vowelled and pointed text. Muslim accounts of the introduction of this improved script are unreliable because they vary so much and are not consistent with palaeographical evidence (Blachère, Introd., 78-90). A popular view is that al-Ḥadījidāḥ was responsible for introducing vowel signs and dots for the consonants when he was governor of Ṭrāk (74-258/661-774). But Qur’ān manuscripts from the first three or four Islamic centuries show that a scriptio plena came to be accepted very slowly. Dots of different colours or in different positions (above, below, and beside the consonants) were used to indicate the three short vowels in some fairly early manuscripts, and in some, but not all, later ones. Strokes or dots for distinguishing consonants, as well as other signs for doubled consonants, pauses, and even the finer points of recitation, were introduced later (see Kṛatt, Gesch. der Qur., iii, 19-37 and N. Abbott, Rise of the North Arabic script, 17-44; on the difficulty of dating these early manuscripts, see A. Grohmann, The problem of dating early Qur’āns, in Isl., xxviii (1958), 213-32).

By the early 4th/10th century the previously unpointed Uthminic script was widely, although not universally, accepted. One result of the general use of the more precise script was that the differences in the texts became more pronounced, and this caused heated disputes as to which reading was the correct one. Another result was that it became possible for the authorities to enforce a greater measure of uniformity. The central figure in what became the most important Qur’ān reform since the time of Uthman was Abū Bakr b. Muṣjdīdī (d. 344/958). His aim was to restrict the number of acceptable readings, accept only those based on a fairly uniform consonantal text, renounce the attempts of some scholars to achieve absolute uniformity (something which he realised was impossible), and at least ameliorate if not bring to an end the rivalry among scholars, each of whom claimed to possess the one correct reading. With a stroke of genius he chose seven well-known Qur’ān teachers of the 2nd/8th century and declared that their readings all had divine authority, which the others lacked. He based this on the popular hadīth in which the Prophet says the Qur’ān was revealed to him in “seven alhirf” (al-Bukhārī, Fadilat al-Qur’ān, bāb 4; Muslim, Sabaʿi as-sūfīfī, trads. 270-4, etc.). The meaning of this expression in the hadīth is uncertain, the term alhirf being the plural of harf, “letter” (see Gesch. der Qur., i, 45-51, iii, 106 f.). Ibn Muṣjdīdī interpreted the ex-
pansion to mean 'seven readings'. His view, worked
out in a book called al-Kir'at al-sab'a, "The Seven
Readings", came at just the right time. It was adopt-
ed by the famous Ibn Mulkha and All b. Issa [q.v.] and
made official in the year 322/934 when the scholar
Ibn Miskam was forced to retract his view that the
consonantal text could be read in any manner that
was grammatically correct. The following year
another Kur'an scholar, Ibn Shamsah [q.v.], was
similarly condemned and forced to renounce his view
that it was permissible to use the readings of Ibn
Mas'ud and Ubayy.

Selecting several rival systems and declaring them
equally authoritative was of course the same method
used elsewhere by Muslims to avert endless disputes,
e.g. the four Sunni legal schools. But Ibn Mujahid's
system of seven readings was not completely arbi-
trary. Strong Kur'an traditions existed in Kufa,
Bagh, Medina and Damascus; and Mecca also had
its own tradition. Kufa stood out above the others
as the leading centre for Kur'an studies and the seat
of several rival traditions. So Ibn Mujahid selected
one reading each for Medina, Mecca, Basra and
Damascus—those of Na'fi' (d. 169/785), Ibn Kathir
(d. 129/773), Abu 'Amr (d. 129/770), and Ibn 'Amir
(d. 118/746), respectively—and three for Kufa, those
of 'Asim (d. 127/744), Hanza (d. 136/752), and al-
Kisht (d. 189/804). His attempt to limit the number
of canonical readings to seven was not acceptable to
all, and there was strong support for alternative
readings in most of the five cities. Eventually
scholars began to speak of the Ten readings, and even
the Fourteen. The most widely accepted of these, the
so-called "three after the seven" are the readings of
Abu Ja'far (d. 130/745), Ya'qub al-Hadrami (d. 205/
820) and Khalaf (mentioned above). Among the
"four after the ten", two deserve special notice, the
readings of the famous al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-
Amash (d. 142/759), of Basra and Kufa respectively.
For each of the Ten, two slightly different "versions" (sing. riwaya) came to be accepted according to
scholars of a generation or two later, e.g. the "ver-
sions" of Warsh (d. 197/812) and Khalaf (d. 220/835)
for the reading (d. 197/812) of 'Asim, those of Hafiz
(d. 196/810) and Shu'ba (d. 194/809) for 'Asim, and
those of Khalaf (mentioned above) and Khalilid
(d. 220/835) for Hanza. For complete lists and discus-
sions of this development, see Gesch. des Qor., Ill, 169-
90, and Elachrière, Introd., 116-33.

During the fifth-sixth century the exclusive author-
ity of the Seven began to prevail, and several works
were written on them, e.g. the K. al-Tafsir by al-
Dāni (d. 444/1053) (see Bibli), which replaced Ibn
Mujahid's work. The Seven came to be followed exclu-
sively in public readings, while the others contin-
ued to be used in Kur'an commentary and works
on phonology, grammar, etc. The Kur'an readers
(kharrat), who maintained a literary tradition,
continued at least a scholarly interest in the "three
after the seven", and further refinements were made
in all of the Ten readings. Two "ways" (furūd, sing.
furād) of reciting each "version" (riwaya) came to be
accepted, and then two more "ways" for each
furād, making altogether eighty "ways" of reciting ten
"readings". See Labib as-Said, The recited Koran,
Princeton 1975, including a complete list of the eighty,
127-30; on the readings, see xirāt, and on
methods of commentaries, see xirāt.
At the present, only two "versions" are in general
use, that of Hafiz al-'Asim, which for centuries has
been followed in most regions and in 1934 was given
a kind of official sanction by being adopted in the
Egyptian standard edition of the Kur'an, and that of
Warsh 'an Na'fi', followed in parts of Africa other
than Egypt. The latter was used by the Yemen-
ite scholar al-Shawkānī (d. 1450/1834), in the manu-
script of his Kur'an commentary (see Bibli), but
in the printed edition that of Na'fi' as-'Asim reading
was substituted. The Egyptian standard edition is
now regarded as the best of the Kur'an so far avail-
able, although it was based on oral tradition and late
khuṭ'āt literature and is not always consistent with
the oldest and best sources (see G. Bergsträsser,
Konferenz in Cairo, in Ifit., xx [1932], and O. Pretzel,
"Anmerkungen" to Ortagraphie und Punktionierung des
Korans, 1932).

The history of the text of the Kur'an is yet to be
written. One aspect of this task is a thorough analysis
of the relationship between the Seven or the Ten
and all the other readings, including the Companion
codices. Until such an analysis is undertaken it will
not be possible to give a final evaluation of the
sources. The variants found in the "four after the
ten" often involve a consonantal text that differs
from that of the majority among the Ten (i.e., the
"Uthmanic text"), and they sometimes have
completely different words—see, e.g., the references
to the readings of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī and al-A'mash
in Materials, especially in the listings for Ibn Mas'ud
and Ubayy. A rough survey of Jeffery's lists shows
that Ibn Mas'ud's variants agree fairly frequently
with those of two of the Seven from Kufa, Hanza
and al-Kisht, as is to be expected, and even more
frequently with those of al-Hasan and al-A'mash
(the latter was also a Kufan reader). Ubayy's variants
agree fairly frequently with those of two others
among the Seven, Ibn Kathir and Abu 'Amr (from
Mecca and Basra, respectively), and somewhat surpris-
ingly with those of Ibn 'Amir, the only reader from Damascus among the Fourteen. This important aspect of the
history of the Kur'an deserves a thorough scientific
study, preferably with the use of a computer. On the
question of the completeness and authenticity of the
Kur'an, see Bell-Watti, 50-6; for a clear statement
and defence of the modern orthodoxy position, Labib
as-Said, op. cit., 19-41.

4. Structure

a. The sūras and their names. The Kur'an consists of
114 sections of widely varying length and
form called sūras, which are divided into a number
of verses (dā'ī), ranging from three to 286 or 287.
As shown above, the terms sūra and dā'ī both occur
within the text of the Kur'an, but it is not certain
that either has its present meaning there, i.e., refers
to the present sūras and verses. Sūra is sometimes
translated "chapter", but this is misleading. The first
sūra, al-Fāitilha, "The Opening" [q.v.], is a prayer,
and the last two known as al-mu'awwāqūtulāti, the
two [sūras] of taking refuge", are charms or incanta-
tions. These three serve as a kind of introduction and
two-part conclusion to the Kur'an. Except for a few
other very short sūras near the end (e.g. CXX, CXI,
CXXII), very few treat a single topic (XII, on
the story of Joseph, and LXXI, on Noah, are notable
exceptions) or otherwise appear to be structured
entities (e.g. XXVI and LV). Most of the sūras
consist of several segments or pericopes that are
only loosely connected, often with little or no apparent
connection of thought. Some, such as the CXXI,
CXXII, CVIII) seem to be isolated fragments; and it is not
unlikely that some of the present sūras or parts of
them were once joined with others. For instance,
The Egyptian standard edition has had a considerable impact in establishing uniform names, as would normally be expected of a title. Most of these are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the sura that designates the single theme: Joseph (XII) and Noah (LXXI). Twelve are named for a key term that designates one of several themes or stories: Family of 'Imran (III), Women (IV), Jonah (X), Hadj (XI), Abraham (XIV), Mary (XXI), Pilgrimage (XXXII), Confederates (XXXIII), Sheba (XXXIV), and three listed above—Hajj, Cave, and Lukman. Seven are named for other striking terms that occur also in other suras: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Congregation (LXII), Divorce (LXV). In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Koran (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII, 46-8; Hijj, XV, 89; Bee, XVI, 68; Cave, XVIII, 9; Poets, XXIV, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spiders, XXIX, 41; Luqmaan, XXXI, 12; Troops, XXXIX, 71-7; Counsel, XLIII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28; Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21; Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also only occurrences). Only two of the narrative suras are named for a key term in the sura itself: The Cow (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). The two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Koran. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the sura. Two other suras: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Congregation (LXII), Divorce (LXV), Prohibition (LXVII), Veiling (LXXXIII), Spleiting (LXXXII), Rending (LXXIX), and Expanding (XCIV). The names of the other three were chosen to indicate the function of the sura, The Opening (I), or the main theme, Prophets (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). Only the two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Koran. On the names and abbreviations used for the suras, see Pare, Kommentar, 545-50.

b. The verses. Like the suras, the verses vary considerably in length and style. In some suras, which tend to be short and early, the verses are short and often choral. Sometimes there even seems to be an element of metre (LXXIV, 1-7, CXI, 1-10; cf. CXIV, CIIV), but this is caused by the repetition of certain grammatical forms and not by genuine rhyme or carry with them the rhythmic significance of either syllables or stresses. These short, rhythmic verses are often also difficult to translate or interpret because of their use of rare terms, symbolism, metaphor, and other “poetic” features. Most longer suras, and some short Medinan ones (e.g. LX, LXV), have longer, more prosaic verses, often with short statements or formulas attached to the ends in order to provide the rhyme. The one feature that all the verses have in common is that they begin with a key word or catchword that occurs elsewhere in the sura. In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Koran (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII, 46-8; Hijj, XV, 89; Bee, XVI, 68; Cave, XVIII, 9; Poets, XXIV, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spiders, XXIX, 41; Luqmaan, XXXI, 12; Troops, XXXIX, 71-7; Counsel, XLIII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28; Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21; Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also only occurrences). Only two of the narrative suras are named for a key term in the sura itself: the Cow (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). The two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Koran. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the sura. Two other suras: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Rending (LXXIX), and Expanding (XCIV).
common is that they end in an irregular rhyme or assonance (discussed in 6.6 below). Because of the rhyme the verses form the most natural divisions of the text, and yet we cannot be certain where some verses originally ended. Verse divisions are not indicated in the oldest manuscripts, and they vary somewhat when they are marked, possibly reflecting differences in the early oral tradition that go back to revisions made in the text during the Prophet's lifetime. There is clear evidence that the rhyme and the verse divisions were altered in some sūras, where passages originally in one rhyme were inserted into passages in another rhyme (see Bell-Watt, 80 ff.).

But the main reason for the variation in the verse divisions is that the rhyme or assonance is usually formed by certain grammatical forms and endings that occur frequently in Arabic, and thus within many of the longer verses.

Several different systems of verse division and numbering arose within the Muslim community. In his English translation M. Pickthall followed an Indian text tradition in which VI, 73 of the Egyptian standard text is divided into two verses, so that 72-165 become 72-166, XVIII, 78 is divided so that 79-110 become 20-111, and XXXVI, 34 and 35 are combined so that 36-83 become 33-82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see Ribl.) combined so that 36-83 become 35-82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see Ribl.) adopted the Egyptian verse divisions and numbering throughout.

Even where the verse divisions are the same, there are variations in the numbering in various Muslim editions of the Arabic text and translations, depending on whether or not the basmāla and the mysterious letters are counted. The Egyptian standard edition counts the basmāla (see below) as verse 1 only in the Fāṭihah, and is inconsistent in counting the mysterious letters, counting them as a separate verse (verse 1) in sūras II, III, VII, XIX, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVI and XI-XLVI, except that in XII 66 and 188 are counted as two verses. In all other cases the mysterious letters are regarded as the beginning of verse 1. Pickthall counted these letters as a separate verse in the same sūras, but not in sūras III, XII and XXXVI, where the edited text counts them with the following verse.

Some Indo-Pakistani Arabic texts and translations of the Kūr'ān, e.g., those of Sir Salahuddin, M. Zafarulla Khan and M. G. Farid, always count the basmāla as verse 1.

The Arabic text of the Kūr'ān most widely used in the West until recently is that of Gustav Flügel (1854), which does not follow any one Oriental text tradition. In an effort to establish an improved text, Flügel made many changes in the verse divisions, altering the numbering in slightly over half the sūras. The verse divisions and numbering are the same in the Egyptian and Flügel editions only in sūras XV, XLVII-XIX, I-III, IV, LI, LX-LXV, LXVIII-LXIX, LXVI, LXVII-XLXVI, XXVII, XXIX, C, CII-CIII and CVII-CXII. The Flügel text never counts the basmāla as a verse, and never counts the mysterious letters as a separate verse, but always as the beginning of verse 1. The English translations by R. Bell and A. J. Arberry follow the Flügel numbering. The Italian translation by A. Bausani and the English by A. H. Siddiqi follow the Egyptian numbering, as does Yusuf Ali, usually but not always. The German translation by R. Pareit and the French by R. Blachère give both numberings, Pareit giving the Egyptian first, Blachère the Flügel first. For a complete list of the differences in these two numbering systems and a table for converting the Flügel numbers to Egyptian, see Bell-Watt, 262 f.

The standard work on the various Islamic numbering systems is A. Spitsier, Die Zählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung, Munich 1915.

c. The basmāla. At the beginning of each sūra except IX stands the basmāla, the formula, basmī 'Ishāḥī 'I-rāḥmāndī 'I-rāhiṃ, which can be interpreted or translated at least three ways: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (e.g., Bell, Arberry); "In the name of God, the compassionate Merciful (One)" (cf. Blachère); or "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. Pareit). This formula occurs one other time in the Kūr'ān, in XXVII, 30, as the opening of Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba. The elements of the basmāla also occur separately: basmī 'Ishāh (without the ašāf in basmī, as in the basmāla) occurs once, in XI, 41, and the twin attributes, al-rāḥmān al-rāhiṃ, occur together four more times, in I, 3, II, 165, XLI, 2 and LIX, 22. It may be significant that whenever these attributes appear together, including in I, 1 and XXVII, 30, al-rāḥmān always serves as a rhymeword. Al-rāḥmān, always with the definite article, occurs within the text 57 times altogether—i.e. counting 1, 1, but not the other occurrences of the basmāla at the head of the sūra. Al-rāhiṃ occurs 33 times with the definite article, and frequently without. The fact that the last two terms of the basmāla occur together elsewhere in the Kūr'ān following the same pattern as many other pairs of divine attributes (see 6.6 below) suggests that the first of these interpretations given above is the best (cf. Jomier, Le nom divin "al-rāḥmān" dans le Coran [see Bibl.]).

On the origin of the basmāla and its placement at the head of the sūras there is difference of opinion. Some Muslims believe that this formula was part of the revelation and was included at the head of the sūras from the beginning. Textual evidence within the Kūr'ān, supported by other early historical evidence, suggests that this is not the case. "Allah" in the basmāla is clearly the preferred name for God, and al-rāḥmān and al-rāhiṃ, according to their Kūr'ānic usage, are either names or epithets for God. Yet these names are conspicuously absent in earlier parts of the Kūr'ān, within the sūras.

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use in Arabic as a proper name for God before and during the time of Muhammad, see Gesch. des Qor., 1, 172 f.; Horovitz, Jewish proper names, 57-9; Foreign vocab., 140 f.; and BASMALA.

The evidence seems to indicate that the basmala came into use as a result of this controversy over divine names, probably a short time after the revelation of XVII, 110. It is possible that the basmala was formed from existing Koranic expressions, i.e. bismi 'llah in XI, al and al-rahmân al-rahîm in what is now L, 3; but it seems much more likely that the Fâtiha and all Koranic occurrences of these twin attributes date from after XVII, 110. It also seems likely that the basmala was not originally part of the Fâtiha; note that the Korân scholars of Medina, Bağra, and Syria did not count it as a verse in the Fâtiha, and that this sûra without the basmala is often referred to as al-basm, which may have been its original title [see BASMALA]. As soon as the basmala came into use, Muhammad no doubt used it to introduce each recitation of a portion of the Korân. Since many sūras begin with the basmala, one must back up this period (see 5.4 below), Muhammad must have recited the basmala before many segments that are now in the middle of the sūras. Only when the sūras reached their final, written form, in some cases after Muhammad’s death, was the basmala placed at the beginning of each sûra as we have it today.

d. The mysterious letters. At the beginning of 29 sūras just after the basmala stands a letter or group of letters called in Arabic jamâib al-sutrar, “the openers of the sūras”; 43 al-basm, “the beginnings of the sūras”; al-basm al-mubâhâsâl, “the disconnected letters”, etc., but generally referred to in European languages as “the mysterious letters”. They are recited as letters of the alphabet, and for 14 centuries they have intrigued and baffled Muslim scholars. Some saw them as abbreviations, e.g. alr for al-rahmân, alm for al-rahîm, hmr for al-rahîmin, s for sîdî yâ muhammad, zr for yâ sayyid al-muâlînîn, etc. Kirmia and others relate from Ibn ‘Abbâs the view that alr, hmr, and s r, together stand for al-rahmân (lit. R. M., ii, 9). Others concluded that the letters are not abbreviations, but offered a variety of alternative explanations, that they are sounds meant to arouse the attention of the Prophet or to captivate his audience so they would be more attentive, mystical signs with symbolic meaning based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters, (written) signs of separation (fâwîdî) between the sūras, simply Arabic letters attesting that the revelation is in the familiar language of the people, etc. Al-Suyûtî (ibid., 10) mentions, for instance, a tradition related by Ibn Isâk on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbâs in which a group of Jews tell Muhammad that the numerical value of the letters would indicate the number of years his community would last. At first they heard him recite alm (1 + 30 + 40 = 71), and said it would last 71 years. Then they heard alm (1 + 30 + 40 + 60) suggesting 131 years, then alr (1 + 30 + 200) or 231 years, and then alm or 271 years. In the end they concluded that the matter was ambiguous. Al-Suyûtî discusses these and many other possibilities (ibid., 5-13) and concludes that the fâwîdî are simply mysterious letters or symbols known fully only to God. Later Muslim scholars have tended to accept this view, although the abbreviation theory has remained popular. Al-Munhy, for instance, has put forward new variations of medioeval suggestions, e.g. Hashim Amir Ali (see Bibl.) argues that all of the groups of letters, not just some of them, are vocatives addressed to the Prophet, and “All Nâṣub al-Tâhir (see Bibl.) proposes that the numerical value of the letters represents the number of verses in the “original” (in most cases, Meccan) versions of the sūras or groups of sūras concerned. Citing the same examples as al-Suyûtî (but not always the same values), al-Tâhir says, for instance, that Sūra VII, which has 50 verses and begins with alm (1 + 30 + 40 + 30 + 10), originally consisted of only the first 162 verses. In other cases he has to combine various groups of sūras in order to obtain the required number of verses. Thus, adding the 112 verses of XII and the “120 Meccan verses” of XI gives him 231, the value of the letters alr which occur at the beginning of these two sūras (and also X, XIV, and XV, which he does not mention). Sūra XIII, with alm (1 + 30 + 40 + 200 = 271), he argues has 40 Meccan verse which when added to the 231 of XI and XII gives the required 271. In response, it is sufficient to note that no sûra with the letters now has the same number of verses as the value of the letters, and in no case does al-Tâhir’s suggested number of original or “original” verses correspond with any of the Egyptian standard editions, much less a critical view of the chronology of the sūras involved. This theory is a prime example of the way arbitrary speculation has been applied to these letters.

A number of Western scholars have taken up the challenge to explain these letters since the publication of Th. Noldeke’s Geschichte des Qorân in 1860. Noldeke suggested (215 f.) that they are the initials or monograms of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Korân, e.g. abr for al-Zubayr, alm for al-Mughîrah and hmr for ‘Abd al-Rajîmân. These monograms, he said, got into the text by accident when later Muslims no longer knew their meaning. This view was widely accepted for a while in Europe and was taken up in “late Meccan and early Medinan sūras” when Muhammad was “drawing near to Judaism”, and in some cases the beginning verses contain an allusion to the letters (i.e. “these are the signs (fâwîdî) of the Book”). He concluded that the letters are Cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the sūras before which they stand. Loth’s arguments were sufficient to cause Noldeke to abandon his earlier view and conclude that the letters are part of the revelation, having however no special meaning other than as mystical allusions to the heavenly Book (Orientalische Skizzen, 1892, 50 f., also stated in Enzy. Brit., 9th ed., xvi, 597 f.). F. Schwally, in a perceptive survey of the literature up to 1910 (Gesch. des Qor., i, 68-78), wisely rejected Loth’s abbreviation suggestions as being too arbitrary (73), although recommending him on his main argument (77). Schwally could not, however, accept Noldeke’s later view, calling it “doubtful” and insisting that “the symbols are still somehow connected with the redaction of the sūras” (76). Leaving open the
posibility that the letters are part of the revelatory
Schwally made the following important statement: 
"If Muhammad was indeed the originator of the
ciphered sūras. This would indeed contradict
earlier prevailing views, but would agree with our
earlier statements that the Prophet relied on secret
oracles, or in any case on the visions of the
mystics, who dictated the revelation, that
already his object was to produce a special book of
revelation, and that the manner in which pieces from
various periods but of similar content are
strung together in certain sūras produces the
impression that this editing originates from the Prophet,
himself" (77). Schwally was thus a harbinger of the
work of Bell in the 1930s.

In the meanwhile, two more attempts were made
to follow up on Loth's version of the abbreviation
theory. In 1921 Hans Bauer (Amordnng der Suren)
provided statistical evidence for Schwally's first
point, that the letters are connected with the redac
tion of the sūras, but failed to follow up on the
second. Instead, he offered an alternative
hypothesis, that the opening formula of the
sūras are said to be old abbreviations: ys for yā, "be he ruler", in
XXXVI, 20; f for ḥaqqnāt, "chargers", in XXXVIII,
31; b for karbīnū, "he who is at his side", in L, 23
and 27, etc. For the groups of sūras with the same
letters he sought some kind of "inner or outer connection
among the sūras", and suggested that ḥ(m) in XXVII-
VIII stood for fār sīnīn, "Mount Sinai", and Moses,
and that ḥ(m) stood for al-mātkhūn (see ibd above).
Independently E. Goossens proposed a similar view
in a 1923 folio article (see Bibl), that the letters are abbreviations for
discarded sura titles: ḥ(m) for ḥurūn, or for mīr, "the fish", of ḥum, one of Jonah's
titles, etc. The alīr, sūra, now named after individual
messengers, he said once formed a sura-group called
al-rūsl, "the messengers", and the ḥ(m) for√r., formed a
similar group called al-najālīl, "the parables". His
most innovative suggestion was that some letters are
remnants of titles that were discarded or abbreviated
when some sūras were rearranged, e.g. ẓ (XXVI)
is the remnant of al-ẓār or al-ṣārūn (two names for Elias
in XXXVII, 173, 170), the title of an earlier
sūra consisting of XXVII + XXVIII, 12-72, and
for the title of what is now XXVIII, the title of an
earlier sūra consisting of XXVIII, 1-11 +
XXVIII. Bauer and Goossens inspired another
abbreviation theory, that of Morris Scale
(see Bibl) who suggested that the letters served as mnemonics of
the contents of the sūras involved. Scale accepted
Bauer's Mount Sinai and Moses for ẓ(m) and Goossens'
al-rūsl for ḥ(m), but preferred al-mānīn, "admonition",
for alīn and ḥum (Jonah) for ẓs. The diversity of
these proposals and the fact that several alternative
suggestions are often equally plausible demonstrate
the futility of this approach, which also fails to
respond to some of the textual evidence. In the end,
what Schwally said of Loth's abbreviation suggestions
applies also to those of Bauer, Goossens, and Scale.

James A. Bellamy in a 1973 JAOS article (see
Bibl) has proposed an abbreviation theory that
attempts to avoid the arbitrariness of the others.
Starting with the views recorded by the classical
commentators that alr, alr, aml, bmr, and n (letters that
occur at the beginning of all but ten of the
affected sūras) are abbreviations for al-rāfin or
al-rāfin or both. Bellamy proposes that these letters
stand for these terms in the bmsl, and that all the
other mysterious letters are also abbreviations for
this formula. In order to accomplish this he suggests
a number of emendations, so that ẓ and b > ba, g,
and ẓ > m, ẓ > b, and ẓ > bs or s. Thus with the
change of only one letter, ẓ(m), b(m), ḥ(m), and ḥ,
become bsm, bas, bah, bs, alm, m, and m, all
suitable abbreviations for the bmsl. This leaves
only ḥ(m) and ḭ(m) which with two and four
changes respectively become ḥ(m) and ḥ(m).
Bellamy suggests that when the bmsl was first
introduced (in the "middle and late Meccan" sūras) it
was abbreviated variously by the Prophet's scribes
at the beginning of these sūras, and that the later
compilers, failing to recognise these abbreviations,
gave them a permanent place in the text by writing the
bmsl out in full just before them. Most of
Bellamy's suggested emendations are indeed plausible,
but his theory as a whole is not consistent with
some of the textual evidence (e.g. the letters are
almost certainly not Meccan, but Medinan), does not
answer some crucial questions (e.g. the relationship
of the letters to their immediate contexts), and is
based on several very unlikely assumptions (e.g. that
a new formula was introduced ad hoc in one
particular way by unknown scribes in Mecca who died without
revealing their meaning, that the well-known scribes
in Medina knew nothing about the abbreviations,
etc.).
have been distinguished as an Arabic Kur'ân.

42 (52) hâmâ
So reveals to thee and to those before thee, God, the Almighty

43 (37) lâm
By the clear Book. Behold, We have made it an Arabic Kur'ân

44 (55) lâm
By the clear Book. We have sent it down in a blessed night

45 (47) lâm
The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty

46 (42) bûn
The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty

30 (52) bûn
By the glorious Kur'ân

65 (62) n
By the Pen and what they inscribe

Two points, stressed by Schwally, Bauer, Loth and others but largely disregarded by all the abbreviation theories, stand out in this list: the mysterious letters influenced the final arrangement of the Kur'ân, and they are closely related to the introductory formulas and to the Book. Groups of sûras with the same letters but with widely varying lengths have been kept together even though this violates the principle of arranging the sûras according to length. This suggests that separate collections of sûras with the same letters existed at the time of the compilation of the Kur'ân and that the redactors were hesitant to break them up. The most likely reason for this hesitancy is that they regarded the letters as part of the revelation, and the groups of sûras as going back to the Prophet. In nearly every case the letters are followed immediately by a reference to some form of the revelation, usually a distinctive revelation formula or oath that mentions the Book or the Kur'ân.

In III this formula occurs in verse 2, which Schwally (Gesch. des Qor., III, 75) says was probably the original beginning of the sûra. In XIX a Book formula, “Mention in the Book Mary (Abraham, etc.)”, introduces five other accounts (verses 16, 41, 57, etc.), but what appears to be an older formula is retained at the beginning of the first (verse 2). The close connection between the mysterious letters and the Book is proved by the fact that, although many sûras begin with formulas or oaths, only one other sûra opens with the same type of revelation formula, namely, XXXIX, which belongs with the hû sûras. It begins exactly the same as the three preceding them (XL, XLV and XLVI), it shares the same themes, and it is placed with them despite its length (see Bauer, Table II).

Usayy and others are in fact said to have read ism at the beginning of this sûra (Materials, 160). Revelation is mentioned in a few other sûra introductions, but they are different, e.g. XVIII and XXV begin with praise formulas (al-hamdû l li‘âdî and tabâhâna, XVII with a ma-mâ addâhkû formula (see 72 below) and LV mentions al-kur'ân in verse 2, but is in a completely different style. There is also some correlation between specific formulas and groups of sûras with the same mysterious letters, e.g. the ism sûras have the same formula, three of the lâm sûras have the same formula, and four with unique letters (Î, Ï, Ð, and Î) begin with oaths.

Whether or not Loth is correct in saying that several of the introductory formulas contain allusions to the mysterious letters, there is other evidence that these letters are part of the revelation and were recited as separate letters from the beginning. For one thing, most of the groups of letters when recited as letters of the alphabet, introduce the rhyme of their respective sûras. The 17 sûras with groups of letters ending in ism, lâm, or Ïm (i.e. six with Ïl lâm Ïm, six with Ïh lâm Ïm, two with Ïl lâm Ïm, and one each with Ïl Ïm, Ïl Ïm, and Ïm) all have this rhyme, with one partial exception. Sûra XX, on the other hand, with Ïl Ïh, has the Ïh rhyme (verses 1-24); XXXVIII, with Ïlô, has the rhyme Ïh, Ïh, etc.; XL, with Ïl lâm râh, has Ïr, Ïlô in verses 1-5 and XLII, with Ïl lâm râh, and XLII, with Ïh lâm Ïm, Ïyân sin hâf, both have Ïm in verses 1-5, and then change to Ïb, Ïr and Ïl, Ïr, respectively. The correspondence is not exact, and there are exceptions, but this close relationship between the letters and the rhyme or assonance of the sûras must be more than a coincidence.

Another striking fact that must be more than coincidental is that the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic, while no form occurs for more than one letter. Thus we have Ïb, Ïh, Ïy, Ïl; Ïh, Ïh, Ïb; Ïh, Ïh; Ïb, Ïlô; Ïb, Ïh, Ïlô; and Ïb, Ïh, Ïlô, Ïh, Ïh, Ïlô—along with each of the forms that represent only one letter, Ï, Î, Ï, Ï, Ï, and Ï (note that in Kûfic Arabic Ï was written like Ï and Ï, and Ï and Ï were written like Ï, except that letters were not attached to the ends of Ï, Ï, and Ïh). The most reasonable explanation of the fact that these 14 letters, and no others, occur is that they were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet. If this is so, then the statements in the introductory formulas saying that the revelation was being sent down as a “clear Book” (hâlîb mubîn) in Arabic take on new significance; other passages (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195) speak of the revelation being in “plain Arabic speech” (lâmîn ‘arabî mubîn). The fact that the literature on variant readings does not record differences in the way the 14 consonantal forms were recited seems to indicate that there was a strong oral tradition supporting the mysterious letters.

A number of questions still remain, but the evidence seems to support Loth, the later Nöldeke, Schwally, Bell, and Alan Jones (see Bibl.) in regarding the mysterious letters as part of the revelation. Moreover, Bell seems to have been correct in seeing the letters and the introductory formulas as part of the early Median revisions adapting the sûras for inclusion in the written scripture Muhammad was preparing. It is not unlikely that the sûras with the letters are the ones Muhammad prepared for the Book. The letters are significant for understanding the history of the text, and the chronology of the text is important for understanding the letters.

5. CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEXT

The Kur'ân responds constantly and often explicitly to Muhammad's historical situation, giving encouragement in times of persecution, answering questions from his followers and opponents, commenting on current events, etc. Major doctrines and regulations for the Muslim community, which are never stated systematically in the Kur'ân, are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear. There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to keep the approximate dates of historical events, both internal and external, in mind when reading the seventeenth sura. Major doctrines and regulations are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear. There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to keep the approximate dates of historical events, both internal and external, in mind when reading the seventh sura.
Western scholars, who have not however been able to reach a consensus on a dating system, or even on the possibility of establishing one.

a. Historical references and allusions in the Qur'an. The Qur'an mentions specifically or alludes to a number of historical events in the life of Muhammad and his contemporaries, but it gives no dates or other indications as to exactly when these events occurred. In most cases, the specific occasions alluded to and the dates of the passages involved cannot be determined. This is especially true for the period before the Hijira in 622, for which there are only a few references to dateable historical events, and even if the events could be identified with certainty this would be of little help in dating the passages that refer to them, e.g. XXX, 2-5, mentions a military defeat of the Byzantines, presumably their loss of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614 (cf. also CV, believed to refer to a military expedition against Mecca in the middle years of the 6th century). There are many allusions to Muhammad's personal situation in Mecca (e.g. the persecution he suffered, accusations made by his opponents, his early life and orphanhood) and to specific practices of the Meccans, but the passages that contain these allusions cannot be dated with any precision. It is only in the Medinan period that we have a number of passages that can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of references or allusions to specific historical events that can be dated from other sources. For instance, the battle of Badr (spring 624) and the battle of Hunayn (early 630) are mentioned by name in III, 123, and IX, 25, respectively. The change of the hijri [i.e. direction one faces when performing the ritual prayer] from Jerusalem to Mecca in late 623 or early 624 is discussed in II, 152-50. The adoption of the ancient pilgrimage rituals about the time of the battle of Badr is discussed in II, 158, 198, V, 95 ff., etc., where the Ka'ba, al-Safa and al-Marwa (two holy places in Mecca), Mount Arafat, and al-Masjid al-Haram (the sanctuary in Mezahifla) are all mentioned by name. Muhammad's adopted son Usayd (b. Haricha), is mentioned by name in XXXIII, 121, in connection with an episode that occurred in the spring of 627. And many other events are alluded to, although not by name: the battle of Uhud (625) in III, 153-74; the expedition of the Jewish tribe of al-Nadir (625) in LXIX, 2-3; the Day of the Trench (627) in XXXIII, 7-9; the expedition to Tabuk (630) in IX, 29-35, etc. All Qur'anic dating systems, Muslim and non-Muslim, take these historical references and allusions in Medinan contexts as their starting-point.

b. Traditional Muslim dating. During the early Islamic centuries a number of passages in the Qur'an came to be connected with stories that arose in the attempts to reconstruct the life of the Prophet, especially for the period in Mecca before the Hijira: LIII, 1-18, and LXXIV, 17-20, came to be interpreted as Muhammad's call visions; while XCIV came to be associated with a story about the miraculous opening of his breast and purification of his heart, XCVI and LXXIV with his call to public prophethood, XVII, 1, with his Night Journey, etc. (see, e.g., al-Jahili and al-Zamakhshari, ad loc.; for the European literature, Faret, Kommentar, 460 f., 573-75, 493 and 295 f.). Other passages came to be connected with certain events in the life of the Muslim community: XIX is said to have been recited to the Negus of Abyssinia by Muhammad's followers who were forced to emigrate from Mecca to escape persecution around 615; and a written copy of XX is said to have been involved in the conversion of 'Umar at about the same time. Early Qur'an scholars also attempted to identify and explain vague allusions in the Qur'an, e.g. they explained that the blind man alluded to in LXXV was a certain 'Abd Allah b. Umm Makdim, and that the man involved in a divorce dispute in LVIII was Aws b. al-Simiti. And episodes related to IX, 40, XXIV, 12-29, XXXIII, 17-40, LXVII, 3-5, CXI, 1-5, and many others were similarly explained. From these stories and explanations there arose a separate genre of Islamic literature called as-sab' al-mustil, "the occasions of the revelation", the prime example being a work of the same title by al-Wahidi (d. 468/1075-6). This literature does not attempt to provide a complete system for dating the various parts of the Qur'an, and only a small proportion of the text is treated. Also, there are a number of inconsistencies, e.g. whether XCVI or LXXIV was the "first revelation" (see Ibani, i, 81 f.). Some of the stories and other explanations found in this literature and in the Qur'an commentaries are obviously legendary, and in some cases the process by which these accounts came to be attached to Qur'anic passages can be reconstructed (see, e.g., II, Birkeland, The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast, Oslo 1935, and The Legend of the Prophet, Oslo 1936, 38-53). Others probably have some historical validity, but there is often good reason to suspect elaborate embellishment. These accounts—historical, semi-historical, and legendary—came to be accepted, often without discrimination, as the basis for the traditional Muslim dating of the Qur'an. The adoption of the Qur'an as a primary source for Islamic law played an important role in the establishment of a chronological order for the text. Rather than attempting to explain away the inconsistencies in passages giving regulations for the Muslim community, Qur'an scholars and jurists came to acknowledge the differences, while arguing that the latest verse on any subject "abrogated" all earlier verses that contradicted it. A classic example involves the Qur'anic teaching or regulation on drinking wine, where V, 90, which has a strong statement against the practice, came to be interpreted as a prohibition, abrogating II, 219, and IV, 43, which appear to allow it. This theory or doctrine of abrogation (nasib) has only limited support in the Qur'an itself, since the verses on which it is based, especially II, 216, involve passages that are no longer in the Qur'an. But a number of treatises on the subject influenced the development of the traditional dating of the Qur'an by establishing a widespread belief in the chronological order of certain groups of isolated verses. Eventually, long lists of "abrogating and abrogated [verses]" (al-nasabi wa-la-nasabi) were drawn up, as jurists and others, in efforts to support their own views, sought out all possible inconsistencies and claimed that the "earlier" verses involved had been abrogated. See NASEEB and TAFAH; IBAN, ii, 20-7; Bell-Watt, 86-9; Burton, Collection, 46-76.

The lack of dating parts of the Qur'an and determining its chronological order was further complicated by the assumption that the present sūras were the original units of revelation, i.e. that except for a few verses in some sūras, each sūra was revealed all at once or during a short period of time before the next sūra was begun. This assumption led to the practice of designating each sūra as "Meccan" or "Medinan" (i.e. revealed before or after the Hijira) and to attempts to determine the exact chronological order of all the sūras as wholes—rather than dealing with
...Med.), XXXV, XIX (58, 71 Med.), XX (130 f. Med.), UV (54-6 Med.), XXXVIII, VII (163-70 f., 20 Med.), LXXIV, I, CXI, LXXXI, ...accrued, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Kur'an (1822-1824), who indicated in the heading to each sura the sura revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sura of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Medinan; it has 32 verses; it was revealed after Suras of Noah." ...the chronological order attributed to Ibn 'Abbas (d. ca. 660) was widely accepted, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Kur'an (1822-1824), who indicated in the heading to each sura the sura revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sura of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Medinan; it has 32 verses; it was revealed after Suras of Noah." The Egyptian standard edition gives the following chronological order of the suras, with the verses said to date from a different period given in parentheses: XLI, XLI (23-5 Med.), XIX (58-6 Med.), XXXVIII, VII (163-70 f., 20 Med.), LXXIV, I, CXI, LXXXI, ...the language is said to be full of "poetic imagery and power". Assuming a progressive deterioration of style, Well placed in the First Period the suras he felt have the most exalted poetic style, along with others that share the same themes and general style. The chronological order of the suras of the First Period according to the three versions is as follows: Well: 96, 74, 73, 106, 111, 53, 51, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 61, 78, 79, 82, 84, 36, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99. Nödeke: 96, 74, 71, 106, 101, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 85, 96, 86, 88, 97, 95, 90, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 88, 89, 82, 75, 83, 59, 51, 59, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1. Blachère: 96-98, 74-76, 105, 93, 94, 103, 91, 107, 86, 95, 99, 101, 100, 92, 91, 87, 84, 101, 78, 89, 78, 55, 59, 57, 77, 78, 35, 53, 97, 53, 102, 96-98, 73, 70, 76, 83, 74. The suras of the Second or Middle Meccan Period are longer and more "formalistic", but still with "poetic" qualities. In style they are felt to form a transition between the suras of the First and Third Periods. The signs of God in nature and the divine attributes such as mercy (raḥmah) are emphasized, and God is often called the Merciful One (al-raḥmān). There are vivid descriptions of paradise and the hereafter, and here too the punishment-stories are introduced. The suras of the Second Period are:...
Nöldeke and Blachère: (51), 54, (68), 37, 71, 75, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 73, 67, 23, 61, 25, 77, 27, 18.

The sūras of the Third or Late Meccan Period are even longer and "more prosaic", and Weil says the "poetic passage" has "most altogether". The revelation often takes the form of sermons or speeches and the prophet stories and punishment-stories are stated in more and more detail. Nöldeke emphasises changes in vocabulary, but similarity of form, in Late Meccan and Medinan sūras. The sūras of the Third Period are:

Weil: 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 21, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13, 64.
Nöldeke and Blachère: 32, 47, 45, 17, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 46, 28, 29, 39, 34, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 5, 13.

The Medinan sūras and their chronological order are determined by the subject matter of these revelations that reflect Muhammad's growing political power and the general development of events in Medina after the Hijra. New themes and key terms are said to help distinguish these sūras from certain Late Meccan ones. The Medinan sūras are:

Weil: 2, 98, 62, 63, 25, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 59, 24, 93, 33, 48, 170, 67, 50, 58, 49, 69, 9, 5.
Nöldeke and Blachère: 2, 68, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 55, 59, 33, 65, 24, 38, 28, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Here we see a combination of excessive dependence on traditional Muslim dating and on matters of form and style, e.g. in Weil's First Period the first 34 sūras, with just a few exceptions, are in almost exactly the same order as in the traditional Muslim dating (cf. the Egyptian list above). Then well closed this period with eleven sūras that have the same "poetic style", but are dated considerably later by Muslims (note the exact order of LX-XLXXXIV). Nöldeke then accepted all of Weil's First Period sūras, and added three more (I, LI, LV), and Blachère accepted all of Nöldeke's except for two (LI, LXVIII), and added one (LXVI)—these differences involve mainly the dividing points between the periods. Also, the traditional stories involving certain sūras—Muhammad's call (XCVI, LXXIV), an incident involving Muhammad's uncle, 'Abd al-Ui'zāz (CXI), the emigration to Abyssinia (XIX, XX), etc.—seem to have been accepted as historical. But the Tradition, especially on the Meccan period, is not this trustworthy. Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère have accepted the three assumptions of the traditional Muslim dating stated above; their four-period system is essentially little more than a European variation of the traditional dating. On the question of style, it is true that there were changes through the years; but there is no reason to assume that all sūras with the same style belong to the same period. The Four-Period School have not demonstrated the validity of the historical framework or the development of ideas and key terms assumed by their system, which has been widely accepted in the West with much more confidence than is justified. It should be emphasised, however, that this system is often used by others in a rigid way not intended by its founders (Weil and Nöldeke), e.g. giving the exact chronological order of several verses, or the exact number of occurrences of a term in each period. Schwally in particular emphasised that the order proposed by Nöldeke was only approximate.

Three other dating systems were proposed by Europeans within a span of ten years around the turn of the 20th century. That of H. Grimm, presented in his Muḥammad (1892-5), ii, 25 ff., was basically a variation of Nöldeke's, with more emphasis on stages in the development of doctrinal themes. Grimm's analysis of groups of ideas that occur together in the Kur'ān was useful, but his view of the overall sequence of ideas (monotheism, resurrection, the Last Day, etc.) was not widely accepted, and has since been largely abandoned. In 1896, Sir William Muir published his The Qur'an: its composition and teaching (1896), 43-7, offered an arrangement of the sūras in six periods (five Meccan and one Medinan). His most significant and innovative suggestion was that the first period in the composition of the Kur'ān comprised eighteen short sūras, which he called "chapsodies", dating from before Muhammad's call: CIII, C, XCI, XCI, CVI, I, CI, XCV, CII, CIV, LXXXII, XCI, CV, LXXXIX, XC, XCI, XCVII, XCVI and XCVIII. Muir pointed out that none of these is in the form of a message from a deity. His second period has four sūras (XCVI, CXIII, LXXIV, CXI) treating "the opening of Muhammad's ministry", presumably ca. 610. The other dividing points are the beginning of Muhammad's public ministry (ca. 613), the Abyssinian emigration (ca. 615), the Year of Sores (ca. 619), and the Hījra. Muir is not doubt certain in dating some sūras before XCVI and LXXIV, but I and others he lists are almost certainly later. In general, the criticisms stated above of the four-period system apply also to Muir's. In 1902 H. Hirschfeld, in his New researches (see Bibli.), proposed a chronological arrangement of the Kur'ān based on the character or function of individual passages. After the "first proclamation", XCVI, 1-3, Hirschfeld's arrangement also has six periods, in which the revelations are classified as "confirmatory" (LXXCVII, LXXXI, 1-33, CXII, LXIX, 40-52, etc.), "declaratory" (LXXI, LXXXI, LXXIV, etc.), "narrative" (LXXXVIII, 34-52, LI, LXVI, 3-220, Lv, etc.), "descriptive" (LXXIX, 37, 45, 53), etc., "legislative" (VI, 7-23, CXII, 9-11, XV, 65), etc., and Medinan, grouped together but discussed separately as they essay to the battle of Badr, political speeches, revelations on Muhammad's domestic affairs, and preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This system has a number of obvious flaws, but Hirschfeld's work was valuable for its preliminary analysis of Kur'ānī literary types and its recognition of the fact that in dating parts of the Kur'ān we must deal with individual pericopes rather than entire sūras.

This insight became a guiding principle in the most elaborate attempt so far to identify and date the original units of revelation, Richard Bell's The Qur'ān, translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the suras, 2 vols. (1937-9). Over a decade earlier he became convinced that Nöldeke's dating was inadequate (tibid., 689 f.). Bell's verse by verse analysis of the entire Kur'ān led him to conclude that the sūras are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional Muslim and European dating, that the revelations underwent considerable revision, including expansion, replacement of older passages with new material, changes in the rhyme, etc., that this revision involved written documents and was done during Muhammad's lifetime under his supervision, and that the material for most of the sūras was compiled, but not put into its final form, under Muhammad's supervision. Bell did not present a rigid dating system, but concluded "provocatively" (vi.f.) that the composition of the Kur'ān fell into three main periods: an early one from which only some sign-passages and exhortations to worship God survive; a Kur'ān period", covering the latter part of the Meccan period and the first two or three...
corporated into the liturgical and in Medina
earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and
CIX and CXI he gave no opinion. He regarded as
1 seem to be Medinan; I. XCIV, C
other short suras, some of which he regarded as
XCV-XCVI, XCIX. CIV and CXIII, all of which are
suras as being probably completely Meccan; L, LIU,
"Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medimian". A
survey of Bell's provisional dating of the individual passages shows that he regarded fewer than twenty
suras as being probably completely Meccan: L, LII,
LV, LXI, LXXIV, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII-LXXIX, LCI-XCI, LXV, LXCVI, LXCVI, LXCV,
CIV and CXI, all of which are said to have material from different dates. Of the other short
suras, some of which he regarded as possible unities, Bell said CII, CX, CXII and CXV-CVIII
seem to be Medimian; I, XCV, CII and CVI-CVIII
could be either Meccan or Medinan; and on C, CI,
CIX and CXI he gave no opinion. He regarded as
completely Medinan the same 24 suras said to be
Medinan by Nnldesek, but saw them as having significant amounts of material from several different
dates, thus making it impossible to put the suras as
wholes in chronological order. This leaves exactly half of the suras (57) which Bell regarded as having
significant amounts of material from both before and
after the Hijra: 33 said to be mostly Meccan, with
Meccan revisions and additions—VI, VII, XII,
XII, XIV, XV, XVII, XX, XXIII, XXXIV, XXXIV,
XXXV, XXXVI-XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL, XLII, LV,
LVII, LXVIII, LXX-LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXX,
LXXIII, LXXVII, XXIV and XX; and 24 said to be mostly Medinan, with some Meccan
passages, or based on Meccan material—X, XI, XIV,
XVI, XIX, XX, XXII, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXV,
XXXVII, XL, XLII-XLI, XLIV, XLV, LX, LXXVIII,
LXXIX, LXXX and LXCVII. He thus distinguished between dates of original revelation (or earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and composition during Muhammad's lifetime. The fact
that he indicated breaks in the text and identified older components, e.g. Meccan passages in suras that
were completed in Medina, does not mean he failed to
recognise that some longer suras (e.g. XII, XIX,
XXVI) and many shorter ones (e.g. LXXVII, CXI) are
carefully composed, unified works in their final
form.
Bell's analysis of the Kur'an has often been mis-
understood or ignored by later writers, partly because
the extensive notes to his translation, giving the
arguments for his reconstructions, were never
published. Nor has any thorough study and critique
published. Nor has any thorough study and critique
of Bell's work yet appeared. The review articles by
J. E. Merill and W. M. Watt (see Bibli.) and Watt's
remarks in Bell-Watt (113 f., 101-7, 137-44, etc.) are
useful introductions. Watt has expressed reservations
about Bell's hypothesis on the disjointedness of the
Kur'an. Bell suggested that when some passages were
being revised Muhammad instructed the scribes to
write the new versions on the backs of the sheets on
which the verses being replaced were written, and
that the later editors, not wanting to discard
any of the revelation, inserted the old verses just
before or after the new ones. E.g. II, 185, was written
on the back of 184, 186 (on fasting), II, 196, on
the back of 197-9 (on the Pilgrimage), XXI, 2-9, on
the back of 10-18 (on formation), and XVIII, 9-9
(a new introduction to the story of the Seven
Sleepers), on the back of 10-11, which was replaced
by a longer version of the story in 51-11. In other
cases the scribes simply used the backs of sheets on
which older, discarded material was written, e.g. IV,
11-14, on the back of 12-10, IV, 19-21, on the back of
15-18, and VII, 3-5, on the back of 5. 9. This hypothe-
sis provides a feasible explanation and solution to
textual problems in some cases, but not in others.
It now seems that Bell was sometimes too quick to
designate a passage as "discarded" material or a "scrap" that got into the Kur'an by mistake; and he
seems to have failed to recognise some literary forms, e.g. the wa-ma'adrika formula (see 7.4 below).
But it must be remembered that Bell was a pioneer
in this field, and that he attempted to locate all possible breaks in the text, acknowledging that many
of his suggestions were uncertain or tentative and
that some would be proved untenable by later
research. Or the whole, his datations and reconstructions have been supported by later studies, e.g. K. Wagten-
donk, Fasting in the Koran (Leiden 1968), 48-71; on
II, 183 ff.: see also Welch, Ali's and other supernatural beings (see Bibli.) on the emergence of the doctrine
of jinn, and idem, in W. VI. Watt and A. T. Welch,
Der Islam, 1 (Stuttgart 1980), 264-71, 300-3, on
the origin and early development of the salat and zakat.
Careful studies of a number of passages and topics
are needed before a final judgment of Bell's work can
be made.
There is room for disagreement on specifics, but
there can now be little doubt that Schwall was
correct in concluding that passages from different
dates were put together to form the present suras,
that written documents were involved, and that this
revision was done under Muhammad's supervision
(Gesch. des Qor., 1, 45 ff., 11, 1 f., 77, etc.). Furthermore,
Bell seems to have been right in his main conclusions,
which went beyond Schwall's position. Most suras
have significant amounts of material from different
dates, and nearly all of the longer suras with Meccan
material were revised or expanded in Medina, so
that we can no longer speak of "middle Meccan" or
"late Meccan" suras. We can speak with more
confidence of "early Meccan" suras, although we
cannot be certain as to which ones belong to this
group. And we can speak of "Medinan suras", i.e.
those that are made up completely of Medinan
material (of various dates). It is not possible to put
the suras as wholes in chronological order, or to
determine the exact order of the passages on any
major teaching—the creation, God and other super-
natural beings, the nature and destiny of man, etc.
This does not mean that nothing can be said on the
development of ideas in the Kur'an. On the major
teachings and other subjects on which the Kur'an has
much to say, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of the main stages of development, and sometimes
the approximate dates of these stages. It now seems
certain that the most important single turning point
in the development of the Muslim scripture was not
the Hijra, dividing the Kur'an into "Meccan" and
"Medinan" suras, but a series of events surrounding
the battle of Badr and Muhammad's so-called "break
with the Jews". Late Meccan and very early Medinan
material is difficult to distinguish; there are many
passages that could just as well date from Muham-

Medina, during which Muhammad's task was to
produce a kur'an, a collection of lessons for liturgical
use; and a "Book period", beginning about the end
of the year 2 A.H., during which Muhammad began to
produce a written scripture. According, to Bell, the
process by which the Kur'an is not to be divided into these three
periods, since certain groups of passages were in-
cluded into the liturgical books, and in Medina
this collection of oral materials was revised to form
part of the Book. Bell attempted to date some
Medinan passages fairly precisely—"early Medinan,
revised after Badr", "shortly after Ubud", "year
VII", etc. But for most passages he gave very general
and often tentative suggestions, especially for the
Meccan material, e.g. "early, revised in Mecca (?),
"Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medinan". A
in the Kur'anic usage of 'Arabi and its cognate forms to support the suggestion of J. Fiek ('Arabia, Berlin 1950, 2-5) that 'Arabi in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the 'arabiyya, the literary language of the Bedouins.

b. Foreign vocabulary. The earliest assertions recognized and discussed are by a large number of non-Arabic words in the Kur'ân, and Tradition credits Ibn 'Abbâs and his school with having a special interest in seeking their origin and meaning. Then when the dogma of the eternity and perfection of the Kur'ân was elaborated (see 8. below) some jurists and theologians, such as al-Shâhi (d. 265/880), came to believe that it was in pure Arabic and thus denied that any of its vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. But prominent philologists such as Abu Ubâydis (d. 224/838) continued to argue that the Kur'ân contained foreign words. Al-Tabarî (d. 311/923) and others, attempting to reconcile the two views, asserted that the alleged foreign elements in the Kur'ân were simply words that Arabic and other languages had in common. 'Abî al-Râbi who rejects the "clear Arabic" poetry of Muhammad's day. It was assumed that the Kur'ân and the classical poets retained the pure language of the Bedouins (al-'arabiyya). Support for this view, more a theological doctrine than a linguistic theory, was found in the Kur'ân in the statements that the revelation was in "clear Arabic speech" (lîsân 'arabiyya) (XVI, 103, XVÎ, 193; cf. XLI, 44), which came to be interpreted as "pure Arabic." This Kur'ânic dialect theory was attacked by Karl Völlers in a series of well-documented articles beginning in 1894 and culminating in his classic Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien (1906), in which he argues that the Kur'ân was first recited by Muhammad in a colloquial Arabic without case-endings (pâbâ) (thus distinguishing it from the classical Arabic of the poets), that the language of the Kur'ân as we now have it was a fabrication of later philologists who attempted to put the revelations into Classical Arabic, and that the original language of the Kur'ân survives only in a few archiographic peculiarities (e.g. the omission of the aâlîf in some words) and in the non-canonical readings. Völlers' theory gave rise to much discussion of the language of the Kur'ân, but it found little support outside of Germany, except for several articles by Paul Kahle (e.g. The Arabic readers of the Koran, in JNES, viii [1949], 63-72), who presented evidence to show that at least during the 2nd century the Kur'ân was indeed recited without pâbâ, a characteristic of colloquial Arabic. Kahle's arguments also failed to convince others, and the earlier refutations of Völlers' thesis given in a lengthy review by K. Heyder (Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen, clxxi [1959], 45-56) and by Nöldeke (Neue Beiträge, 1-5) have been generally accepted (on the views of Völlers, Kahle, Geyer, and Nöldeke, see Zwettler, Oral tradition, 112-30). Nöldeke (loc. cit.) and Schwally (Gesch. des Qor., ii, 56) argued that the language of the Kur'ân was not the spoken language of any tribe, but was a somewhat artificial Hochsprache that was understood throughout the Hijâz. On the other side, it has come to be generally agreed that the Classical Arabic of the poetry of Muhammad's time was not the spoken language of the poets or the dialect of any one tribe, but a literary language that was understood by all the tribes. This language has come to be called the "poetic koine" or the 'arabiyya. In the late 1490s three European writers, H. Fieschi, R. Blachère, and C. Rabin, reached the conclusion, apparently independently, that the language of the Kur'ân, far from being the spoken dialect of the Kur'ân or a Hochsprache of the entire Hijâz, was simply the "poetic koine" of the Classical Arabic poetry, with some adaptation to the Meechan speech, e.g. the omission of the hamza for references and discussion, see C. Rabin, The beginnings of Classical Arabic, in Stud. Ist., iv [1953], 19-37, and Zwettler, Oral tradition, 130-72). This view has been accepted by most Western Arabists. One notable exception is J. Wansbrough (Qur'anic studies, 83-118) who rejects the koine or 'arabiyya concept, without offering any clear alternative. He asserts that very little can be known about the text of the Kur'ân or about Classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilization" of both in the 3rd/4th century. There is nothing
except for the last verse with -ad, the four verses of CXII end in -at, except for the last verse with -at, and the 55 verses of LXX, 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, Trans., 627 f.) or a conclusion (e.g., Arberry trans., ii, 378 f.) to the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses, “Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed” and “But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate,” which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with “We have made the Kur’an as the Reminder (tad), but is there anyone who takes heed?” and the first refrain seems to have appeared as an earlier refrain, “Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?” Similar refrains occur frequently in the Kur’an, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Kur’an, see Bell-Watt, 70 f.

d. Schematic form and multiple accounts. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Kur’ānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment-stories have the same five-verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: “The people of Noah denied the envoys. / When their brother Noah said to them: ‘Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger. / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds’. The only difference in the five-verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of Ad, Thamūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Śālih, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sura VII versions of the same five-punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: “We sent Noah to his people, and he said ‘O my people, serve God. There is no god for you other than He. Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day’. Said the nobility of his people: ‘Verily we think you are in manifest error’. He said ‘O my people, there is no error in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and give you sincere advice; I have knowledge from

etc.; “God sees the things you do”, in ii, 328, 332, 365, etc.; “God has knowledge of everything”, in 29, 231, 282; and “God is powerful over everything”, in 20, 105, 250 and 284, etc. A special type of rhyme-formula that occurs in a number of suras is the refrain, i.e. an entire verse or more repeated verbatim at more or less regular intervals. The most striking example is the rhetorical question, “Then: which of the benefits of your Lord will you two deny?” which occurs as LIV, 13, 16, 18 and 27 and then almost every other verse to the end of the sura in verse 78. A similar refrain, “Woe is that day to those who deny it!” occurs in LXXVII, 15, 19, 24, 25, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, Trans., 627 f.) to the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses, “Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed” and “But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate,” which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with “We have made the Kur’an as the Reminder (tad), but is there anyone who takes heed?” and the first refrain seems to have appeared as an earlier refrain, “Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?” Similar refrains occur frequently in the Kur’an, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Kur’an, see Bell-Watt, 70 f.

c. Rhymes and refrains. A distinctive feature of Kur’ānic style, closely related to its oral nature and liturgical function, is that it is all rhymed or assonanconcerted. There is no attempt to produce the strict rhyme of Arabic poetry (see Zwetttler, Oral tradition, 103 f.). Some short sāras, and segments of longer sāras, do have a fairly consistent rhyme if the short inflectional vowels at the ends of the verses are disregarded. For instance, the three verses of CXV end in -at, the four verses of CXII end in -ad, CXI has -a except for the last verse with -ad, CXI has -a except for the last verse with -at, and the 55 verses of LIV end in r (or r) preceded by a short vowel. But in most sāras there is a loose rhyme or assonance formed by common grammatical endings and word forms. By far the most frequent occurrence in the Kur’an is -an (considered interchangeable), which is formed by the plural endings of nouns and verbs. And even this form, which occurs frequently in Arabic, is often varied with words ending with one of these vowels but a different consonant. The feminine singular endings -at and -ah occur in CIX, XLVII, XCI and XCIX; the dual ending -an occurs in LV; the accusative ending -an occurs in XVII, LXII, and C; and the form -al, a long a followed by a variable consonant, occurs in parts of longer sāras such as II, III, XIV, XXXVIII and XL. On the various rhyme forms in the Kur’an (technically known as jū'āl, jū'āl at, jū'āl at, jū'āl at, etc.), see Thāt, ii, 68-105, and F. R. Müller, Untersuchungen zur Keimprosa im Koran (Bonn 1969), who presents a systematic compilation of the evidence that peculiarities in Kur’ānic style and vocabulary were brought about by the imposition of rhyme.

The whole of the Kur’an is often said to be in sajdi, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the kāthā (sourcethayer) [q.v.], which, like the Kur’an, does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. But those who have insisted that the Kur’an is not in sajdi seem on the whole to be on a misconceived ground (see Grass, das Qur’ān, i, 156 f.; Blachere, Litt., arz 22). The Kur’an is formed by divine epithets, aphorisms, and other words that are integral to a context and its meaning, and in the Kur’an, see Bell-Watt, 70 f. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Kur’ānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment-stories have the same five-verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: “The people of Noah denied the envoys. / When their brother Noah said to them: ‘Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger. / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds’. The only difference in the five-verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of Ad, Thamūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Śālih, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sura VII versions of the same five punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: “We sent Noah to his people, and he said ‘O my people, serve God. There is no god for you other than He. Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day’. Said the nobility of his people: ‘Verily we think you are in manifest error’. He said ‘O my people, there is no error in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and give you sincere advice; I have knowledge from

in Kopf, Studies in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography, Jerusalem 1970) and other works cited by him.
God which you have not. Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from among yourselves, in order that he may warn you and that you may show piety? Perhaps mercy will be shown you. But they denied him; so We rescued him and those with him in the ark, and We drowned those who denied Our signs. Verily they were a blind people." Part of the Noah story and other parts of the Hûd story are then repeated in the Sâlih, Lot, and Shu’âyb stories. Other groups of parallel accounts in the Qur’ân have one of these two types of schematic form. The extent of the repetition in these parallel accounts has important implications for understanding their nature and purpose, e.g. they are not intended as historical accounts.

These groups of punishment-stories also illustrate another feature of the Qur’ân: the complex development of its multiple accounts and their changing relationships with other accounts. Many stories are repeated in different versions in two or more sûras, and these multiple accounts of the same story differ not only in length and details, but also in their purpose and relationship to other stories. For instance, different versions of the punishment-stories or brief references to them occur in 16 different sûras. Longer versions of the Noah, Hûd, Sâlih, and Lot stories occur in LIV, XXVI, VII and XI; the first three also occur in XXV, LI and LIII; they are referred to in IX, XIV and XXIX; and they occur separately in still other sûras. There are two different Lot punishment-stories: the first occurs in LIV, XXVI and VII (mentioned above) and also in XXVII and XXXVII; the second, involving the visit of celestial messengers, occurs in XI and XV. Then in XXIX both appear together separated by a brief version of an Abraham story, which also occurs in earlier, longer versions in EI, XV and XI. On the punishment-stories, see 7. below, Bell-Watt, 127-35, and bibliography given there. A similar development can be seen in the creation stories: the story of (the fallen angel)? Iblîs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII; then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally I. In the last two the Iblîs story is reduced to a single verse, and in I these two story segments are preceded by the only Qur’ânic version of a third creation story, about God consulting the angels before creating man. A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2-34 and III, 46-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts; in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary. Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Qur’ân is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g. in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hûd, Sâlih, Lot, and then Shu’âyb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order," e.g. in XI we have Noah, Hûd, Sâlih, Abraham, Lot, Shu’âyb, and Moses. The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Qur’ân period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Bûk period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation.

7. Literary forms and Major Themes

The nature and arrangement of the Qur’ân make it difficult to classify its literary forms or systematise its main themes. Any attempt to classify the parts of the Qur’ân according to the standard literary types—myth, legend, saga, short story, parable, etc.—very soon founders. A few examples can be given for each of these types, but altogether they comprise a very small percentage of the text. Also, they have been adapted so much to conform to the style and message of the Qur’ân that they have little significance as distinct types. Bell has argued that since the Qur’ân disclaims that Muhammad was a poet and since his function as a prophet was to convey messages from God to his contemporaries, we should seek "didactic rather than poetic or artistic forms" (Bell-Watt, 75). This is true, except that only parts of the Qur’ân can be described as "didactic" in purpose. Other parts are hortatory, rhetorical, legislative, etc., and some parts addressed to Muhammad and his family can only be described as personal (Bell questioned whether some of these, e.g. CXI and parts of LXVI, were "intended for publication"). Thus it seems best to discuss the literary forms of the Qur’ân in terms of its own distinctive types of material. What follows is not a complete, systematic classification, but brief descriptions of the main literary forms found in the Qur’ân, which at the same time provide summaries of some of its major themes.

a. Oaths and related forms. An interesting variety of oaths and related forms occur in the shorter sûras, usually at the beginning. The assumption that most (but certainly not all) of these oaths are among the earliest parts of the Qur’ân seems to be justified. Some oaths that are cryptic and difficult to interpret or translate are generally given in earlier, longer versions in I, XV and XI. On the punishment-stories, see 7. below, Bell-Watt, 127-35, and bibliography given there. A similar development can be seen in the creation stories: the story of (the fallen angel)? Iblîs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII; then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally I. In the last two the Iblîs story is reduced to a single verse, and in I these two story segments are preceded by the only Qur’ânic version of a third creation story, about God consulting the angels before creating man. A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2-34 and III, 46-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts; in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary. Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Qur’ân is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g. in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hûd, Sâlih, Lot, and then Shu’âyb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order," e.g. in XI we have Noah, Hûd, Sâlih, Abraham, Lot, Shu’âyb, and Moses. The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Qur’ân period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Bûk period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation.

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of the Qur'an are also of this type, with wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, fe, hid, wa-had (the wa before the asseverative particles in these examples is the conjunction "and"). Other types of oaths also occur in the Qur'an, e.g. the stronger la shahada bi—"I swear by"—oath, at the beginning of LXXV. "I swear by the Day of Resurreciion", also in LXXV, 2, XC, 1, and within other asras.

Related to the Qur'anic oaths are several other formulaic usages that are typical of soothsayer or prophetic utterances. One is the idgh, "When", passage, which has the same force, if not the same meaning, as an oath. A good example occurs at the beginning of LXXIII: "When the heaven shall be rent, / When the stars shall be scattered, / When the seas shall be made to boil up, / When the graves shall be ransacked, / A soul shall know what it has sent forward, and what kept back" (Bell). The longest "when" passage is LXXVI, 1-14, culminating in "A soul shall know what it has presented". See also LVI, r ff., LXXIV, r ff., XCIX, etc. Other passages, especially at the beginning of some of the other shorter sign-passages, such as "Have you seen him who denies the Judgment?" (CIV, r ff.; cf. XCIV, CV) or a modified type of curse or threat, such as "Woe to every malingerer, scoff'er, / Who gathers wealth and counts it over ..." (CIV, r ff.; cf. LXXIII, r ff., LXXIV, 4 ff., etc. and a different type in CXI). This last example of a "Woe" (wayl) passage continues with another distinctive Qur'anic form, consisting of at least three verses the second of which is the rhetorical question wa-nah adhara wa—"Is it?"; "And what has let you know what is?"; see CXVII, r ff.; Cf. 1 ff., CIV, 4 ff., and LXXXVI, 1 ff., which begins with an oath.

The fact that the Qur'an itself affirms that Muhammad was accused of being a soothsayer (kha matière) suggests that his contemporaries saw a similarity between what he recited and what they heard from the soothsayers. Bell identified five passages in the Qur'an as having "kha matière"-form: XXXVII, r-4, L, r-6, and C, r-6, mentioned above, and also LXXVII, r-7, and LXXIX, 1-14. But most of the Qur'anic oaths and related forms are more in the nature of prophetic than soothsayer utterances.

b. Say-passages. Meccan and early Medinan parts of the Qur'an often speak of certain phenomena of nature and human life as "signs" (ayyâl) of God's omnipotence and benevolence towards man, calling for gratitude and worship of Him alone. Most often mentioned are the creation of the heavens and the earth, the creation or propagation of man, the shining of the sun, moon, and stars, the alteration of day and night, the sending of the rain, and the permanence and stability of nature. Thunder, lightning, fire, and other natural phenomena are also mentioned, as are human understanding and relationships, the variety of languages and colours, hearing, sight, etc. The "sign-passages" treating these themes have no distinctive form, but are recognised by their content. An example of an early sign-passage is seen in LXXVII, 14-32: "Let man look at his food; / Lo, We have poured out water in showers, / Then have broken up the earth in cracks, / And have caused to sprout up in it grain, / And grapes and green shoots, / And olives and palms, / And orchards luxuriant, / And fruits and herbage —— / A provision for you and for your flocks" (Bell). See also XXXII, 17-24, 76-80, LXXVIII, 6-16. An example of a late, more structured sign-passage is XIX, 20-30, which begins: "And of His signs is that He created you of dust; then, lo, you are mortals, all scattered abroad. / And of His signs is that He created for you of your own species spouses that you may dwell with them, and has set love and mercy between you. Surely in that are signs (ayyâl) for those who consider. / And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variety of the species spouses that you may dwell with them, and all manner of fruit. / Surelv in that is a sign (âya) for those who reflect. / And a similar form closes the next two verses. These last two examples are typical of most sign-passages in consisting of separate sign-verses grouped together in no particular order, but they are somewhat unusual in having set introductory signs and concluding formulas (cf. VI, 97-9, XIII, 2-4, XVI, 55, 56, 69, 79, XXXVI, 33, 37, XL, 37, 39, XLV, 3-3). The singular, âya, is used occasionally in sign-passages, either with one verse treating one sign (as in XVI, 21, quoted above; also XVI, 23, 55, 67, etc.), or with two or more verses treating a single sign (XVI, 20 f., 68 f., etc.). The plural, ayyâl, occurs much more often, usually with two or more signs mentioned in a single verse (as in XXX, 20-2, quoted above; also X, 6, 67, XIII, 3 f., XXX, 23 f., etc.). This analysis provides no clue as to how âya came to mean "verse". In many sign-passages that are otherwise like those cited above the term "sign" does not occur (e.g. VI, 241 f., XIII, 12-15, XVI, 3-8, 50 f., XXX, 48-52, XXXII, 4-9). On the other hand, the term "sign" occurs many times in contexts that are not "sign-passages". See r b above and Bell-Watt, 121-7.

c. Say-passages. Scattered throughout the Qur'an are a number of passages in which the main element is a short statement or question introduced by the imperative verb, "Say", usually the singular, bal, but occasionally the plural, balâh. Most say-passages, i.e. the immediate contexts in which the say-statements occur, have two main parts: (1) a statement or question indicating the setting, and (2) the say-statement, which is sometimes followed by a comment or two on 1 or 2. The setting statement occasionally involves Muhammad's followers, but usually is a report of something said or done by the unbelievers. One frequently occurring form is "They say... Say...", e.g. X, 20: "They say: 'If only a sign had been sent down to him from his Lord'. Say: 'The unseen belongs to God'" (see also II, 60, 91, 93, 111, 135, etc.). Sometimes the setting statement has two or more parts, and the say-statement either has two or more parts or is followed by one or more comments. A good example of this more complex form is seen in X, 18: "They serve apart from God what neither injures them nor profits them, and they say: 'These are our intercessors with God'. Say: 'Will you inform God of what He knows not either in the heavens or in the earth? Glory be to Him, and exalted be He far from what they associate with Him'." Here the setting statement has two parts, involving something the unbelievers do and something they say; and the say-statement, a rhetorical question, is followed by a praise formula (cf. II, 26-30). In X, 68 f. a praise formula, "Glory be to Him", and
a comment on the setting statement come between the "They say" and "Say" elements. Another common form is "They will ask you [Muhammad] . . ."; this will be classified with narratives about the Prophet. Sometimes one *bih* introduces a question, and a second one gives an answer, e.g. VI, 122: "Say: 'To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth?'" (also VI, 69 f., 71, etc.). Some say-statements are formulas that can be classified as maxims or slogans, e.g. "To God belongs the East and the West" (II, 122), "The guidance of God is the guidance" (II, 126, III, 75, VI, 71), "God guides to the truth" (X, 35), "Those who invent falsehood about God will not prosper" (X, 69), and "Intercession belongs to God alone" (XXXIX, 44), and some of these (e.g. the first two mentioned here) occur elsewhere in the Kur'an. On maxims and slogans, see Bell-Watt, 75-7. Others are creedal statements, e.g. II, 136: "Say (bahi): 'We believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham . . . and what Moses and Jesus received . . . and to Him we have surrendered'" (cf. XXIX, 46). Still others are prayers, e.g. III, 261: "Say (bih): 'O God, owner of sovereignty, Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt, and seizest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt . . . Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living; Thou providest for whom Thou wilt without reckoning'." This last example is unlike the say-passages described above, since it is not preceded by a setting statement. Thus it is best classified with a second group of say-statements, some of which are In the first person singular and seem to be spoken by Muhammad, e.g. a group of four in LXXII, 30-8, beginning: "Say: 'I call only upon my Lord, and I do not associate with Him anyone! / Say: 'Surely I possess no power over you, either for hurt or for rectitude'" (Arberry); see also XXXIV, 36, 39, 40-50, CIX, etc. Other isolated say-statements occur in LXXII, 23 f., 28-30, CXII-XIV, etc., the first of these being two short say-statements in the form of the sign-passages. Say-passages and separate say-statements are often grouped together, e.g. VI, 11-10, 36-8, 63-6, 107-4, and the groups mentioned above.

d. Narratives. If the term "narrative" is taken in the broader sense to include any story or description of actual or fictional events, then many parts of the Kur'an can be classified as narratives. There are virtually no historical narrative, even though as mentioned above (see 5.4) there are many references and allusions to historical events. Most Kur'anic narratives are versions of traditional stories found in other Near Eastern cultures, which have been adapted to conform to the world-view and teachings of the Kur'an. Several versions of ancient Near Eastern myths and many mythic motifs occur. The creation of the world in six days and the Throne from which the universe is controlled are mentioned several times, as in VII, 54: "Verify your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated Himself upon the Throne causing the night to cover the day" and the well-known "Throne verse", II, 255: "God, there is no god but He; the Living, the Eternal. Slumber overtakes Him not and sleep. His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them" (cf. X, 3, XXV, 59, XXXII, 4, and on the Throne, IX, 129, XIII, 3, XX, 5, XXXII, 22, etc.). But there is no six-day creation story, and no account of what was created on each day (a partial explanation is given in XLI, 9-12; see Faret, Kommentar, 433). The seven heavens are mentioned (XVII, 44, XXIII, 86, etc.), as is the Trumpet that signals the Last Day (VI, 73, XVIII, 99, XX, 102, etc.), but there are no stories or complete descriptions of the Inferno or Paradise, the seven layers of Hell, or the angels. There are numerous references to the fall of Iblis (Lucifer?), the fall of man, and the naming of the animals (not so specified) do occur (II, 30-9, VII, 11-25, XX, 28-44, XVII, 61-5, XX, 114-26, etc.). There are several versions of the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth (XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 5-10, etc.), and several accounts of Noah and the Flood (XII, 46-48, XXV, 37, XXIX, 14 f., LIV, 9-17), which however is not a world-wide deluge.

The prophet stories, some of which are also punishment-stories, make up the largest category of Kur'anic narratives. The longest single story, which could be classified as a "short story", is that of Joseph, taking up nearly all 111 verses of Sura XII. It follows the Biblical account more closely than do most Kur'anic stories, and it shows evidence of revision, including what appear to be two introductions. There are two parallel accounts of the births of John (the Baptist) and Jesus, III, 33-51 and XIX, 1-36, which have some significant differences in details, reflecting the development of ideas in the Kur'an. Both accounts have elements from apocryphal Christian writings and oral tradition, e.g. Mary's stay in a convent or temple until the time of the conception of Jesus, and his miracles of speaking from the cradle and forming a bird out of clay that became alive when he breathed on it. Abraham, Moses, and Solomon have major roles in Kur'anic narrative in that there are several different stories about each, as well as several versions of some stories. Also, there are non-Biblical stories about each of these three: Abraham destroying the idols of his people (XXI, 51-72, etc.) and building the Ka'aba in Mecca (II, 129-9, etc.), Moses and his servant on a journey (XVIII, 60-82), and Solomon building the Temple with the jinn and demons (XXXIV, 12-14, XXXVIII, 30-46) and dealing with his army of jinn, men, and birds (XXVII, 13-21). There are also stories about Adam and Noah (mentioned above) and Lot, Ishmael, David, Elijah, Jonah, and Job; and several others are mentioned, including Isaac, Jacob, Elisha, Aaron (in some Moses stories), Saul, Ezra, and Hannan, who however is an associate of the Haranah. The heroes of these stories are generally referred to as "messengers" (rasul, sing. rasul) or "envoys" (musul, sing. musul) or "prophets" (nabiyyin, sing. nabi). The latter seems to occur only in Medina passages and is applied specifically only to Muhammad throughout XXXIII. This no doubt explains why rasul occurs in the credal statements in II, 285 and IY, 136, which require belief in "His angels, His books, and His messengers (rasulun)", while al-nabiyyin occurs in I, 77, which requires belief in "the angels, the Book, and the prophets'.

Among the non-Biblical characters, the most prominent are Hud, Salih, and Shu'ayb (see below), but there are also stories about Luthairn, an Arabian saxe (XIII, 11-29, and Dhu 't-Karnayn, generally regarded as Alexander the Great (XVIII, 83-98), and brief references to Dhu 't-Kifl and Idris (XIX, 56, XXI, 85, XXXVIII, 48), sometimes said to be Elijah and Enoch. The story of the Men of the Cave (XVIII, 92-102),
have been sent down to Muhammad by God, and the "

circuit of them" (II, 158).

"$afa and Marwa are among the manifestations of  

almsgiving (notada), or pious observance" (II, 296);  

"Fulfil the pilgrimage (hadidil) and obey the  

Prayer (hala), Prayers and lend to God a good loan" (LXXII, 20); "verily  

the Prayer has become for the believers a thing  

prescribed for stated times" (IV, 203). On almsgiving  

(zabdi, sadaka): "If you give alms (sadaka) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to  

the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed  

therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over,  

for the ransom of slaves, for the relief of debtors, for  

expenditure in the way of God, and for the follower of  

the way—an ordinance (jari'at) from God" (IX, 60). On fasting (syaam, sawm): "O believers, fasting is prescribed for you (kutiba 'alaykum) as it was for those before you ... during the month of Ramadan ... It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives ... and eat and drink until so  

much of the dawn appears that a white thread may  

be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast  

completely until night. ... If anyone of  

them (the unbelieving town) of His guidance  

... If anyone makes the  

"purity", Passages that are late Meccan or early  

Medinan, but is required only of Muslims only in Medinan passages dating from around  

the time of the battle of Badr or later. The salat is  

mentioned in Meccan or early Medinan passages, but  

is required only of Muhammad, with the imperative  

verb in the singular, at-ta'mil (the Pilgrimage), and the slave with several masters in XXXIX, 29  

(see Bell-Watt, 81). These parables have no standard  

form; some are introduced by the statement addressed  

to Muhammad: "And coin for them a parable"  

(sez 'riq lahum mathalah), e.g. XVIII, 32, 45,  

XXXVI, 13, others by the statement: "God has  

called a parable" (dunaha fikiru mahalah), e.g. XIV,  

24, XVI, 75, 76, 112, XXXIX, 25, LXVI, 16.  

Regard the Kur'an, besides detailed regulations on some aspects of the conduct of the Muslim  

community, and general instructions on others. No complete code of conduct or list of required  

duties is presented; each issue is treated separately, usually in several different places. The main  

religious duties are introduced in stages, and there are inconsistencies in some of the requirements. What  

follows are some examples that illustrate the nature and form of the various Kur'anic regulations, beginning  

with four that later became Pillars of Islam.

On the prayer ritual (salat): "Observe thou [Muhammad] the Prayer (asbati 'l-salat) at the two  

eround of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night" (XI, 114, 125, XVII, 75 f.); "Remember the Prayers  

(paladil), including the middle Prayer, and  

stand [in worship] to God reverently" (II, 238); "so recite what is convenient of it [the Kur'an], and  

observe the Prayer (ulim 'l-salat), and pay the Zakat, and lead to God a good loan" (LXXXII, 20); "verify  

the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times" (IV, 203). On almsgiving  

(zabdi, sadaka): "If you give alms (sadaka) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to  

the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed  

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is required only of Muhammad, with the imperative  

verb in the singular, asbati 'l-salat (XI, 114, XVII,  

75, XXIX, 45, XXXI, 31, etc.). The term salati in  

Meccan passages (XVIII, 8, XIX, 13) means  

"purity", Passages that are late Meccan or early  

Medinan say that earlier prophets instituted the
Thou art our patron; so help us against the people of unbelievers" (Bell). Some prayers are also included in which God is the speaker, but others also occur, especially in the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the suras that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.4 above). The liturgical setting of the sabbaha li 'Ilha suras is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these suras (see LXI, 9-11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Qur'an, include: the tahlad, i.e. al-hamdu li 'ilaha, "Praise be to God," at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 110, etc., the tasbih, i.e. sabbaha li 'llah, "Glory be to God," occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 128, XXVIII, 63, XXXVI, 36, XXXVIII, 180-2, XLIII, 82, and; and inbarkaha 'Ilha, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 24, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 54, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 4.

8. THE KUR'AN IN MUSLIM LIFE AND THOUGHT

For Muslims the Kur'an is much more than scripture or sacred literature in the usual Western sense. Its primary significance for the vast majority through the centuries has been in its oral form, the form in which God is praised in the third person, occur more frequently; the best known of these is the "Throne verse," II, 255, mentioned in 7.6 above for its mystic motif. The divine epithets mentioned in 6.6 above as rhyme phrases are also a type of praise formula, which however do not give the impression of being liturgical. Praise forms that do seem to have a liturgical purpose occur at the beginning of several Medinan suras. A sabbaha li 'Ilha formula, "Magnifies God (sabbaha li 'Ilha) all that is in the heavens and the earth," occurs at the beginning of LVII, LXI, LXI, LXII and LXIV, three of which contain with "He is the Almighty, the All-wise." These five suras date mainly from the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the suras that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.4 above). The liturgical setting of the sabbaha li 'Ilha suras is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these suras (see LXI, 9-11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Qur'an, include: the tahlad, i.e. al-hamdu li 'ilaha, "Praise be to God," at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 110, etc., the tasbih, i.e. sabbaha li 'llah, "Glory be to God," occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 128, XXVIII, 63, XXXVI, 36, XXXVIII, 180-2, XLIII, 82, and; and inbarkaha 'Ilha, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 24, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 54, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 4.

Others: The Qur'an contains other distinctive literary forms and themes that can be mentioned only briefly here. Especially important in Meccan parts of the Qur'an are a large number of dramatic scenes, usually involving death, the Last Judgment, the pleasures of paradise (al-^atma = the garden), and the tortures of the hellfire (see the O'Shaughnessy arts. Dramatic scenes constitute the main Qur'anic form for treating these subjects, which are nowhere fully or systematically explained, and they also occur frequently in narratives, reflecting the oral qualities of these Meccan parts of the Qur'an (see Bell-Watt, 80 f.). There are also many addresses on a variety of topics. Most Meccan ones treat theological topics—the signs of God, messages of earlier prophets, etc.—and thus can be classified as sermons. Early Medinan ones are often addressed to the Jews, either as the Children of Israel or the People of the Book. Later Medinan ones, usually addressed "O believers", but sometimes "O children of Adam", "O people", treat specific legal, political, and military matters as well as general religious, moral, and social themes. Another special type of material found in both Meccan and Medinan parts of the Qur'an involves Muhammad's personal situation. Many Meccan passages addressed to Muhammad bring comfort and encouragement in times of persecution, instructions on religious practices, etc. Some Medinan ones, addressed "O Prophet", give special marriage and divorce regulations. Others are addressed to Muhammad's wives or otherwise treat his family problems (see suras XXIV, XXXIII, LXVI).
which it first appeared, as the "recitation" (kurṣūn) chartered by Muhammad to his followers over a period of about twenty years (on its liturgical function during Muhammad's lifetime, see VII, 203-6, LXXIII, 20, LXXXIV, 20 f., etc.). The revelations were memorised by some of Muhammad's followers during his lifetime, and the oral tradition that was thus established has had a continuous history ever since, in some ways independent of, and superior to, the written Qurʾān. During the early centuries when the written Qurʾān was limited to the original scriptural text, the oral tradition established itself as the standard by which the written text was to be judged. Even when the Egyptian "standard edition" was prepared in the early 12th century, it was the oral tradition and its supporting kufi litertature (rather than the Qurʾān manuscript) that served as the authority for determining the written text. Through the centuries the oral tradition of the entire Qurʾān has been maintained by the professional reciters (kaddim) on the Qurʾān reciters in Egypt, see M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today, Cambridge* 1929, 11-13, 32-43; and for the oral tradition in general, Labib al-Said, *The recited Koran*, see *Bibliothek der Völker*, while all Muslims memorise parts of the Qurʾān for use in the daily prayers. Until recently, the significance of the recited Qurʾān has seldom been fully appreciated in the West.

The Qurʾān also had a central role in the theological debates of the early centuries, and it has continued to be one of the most controversial issues in Islamic theology. Since the Qurʾān was held to consist of messages brought from God to Muhammad by Gabriel, and since God is the "speaker" in these messages, it was natural for Muslims to think of it as God's speech (kaddim). About the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, theologians began to discuss whether or not the Qurʾān was created. Among those who maintained that it was created were the Muʿtazila, including some who had positions at the court of al-Maʾmūn. Convinced by their arguments, and also thinking that adoption of this doctrine would be politically beneficial, al-Maʾmūn in 218/831 established the doctrine of the mīkāna (q.v.) or "inseparability", in which most teaching officials were obliged to profess publicly that the Qurʾān was created. Nearly all submitted but a few refused, notably Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855) (q.v.). In 234/848, shortly after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the mīkāna was abandoned, probably because its political results were disappointing. Up through the time of the mīkāna the issue seems to have been whether the Qurʾān was produced by direct inspiration of the Prophet. It should be noted, still had not received its final form at this time, and that the Qurʾān was Muhammad's; the term idrf was it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Ahmad b. Hanbal (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammad in Lehr und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 217). Early discussion of the idrf of the Qurʾān concerned the concept of taḥaddirt and "challenge", largely based on several verses of the Qurʾān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 53, XVII, 85, etc.). The failure of Muhammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one sura like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of sura (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the Qurʾān from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to yf, All b. Ḥakim al-Ramunni (d. 384/994) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Qurʾān, its prophetic character, and the future events of the Qurʾān, its prophetic character, and the future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpassed all others, etc. Hanbali Muhammad al-Kaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fi 'idfāt al-Kurʾān* (see Bibliothek der Völker) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Qurʾān, and al-Bākili (d. 409/1012) in the most famous work on the subject (see Bibliothek der Völker) rejected the sūra argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Qurʾān's superior style. He also argued that since Muhammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Qurʾānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Qurʾān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see J. Bouman, "Les doctrines de l'actualité de l'Alcoran en-vertet en orientalisme", in *Verbum*, Utrecht 1964, 65-66; H. Steiger, "Die Glaubenslehren des Islam", Munich 1965, 75-83. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Qurʾān as the hālām Allāh, see *Kalam*.

Parallel to the development of the doctrine of the eternity of the Qurʾān there also arose the dogma of its inimitability (idrf) (q.v.). From the beginning, the Qurʾān had been seen as a "sign" (yaṣīr) or "proof" (mā'īn) of Muhammad's prophethood. This belief took on a more precise form in the teaching that each prophet was given a verifying miracle (muṣājja), and that the Qurʾān was Muhammad's; the term idrf it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Ahmad b. Hanbal (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammad in Lehr und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 217). Early discussion of the idrf of the Qurʾān concerned the concept of taḥaddirt or "challenge", largely based on several verses of the Qurʾān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 53, XVII, 85, etc.). The failure of Muhammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one sura like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of sura (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the Qurʾān from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to yf, All b. Ḥakim al-Ramunni (d. 384/994) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Qurʾān, its prophetic character, and the future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpassed all others, etc. Hanbali Muhammad al-Kaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fi 'idfāt al-Kurʾān* (see Bibliothek der Völker) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Qurʾān, and al-Bākili (d. 409/1012) in the most famous work on the subject (see Bibliothek der Völker) rejected the sūra argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Qurʾān's superior style. He also argued that since Muhammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Qurʾānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Qurʾān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see J. Bouman, "Les doctrines de l'actualité de l'Alcoran en-vertet en orientalisme", in *Verbum*, Utrecht 1964, 65-66; H. Steiger, "Die Glaubenslehren des Islam", Munich 1965, 75-83. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Qurʾān as the hālām Allāh, see *Kalam*.

The doctrines of the eternity and perfection or inimitability of the Qurʾān contributed to its extensive influence throughout Islamic life and culture.
It became the first "source" (as) of Islamic law, the Sharī'ah, which also came to be regarded as eternal (cf. the Torah in Jewish belief). Its grammar became standard for later Arabic, which replaced other languages across the Near East and North Africa (among Christians and Jews as well as Muslims), and its script came to be adopted in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and other languages. Verses of the Qur'an became a subject of Islamic calligraphy and one of the main decorative motifs of Islamic art and architecture, as a substitute for statues and pictorial representation. At the same time, these two doctrines have been the strongest factor working against the acceptance of critical studies of the Qur'an within the modern Muslim community. In the early centuries, Muslim scholars studied the Qur'an as literature and as a historical source, analyzing its grammar, style, poetic imagery, etc., and attempting to determine its chronology, development of ideas, and historical settings. But the widespread acceptance of belief in the eternity and the Qur'an has made modern Muslims loath to accept methods of historical and literary criticism that have proved so fruitful in the study of other scriptures. To a certain extent this is understandable to Christians, since the development of the doctrines of the eternity and the Qur'an is parallel to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the closest analogue in Christian belief to the role of the Qur'an in Islam belief is not the Bible, but Christ. Thus the difficulty Muslims have in adopting a critical approach to the Qur'an is comparable to the difficulty many Christians have in accepting a critical view of the life of Jesus (e.g. regarding his virgin birth and resurrection). But this should not prevent critical analyses of the Qur'an, which is after all still a literary work of supreme importance and an invaluable historical document.


9. TRANSLATION OF THE KUR'ÂN

a. The orthodox doctrine concerning translation. In the time of Muhammad it is certain that nobody had considered the possibility that the Qur'ân might be translated either as a whole or in part into a foreign language. It was revealed expressly as an "Arabic Qur'ân" (Sûra XII, 2; XX, 123; XXXIX, 28; XLII, 7; XLII, 7; XLII, 3), in "Arabic language" (XVI, 163; XXVI, 135; cf. XVII, 121), that the Prophet through it might "warn the capital (i.e., Mecca) and the people in its surroundings" (VI, 92; XLII, 7). It was not originally intended for non-Arabs. It was only as a result of the spread of the Arabic-Islamic conquests that the sphere of influence of the Qur'ân was extended to territories outside the Arabic-speaking world. The Persians and other non-Arabs who embraced Islam were obliged, in the same way as their genuinely Arab fellow-believers, to recite in the ritual prayer the Fâtiha and several other texts from the Qur'ân. The question thus arose whether they should be permitted to recite the texts in question in their native language instead of in Arabic. In so far as Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories were interested in getting to know not only the texts used in the prayers, but also other parts of the Qur'ân, or the whole of the Qur'ân, there arose the further question whether this might be accomplished with the help of a translation.

The theologians and jurists who had to decide on this matter in general adopted a rigorous attitude. With regard to the recitation of the Fâtiha in the ritual prayer, the Malikis, Şâfi'is and Hanbalis insisted that the text must be spoken in Arabic. In a case where the person praying could not recite the Fâtiha in Arabic, he must substitute for it another passage from the Qur'ân, or observe a silent pause, or repeat the name of God for the same length of time. On the other hand it is reported that Abu Hanifa had originally declared that the recital of the Fâtiha in Persian was permitted without reservation; he later restricted this concession to those worshipers who were unable to speak Arabic. This then became the general rule for the Hanafi school. In similar circumstances other non-Arabic languages besides Persian might be employed.

As for the production and use of translations of the whole of the Qur'ân, the attitude of the scholars was that a "translation" of the Qur'ân in the true sense of the word was not possible. They based their attitude mainly on the argument that the wording of the Qur'ân is a miracle (ma'âjîma) incapable of imitation by man. This characteristic would be invalidated in a translation into a foreign language, since this would be made by man. Furthermore, the theologians maintained that a translation of the Qur'ân which was both literal and at the same time true to the meaning was not possible. They conceded, however, that a so-called translation (tarjama) in the sense of a commentary (tafsîr) might be used, on the assumption that the text of the original was not superseded by this. Thus manuscripts of the Qur'ân might be provided with an interlinear (quasi-)translation. In more recent times this was extended to the printing of the translation (as a commentary) beside the Arabic text. This is the practice which remains usual for translations made by Muslims.

The question whether in the ritual prayer texts from the Qur'ân may be recited in a non-Arabic language and whether the production and use of translations of the Qur'ân should be permitted became once again acute when in Turkey in the nineteen-twenties the authorities proceeded to "nationalise" the ritual prayers and to publish Turkish translations of the Qur'ân not accompanied by the Arabic original. Authoritative theologians found themselves induced once again to explain and to justify the orthodox standpoint by reference to earlier authorities.

The first statements were mainly of a polemical and negative nature. In the course of time, however, there prevailed a more criterial judgement on the matter. Thus the Hanafi scholar of Al-Ashr, Muhammad Mustafa al-Marâkî, in a thorough investigation first published in 1932, adopted the attitude that for a Muslim without a knowledge of Arabic the recital of the Qur'ânic texts prescribed for the prayer in an appropriate translation was absolutely obligatory (wa'dâhî). The important thing in the prayer is the meaning of the text, not the character of the āâdâh. The true sense is, however, transmitted through a translation. Furthermore, it is not realistic to require the great mass of Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories to learn Arabic on account of the Qur'ân. It is much more desirable and indispensable (according to Mahmûd Shârif) even obligatory (wa'dâhî) for them to use translations, quite apart from their use in the prayer. The thesis that the Qur'ân in translation ceases to be the Word of God (kalâm Allâh) is, according to Marâkî, valid only with reservations. The translation does not simply represent human speech (kalâm al-nâdî), for although it does not contain the Word of God literally, yet its content consists of the meaning of God's Word.

Bibliography: Şâhî, al-Risâla fi usul al-fih (= Kitâb al-Umm, i), Bûlûk 1321, 81; 'Abd al-Rahmân, b. al-Kâshî, al-Mudawwana al-kubrâ, Cairo 1324, i, 68-71; Sarâjî, Kitâb al-Mahbûbî, i, Cairo 1324, 304; Ibn Khallîmâ, al-Muhammî, Cairo 1367, i, 486 f.; Şâhî, al-Mawdulârî, Cairo [1340], ii, 65-66; al-Fâhî, al-lh-nadâhîkî ar-rusâ'î, i, Cairo 1915, 198; A. Querry, Droit musulman. Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyliès, i, Paris 1891, 70, 231; Buhîrî, Tahâhid, 51; ibn 'Abî al-Ashârî, Fâh al-bûrî, Cairo 1319-99.
vi, 69; ix, 8; Ibn Khatyba, Ta'dil mukhtal al-Kur'an, Cairo 1373, 15 f.; Zamakhshari, al-Kashshaf" on Sur'a XXIV, 44; Suyuti, Kitab al-Hikam, Cairo 1837, i, 111; R. Brunschvig, Kemal Pasha'dede et le persan, in Mélanges Henri Mauny, 1963, 48-64, at 54-9.


J. J. G. Jansen, The translation of the Qur'an into Persian, decreed that this should be done in the time of the Orthodox Caliphs by Sâlim ibn al-'Ifrîsî, in Moscyskaya literatura, Moscow 1972.) records several MSS. are mentioned by Storey, the earliest, at 12/7/1445 and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu. In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable; a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in MW, v (1915), 254-5); Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text); Punjabi, Sanskrit (Chauvin, vi), Sindhi (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in Orient, xvi (1962), 224-42), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu.

2. Indo-Pakistani languages. Of the many Urdu versions, the earliest said to have been made by Shah 'Abî al-Kâdir [and Shah Râfi' al-Din], each of them an uncle of the celebrated preacher and scholar Muhammad Ismâyîl Shahî (see Ismâyîl Shâhi). The British Museum Hindustani catalogue lists innumerable examples, including versions made by Christians and printed in Roman characters. Details may also be found in the bibliographies of the Andijanî-i tarâkî-yi Urdu Pakistanî (i, Karachi 1961) and of Abû al-Sattâr Chaudhuri (1974).

In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable; a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in MW, v (1915), 254-5); Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text); Punjabi, Sanskrit (Chauvin, vi), Sindhi (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in Orient, xvi (1962), 224-42), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu.

3. South-East Asian. There are many translations into Malay and Indonesian mentioned in the catalogues and bibliographies, and into other Indone-

sian languages (Sundanese, Javanese, Maccanese and Buginese). A Burmese version with the Arabic text, by one Hâdîjî Nûr al-Dîn known as Hâdîjî Úlî, published in 1536, may be found in the British Library (5M. Arab. cat., suppl.), while Tinker mentions that a project to translate the Kur'an into
that language was initiated by U Nu while Prime Minister in 1953. Two translations into Thai (one with Arabic text) of 1968 and 1971 are in the Wason Collection in the Bodleian Library.


4. Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese). Several 19th and 20th century works contain selections in Chinese, sometimes with commentary. A MS., believed to date from about 1800 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, gives "pieces from the Koran and prayers transcribed from the Arabic original in Chinese sounds". Translation into Chinese was recommended by Sakuma, a Japanese businessman and convert to Islam who, in 1856, founded the progressive but short-lived newspaper Ma k'iang. Another source says that in that same year a complete translation was under consideration by the International Muslim Association. The British Museum has a Kuo-yu ku-tan ching, with commentary translated from English versions by Sáhn T'ai-chou and others (Taipei 1958).

Japanese versions by Toshitoko Iatsumi and Tamaka Shiro were published in several editions in the nineteen-fifties, sixties and seventies.


5. Near Eastern Languages. Three manuscripts of Hebrew translations exist (in Oxford, Cambridge and the Library of Congress), the first two made from the Italian of Arrivabene, the third from the Dutch of Glazemaker. All of these predate the translation of Hermann (Hayyim) Rekendorf, Leipzig 1857, made direct from the Arabic. Two further translations have since appeared; by Joseph Joel Rivlin (Tel Aviv 1936-41, 1963*) and by Aharon Ben-Shemesh (Ramath Gan 197*).

Quotations from the Qur'an, in Syriac, appear in a polemical work against Jews, Nestorians and Muslims by the West Syrian writer Barsallbl (d. 1171), which exists in a manuscript now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and in another in the Harvard University Semitic Museum. It is doubtful if a complete Syriac translation ever existed.

In the Bhopal State Library is to be found a Koran in Arabic, published in 2547. Though its author claims that it is a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as "always liable to heighten or exaggerate a harmless text to give it a nasty or licentious sting, or to prefer an improbable but unpleasant interpretation of the meaning to a likely but normal and decent one" (N. Daniel, Islam and the West, the making of an image, Edinburgh 1960, see Index, s.v. Ketton), the work of Robert formed the basis for several mediæval versions, but was apparently unknown to another early translator, Marc of Toledo. It was recopied in the 17th century by Dominicus Germain, whose work exists in Montpellier, the Escorial and elsewhere, and was published in the Cujianic corpus, together with various other works of Christian propaganda, by Theodor Bihlbaier (Buchmann) in three editions at Basel in 1543, and one at Zürich in 1550 containing a preface by Martin Luther.

The first translation in a modern European language was the Italian version of Andrea Arrivabene, published in 1547. Though its author claims that it is made directly from the Arabic, it is really a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as published by Bihlbaier. Arrivabene's version was used for the first German translation made by Solomon Schweiggert, preacher at the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg, which in turn formed the basis of the first Dutch translation, made anonymously and issued in 1641.

The first French version by André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezais", came out in a great many editions between 1647 and 1775. All editions contain a "summary of the religion of the Turks" and other documents. This gave rise to the first Koran in English by Alexander Ross, and also fathered versions in Dutch (by Glazemaker), German (Lange) and Russian (Postnikov and Veryovkin).

The second Latin version was made directly from the Arabic text by Ludovico Marraci (or Marrao), published first in 1698 and secondly, with additions and annotations, by Reinsch in 1721. It was translated into German by Herreiter.
The 18th century brought translations made directly from an Arabic original by Sale into English (first published in 1734), Savary (French, 1751) and Boysen (German, 1773). Sale’s version was in vogue in the English-speaking world for nearly two centuries: his renowned preliminary discourse, based, according to Nambo, on Marracci and Edward Poecocke senior, was translated into several European languages. It was even translated into Arabic by Protestant missionaries in Egypt.

Savary’s version was, according to Chatvin, evidently made from the Latin of Marracci; it bears the distinction of having been published in Mecca in A.H. 1165 (or so the title-page of one edition states!). Kasimirski, whose translation has also had a long run, and indeed like that of Savary, is still being republished in our own time, was requested by Pauthier to revise Savary. He preferred, however, to make a new translation directly from the Arabic while consulting the works of Marracci and Sale.

Throughout the 19th century, the translations were normally made without remove from the Arabic. In the 20th century, the first English versions made by Muslims appear, and the Abmadiyya movement began to issue the Kurān text with translations into European and even African languages. In recent times translations have been made by many of the most prominent Arabists and Islamic scholars into all the main languages of Europe, undeterred by the diemum of A. Fischer that only second or third-grade scholars dared to undertake this task.

**Conspectus of European Language Versions:**


Bulgarian. Loko, 1902-5. Tomov and Skulov, ca. 1930. (MW, xvii [1933], 188-90).


Hungarian. Szmadja, 1631 (MW [1927]). Szoholay, 1854.


Rumanian. Isopescu, 1912.


(J. D. Pearson)

**AL-KURĀN—AL-KORĀN**
attributed to al-Kurtubî, and with Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman Shihabî al-Yaman the Tayyabî al-nâṣir fi l-huwd al-'âmil of al-Dzâjarî up to Sûra IV, 41. The former was two of which have been published, sc. Lum al-Anam h-ikd; al-hitnam a al-saniya from forty-two (Brockelmann.s.v.) to over a hundred, 3 of 4 of the so-called "Satanic verses" allegedly interpolated into Kur'ân, UII, 21. The heresiographical sources are agreed that 'Abû Karîb denied the death of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, the Imâm and Mahdi of the Kaysâniyya. It is thus evident that he was active immediately after the death of Ibn al-Hanafiyya in 87/700 and probably played a major role in promoting Messianic ideas about him among the Kaysâniyya. The sources disagree, however, in regard to other points of his teaching. The Mu'tazilî and Sunni sources attribute to him the belief that Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya was alive hidden in the mountains of Râdîw near Medina, guarded by a lion on his right and a leopard on his left and provided with food in the morning and the evening, until the time of his reappearance. Some of 'Abû Karîb's followers held that Ibn al-Hanafiyya was punished by God with confinement in the Sâbil of Râdîw because of his voluntary submission to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. In the account of these sources, 'Abû Karîb appears as the founder of what became the mainstream of the Kaysâniyya expecting the return of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, and whose views were later expressed in the poetry of Rukhâyîr (q.v.) and al-Sayyid al-Himârî (q.v.). According to the Shi'i sources, on the other hand, 'Abû Karîb and his followers asserted that the place where Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya was concealed could not be known and they were distinct from those who believed that he was hiding in the mountains of Râdîw. They maintained that 'Âli had named him the Mahdi. 'Abû Hâtim al-Razi adds to this that 'Abû Karîb considered Ibn al-Hanafiyya the immediate successor of 'Âli in the imâmâte and opposed those who upheld the imâmâte of al-Hasan and al-Husayn before him. This view was in conflict with the position of the majority of the Kaysâniyya, expressed in verses by Rukhâyîr, that the three sons of 'Âli were consecutively Imâms and al-Majdîî, representing the Mu'tazîlî account, expressly states that 'Abû Karîb (Ibn Narnab) considered al-Hasan as the Imâm after 'Âli. According to al-Nawbakhi, the extremist Shî'î Ênsa b. U'mâra al-barâîî of Medina was originally a follower of 'Abû (Ibn) Karîb, and among Hamza's early supporters in Kûfa were Bayân b. Sârî and al-Nahîd. The Karîbiyya and all its extremist offshoots claimed that they would return to life at the reappearance of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya. According to the account of the Mu'tazîlî Abu 'l-Kâsim al-Balkhi, on the other hand, the doctrine of return (ra'îya) was first taught by Hayyân al-Sarrâîî who, in contrast to 'Abû Karîb, believed that Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya had died and would return to life. While there is no external evidence supporting either of the two groups of sources, the Shi'i sources, providing more specific details, appear to be generally better informed.


Encyclopædia of Islam, V

KURAYBIYYA — KURAYSH

KURAYSH, the tribe inhabiting Mecca in the time of Muhammad and to which he belonged; the name, which may be a nickname, is mostly (e.g. Ibn Hishâm, 61) said to come from takarrush, "a coming together, association"; but it is also possible (cf. Tabari, 1, 1104) that it is the diminutive of sharq, "shark", and it could then be a totemic name like Kilab, etc. (A man called Kuraysh, other than Fîhr, is mentioned in Nasab al-Kuraysh, 12, 7-9.) The tribe is taken to consist of the descendants of Fîhr, and he himself is sometimes spoken of as Kuraysh; but the name is mostly used only of the tribe, which is reckoned among the "northern Arabs" (cf. ad-Dânî and al-'Arab, ed. Jâzîhî, vi, p. 543A). The ancestry of Fîhr is given as: b. Músik b. al-Nâdr b. Khânâ'în b. Khuzayma b. Mûsîkta b. Liyâs b. 'Abbâs b. Nîzar b. Mâ'âd b. 'Adamîn. The following table shows the main subdivisions of Kuraysh (for a fuller version, cf. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, 7); an asterisk indicates those commonly spoken of as "clans" in Muhammad's time.

Fîhr is said to have been the leader of men of Khânâ', Khuzayma and other tribes in fighting to defend the Ka'ba against an attack by Yamanî tribes, but the sanctuary and various privileges con-
became renowned for their *hilm* [q.v.] "steadiness" or "absence of hothedaddness", and in practice this meant that they placed business interests first and maintained a measure of unity despite their rivalries.

On the death of Kuraysh (probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D.), his powers and rights passed to 'Abd al-Dar, but after a time he was challenged by 'Abd Manaf, and this led to a division of Kuraysh into two rival groups. 'Abd al-Dar was supported by Makhdum, Sahm, Djamah and 'Adi, and these were known as the Abil or Confederates. The opposing party, known as the Mutayyabun, the Perfumed, consisted then of 'Abd Manaf, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Harigh b. Fihr. It is impossible to know how long these groups remained effective. There is a reference to Mutayyabun in a letter from Muhammad to some men of Kura' written in 8 A.H. (al-Wakidi, ed. Marden Jones, ii, 750). Long before this, however, about 605 A.D. (Moqarrab, 40), the Mutayyabun had been replaced by a new confederacy, the Hilf al-Fudul [q.v.] (exact meaning uncertain), which consisted of Hashim, al-Mutactab, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and perhaps al-Harigh b. Fihr. The essential change here is that 'Abd Manaf has split into four parts, of whom two, Hashim and al-Mutayyab, have remained with their former allies, while the other two, 'Abd Shams and Nawfal, have abandoned them. This may mean that 'Abd Shams and Nawfal had become strong through commercial success. It is clear that 'Abd Shams, though not fully identified with the Abil, had developed close business relations with them. In all the stories of the pre-Islamic period there is admittedly a legendary element, but the main outline of events appears to be roughly correct, even if most of the dating is uncertain.

A man did not cease to belong to his clan when he became a Mumin, and in many of the events of Muhammad's career, and of the period up to 135/750, the influence of old rivalries or alliances can be seen. As late as the reign of Ma'muya I, an appeal against injuries was made by al-Husayn b. 'Ali (of Hashim) to the Hilf al-Fudul, and was given a whole-hearted response from men of Taym, Abil and Asad (Ibn Hisham, 56 f.). The leaders of the revolt defeated at the Battle of the Camel in 656 were from Taym and Asad. Of course, there were changes in the relative power and wealth of the clans. The clan of 'Abd Shams rose to pre-eminence through the Hamayyad dynasty, since Umayyad was a son of 'Abd Shams; and the early Sh'is and then the 'Abbasids represented their old rivals, Hashim. Under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads, men of Kuraysh played a very important role in the organisation and administration of the empire, and without their skills in these fields the empire would probably not have endured.

On the death of Muhammad, the Ansar wanted one of them to be head of the community of Muslims, but they were persuaded by 'Umar to accept Abu Bakr as khalifa, on the grounds that only a Kurayshi could hold the post. There are indications that the Ansar continued to feel strongly about this point for some decades (cf. Watt in MW, xiii (1952), 161, 164). A *badil* came to be generally accepted, however, that "the imams are from Kuraysh" (e.g. Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, iii, 126, 183; iv, 421; cf. T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 47). The Qur'anic verse IX, 100/101 was also quoted in support. When the Sunni theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally insisted that the caliph or *imam* should be from Kuraysh (e.g. Ibn Abi Yalla, Tabaqat al-Hindabila, Cairo 1932, i, 25, 34; ii, 21; al-Mawardi, Abhum, 5; Ibn Khaldun, *Mubaddala*, i, 350-4; Eng. tr., i, 396-401). A few scholars, however (e.g. Djelal b. 'Amr), hold otherwise, and most of the Khawarij considered that a pious and upright man of any origin could be *imam* (al-Ash'ari, Malaki, 461 f.; al-Baghdadi, *Usul al-din*, Istanbul 1928, 275-7; etc.). This matter caused a little difficulty in more recent times when the caliphate was claimed by Mughal emperors and Ottoman sultans, but most of them "alame" found a way of circumventing the difficulty (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 162, 173).

The geographer al-Hamdani (d. 334/945) mentions small groups of Kuraysh in various parts of Arabia, possibly remnants of trading stations (ed. D. H. Mawdudi, *Eid al-din*, Istanbul 1892, 327). At the present day there are many Kuraysh living as Bedouin in the neighbourhood of Mecca, while in Mecca itself the key of the Ka'ba is held by a clan of Kuraysh called Shayba.

The tribe is Kuraysh, but this was not much used in the heartlands of the caliphate in the early centuries; if any tribe was used it was mostly that from a clan. After a time, some men seem to have prided themselves in descent from Kuraysh. The following are some examples: one in 'Irak, 7/13th century; six in Egypt and Syria, 8/14th; 9/15th; 11/17th, 12/18th centuries; two in North Africa, 7/13th and 9/15th centuries (G.A.L, ii, 110, 111, 112, 449; G.A.L S, i, 268 foot, 537, No. 20, 609; i, 58; Ibn Khaldun, Eng. tr., ii, 173). In Pakistan, etc. it is common at the present time in the form Qoreshi.

Bibliography: (for the earlier period): Ibn Hisham, 61-70, 75 f., 79-89, etc.; Ibn Hadi, *K. al-Muhabbar*, Hyderabad 1942; idem, *K. al-Munammad* fi 'al̲ābbr Kuraysh, Hyderabad 1946; al-Azrai, *K. Abuu-bakr Madiha*, in F. Wustenfeld, *Die Chroniken dtr Stadt Mecca*, i, Leipzig 1859; al-Mamari, *Mundir* al-Muhabb, iii, 51-122, etc.; al-Zubayri, *K. Naufir Kuraysh*, Cairo 1951; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad an Mecca*, Oxford 1933, 4-46; etc.; H. Lamens, Lettres des Kuraysh, Beirut 1924; (W. Montgomery Watt) *Kuraysh b. Badran* [see 'Kayal, Banu —] *Kurayyat al-Milh*, a group of villages in the extreme northwest of Sa'di Arabia, in the northern section of the NW-SE depression of 'Abd al-Sirjan (approx. long. 37° 40' E. and lat. 32° 25' N.). The largest settlements, (though none are larger than 2,000 inhabitants) are Ithra, al-Kukr, Manwu, Ghafl, Raid, and an-Nabk, which is the administrative centre and residence of the local *Umari*, who now reports to Mecca, but at the time of Euting's visit (1801-1802) reported to the Amir of Hadil. Until the consolidation of the house of Ibn Sa'di's power, the villages were frequently under dispute between the Shammar and Kuraysh tribes, to whose leaders the inhabitants of Kurayyat al-Milh had to pay tribute. Aside from some meagre oasis agriculture (chiefly dates, alfalfa, and a little grain in good years), the principal income was derived from the caravan trade, particularly during the pilgrimage season, but most importantly from the area's extensive salt pans, which have been intensively mined for several centuries; hence its collective name of "Salt Villages". The salt was traded southwestwards to al-Qadw, Sadakka, and Hail, and northwards to Jordan and Syria. By the mid-20th century the drilling of deep water wells and the spread of industrialisation had allowed a greater diversification of agriculture and employment for
cash wages, so that the villages were much less dependent on trade and salt production.

Repeatedly Nabataean, but certainly pre-Islamic ruins, pottery, and inscriptions attest to the antiquity of settled life in this area.


**KURAYYA,** Banu, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yathrib (Medina), with lands towards the south-east of the oasis. As in the case of the other Jewish groups, it is not known whether they were descended from refugees of Hebrew stock or from Arabs who had adopted Judaism. They adhered firmly to the Jewish religion, but at the same time had adopted many Arab practices and had intermarried with Arabs. According to a genealogy given by al-Samhdi, Kurayya, Hadil and *Amr were sons of al-Kharadji b. al-Sarh, who was descended from Aaron (though only eight immediate names are given). The related tribe of al-Nadir was said to be al-Nadir b. al-Nabhani b. al-Kharadji b. al-Sarh. Kurayya and al-Nadir, with the related groups, after their settlement in Yathrib developed agriculture (palms and cereals) and dominated politically the previous Arab inhabitants. The Jews lost their dominant position, however, after the coming of al-Aws and al-Kharadji, though they appear to have retained a measure of independence. Both Kurayya and al-Nadir supported al-Aws at the battle of Bu'ath [906]. At the time of the Hijra, the two most important men of Kurayya appear to have been al-Zabrid b. Bathy b. Wabah and Ka'b b. Assad, each of these had an *a'um or fort. These and fifteen others are named as hostile to Muhammad (Ibn Hisham, 352). Kurayya are said to have had two assemblies (*madhliyan*), those of Banu Ka'b b. Kurayya and Banu *Amr b. Kurayya (ibid., 691 for food. It is reported that at the Hijra, Ka'b b. Assad, acting on behalf of Kurayya, made an agreement (*khid*), with Muhammad, and that later during the siege of Medina (the *Khan aqda*), he was persuaded by Huyayy b. Abihab of al-Nadir to break it, and the actual document was torn up by Huyayy (Ibn Hisham, 532, 574; al-Wakidi, 456). This report is open to grave doubt, however. Ibn Ishahh does not name his sources. Al-Wakidi has two: one is a grandson of Ka'b b. Malik b. Salim, a clan hostile to the Jews; and the other is Muhammad b. Ka'b (d. 1172/1273-8), the son of a boy of Kurayya, who was sold as a slave when they surrendered and later became a Muslim. Both these sources may be suspected of bias against Kurayya; and it is therefore probable that there was no special agreement between Muhammad and Kurayya. It is virtually certain, however, that Muhammad had a general agreement with the Jews that they were not to support an enemy against him (al-Wakidi, 76), and something like this was probably implicit in his alliance with the Arab clans of Medina, since the Jewish clans were allied to one or other of the Arab clans. The Constitution of Medina as given by Ibn Hisham (347-4) does not mention Kurayya or al-Nadir or *Kayukuh* by name; but its present form almost certainly dates from after the execution of the men of Kurayya, and these Jewish groups were probably mentioned in an earlier version.

The question of an agreement affects the moral judgement on Muhammad's treatment of Kurayya. During the siege of Medina (Dhu 'T-`Awwa 5/429), Muhammad became anxious about their conduct and sent some of the leading Muslims to talk to them; the result was disquieting. Though Kurayya does not appear to have committed any overt hostile act, they had probably been involved in negotiations with the enemy. On this ground, as soon as the besiegers withdrew, Muhammad attacked Kurayya and besieged them in their forts (*qasr*) for twenty-five nights. After negotiations they agreed to surrender unconditionally. Sa'd b. *Mu'adh, chief of the clan of *Abd al-Ashghal*, with whom they had an alliance, was brought to give judgement on them. He decreed that all the men (who numbered between 800 and 900) were to be put to death and all the women and children sold as slaves. This decree was carried out recently, W. N. Arafa in *JRAS* [1976], 100-7, has maintained that by no means all the adult males were killed, but his argument is not entirely convincing. Three young men of the clan of Hadil, who had been with Kurayya in the strongholds, slipped out before the surrender and prostrated Islam. One or two others also escaped. As part of his share of the booty, Muhammad received one of the women, Rayhana, and married her as a concubine, though she is said to have become a Muslim. Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Kurazi (mentioned above) gained distinction as a scholar.


**KURDA** [see *KARNA*]

**KURBAN**, sacrificial, victim. The word goes back to the Hebrew *korbân*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. *Diren*, *Syriaica influence on the style of the Kurân*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (1927), 85; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis in ... orae pergrinis*, 20). The language of the Kurân, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in -*ûn* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This true of *kurbân*, which occurs three times in the Kurân. In *surah* III, 179 and V, 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In *surah* XLVI, 27, however, we read: "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *kurbân* as gods to the exclusion of Allâh?" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *kâb* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" (see *SHAPÂA*).

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *kâbâth*. The *Lisân* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i.e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *kurbân* is their blood", i.e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *salât* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual
to the killing of an animal on the roth Dhū 'l-Hijjah and the whole celebration on this and the following ṭāhīr days is called ṭid al-Kurban [cf. ṭid al-Ashkâl] in Turkish-speaking countries Kurban-boynami [cf. Bayram].

In Christian Arabic the word means the eucharist; cf. Geff, Verzeichnis arabischer-kirchlicher Termini (= CSCO, 147), Louvain 1954: the consecrated elements, especially the host; ṭid al-Kurban = feast of Corpus Christi.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word ṭurāba, plur. ṭurābīn, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king: the word probably comes directly from k-rr "to be near".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. J. Wensinck)

**KURBUKA**, property Kur-Bugba (T. "stone-hearted bull, stallion") Abu Sa‘īd Kiwam al-Dawla, Turkish commander of the Seljuk period and lord of al-Mawsil.

In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslan, Berk-yanur’s uncle [q.v.], against the two rebellious governors Aḥ Ṣonkor and Būzan, which ended with the capitulation and execution of these two, the amir Kurbuka, who had been sent to help by Berk-yanur, was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488/February 1095 (cf. birkvâṛdog), Kurbuka was released by his son Ridwân, and with his brother Altuntâsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrân. Muhammad b. Muslim b. Kuruyâl lord of Naṣîhīn then applied to him for help against his brother ‘Alī, who had been appointed governor of al-Mawsil by Tutush: Kurbuka made an alliance with Muhammad, but had him murdered afterwards, and seized Ḥarrân and N-qâṣbah, and set out against al-Mawsil, which ‘Alī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhū ’l-Ka‘da 488/Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawsil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altuntâsh and occupied al-Rabla. In 492/1098 Berk-yanur sent him with a large army to retake Antakīyā [q.v.], which had just been conquered by the Christians. Eddess, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuka on the way, but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Antakīyā. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuka’s own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Berk-yanur and his brother Muham¬mad in Ṣa’īd 492/May-June 1099, which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuka commanded Berk-yanur’s left wing. In the following year he was sent to Adharbâyān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country, but when he was nearing the town of Khuṭay or Ṣif [q.v.], he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhū ’l-Ka‘da 492/Aug.-Sept. 1092, after appointing Sonktorqez his successor.


(For V. Zettersten*)

**KURBO** (from the Mongolian kurt, "an archer"); from ho, "quiver"; Tadhkhil as-nulak, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, 32, n. 2), a military term with a variety of different meanings: "he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman" (Pavit de Courtaild, Dict. ture, s.v., 425; "armourer, sword-cutter, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch; leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarme in charge of a city’s security" (Sahaymân Tabâb, L. K. Coghlan, ed. Istanbul 2308[1880-1], 233), "sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector" (Vambéry, Cognahaise Sprachstudien, 326).

In Ṣafavî usage, kurt denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafavî military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with ḥilli-bîsh (q.v.). The kūrēs were clearly distinguished from non-ḥilli-bîsh units, which were termed qašgar-i umârid; ṣipâdîyân; etc. Kūrēs with special functions were denoted by special titles (see index to Minorsky, op. cit., under qārē; for additional titles, see index to Istakdr Barg Münghi). Ṣârīâh-i illam-ârâ-yi Abbâsî, ii, Tehran 1332/1953, 214-20; some of these titles (e.g. Ṣârīâh-i tâbâh, "head of the guards; kurt-i šâkârîn, "kurt of the sword"; kurt-i ir-â-kâmân, "kurt of the bow and arrow"), appear to denote ranks, but their relative importance is not certain. Kūrēs constituted the royal bodyguard, in this capacity sometimes being specially designated kurt-îyân-i ḥamâs-yi ḡabî (Ṭūrīkh-i illam-ârâ-yi Abbâsî, i, 99), or kurt-îyân-i šâm-i ḡabî (ibid., i, 127).

The commander of the kūrēs was called kurtîlîbî. This office is first mentioned in the Ṣafavî chronicles in 917/1505-6, and seems from the first to have been distinct from the office of the amīr al-arâmid? (R. M. Savory, The principal offices of the Ṣafavî state during the reign of Ismâ’îl I (197-xl 1070-74), in BSAS, xxvii [1960], 101). At first overshadowed by the amīr al-arâmid, the kurtîlîbî became one of the most important officers of state under Ṣâma’îl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Šâh [q.v.], wielding great authority in both military and political affairs. It is noteworthy that for a period of forty years (ca. 955-955/1548-57), nearly all the kurtîlîbîs were drawn from the Afsâr tribe. With the accession of Abbâs I [q.v.], the importance of the kurtîlîbî declined pari passu with that of the kūrēs themselves, but he still "carried great weight in public affairs" (Minorsky, op. cit., 127).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see R. M. Savory, The principal offices of the Ṣafavî state during the reign of Ṣâma’îl I (197-xl 1073-74), in BSAS, xxvii [1961], 791; G. Doerger, Turkhâne and Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, i. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Wiesbaden 1943, 427-32, contains an excellent discussion of the various meanings of kurt and kūrē, with full textual references.

(R. M. Savory)

**KURD 'ÂLl, Muḥammad Fard, Syrian journal¬ist, scholar and man of letters, was born in Damascus in 1876, of a father of Kurdish origin and a Čekes mother. From an early age, he showed an interest in nature and in books, and it was reading which, combined with his innate curiosity and gifts of observation, made the greatest contribution to his intellectual development. Already bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, he learnt French from the Lazarist Fathers of Damascus, and this enabled him to acquire, thanks to assiduous reading of books and periodicals a knowledge, extensive for his time, of Western civilization, and in particular, of French literature. He perfected his Arabic-Islamic education as a pupil of some distinguished masters: Tahir a-
Dissâhir, Muhammad Mubârik and Sâlim al-Bulghâri. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, al-Shâam, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review al-Muhtafâf. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris, but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in al-Muhtafâf and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muhammad ʿAbdûlфиз (d.1907), whose lectures at al-Azhâr he attended. Obliged to leave Egypt because of the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive, he attended al-Azhâr, transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd ʿAll’s frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd ʿAll succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there; in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time, he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Having persuaded himself on reaching Damascus, he decided to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe; he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose Annali dell’Islam had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed; it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the Khîraj al-Shâam, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1914-15, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the Khîraj al-Shâb, a nihal (q.v.), published in 1915, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1916, he obtained authorisation to transform the Kunuz al-adiddd, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MADIMA III.I.1. Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd ʿAll was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his life and over which he presided until his death. On 2 April 1933 the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd ʿAll was of a witty and playful nature; a great conceptualist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in al-Muktabas and in the Multfâf al-Majâna, of the Multfâf al-ʿArabi (MMfA), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the “epistles” of Ibn al-Mukaffa, of ʿAbd al-Hamîd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [q.v.], etc. in his Rasâd al-bulughâ, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1914, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the Strati Ibn Tulun of al-Balawt (1939), the al-Musâdâd min faʾalat al—anîmîd of al-Tanâţî (1946), the Taʿrîkh bukami al-ʿIsm of al-Bayhaki (1948), the Kedîb al-arâfiyya of Ibn Kutayba (1947), and the al-Bayyara of Khushdîm (1953).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: Umûr al-bayān, Cairo 1937, and Khinda as-adîdâf, Damascus 1939. Apart from the Ghârîb al-Gharb of 1923 and the Khîraj al-Shâm, Damascus 1923 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd ʿAll collected in al-Kadîm wa l-hadîth, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in al-Zâhir, al-Musâdâd and al-Muktabas and added an account of his travels in the Hijâz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in al-Isân te al-ḥadîth, Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, Ghita Dimashq, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, Mudhakkinll, Damascus 1948-51.


KURDS, KURDISTAN.

i General introduction

ii The Kurds and their country: Kurdistan

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistan

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistan

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds

D. The geography of Kurdistan

1. Physical aspect

2. The living landscape and habitat

3. The human aspect

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistan

iii History

A. Origins and pre-Islamic history

B. The Islamic period up to 1920

C. From 1920 to the present day

iv Kurdish society

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society

1. The Kurdish family

2. Tribal organisation

(a) Listings of the Kurdish tribes

(b) The Kurdish tribe and its components

(c) The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations

3. The economic structures

(a) Kurdish nomadism

(b) The Kurdish peasantry

II. THE KURDS AND THEIR COUNTRY: KURDISTAN

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistan. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, Origins), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistan or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d. 559/1165), the last great Saljūk who created a province with its capital called Sâbâr, to the north-east of Hamadân. This province, situated between Ashkâbâdyan and Luristan, included the regions of Hamadân, Dînawar, Kirmângâh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrâzûr and Khûghtiyân, on the Zâb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Hamd Allah Mustawfî (d. 750/1350), in his Nuzhat al-kullûb (ed. Le Strange, 188; ed. Tehran 1937, 272). The nominal extent of Kurdistan varies, however, through the centuries. Sharaf al-Dîn, in his Sharafl-nîma (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistan, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Dîbâl [cf. V. Barthold, Islioriko-geografichesky oboz Iran, St. Petersburg 1903, 178. For his part, the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi (d. ca. 1693/1682), in his Siyâhle-mâne, li, 71-5, enumerates the 9 districts which formed Kurdistan in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkârî, Diyarbakîr, Diyar Mokri, Amâdiya, Mawîlî, Shahrâzûr and Ardalan, and which required 17 days to traverse. But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shî'îs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave no more than 2 kettâhîns to the provinces: Darsîn, Mûsh and Diyar Bakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 17th century, Hamadân and Luristan were detached from Kurdistan and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalân with Sînâ as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistan. Everywhere else, Kurdistan has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia; in Irâq, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Diyarbakir (Ghassemîbû, 14). B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistan. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistan does not coincide with the actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divriği—Erzurum—Kars, in the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Kangîzman and Tabûzâca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Murphâtes (Ritter, xl, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Kangî and Divriği. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some very important colonies of Kurds are even found in Clîcîa, to the south of Ankara, in Heymahna and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and İsmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 ûls or provinces, Turkish Kurdistan numbers at least 17 of them almost totally: in the north-east, the provinces of Erzînçan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elazîg, Bingöl, Mûş and Karakoçe (Agri), then Adıyaman, Diyarbakir, Sîrt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çolamerîk (Hakkârî). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran. The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the province of Western Ashkâbâdyan, to the west of Lake Urmia (Urmîya), the districts of Makî, Kottar, Shahrûp, and to the south of the lake, Mahâbâd (ex-Sabîla); in the province of Ardalân, called the province of Kurdistan, whose capital is Senna or Sannadîjî, the districts of Bukan, Sârîkis, Sardasht, Bana, Bigjâr (Garrus), Mervîn and...
In "Irāq, the Kurds occupy the north and northeast of the country in the *Kurd* provinces of Dūhok, recently detached from the province of Mawsil, the nābiyān or districts of Zāhī, Māsurā Dīr, Ḩamādiya and *Ākra*. Left outside their administration are Sinjūr and Shāykhān, peopled by the Yazidis (q.v.); the Ḩanīf of Kirkūk, Arbili and Sūrāniyāni (*entirely Kurdish*) and, in the *Kurd* of Dīyalā, the *māhūn* of Khamānīn and Mandalī, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zāreg. The Kurds are equally numerous in Bagdād and Mawsil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dīgāh; a group (60 x 40 km.), in the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria, Sīrāq Dālān; and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Dajlāz, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Ra’s al-*Ayn, Darbissiyya, Amūda, Kamīshlūy, Andīvar and Dōrīk. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of "Irāq and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damāsuc, Hūmās and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the rayons of Aparan, Basargedar, Huktemberia, Talin and Esmāilzādān; in the Republic of Agharoblygūn, 25 villages in the rayons of Nefeldjan, Latchia and Kubālī (Armenia, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistan hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The Encyclopædia Britannica estimates the length of Kurdistan at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The Kūmās al-Sāmān, Istanbul 1856, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish nābiyān of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistan cover around 150,000 km² in Turkey, 252,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in "Irāq, and 72,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistan can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistan, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistan. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Sīsētes and some Tcherkeses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (C. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Tur Abdin* (Turquie orientale), in Proche Orient Chrétien, Jerusalem, xxii-iii 2 [1972], 233-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In Iran to the west of Lake Rīdāfīya and in "Irāq in the region of Dūhok-Zāhī and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldæans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews, at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Kurdish a hundred years ago, a traveler's record*, in Jewish Social Studies, vi [1944], 195-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed host in Assyria*, in The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *La Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. **Numerical extent of the Kurds.** As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistan. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for Kurds, M. Durua, 1st ed. 1961, 210 and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Esenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by: (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42; (2) S. I. Erit, *L'ethnographic*, 1958, 39; (3) A. Ghassam Louj, *Kurdistān*, 1960, 23; (4) I. C. Vanly, *La Kurdistan irakien*, 1970, 30; (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in Journal Cont. Hist. vii (1971), 97:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Irāq</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cf. Edmonds, p. 91 n. 1).

D. **The geography of Kurdistan**

1. **Physical aspect**

Kurdistan is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Marāq, they form a fork whose northern line pivots away from the Engērek Dağı and Nurūhak Dağı (3,000 m.), continues by the Akra Dağ, joins the chains of Mounts Muntūz (3,088 m.), Merean and Kargaparaz (3,586 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends in the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins to the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Haçs (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2,590 m.) to the south of Muğ, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bittis and Hakari (3,630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.).

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 2,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çalıxak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palendöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şeralettin and...
further to the west, the heights of Twinel, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malaya (1,915 m.) to the southeast of Elazığ (1,070 m.) and to the north of Murg (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian arc frequent torrents shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingöl and Gene in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (570 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m.) and the chain of Taş Akıblı, which extends from Mardin (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher mountains of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,926 m. [see Fig. 31]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Ağrı Dağ (3,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,075 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the immense sulphur-spring which is the Tenderek (3,133 m.) and that of the Alâ Dağ (3,655 m.); to the east, the Ruh Dağ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,610 m.) and the Ispizig Dağ (3,337 m.) and to the south the Vaviran Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satat. Let us note, apart from the two Ararat whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic erup¬
tions, two famous volcanoes, on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nimrud'), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an interior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All this region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish-inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat: these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistan from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Harki-Cramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this chaine magistrale of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistân, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in Kurdistan in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates. But in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistân in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates. But in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistân in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURÂT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdistân region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Diilak Dağ; then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Cîrbî Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Keinalive, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (650 km. long). This last has its source to the north of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Alâ Dağ and Tenderek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyarbakir and Karkash, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malâsgirt.
Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Mus, waters Gene, Pali and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tokma Su (254 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistan, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (255 km. long), with their sub-tributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistan; no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see map], the other great xiver of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistan in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts., waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistan the towns famous in Kurdish history, e.g. Ergani, Diyarpakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazira. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anbar, Batman, Gursu and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilize the land. It passes the 'Iraqi frontier at Fesh Khabur, where its tributary the Khabur joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hassi waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris, which are actual rivers. In the Great Zab (320 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Dagi between Lakes Van and Rizkubiy. It waters Culumcrik/Djulamarg, then in 'Iraqi the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its ramifications, waters Kirkuk/Daljuk Tut. (240 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkuk, Daljuk Tut and Khurmatu, and traverses the 'Iraqi Mts., hurrying itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdad. Finally, there is the Diyala (385 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the 'Iraqi-Iranian frontier; its principal source in 'Iraq is the Tanghur which waters the plain of Shahrizor, and in Iran the Sirwan rising in Luristan. After Derbend-i Kehan, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in 'Iraq, these two branches constitute the Diyala, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iraqi Kurdistan is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Cilis Çehme, a great massif of 3,083 m. height in the Mirkh country. Let us name only the Khat Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardal Susan, not to mention the Djigatu (240 km.) and the Talatu which both flow into Lake Rizkubiy.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistan may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistan, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of 1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 km.². Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Erof. Further to the north is Lake Bafik lying to the east of Kairose. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hasar Golu, quite deep and with an area of about 50 km.². Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Iran one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 km.²), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places; it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Shor Golu and the Daryaçeh Kopi. At the 'Iraqi frontier to the west of Mari Van and south-east of Penджvin is Lake Zræbar. In 'Iraqi Kurdistan there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistan is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. In the maquis region, however, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karaköse in the north it may fall to −50°−55°C in winter and rise in the south in summer to +35°−40°C at Kirkmanšah (Ghassemou, 19). In Iranian Kurdistan, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between −22°C. and +32°C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have winter and +35° in July; at Khudairan, +2° in January and +42° in July; at Kirkikhi, +44.5° and +41°C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malaya +1°, +5° and +20.5°C; at Ufa, +4.5° and +25°C; at Diyarpakir, +5° and +37°C; and at Van, −3.5° and +22.5°C.

2. The living landscape and habitation

Harsh as Kurdistan may be, it is far from being a desert; its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistan, 4 million in Iran and 1,720,000 in 'Iraqi Kurdistan, of which 30 km.² are cedars. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Van is Lake Ergani, where cedars are found. At Van, −3.5° and +22.5°C.

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Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 168). In Iranian Kurdistan, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 15% lie fallow (Ghassianlou, 90). In the various districts of 'Irāk, one of an area of about 8 million hectares, one quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 41). Despite this, the cultivation of oleas in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey; 35% in Iran; and 'Irāk, 50% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassianlou, 59, n. 6). Let us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies 'Irāk with one-third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly-introduced sugar-beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and 'Irāk is cultivated in Kurdistan which, for 'Irāk, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 45). The vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, 'Irāk and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistan on sunny slopes; there are 12 million stands in 'Irāk (Vernier, 48) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in Hauver, n° 34, 8; Wahby, Dictionnaire, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food.

Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistan: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurds, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But in spring, flies, mosquitoes and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistan many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Hove, etc. Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistan is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,602,332 sheep; 4,126,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock-breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of 'Irāk there are 1,574,912 sheep or two-thirds of the 'Irākī breeding stock, 2,254,829 goats (two-thirds), 226,536 cows (one-third) and 4,487 buffaloes (one-tenth). Apart from this, the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran; Stauffer, 292) each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (ibid., 290). The Kurdish villages of 'Irāk studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of 'Irāk are found 22,289 horses (one-seventh), 32,336 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third; Khosbak, 32). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see Arab in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistan.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistan is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kūh, Kūmah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at Salgho in 'Irākī Kurdistan. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Cinar, a cement works has been producing since 1956, 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at Sinda, Shaykhān and Tur Khurmatu. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at Amadiyā, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at Mīhrāk in the north of 'Irākī Kurdistan. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistan, and is mined (1,000,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawandiz and Sulaymānī. Copper exploited (32,000 t.) at Ergani,
Diyarbakir and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of 'Akra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakir, where it is extracted (170,000 t. annually). There is lead at Bakar, Elazığ, and Maku, gold at Yorgû and to the south of Kirmângûh, and also silver at Kemah. At Kırıkko, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistan. The petrol of Kırıkko gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the Trânâş production (85 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Duhurn in the Shurt region and the oil-fields of Keraçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurises in the region of Çamamâl.

3. The human aspect

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Mousterian period, not far from Sulaymánî or that of Shanîdar, near Rawândiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in 'Trân was discovered. Dîanno, in the valley of Çamamâl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Brakwood, Movo etc., Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan). Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some of which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagnites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herdsmen, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and irîfres is mentioned (Edmonds, 267-8, 246, 532, 368-9; Hamilton, chs. xiv-xvi). Certainly, the nomadic Kurd, on the verge of extinction, and the seminomads live under their black tent, which shows traces of the former bedouin Arab, the kibîka of the Mongols, the yurt of the Samoyeds and the hûr of the Lupas (cf. C. G. Felberg, La tende noire, Copenhagen 1944, 81-6; Bishop, i, 573; Lesot, 144-5; and Kremp). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 x 60 cm. wide. The poles which hold it up are 2.50 by 3 m. in height; their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner. There are no ridge poles.

Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents. But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses. The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulayminî, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2.50 m. high. In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards. The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood. There is no window on the exterior, but those exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars. Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (lendi) is covered in winter by the hûrisi, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 30 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g., at Sulaymánî, facilitating the running off of rainwater. In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals. A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cell or attie, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions. Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite place for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there. (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see: in Dîazira, R. Montague, 53-65; at Sindîr, R. Lesot, 146-7; at Sulaymánî, Edmonds, 90-3; again at Sulaymánî and at the village of Topzaya and Belîka, H. H. Hansen, 21-43; and in Iranian Kurdistan, Bishop, i, 88, ii, 791, M. Molier, 89-91. See also Leach, 49; T. F. Atkinson, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group. Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring. So it must be oriented to be well exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided. The south, the direction of Mecca (Molier, 81), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pasturages. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistan, e.g. at 'Akra, Bazîndjan and Sharîr Havramân. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries. Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, green and terraces.

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1965, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants, 513 from 101 to 500, 1,851 from 501 to 1,000, 572 from 1,001 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants.
Three provinces of Muş, Hakari and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Area in km²</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Density in inhabitants per km²</th>
<th>Number of cantons</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muş</td>
<td>8,193</td>
<td>167,638</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakari</td>
<td>9,322</td>
<td>67,755</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van</td>
<td>18,519</td>
<td>211,034</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Inhabitants less than 100</th>
<th>100-500</th>
<th>500-1000</th>
<th>1000-2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muş</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakari</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This average of small villages from 500 to 500 inhabitants is found in 'Iraqi Kurdistan, in the region of Rawandiz (Barth, ii) and in other regions; 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map, e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakari precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 1,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or moor. Some agreeable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in 'Iraqi Kurdistan, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwarteruka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sensin, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulay, at 1,430 m. and its waterfalls, Sarr Anâdieyya, at 1,903 m.; in the province of Sulaymâni: Sarr Cinar, with great plain trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbîl, Sulik al-Din, at 1,090 m., Shâklawa, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saltin, Gali 'Ali Bag, at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Hadjî-fill Omrân, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakari, the high peaks of Cillo Dağ, which are between 3,500 and 4,000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, La montagne des autres. Alpinisme et esprits kurdes, 1922, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistan, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a hospital (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is mainly by oil, candles and kerosene. The wells are near the house, not far from the river. The Electric Company of Sulaymâni, under Japanese control, is opening for 10,000 persons (Ghassemi, 35).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or the more the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks or footpaths, which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges, replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 197). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistan, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

'Iraqi Kurdistan is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In 'Iraqi Kurdistan, some roads or good tracks link Mawsil to Zelgho, Anâdieyya, Arbîl and 'Akhira. From Arbîl one goes to 'Amedî (and also to Kirkûsh and then Sulaymâni. In Turkey, one road goes from Malahu to Eağzî, Tunceli, Erzincan, Ankara, Erzurum, and Kars. From Eağzî a branch goes off to Erzîgûl, Mux and Tavatun, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nîsöyên. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Sirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tavatun and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistan. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malaya-Eağzî-Gemi-Mux-Tavatun-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabriz; and the line Malaya-Sivrice-Maden-Erman-Diyarbakir-Batman, towards Sirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawsil and Bagdad. In 'Iraqi Kurdistan, a single narrow-
Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistan. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Kirkuk, Malya, Van and Diyarbakir; in Iraq: Mosul, Kirkuk, Semel, and Hamam al-Sham; in north Syria: Ramilli; in Iran, Sanandaj, Kermanshah and Rizia.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistan. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood-group (Rufik, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhamel (1857) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866), who have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistan.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited, then by M. Houssey (1887); in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1889) and Faloutlkh (1864); in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Syria, at Damascus (Arêns Kappers, 1937), and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Persia, by M. Houssay (1887), by Soubrier (112, 113, 144) and Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5), and in north Syria, by M. Houssay (1887), E. Anats (1922, 1925), by Soubrier (112, 113, 144), and Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5).

In the 235 Yazidis examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shamar and Shembeh Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhamet (1857) from recognizing in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Arêns Kappers (1937) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarizing the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of Iraq: "The Kurd is of medium height (1.66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachycephaly predominates. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pilent, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well-placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed?" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

Bibliography. Maps. No complete scientific map of Kurdistan exists, The Carte du Kurdistan 1/4,000,000, Cairo 1943, aims especially "to give a graphic representation of that which the Kurds occupy in the Middle East"; a Note of 12 pp. which accompanies it is intended to explain it and to justify the different data. Die Kurden, Volk ohne Staat, 12,5,000,000; ed. Die Aktuelle Landkarte, no. 224, Munich 1956, clear and simplified, does not indicate the relief at all. For Turkey, the old maps of H. Vesper 1857, or better, Turkish surveys, 1/3,000,000 of Parks, Subur, Istanbul 1948, La carte de l'Asie orientale 1/2,000,000 of the Troupes du Levant, Beirut 1939, or that of the War Office and Air Ministry, London 1951-2, 1/5,000,000, sheets NL27 Erzurum, NL28 Tabriz and NL38 Baghdad, of series 1950, CGGS, cover the whole of Kurdistan. More or less elaborate maps are often to be found in the different accounts of journeys. So much the more to be appreciated are the precise and detailed maps in the book and many articles of C. J. Edmonds. Albums. To illustrate all this: M. Zikmund and J. Hanzeła, Kurdistán, kurdistán, country of insurrection, legends and hope, Arta, Czechoslovakia 1962; K. Diltmann, Verunrechte Fronen … Live die Heiligen werden dich helfen, Hamburg 1946.


iii. — History

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnic elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistana) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistana, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Kardus) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Syrian inscriptions dating from about 3,000 B.C., Thureau-Dangin (Revue d'Assyriologie, v, 1910, 59-62) found a country Kur-da-ba mentioned (in which word the initial is k and not f and the function of the element a is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. ZA, xxxvii, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Suy in the region of Bidlis (Shuraf-im, i, 146). A thousand years later Toghtig Fiscier waged war on the people called Kur-tie in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (in JRAI [1953], 400) identifies with the modern Hazid (Skadn). The reading Kur-tie is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. mentions a name like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Xarids (which Nöldeke (Graff, 19. Jh., Leipzig 1886, p. xvi) and Kiepert (Alt. Geogr., § 81) have connected with the name of Boldan (= Bonhtan). The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Kardeshen (Kardus) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritis (Bohtian). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Dold (p. 22). In classical authors, the country became Cordune or Duran on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic h, of Driver, op. cit.). In Aramaic the district was called Belf Kardu and the present town of Djezarat Ibn Umar, Gazartta of Kardu. The Armenians had the name Kordush, the Arabs (Balahdah, 179; Tabari, iii, 670) Bakard (Kardu). According to Yakkut (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Aghir, the canton of Bgard formed part of Djezarat Ibn Umar, contained two hundred villages (alamkain,
According to this, the term ropSuato 8p7j was sometimes considered to have a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a bar (to be strong); on the other hand, there is a reference to his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, his principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been noted that the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the irdiguous people, it is certain that the land of the Khaldi was identified with the Khaldi and Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, Die aliarmanische Ortsnamen, 229, and Armenian Grammar, it/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Corduene. The name has Semantic analogies (Akkad., Assy. bardu, "strong," "hero," bardu to be strong"); on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Kahlid, better known under the Assyrian form Urartu/Uzara, in Hebrew Aretar, among the Greeks Alpadoi, X Jordan and sometimes Xkaldai. These people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, Die aliarmanische Ortsnamen, 229, and Armenian Grammar, it/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenised.

The justifiable distinction between the names Kurl and Kordi does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Corduene, and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Media and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sistan. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagaritians in Media (Zikirtu or Zakritu, cf. Streck, in ZA, xiv [1890], 146) and in the time of Darius (Biblioth. inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Citrakakha executed, whose portrait on the rock of Buxur suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, The sculptures of Behistun, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtian mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy, xiii, 58, 13; xxvi, 40, 9; Polyb., v, 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Cyrti, and A. J. Reimach, Les mercenaries de Pergame, in Archives d'histoire des religions [1909]). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian Geography of the 7th century, in the case of the province of Kordi (according to Adonts, Armenia, 418, Kordi is from *kordišk which horiti means "Kurd", as airpoš means "inhabitant of Atropateni"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) Kordi was only a canton near Salmān [q.v.]. As a province, Kordi stretched from Diarbekr to Diarbekr Ibn 'Umar and included the following cantons: Kordi, the three Kordi (Kordili), Aituanb, Aigata, Moholauhb (Otho- laukh), Orsrauih (Orsinau), Karathunih (Sarapil), Caluuk and Little Albak (Hartmann, Belkaz, 93; Hübschmann, Die aliarmanische Ortsnamen, 235).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordi, Kordi and Tormīr, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordi had become a mere canton of Kordi and Tormīr disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordi (Kordi), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann op. cit., 385, confines himself to distinguishing between the Kordi (Kordi) of the Cóptos, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nödeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, Botuan, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nödeke even
KURDS, KURDISTAN

KURDS, KURDISTAN

distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Kurdis (Arabic Karwiyah), meaning the true Kurd, as opposed to Avasyis and Avestan Ahtricsi, and thefourth group of names: Aramaic Kupluwum, meaning the "dragon-king" (Kurd.) Haftum-Bolt killed by Arctas, and Pappak, cf. Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber, 21. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milzn and Zilãn, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zilãns were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in Jaisl. R. Anthropologisk Tidsskrift, xxxvii (1908), 476).


In the 9th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitively established (the Gûrûn-Zâta groups). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at Sulaymaniya [gawa], at Sawdj-BulAk [gawa], and at Kesã, where we find remnants of the Mandu-si [?] in subjection to the Shâhid). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Mas'ûdî (Murâdî, iii, 251) already speaks of the descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Dabîhâz. This legend is best known from the version of the Shâhid-nama (Masan, i, 27-8; Mohi, i, 71; Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 Morier (Second journey, 157) mentions the celebration at Dannyân (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Dabbsk, known as the 'Abâd-i Kurds, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (Murûdî, iii, 253) claim as their ancestor Rabl b. Niezr b. Ma'add, others Mu'éz b. Niezr, both surnyms of the districts of Dhiyar Rasul (Masûlî) and Dîyûs Mu'tar (Rakbâl). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Chassanids.

More of interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. of Masûlî) the neighbours of the Kurds) b. Sûasã b. Harb b. Hawâzin (Masûlî, ibid., and Tarmîkî, 88-91; Kurd b. Isfandîyarîd b. Manbûghâr; Ibn Ijâkal, 185-7; Kurd b. Mard b. 'Amir). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact among the traditions of Semites, interfmingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of the Fars.

In later times, the names of the tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The Sharâf-nawa, in 357, makes all the Kurds (the Bagdawî and Belkhi tribes) come from Badjân and Bolôt; the former of these names may be connected with that of Basn-av, a tributary of the Tigris (Andres, in Hartmann, 131), Eucyploedia of Islam, V while the second recalls the Iswâm of Herodotus, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd.) Haftum-Bolt killed by Arctas, and Pappak, cf. Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber, 21. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milzn and Zilãn, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zilãn were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in Jaisl. R. Anthropologisk Tidsskrift, xxxvii (1908), 476).
picture is given in the *Sharaf-nama* (1003/1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkarî, Bâdirî, Sulaymânîyya) and in Persia (Ardabil). But the great tribes still exist, and their envoys assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethnic peculiarities. Kağâr Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitation within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914–18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan under such heads as Zawzan, Jâulât, Armlînya, Arzalan (one of the gates of Barda‘a was called Bab Arrin), al-‘Ijaza, Syria and al-Ihughir (‘Jacobites’) and the Drurîn dJârtighAn). To this list, the *Tanbih* of the same author (88–91) only adds Bazindjan (cf. Iftakhri, 115), Nashawîra, Bâshîkân, ZâbAdî, Shahrawî, Bâmaddakî, JShusrawl, Nasrî, Mihrâkî, Mubârîkî, Khâdiân, Fârâbî, Mâdîanî, Shahrîyâr, Kîshkân, Burjî, ilamâ<dhan, Shahrizûr, with its dependencies, and reproduced by Ibn Hawfcal, 253; *Istakhri*, 125, the king of al-Zawzin was called al-Khâdîrî [q.v.]; cf. the story of Daysam below); in QîbAl*.

But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres of families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the cadres of the old families and their denationalisation. The old term of Djîliya (Kûh-Gilî) is now inhabited by Kurds under his command), Baylaktan, Bâb al-Abbâb (Darband), al-Dîzîra, Syria and al-Thughrû (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

*Istakhri*, 98, particularly mentions five *ramîn* of Fars, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, BCA, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramûn-ramûn* from Persian *ramûn*, "lock", "crowd") for it is improbable that some could have given a plural *ramûn*.

Each *ramûn* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *râmdj* and responsible for public safety. These *ramûn* were: 1. Djîlîya, or Rashidjân, bordered by Işfâhân and Ardabil; 2. Lâwâlijân, between Shsirz and the Persian Gulf; Djîlân, in the *kafr* of Sâbûr, 4. Kâribîs in the direction of Kûrmân; 5. Shsirîyâr, alongside of Işfâhân also called Bâzdânjân after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Işfâhân. As a supplement to the list of *ramûn*, *Istakhri*, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*bâyî, plur. âhyâ*) of Fars, based on the records of the *dawâs al-salâbâd* and reproduced by Ibn Hawfcal, 183-7 and *Mukaddasî*, 446: Kûrmân, Râmâni, Mudâdhâbî, Muhammad b. Bâshîr, Bâdkî (Muqaddasî: Thâlîbî), Bândîdîmân, Muhammad b. Iâbâk, Sâbûlî, Işîdî, Adbârîkân, Shsirhârî, Tahmâb-îh, Zâbâdî, Shahrîyârî, BarZâmâî, Zândî, Safârî, Shâyhîyârî, Nûshârî, Muqaddasî, Işfâhânî, Shsirhârî, Fârâbî, Sâlmânî, Shâhîkân, Kadiî, Djâlîlî, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fars-nama* (ca. 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *ramûn* of Djîliya, Dîlân, Lâwâlijân, Kûrmânîyân, Bâzdânjân, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fars, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single *Alek*, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Işfâhân to Fars by ʻAqlîd al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the cadres of the old families and on their denationalisation. The old *ramûn* of Djîliya (Kûh-Gilî) is now inhabited by Kurds; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, *Istakhri's* list mentions a tribe al-Lurîya (variant: Lâzâb) among the Kurds of Fars. On the other hand the *Fars-nama* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabbânîs (q.v.) clans, who had become very powerful in Fars at the time of the last Bayids. The *Masûlik al-abshâr* of *Umarî* speaks of the Shabbânîs under a separate heading, and the *Sharaf-nama* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Râmâni), bears the name of one of the "kurd" tribes of *Istakhri*. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fars differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistan (cf. p. 381 and LUR). The term al-Zawzan, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistan (pouns in Kurdish "summer pasturages"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Hawfcal, 250, the king of al-Zawzan was called al-Dâyrân (= Dorânî, Armenian king of Vaspurakan), *Mukaddasî*, 137, regards Zawzan as a *nâhîya* of Dîzîrat Ibn Umar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-ʻAthîr (in Yâkhî, ii, 257), al-Zawzan began at two days’ journey from Mawâlî and stretched to the borders of Kâribî; on the *Adhârîyâdîn* side it extended to Sâlmâ. Many strong places belonged to the Bâshîawî and Bâshî Kurds; the former held Bâshî, Bâshîr [and Funk];
to the latter belonged: Dihurqalil (Gurgil), the residence of their multih Attil (Shahr-i-nama, i, 172; Nahl Attil), 'Ali, Bâz al-hamârî. To the lords of Mawâlî (the Zangids) belonged Atîf (= Elî), Arwákh, Bakhtawâkh (= Bakhtî in Barâwî), Bâzr, Nigâwar (?), NÎraw (east of Akî) and Khawâghb. The text was completed by the Turk general Awdâl and his adversary Ya'kûb b. Bâkhît (Kâmîl, vi, 350-1). A Kuríd rising broke out in 231/845 in the regions of Iṣfâhân, Dîbâl and Fârs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Qâfî.

The Kurds under the caliphs and Buîydîs. Of the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of Abû-l-Aswâd; on this occasion he returned to Mawâlî and with new troops set out against the Kyûrâdîs. At Abwâz, Ya'kûb appointed a Kuríd lieutenant, Muhammad b. Layhûyâ; the latter, a Kuríd and commander of the Kuríd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Ya'kûb's rising (Ibn Khâlikîn, Wâsâyân, ed. de Slane, i, 304-5). When Ahmad had departed, Muhammad, after securing from al-Khabîth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shûstâr, where, according to the arrangement he had to have had the qâdî of Tabâristân, but instead he did it in the name of al-Khabîth, but instead he did it in the name of the caliph al-Mustâmid and his adversary Ya'kûb b. Bâkhît, Ya'kûb appointed a Kuríd lieutenant, Muhammad b. Layhûyâ; the latter, also a Kuríd and commander of the Kuríd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Ya'kûb's rising (Ibn Khâlikîn, Wâsâyân, ed. de Slane, i, 304-5). When Ahmad had departed, Muhammad, after securing from al-Khabîth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shûstâr, where, according to the arrangement he had to have had the qâdî of Tabâristân, but instead he did it in the name of al-Khabîth, but instead he did it in the name of the caliph al-Mustâmid and his adversary Ya'kûb b. Bâkhît, his Zandî allies deserted Muhammad, and Shûstâr was recaptured by Ibn Layhûyâ. Muhammad retired to Kûm-Hûrzûh, but he was disbanded by the latter, Muhammad again sought the help of al-Khabîth. The latter sent him troops, which Muhammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the Kûh and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabîth, Muhammad agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of Ya'kûb (265/ 879) and of al-Khabîth (270/883) put an end to these exploits (Kâmîl, vii, 264).

About 261/874 the Kurds were among the parties to the battle of the Arabic Hamûd b. Hamûd (cf. Hamûdîs) when he established himself in Mawâlî. The Kuríd rebellion raised in 260/874 by Abû Laylâ did not last long (ibid., vii, 325, 332). In 263/976 the Hâdîbâní Kurds led by their chief Muhammad b. Bilâl laid waste the region of Mûnîkh. Abû Askâr b. Hamûd, the new governor of Mawâlî, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at Mûrâbâh. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hâdîbânî families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Arjâhîya. (Abû Askâr returned to Mawâlî and with new troops set out once more against the Hâdîbâní, who had entrenched themselves at Dîbâl, al-Salâk (probably Lâdîdân, cf. Sâwâq-ulâlâq). The Hâdîbâní were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the Hûmâyî tribe and of the people of Dîbâl Dâsin (ibid., vii, 371). In the region of the caliph al-Mu'âktarîb, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawâlî but were punished by the Hamûdîs government; the Dîbâlî tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (ibid., vi, 318). Under the year 357/943 Ibn Miskâvâyâ, Faqîrîb b. âlmân, Gâmsî, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the Hamûdî tribe against Arjâhîya; on this occasion he
had as an ally Djasfar b. Shakhkiyya, chief of the Hadithanis who were settled at Samah.

About this time, Daysam b. Ibrahim appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Daylamis. Daysam was a Khārid. He seized Adharbāgyūn siter Yûsuf b. Abī Tād addressed in 329/943 used his Kurds to drive out Lâshkarī b. Mardî, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmāġīr. But the Mshīrīd Marzubān, a noted Shīʿī, succeeded in taking Adharbāgyūn from Dalsam and the latter took refuge with his father. Khâlid Daysam (the Armenian king of Vaspurakan, Khasik or Gakhik, son of Deranik9). Then the people of Tābriz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Mshīrīds fell back to Târum. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rūk al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Adharbāgyūn. Marzubān's brother Waṣāiddūn then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rūk al-Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardâbīl and Bâdgâwā. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdad, where the Būyid Muftiz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Adharbāgyūn, he went to the Hamdānīs of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Samah in 344/956-6, where he had the Khābūs read in the name of Sayf al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Deranik's Khâlid had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (Tâdjarî, ed. Amedrez, i, 277-8, ii, 287, 351, 375-7).

During Daysam's captivity, in Rayy, several independent governors set themselves up in the northwest of Farsa. One of them (about 340/951) was Muhammad Shâhidī b. Khurshīd b. Khurshīd b. Khurshīd b. Kārsī of the Kawārid tribe, of whom a later sprang the great dynasty of the Ayyūbids. The principal cities of the Shâhidīs were Dâbbī and Gângâ. The Shâhidīs were allies of the Byzantines and of the Sâlīds. In 405/1016 Abū Susāwī bought Anī for his young son Manûb. From this time onwards, the Khārids divided into two branches: that of Gângâ and that of Anī. In 1122, Anī was taken by the Georgians but between 320/932 and 557/1162 and again from 1165 to 1174, Anī was again held by the Shâhidīs. The Shâhidīs were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles Arâb, Dâbbī, Gângâ and Shâhidī; the Armenian bibliography in Lych, Armenia, i, 365-7; cf. also Barthol. in the appendix to his Russian translation of Lane Foei. Muhsāmadan dynasties, St. Petersburg 1899, 294, Barthol. Para. ndapti na ... neteti Mandānī, Aniyakarga Serigh, No. 5; N. Y. Marc, Eight or some "abolki", in ZVOIRAX, xx (19R1), 130; E. D. Ross, On three Muhsāmadan dynasties, in Asia Major, ii (1925), 215.

In 340/960 a pretender appeared in Adharbāgyūn. He was called Isḥāk b. ʿĪsā, and was supported by Fâlī, chief of the Kāsānī (i) Kurds, while his adversary, the Mshīrīd Dâṣānī b. Marzubān relied on Hadithānī support. Isḥāk was soon disposed of (Tâdjarî, ii, 179). The Kurds and the Daylamis also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Dâṣānī and his brother Naṣir al-Dawla and between Isḥākī b. Marzubān and his cousin Imaṁī b. Waḥṣūdān (Tâdjarî, i, 226, 239; Kâmil, viii, 400-3).

About 348/959, the second Kurds dynasty arose in Ḍiḅḅ Ṭa (Zambañ, Manuel, 221) founded by Hasānawwāy (Hasānawwāy) b. Harîn (p. v.; cf. also the Shārāf-nûmā, i, 20-3), chief of the Bāzinawī (Bāzinī) tribe, who had assisted the Būyid Rūk al-Dawla on his expedition to Khurāsān. Rūk al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of his excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (Tâdjarî, ii, 281). Ibn al-Afīrī (vii, 257) praises the noble character of Hasānawwāy, his prudent policy and the purity of his faith. But Daysam b. Abī Salīm, the last of the Shâhidīs, was dispossessed of his castles (Kasānī or Kasānān) in 320/930 and in 368/978 used his castles when he was driven out by the Būyid Shâhidīs of Mawṣil and Syria. Daysam was a Khārid. He seized Adharbāgyūn siter Yûsuf b. Abī Tād and in 329/948 used his Kurds to drive out Lâshkarī b. Mardî, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmāṯīr. But the Mshīrīd Marzubān, a noted Shīʿī, succeeded in taking Adharbāgyūn from Dalsam and the latter took refuge with his father. Khâlid Daysam (the Armenian king of Vaspurakan, Khasik or Gakhik, son of Deranik9). Then the people of Tābriz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Mshīrīds fell back to Târum. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rūk al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Adharbāgyūn. Marzubān's brother Waṣāiddūn then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rūk al-Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardâbīl and Bâdgâwā. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdad, where the Būyid Muftiz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Adharbāgyūn, he went to the Hamdānīs of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Samah in 344/956-6, where he had the Khābūs read in the name of Sayf al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Deranik's Khâlid had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (Tâdjarî, ed. Amedrez, i, 277-8, ii, 287, 351, 375-7).

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The historians record the exploit of the Kurds under the authority of Mawṣil (Abū 'l-ʿAbd Allāh al-Dalwa), who had taken refuge with Fulghr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds. In 422/1031 (Abū 'l-Faraḍj, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just ruler and stopped the Byzantine hordes arriving who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest. When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz preceded the Saljūqs, the Türkic general of the Charnawwids, wanted to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tash was killed (Kāmil, ix, 258). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hādhābī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Adharbāydān (Wāḥṣūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abū 'l-Ḥayyāḥ Hādhābī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432/1041 the Mūsīfīrids, Wāḥṣūdān II b. Māmlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tābūz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Khaḍīrā, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the moutnains the Kurds attacked them, killed 5,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (Kāmil, ix, 270-2).

On the approach of Tughrīl Beg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawżān to the Dījarā. One section of the Ghuzz under Maṣūr b. Ghuzzūghī remained to the east of the Dījarā, while the other under Bākā marched on Dīyarbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Dījarā, Bāzdāb, Hūsainiyā (Yāḏīkī, ii, 270: a town between Mawṣil and Dījarā) and Fāshābār. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Dījarā, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Maṣūr, and with the help of the Buyyūnī Kurds of Fīnku, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Dīyarbakr and seized Mawṣil (Kāmil, ix, 272-3).

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥāsašwāhidīs had perished and the power in Dībā had passed to a new family the Banū ʿAmmāz (see Zambaur, 212, and Ṣannāʾīdīs. The Sharāf-nāma, i, 22, has ‘Ayārā, which is often called that of Abū l-ʿIshāw. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyūd Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abī l-ʿIshāw, chief of Huwār (Taḏāriḥ, ii, 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abū l-ʿIshāw Muhammad b. ʿAmmāz (Kāmil, ix, 159) who ruled 350-404/960-710. His son Abī l-ʿIshāw slew the last of the Ḥāsašwāhidīs, Zāhir (Ṭāhir) in 406/1015-16. The possessions of the Banu ʿAmmāz included Shahrirā, Kirmānghā (occupied in 433/1043-45; Kāmil, ix, 309, 310),
The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malazgird (1066) delivered all Armenia into the hands of the Franks, which they held as the Great Seljuk Empire. Sandiar died in 438/1046 at Shirvan. Ibrahim took Shamiran (Shamirgan? Sayanara?) and subdued the Djibala. Sa'd, son of Abu'l-Shawk submitted to the Seljuks. The dynasty lasted till 540/1149 (Mumendjân-droyat). During this period we often find the Kurds men mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, iii, 542, 599). The 'Abbâsid caliphs, freeing the Kurds, seem to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

The important fact is that it was from Djibâl that the Shaddadid dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shadi 'Abbâsid [see Ayyûbids] and Shâfikîkh [q.v.], son of Abû-l-Shawk, who was perhaps a Hakkari? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, ‘Assos, 203.

After the death of Abî 'l-Hayyâl, Zangi intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Aslib and dismantled its defences; the fort of Dâlût received the name of 'Amâdiya (‘Imâdiyâ, in honour of Imâd al-Dîn). In 533/1140 Shâmî took Shahrizur from Kifdjak b. Arslân Tash the Turkmân. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the Hakkârî and took the fortress of Al-Shâbîhî (Aslib), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 Irân and Kûrânî were taken (Shams al-Dîn, in Recueil, iii, 685).

The Selâmî family, lord of al-Rûbâyî (cfr. Şerqubi-name, i, 284, Rûbâyî-bulât?), Fasîb and Akûr (Elk?) joined Zangi of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangi was against the Baghdawî of Fanûk (Fînîk), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atabak in 541/1150: (ibid. al-Áhir, al-Áthabakiyya, in Recueil, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188). Karadjî Tâdîn, mukhâ (?) of Haikarî, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the Atabak of Mawâs against the Atabak of Âdharbâyjân, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later, after the death of Selâm al-Dîn (589/1193), the Zangâids consolidated their position in central Kurdistân. In 667/1221 ‘Imâm al-Dîn, a younger son of Arslân Shâh Zangi, received as a fief the strongholds of the Humayûdî (= Akr and Shûsh). In 675/1278 the same prince seized ‘Amâdiyâ and “the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkârî and Zawarî“ which were ceded to him by Muzaffar al-Dîn Kûbhûrî of Arût (Abû ‘l-Fara‘î, 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkârî to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zäb.

The Atabâks [q.v.], Atabâks of Diyarâbâk, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abû ‘l-Fâ’îdî, iii, 383; Usûmân, i, 321). The ‘Abbâsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of Usûmân Humayûdî in 528/1134, and Kûmî, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 531/1142 under the caliph Âbrîl, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (Kûmî, iii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyarbâk, Diyarra, Mawâs, Shahrîzur, Hakkârî and Âdharbâyjân). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting and joined against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Turks fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen (? and Arbûtîl (= Arabûtî?) (Michael the Syrian, in Recueil, doc. arm., 395).


The important fact is that it was from Dwûn that the Shaddâdî dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shâdî ‘Abbâsid [see Ayyûbids] and Shâfîkhî [q.v.], son of...
of Shâhî, were born in the old home (the village of Āqálanakân). Shâhî al-Dîn [g.e.] was born at Takrit, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyûbîd family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Sâlûqût Atâbâks, even when they became vassals of the Ayyûbîs, continued to rule in Diyarbakr (Arûtikî), Mawsîl (Zangûdû) and Arbil (the Beqetgûnîs, at first deputies of the Zangûdû). By the treaty of 586/1190 between 'Azî al-Dîn Zangûdû, Shâhî al-Dîn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizûr (Ibn al-Ábdî, Al-Áshârîyûn, Recueil, iii, 324; Kâmil, xi, 340; Bahâ'î al-Dîn, in Recueil, iii, 85). In 585/1190 Shâhî al-Dîn gave Shahrizûr to his mansûrî Keşvî (?), a relative of Ya'qûb b. Kifdijû. The only independent way by which the Ayyûbîs penetrated into Kurdistân was that of Kîlîât. A district that was first conquered by Tâkî al-Dîn in 587/1190 (Kâmînî, xii, 409), but it was not only after the death of Shâhî al-Dîn that his nephew al-Malîk al-Awfrûn al-Dîn Ayyûb installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, Shîrî passed to his brother Aslîraf, who assumed the title of Kâmil (Ibn al-Áthîlr, ed. Quatremîre, 328). For Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawân and Bâbûn (Ibn Khaldûn, Hist. des Berbères, tr. de Scâne, ii, 461, 473).

Returning to Hâdîjalîydîn, Hulâgû set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the Hakkûl country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword and razed the town of Lûlug (d'Ohsson, iii, 250). The taking of Baghdad resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizûr [q.v.], and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shâhî al-Dîn al-Umarî, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, op. cit., iii, 309). A little later a Kurdish horde had to go into exile. Arbil was taken with the help of the Atâbâk of Mawsîl, Badr al-Dîn Lûlug (d'Ohsson, iii, 250). The taking of Baghdad resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizûr, and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shâhî al-Dîn al-Umarî, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, op. cit., iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawân and Bâbûn (Ibn Khaldûn, Hist. des Berbères, tr. de Scâne, ii, 461, 473).

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**KURDS, KURDISTAN**

"Kayai", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol armies stationed in Arbil, brought a charge against their chief the Dinka, who fled to the Div. On the 6th of Dec. 1323 and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 720/1320. With great difficulty, the Mongols drove the Christians out of the city. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their Amir, who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (Histoire de Mar Jaballah III, tr. J. E. Chabot, Paris 1895, 123-77).

The country between Marâgha and Arbil was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. Sawy-Ver. Karâbut). The capital of the province of "Kurdistan" under Uyâneyî was moved from Bâkûr to Sultânâbâd (of Cântâmâl). The extent to which the province had increased was possibly that of ten of which they were under the Sâljîks.

When the Ilhâns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [z.] and Djalâyîr [d.] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Hasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdîstan and Khurasân returned to the children of the Amir of Arakan or Arqâz (?). In 784/1382-3 the Djalâyîr Bayazîd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistan and Umarî. The king (Zambârî, 253, and d'Ohsson, 263) carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistan and the province of Mawṣîl; 500 Dâsini lived at Kâfri (cf. Hoffmann, op. cit., 1393). The capital of the province of "Kurdistan" under Umarî had only a transitory character. The province of Mawṣîl was moved from Bahâr to Suḫān Abâd (of Oldjeytii). The extent to which the province had increased was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The Masâliḳ al-aqâf of Shâhâb al-Dîn al-Umrâî (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of *d.* 749 (d.) show how exactly the chancellaries of the Mamlûk Sultâns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-Tâthîf, *d.* 749, (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlûk Sultâns were interested was taken in the fate of this Muslim element.

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by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1853.

The Persians had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394, and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdad and Diyarbakr, Timfir attacked Dzirza, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Dzirza were likewise conquered. Timfir next crossed the mountains separating Diyarbakr from Mshh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Din of Bidlls, renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistan. In 803/1400 Timfir returned from Baghdad to Adharbaydjan and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Timfir, Kara Yusuf Kara Kooyunlu succeeded to his position. He returned to Kurdistan and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Din of Bidlls. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 828/1421 Kara Yusuf by a nishan confirmed the princess of Bidlls in their possessions. When in 828/1421 Shahrizor, son of Timfir, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Din of Bidlls, Malik Muhammad Hakikari, Malik Khallil of Hisn Kayfa, the amirs of Khilaz, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shahrizor's governor (Malik*) al-sa'dayn, in *Notices et extraites*, xiv, 153).

The Ak Kooyunlu [the Bayandur dynasty] whose principal centre was in Diyarbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (Sharaf-*n*ma, i, 1841 insf-1 khatt窆d ad-yi Kurdistan) and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Kara Kooyunlu, like the great tribe of Cambazgok. Uzum Hasan's generals *Sh* Khallil and *Ar*ab Shah conquered Hakikari, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbii tribe from Bultan. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Dzirza passed entirely into the power of the Ak Kooyunlu, who appointed their own governor Chalab Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the Sharaf-*n*ma, i, 125. The Ak Kooyunlu general Sulayman b. Bizeen drove out of Bidlls the Dzirza. Khan who was later put to death by Yabghu Uzum Hasan.

The Safaids Shih and the Ottoman Sulatans. Shih Ismaiil had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Ak Kooyunlu. After the battle of Sharir (697/1292) he won all the country between Baghdad and Marash. Ismaiil's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Ak Kooyunlu. Like the latter, the Shah relied on the Turcoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shii (cf. Khat*ah* in *El*) he was still more predisposed against the Sunni Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismaiil imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Khilz-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistan became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sulatans and the Shii of Persia. The defeat of Caidran [g.r.] (1520/1544) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shih Ismaiil, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismaiil's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Hakim Idris, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistan a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Caidran deeply affected Kurdistan.

Malik Khallil (Sharaf-*n*ma, i, 255), the dispossessed prince of Hisn Kayfa, had retained possession of Shir and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muhammad Beg of Shish was fighting against the Persians. Ahmad Beg of Mayyarkhakan, Kisin Beg of Agli, Djaghrit Beg of Pshis, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Dzirza had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawjil. Sa'd Beg Sofran had taken Arbil and Kerkuk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idris to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sultan.

When Selim had left Tabriz, Ismaiil sent reinforcements to Diyarbakr and Hisn Kayfa. Idris summoned to him the Rokhlu Kurds, the exiled Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistan. The Kurds of Diyarbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Blyikli Mehmed Pasha. Blyikli and Idris met at Hisn Kayfa and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Armadiya?), the Turks relieved Diyarbakr and took Mardin, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdad and Kirkuk and the people of Mardin drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Nigdil-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Blyikli forced Sulayman Khan, who was still at Mardin, to surrender. The occupation of Nisibin, Bursa, Mayyarkhakan, Diyarbakr and Singaj followed and Idris completed the administrative organisation of the sandjah. In the province of Diyarbakr eleven sandjahs were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (Ahmad beyli). The idris confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary beyli (Kurd beyli) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Laisnemen in a. meslem*, Staaten, Leipzig 1872, cha. ii and iv, quoting *Ayn-i Ali Muh'dhin-zade who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/12th century.* A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistan from Malatya to Bayazid and Shab. Idris followed the *Sharaf-*n*ma, and the very interesting remarks of Ewyia Celebi, iv, 176-80, 277-316, on the 37 sandjahs joined to Van by the law of Sulayman I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmanship remained to the Persians. Idris was liberally rewarded and the firmanal of investiture was sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GÖR.*, i, 749).

In 1381/1390 Shih Tahmasp recovered Baghdad from Blyikli Pasha, a Kurdish of the tribe of Mshh (Mosuli?). A long series of wars began again.

Sultan Sulayman led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536 and 1538. In this year the Haghabad troops conquered the Kurds of Belaga and Shahriyar while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 'Abbás I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Adharbaydjan, Shahriyar and Luristan (ibid., ii, 559) but in 1010/1601 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahriyar (ibid., ii, 745). Shah 'Abbás transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurstand to serve as a bulwark against the Turcomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shih 'Abbás, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdad.
During Hafiz Pasha's first campaign (1024/1615) his army included the Kurdit troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mardin. After the death of Shah 'Abbás, the grand vizier Khosrow Pasha [q.v.] advanced on Bagdad in 1036/1625. Sayyid Khán of Amādiyā, Nira Beg Şhrthn and the mixed-Kurdish tribe of Bābdām took the side of Khosrow Pasha, while Ahmad Khan Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khosrow Pasha advanced as far as Sīmā [q.v.] and Hamādān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamānlā and Dārān, the Persians fell. Bagdad still held out, and when Khosrow Pasha had retired, Ahmad Khán Ardalān reoccupied Şhrthār (von Hammer, op. cit., i, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Bagdad, and in the gūsuo mūdē, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Bagdad, and in the gūsuo mūdē, i, 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namlrān; this fief lay along the right bank of the Bokhdn and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhd were the Sindīyān (cf. under 'Amādiyā) settled on the Bābdām.

The great struggle between the Safawīs and Ottoman made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The Sharaf-ndma has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurdis tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596.

Sharaf-ndma. This book by the chief of Bīdīls, Sharaf al-Dīn [see Bīdīl], finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Veltšimov-Zernow's edition) is divided into four parts (aṣājil): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (udūlātāt); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the kawthā excised in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (iṣlākhīn); and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bīdīl. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [q.v.], the Hasanwayhids [q.v.], the Dīārbakrīs, the Hasawajids [q.v.], of Dinawar and Şhrthār; the Faṭjāiyās of the Great Lūr [see Lūr-i Bażībāz], the princes of little Lūr [see Lūr-i Kōkān] and the Ayyūbids [q.v.].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Dijarat bn 'Umar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bīdīl) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Sharaf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistan. Chiefs of various origins rule the Kurdis, Kurdized and Christian tribes, with the help of various Kurdis tribes (ṣagrīt), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomadic or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Dijarat and Darān:
1. The chiefs of Dijarat *claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor K̄hālid b. al-Walid. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurdis alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general K̄hālid b. al-Walid [q.v.], whose tombs are shown near Sīfīr (Hartmann, Bohānān, 12, 124). These chiefs were at first Yasīds and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnīs. After the death of Sulaymān b. K̄hālid his three sons divided his possessions: Dijarat fell to Mir 'Abd al-Azz, Gurgūl to Mir Hādīdī Beg and Fīnk to Mir Abbād. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The Sharaf-ndma refers to the possessions of this family as wāliyāt-i Bokhd (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the nāhāyās forming this important fief: Gurgūl, Arwālī, Pirāz, Bābdān and Tāmāz (Khalīl) occupied by the tribe Čāršt; Fīnk; Tūr; Haftāyān (Hēthum) and Shāh inhabited by the Christians; Nīgh Atīl; Aramāštā. The tribe of which (Būspīl) is the chief among those of Bokhd; Kāwār or Kāntī (?); Dāyr-dīn which belongs to Tāmāz.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, Bohānān, in Mittel. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell. (1890), No. 2, and (1897), No. 1, 1-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Dijarat bn 'Umar lay between the right bank of the Bohānān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohānān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhd were the Sindīyān (cf. under 'Amādiyā) settled on the Bābdām.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of K̄hālān, Is-bāyār (Spānht, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelbi: Is'bāyār) and Mūkiks (Muktis) were three brothers who came from Baḥdān [Kāns] in the time of the Saljuqs (i, 179). The tribe of the principal fief was Namāran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohānān and stretched as far as Marvānān.

3. Shīrwhān (on the right bank of the Bohānān below K̄hīzān and north-east of Sīfīr). The ancestors of the "Shīrāwa" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Shīrwhān at the same time as the "Malīkkīn" to Hīṣn Kayāla. The Shīrāwa played even the rôle of viziers by the Malīkkīn (op. cit., i 255). The capital of Shīrwhān was Kūfrā. The other dependencies were Āwīl, Ṣhabīṭān (also called, Ġanī = Čīrākān) and Īrūn.

Bīdīls. The Rozāqī (Rozāqā) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (rūf) in the village of Šīfīr in the canton of Kūfāt (now the of Modūxt west of Shīrwhān). The Ruzagī took Bīdīl and Haftāyān (Hēthum, the Kundis of the "Shīrāwa" chief; were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Shīrwhān at the same time as the "Malīkkīn" to Hīṣn Kayāla. The Shīrāwa played even the rôle of viziers by the Malīkkīn (op. cit., i 255). The capital of Shīrwhān was Kūfrā. The other dependencies were Āwīl, Ṣhabīṭān (also called, Ġanī = Čīrākān) and Īrūn.

The Rozāqī took Bīdīls and Haftāyān (Ṣāsīlān) from the Georgian king Tūfīt (David the Curopalalus, 984-1020 ?). Later they brought from Ak̄hālīt two brothers of Sāsānīd origin. One became chief at Bīdīls and the other at Shīsān, 18 fiefs of the line of Dīyāl al-Dīn had ruled at Bīdīls before 1005/1596. The only interruptions took place under the Šālājūds (554-784/1160-95) under the Ak̄ Koyumū (872-1009/1470-95), under Šāh Ismsālī (932-1075/1527-74) and between 941/ 1341-5 and 989/1578. In this last year Şītān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Čamīr Shams al-Dīn for that of Māštāyās. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bīdīls, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of Şāh Tāhmsīp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558. His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 960/1554, was carefully educated at the court (the Şāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismsālī II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion
and was sent to Nakhdunah. From there he succeeded in reaching Van and received from Murad I investiture for Bidlis, to which Mugh was added in 991/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliya Celebi (iv, 81-82) gives us a detailed description of Bidlis. The last prince of Bidlis, Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, Armenica, iii, 249).

The rulers of Şasvin (1420) were called Şarān from their ancestor ẓa'al-Din, brother of Dīn of Din of Bidlis. The descendants of Şasvin were at first Şasvin, Bābul, Şasvin and Tamkūl. The Rūmūqa (see above) arrived afterwards; later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district Khalid, Dayr Mughānā, Azālān, who had at first belonged to Hind Kayfān, came to join those of Şasvin.

6. The Swāwiydī chiefs claimed a Barmakī origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Swāwiydī tribe. The hereditary lie of the Swāwiydī was Gāndj (this should be read for Kīthā in Kāmba-miner, i, 460). 7. The Pārūkī tribe, which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Swāwiydī origin. According to the Sharaf-nāma, i, 326, it had no definite religion and showed signs of disintegration (bidlī). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khalīlī Beg and Sheker-begī, and one was under the Amirs of Bālbī. Khalīlī received as fiefs Kīnān, Malāzgīrd and the canton of Ubdān (i) of Moğābī. They grew so proud that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Cildırin, the Swāwiydī dispossessed the Pārūkī from many of their fiefs (ibid., i, 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Khalīlī Beg, appointed chief of the Pārūkī, received Zāgām (near Tīlis). Later, Pārūkī were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (Mirdāsī in the Selid-nāma) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsīdīs. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkārī to Ağī and whose success the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kālām from around Aleppo, who migrated about 426/1032 as a result of troubles with the Fātimids (see Kālam b. Kālam and Mirdāsī). The main one of these three branches, the Būdūkānī, lived at Ağī; it maintained good relations with the Ak Koyunlu, but under Shāh Isḥāk, Ağī was occupied by the Persians. Of the other two branches of the Mirdāsū, one ruled at Pālū, at Baghīn (below Kīght) and at Ḫarpūr, and the other first at Bardaṅgan and later at Dārmar (south of Aḩmād Khan) 9. The rulers of Camiśgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsīd descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Salātdīk). Their Ṣahībat was called Malikī (Maliq-Shāhī?). There were about 6,000 fortunes of Malikī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The nomads and in summer moved to the Ağa Tagh area. The restored dynasty received the fief of Hind Kayfān from the ruler of Mārdūn. The first chief mentioned by the Sharaf-nāma is Malik Sulaymān who died in 730/1335. The Ak Koyunlu seized Hind Kayfān, but Malik Khaḷīl, who had taken refuge in Hamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottoman sultans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khaḷīl. Among the dependencies of Hind Kayfān, the Sharaf-nāma mentions Saffīr, Bāshārī, Ṣūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Dīsa or, cf. ibid., i, 227, 228, 229) and Arzan.

10. Sulaymān, rulers of Murwārīdī origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khūlīn in the canton of Ghaḍīzī (between the Kulp and the Bāmān Su before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banūkī, but the more enterprising was Bāṣīyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyāzīd under their chief Shāhān Wāzīr. A number of these tribes professed Yezidi doctrines. The Sulaymānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Sāfī. They were divided into two branches, that of Kulp and Bāmān and that of Mayyārāfīrīn.

11. Zrākī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addād Scher, in JA [1940], 159-39); according to Sharaf al-Dīn, Zrākī is a contraction of the Arabic Ahrāzī. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿĀlīd origin, arrived in Mārdūn in the time of Artūk (d. 514/1122; Abu ʿI-Fadālī, Mīzbās, i, 590). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artūkīs and later with the Ak Koyunlu. There were four branches of Zrākī, the principal branches being those of Tādīl (west of the Bāmān Su) and ʿAṭāk. The two other branches were that of Darzīn (an old Cappadocian comitatē Dayr Zīr) and that of Kurdiḵīn (between Dīyarbakr and Mayyārāfīrīn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zrākī chief and a gipsy woman (dokhtar-i kābulī).

12. Kīls. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and Amādīyā. Their ancestor Mand (Muntāshā) had rendered services to the Ayyūbīds, who gave him the canton of Kūsār (near Antarī). He united under his rule the Yazidis of Khūsār and those living between Hamā and Marāq, as well as the Kurds of Dīna and Kīls. Under the Mamūt Sultan and under Selim I, disputes broke out between the Yazidis (Shaykh Izz al-Dīn al-Dīn of Dīsa) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of this north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group G. Between Dīsa or Ṣīrī and Khos:

13. Hakkārī [see Hakkārī and Ṣarmāshā]. Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around Amādīya from which the Zangī ad-Dīns had driven them northwards. The amirs claimed to be of ʿAbbāsīd descent.

The first amir mentioned in the Sharaf-nāma is Izz al-Dīn Shir (probably simply an arabisation of the name Yazādīn-Shir) who held out against Timūr in 269/887 in the fortress of Van. Under the Ak Koyunlu, the tribe of Dambūl (of Dīsa) took possession of Hakkārī, but the Christians of Dīsa (Armenians) went to Egypt to bring back the see of the ancient family Amīd al-Dīn Zarrī Ceng ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambū (M. Garzoni, Grammatica della...
The Dumbull are a tribe of Bohštán (Sharaf-numā, i, 131, 310: Dumbāl-i Bokh, which for long remained Yazdā). The Dumbull later came into Skaraf-tatna castle under 'Imad al-Dīn Zangā'ī (521-41/1127-46) of Sūlamīn, whose headquarters were SutQnl in Hasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of [?].

The possessed of the chiefs of Darnā and the whole ëšēâyāt of Sohrān to Husayn Beg Dāsenī, a Yazdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Husayn Beg was executed at Istanbul, on the region called Dāsenī, cf. Hoffmann, Anarūs, 202-7.

The Dumbull are a tribe of Bohštán (Sharaf-numā, i, 131, 310: Dumbāl-i Bokh, which for long remained Yazdā). The Dumbull later came into Skaraf-tatna castle under 'Imad al-Dīn Zangā'ī (521-41/1127-46) of Sūlamīn, whose headquarters were SutQnl in Hasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of [?].

16. The Dumbull are a tribe of Bohštán (Sharaf-numā, i, 131, 310: Dumbāl-i Bokh, which for long remained Yazdā). The Dumbull later came into Skaraf-tatna castle under 'Imad al-Dīn Zangā'ī (521-41/1127-46) of Sūlamīn, whose headquarters were SutQnl in Hasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of [?].

17. The inhabitants of the Dumbull are [not very clear]. The principal chief of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, Narātī, i, 157) was Hārī (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawandīz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1090-1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (Narātī, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

21. 'Amādiyā [q.v.]. We have seen that the town of 'Amādiyā was built on the site of an ancient castle under Ùmad al-Dīn Zangi (521-41/1127-46). The local dynasty of Bānā mentioned in the Sharaf-numā seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangā'ī (7th-10th century). The chiefs of 'Amādiyā were known for their favour in religious studies. The Sharaf-numā gives their names for the Timūrid period. Later under Ùsamālī (i, 2), the Bānā annexed the Zābło district inhabited by the Śindī and Sūlamīnā which had at one time formed a separate fief (wilāyat-i Śindīyān). In this way the fief of Bānā was incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawjī (Mount Gārā, etc.).

22. Ţasānī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the amīr of 'Amādiyā took Dohāk from the sandāqi

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Khalīs, an Arab shepherd of Bāghdād who had fled to the village of Hádiyān in the nādīyā of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amir of Bāfka (east of Rawandīz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The last representative of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, Narātī, i, 157) was Hārī (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawandīz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1090-1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (Narātī, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāh-Bāzār, but in 1090-1596-7 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniyā (q.v. for details).

25. Mukārī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmā (for details see Sāwda-buṣīb). The former fief of the Bābān, which was established by their buildings (Rich, Narātī, i, 157) was Hārī (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawandīz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1090-1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (Narātī, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

26. Banā. The geographical names for the Timūrid period. Later the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniyā (q.v. for details) and the Bābān (Narātī, i, 157) benefited by their decline.
The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Sīyāh Manṣūr, Cīgānī and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristan or "Gurān and Ardalan". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (vīrān dōr) of Kārbābāgh [g.v.] (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gil tribe in Kūrūsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Sīyāh Manṣūr. In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp its chief had become Amir al-umār of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Cīgānī emigrated to Gharāt Īrān. The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-Gūrān and Kūrūsān.

From 1350 to 1750, "Great Kurdistan", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chiefships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the saṅdaks of Dīyarbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Shāwādī Īrān episcope succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia [von Hammer, GöR, iv, 231]. Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Ahmad Fāsha, appointed governor-general of Dīyarbāk in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Vakīls of Sindjār. Later (1061/1651), the same Fāsha, after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1665 a Kurd, the son of a Ṣayyāb, declared himself the Madhī, but was captured by the rulers of Mawjīl and 'Ammākiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sultan Mehmed IV taking the sīdāzand Madhī into his personal service (von Hammer, iii, 569).

In the reign of the feeble Shams Humayn, the Kurds of al-'Īrāk in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Shāh Tahmāsp II an attempt to retake Isfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghānī, was made by the Kūrī chief Pandun (Ferduši?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghānī drove off Pandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks [J. Hanway, A Historical account of the British trade, London 1753, iii]. Fortune deserted the Saṅdaks. Even 'Abbās Kull Khān Ardalan submitted to Hassān Fāsha [von Hammer, iv, 211; cf. however, RMM, xvi, 87]. His example was followed by the chiefs of Liqjāwrāt, Dārma, Dişt, Haršīn and finally by the sīdāzān 'Alī Mardān Baktīyārī (Fa'yllî?) [von Hammer, iv, 227].

The Afghānī. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghāni rule in Isfahān, Afghānī defeated the Turks (battle of Aqqūldjā in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaymān oglū (Sulaymān Bābn). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Afghānī had lavished promises; indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghānī. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Afghānī had to repudiate his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kūrī and Lur cantons.

Nādīr Shāh. Towards the end of the reign of 'Alī Mardān II, affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādīr invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdad. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1727 Topāl 'Olgām Pasba appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawjīl. Nādīr was defeated. In 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflis, which had a garrison of 3,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored. In 1153 Nādīr again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kūrū and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398-9).

Nādīr was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrān dialect on his struggle with Topāl 'Olgām Pasba. Among the Ardalanī, Nādīr replaced Subbān Verdi Khān by his brother, who provoked a popular rising (RMM, xix, 88). In 1157/1742 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Kūrūsān (Camisbūgćı and Karaforlu) refused their help to Nādīr, who punished them and transported them to Meşhād. Nādīr was assassinated in 1161/1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khūsānī (Jones, Narrative, Lond.
unify in favour of Turkey. During 1848-54, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwish Pasha prevented an agreement being reached. Darwish Pasha not only had the canton of Kotur occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1886 and 1902) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1846, the governor of Siwa, Rashid Mehmed Pasha, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistan. About 1830 a great Kurdish rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khan and Sa’di Beg, Isma’il Beg and Muhammad Pasha of Rawanduz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khudkhâr; in 1831 he seized Arbil, Artun Kôpri, Köy-Sandjâk and Râíiya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawsil; at Alqosh 172 Christians were put to death. Akra, Zibar and Arâdîiya were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawanduz penetrated as far as Zakho and Dîzîran to re-establish Badr Khan in power there. The Yazidis were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief, ‘All, who pretended to become a convert to Islam, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, J A [1923] 134-5), and a whole body of Yazidis were massacred on the hill of Köyündik. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Rashid Mehmêd Pasha from Baghîzdî, Mawsil and Siwa, and in 1836 the Mîr of Rawanduz was captured by a ruse. Rises and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujolau, Voyages, 1, 373; Molkhe, Briefe, Berlin 1842, 259-64).


The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-9, 1835-6, 1877-8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistan (the question has been specially studied by Avetianov, Kurdî et steinâlik Russî, Tîllîe 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expiration of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bethan by the popular Vazîr Şîhr, nephew and a former rival of Bâdr Khan.

The war of 1877-8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkiri Kurds of Bândînû and Bethan directed by the sons of Bâdr Khan and later by the rebellion under Shaikh ‘Ubayd Allah of the Nakshbandi order. The Kurds fled to Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceful relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shâkir Pasha, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the Hamîdiyya levies were transformed into regulars (Khâlîf swarî). The creation of the Hamîdiyya in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armenian-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Şarûn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talîrî (Dâlverchîn) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Şarûn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their singular suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkiri Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, Kurdî, in the Nasuh newspaper, Tîllîe 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, Armenians, Kurds and Turks, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, Zarîsha h karte raspredeleniya armiansk.
The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a new figure appeared on the Kurdish horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurdish movements: Ibrahim Pasha b. Majmud b. Timawt b. Ayyub, chief of the Milli (Mill) tribe in the canton of Şanlurfa (between Diyarbakr and Aleppo). Ibrahim Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of Şabd al-‘Aziz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, Ibrahim Pasha’s Glick und Ende, in Asien, viii, 1909, 34–7, 52–4, and Sir Mark Sykes, The creation of Armenia, 35–77).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East ( Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmiya and Sąwdlı-Buták inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Köyö and Urmiya. Scions of noble Kurdish families travelled in Russia. On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War I, a Four-Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the status quo of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorovsky, Turetsko-persidskaya granitsa, in Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obsch., Petrograd, lii [1926], 55–97).

The War of 1914–18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismā‘il Agha Simko, see Şarqān. On the inter-allied plans (March 1914) regarding Kurdistan, of the documents in Rassd Asidshō Turkī, Moscow 1914, 153–7, 222.

After 1917–18, the situation was radically changed. Kurdish committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, Report on Kurdistan, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Shārīf Pasha assumed the role of Kurdish representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurdish claims with a map of “Kurdistan integral” (cf. L’Asie française, No. 175, 1919, 192–2). At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Shārīf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made jointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper Peyam-i Sābōd, Istanbul, 4 Feb. 1920; cf. also Le Temps, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sévres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 80–93) out of the four wilayets (of Trebizond, Erzerum, Vān and Bīlīf), provided in articles 62–4 for “a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia”. If the Kurdish population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations “that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence”, Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary annexation to this “independent Kurd state” of the Kurds living in the vilayet of Māvṣīl. As a result of later events, the Kurdish question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the vilayet of Māvṣīl. The Turkish representatives held that “the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs” (Conference at Lausanne, speech of Ismā‘il Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan. 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the wilayet of Māvṣīl was allotted to Ġīlāk, both with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fullment of their desires, notably that “officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government departments of the country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services”.

During the long negotiations concerning Māvṣīl, serious troubles broke out in the region of Khārbat and Diyarbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shāykh Sa‘īd Nakhashndī, Shāykh Sa‘īd was captured on 10 April 1925 and executed at Diyarbakr. After the settlement of the Māvṣīl question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistan feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentzion, L’insurrection kurde, in La Revue de Paris, 15 Oct. 1925.

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Arazān and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the Selim-nāma of Ḥakim Idrīs and his son Abu ‘l-Ḥaqq and the Tūsī-Hāfl Qām-i Ādār-yi ʿAbbāsī would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the Sharaf-nāma (down to 1005/1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminoff-Zemof, Chefred-nameh, i (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1866; ii (variants of volume i, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M. ‘A. Āwnl, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. ʿAbbasī, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M. J. Bedi Rojhyanī, with cópious notes and comments, Baghādād 1371/1953; M. ‘A. Āwnl and Yahyā al-Khalīfī, Cairo 1958–62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by E. I. Vasil’eva, i, Moscow 1967; the French translation by F. B. Charmoy, Chefred-namah ou fastes de la nation kurde, in 2 volumes and 4 parts, St. Petersburg 1868–75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the Diwan-nāma of Ḥājjī Khalīfa), but is now in many respects out-of-date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barth, Über die Kürden-
KURDS, KURDISTAN

The Kurds, a long persecuted ethnic group, have faced numerous challenges throughout their history. During the First World War, with the end of the Ottoman Empire, the Kurds found themselves divided between five countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, with some important minorities in Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. The First World War led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The situation of the Kurds, who had escaped to seek refuge abroad, was quite complicated. Shaykh Sa'id Naksjbandi, who had been hanged at Diyarbakir with 53 other insurgents, was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Russian authorities. The sultanate was abolished in 1923, and the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire were henceforth divided between five countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, with some important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Ridi Khan overthrew the Kadjar dynasty and founded the Pahlavi dynasty on 26 December 1925.

General bibliography:

In Turkey, after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independent Kurdistan vanish, a Kurdistan foreseen by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Shaykh Salih Nakhbandi of Piran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Severe and Diyarbakir, either through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gentzou) or at the alleged instigation of Britain (Muștafa Kemal). The Shaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1924) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 33 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper Vakit, from 20 April 1924 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League
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Deng, Frat fusion of all the old committees or associations. IbsAn Hoyboun saw wound, and the long classical poem M/m-o-Zin appear in the Turkish press, and, between 1965 and articles on Kurdist and the Kurds were able to Turkey. Kurdistan stayed calm throughout the headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All gated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan of 31 August 1925, interpreted differently by Agabekoff, in his Haki-

periodic convulsions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, the region of Diyarbakir, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Rüd, Shaykh of the Naksbbandl brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds by force were to trigger off in the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in 'Iraqi Kurdistan, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 23 January 1969 and published in the official journal no. 19, 537 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language". Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review Otüben (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, Kurdistan irakien, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 4 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. Milliset, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (ITP). The Fourth Congress of the ITP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution, recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, Survey, 57-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Rambout, 23-44; Intercept, 196-8; J. Elia, 35-40; Ghassanmou, 50-62; Arts, 23-46).

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In Iran, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malais appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Ardabil in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the Shahsak, Isma'il Agha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmia, finally to be assassinated at Urmia by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 58-59), in the same manner as he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistan, Şairal-Dawla Kâdılar, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandaj, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Di'itarr Sultân surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemîou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Reza Shâh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hana Râşid Khiâ of Bânch who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Kurdish-Shiite-Malîan region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's-land where central authority had disappeared an organisation Komelat jiyant Kurdistan ("Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan") (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits industriels and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mollâ Mûsâfê Barzî, who came from Trak with his well-equipped contingent of armed men. But on the
overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (27 June 1919), Mahmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zağhā, Amādīyā and Ḥakrā. Major Soarne governed instead of the šayḵā, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Baghdād (23 August 1921) of the Amir Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attacking by the Ṣarḵūn, the idārāt of Mawfīl, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdisan, Šayḵy Mahmūd was recalled to Sulaymānīyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of kūhmandāt, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdisan (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper Rej-i Kurdisan "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, A. Kurdisan, p. 312; Rambout, 58-9). But there were soon frictions between King Mahmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardasgh (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, Bangā hāmg "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of Trāk, much, for the Trāk government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdisan region and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when Trāk soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymānīyya (6 September 1930). Šayḵy Mahmūd once more headed the movement. The Trāk army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons, and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Baghdād; Mahmūd was sent into house arrest in Baghdād. In 1931, Šayḵy Ahmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage, as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, The Crisis...). There was a new uprising in 1932-4, and Šayḵy Ahmad and his young brother Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced to reside at Kīrķūk and then at Sulaymānīyya. In 1947, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Rāshid 'All Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", Šayḵy Mahmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Baghdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymānīyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by Šayḵy Lutfī, son of Šayḵy Mahmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Māḥdī Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdisan. These conditions, accepted by Nāfī: Saʿīd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish hawatī (Longrigg, 328), were not agreed by the regent 'Abd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945, the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its role; in addition to Trāk and the Highmīlete monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mollā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-82). Four of his officers who had had faith in government promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā Khushnavā, 'Īsāt 'Abd al-ʿAzīz, Mubānnd Māḥdī and Khayr Allah 'Abd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of Trāk was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Trāk (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins starsi "Liberty" and Risgārī "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter exulted an Armeno-Trākī Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinstone, chief of the Intermittent Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Trākī character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistan and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymānīyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism. Bibliography: Special Report of the Progress of Iraq, 1920-1920 (HMSO 1921); Report of the Commission of Inquiry (C. 400 M. 214, 1921); Note of Sir Henry Conway Dobbs (S.G. 401 of 8 May 1931) in Allah, Beitrit (1 August 1939); Sir A. Wilson, Mesopotamia, loyalties, 1914-1917, Oxford 1931; P. Mumford and A. Wilson, The crisis in Iraq, in The Nineteenth Century and after (October 1933), 418-21; P. Mumford, Kurds, Assyrians and Iraq, in JRCAS, xx (1933), 320-29; W. H. Hay, Two years in Kurdisan, London 1922; E. Nolde, L'Irak, origines historiques et situation internationale, Paris 1934; E. Main, Iraq, from mandate to independence, London 1935; S. H. Longrigg, Iraq, 1900 to 1930, a political, social and economic history, London 1953, 1956; J. C. Edmonds, Kurds, Turks and Arabs, polette, travel and research in north-eastern Iraq, 1919-1925.

*Iraq* Kurdish nationalists, the proclamation of the *Iraq* Republic (24 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who, with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hashimit monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, "the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation". The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the *Iraqi* entity (art. 31 (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General *Abd al-Karim Qasim* [*ibid.*] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) *Molla Mustafa*, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to *Iraq*. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Qasim gave him a personal guard and a house in Baghdad and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat, "Struggle"*, was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this did not prevent the government troops were garrisoned. The Kurds had sought to eliminate the latter. They multiplied their pamphlets, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The *Iraq* army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Ba'athist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the regime aroused universal repugnation.

By a new coup d'état, aided by the army, General *Abd al-Salam 'Arif* ousted the Ba'thists and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzani launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vauly, 219-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy See (9 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5420 (4 January 1964); complete text in C.E.R. no. 39, 82-8; cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal *'Arif* negotiated a ceasefire (20 February 1964) which *Molla Mustafa* accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the *Iraqis*, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provocations in livestock and munitions. The *Iraqi* government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end discarding would be settled through weaknesses. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, mated out justice in their tribunals. Naturally, too, their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vauly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-5, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 344-8; Pradier, 270-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdistan insurrectional movement between Barzani and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord 'Arif-Barzani, une paix ou une capitulation?* accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them *Ibrahim Ahmad* and *Djalal Talabani*, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 14 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (and quarter 1963), 207-11). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Ba'athist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (to June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with an increased violence. As in the interval, the Ba'th had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their *Iraqi* friends by sending aircraft and the *Iraqi* army, the Arab brigades. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their pamphlets, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The *Iraqi* army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Ba'athist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the regime aroused universal repugnation.
military situation, the situation between Kurds and Iraq became very tough. On 10 May 1966, the Iraqi government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognized in the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1958. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on 4 March 1966 by almost the entire Iraqi army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with its head General 'Abd al-Rahman 'Arif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safin. The small town of Pendaflin, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the 'Iraqis. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the 'Iraqis used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (319 killed, 2,021 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 9 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped 'Iraqi (Le Monde, 22 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1965-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzani sort a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanya, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal 'Abd al-Salâm 'Arif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawindix or Hendrin, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Mauritès (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the 'Iraqis who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 1,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 85 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 15 June by the government, an accord negotiated by the Prime Minister Barzâr (d. 28/9/73) was signed on 25 June 1966 (Vanya, 379; Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of 'Iraq; 'Arif made a visit to Baghdad (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the Iraqi General Staff, unhappy with the "Bazzi-iz plan" did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in 'Iraq, where a new coup d'état (27 July 1967) saw General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al-Bakr took over all power and re-established the Ba'hist dictatorship, whose "National Guard" in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1966, the government lifted with the Kurdish dissenters, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulay'manîya and the new administrative division (jum'â) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sanglaj. The 'Iraqi troops had to abandon the towns of Kala-Diza, Pendjîwa and Çîwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arbîl, Halabîja and Badîna, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid.

In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at Shâykhān. In January (5 January 1979, L'Express mentioned that between September and November 1978, the Kurds had stopped the 'Iraqi offensive outright; 131 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1979, the Ba'hist regime opened negotiations with Barzâni and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maîmûd Úlmân, went to Baghdad and, on the 11 March, an accord on 13 points was signed at Nawperdan, in Kurdistan, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in Kurdistân facts, February-March 1979). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of 'Iraq (Arabic text in al-Dinwârî, Baghdad no. 701, of 12 March 1979, Kurdistân facts, February-March 1979; German text, Nebuz, Kurdistân, 235-4). Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollâ Mustâfî (29 September 1972), troubles at Singîr (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkûk after the nationalisation of the I.P.C. (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an Appel en faveur du Kurdistân irakien for the application of the accord of 12 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (Le Monde, 13 June 1973).


The Kurds of SYRIA and LIBANON, apart from some great families and their entirely arabisized dependants, such as the Barûn of Hamât, the lords of 'Akkar, the Dimsha, the Druse chieftains (Dâbîr Bédîn "soul of steel"), have preserved their original characteristics, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory...
power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the Dijzara (Rondot, Les Kurdes du Syrie, 94, 99 and passing; A. Mu'asawad, al-Abrad fi Lubnan wa-Suriya, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1937 and the plan for the “Arab Belt” (1953). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also loosing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (I. C. Vanly, Le problème kurde en Syrie, 1968 [cf. Muhammad Tâlib Hillî, Didda 'an muhâfazat al-Dijzara min al-nazâri al-kaumiyiya al-islâmiyya al-siyasiyya, 1963, ed. I. C. Vanly, and 1968]; idem, La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie, Amsterdam, October 1958. (Th. Bos))

IV. KURDISH SOCIETY

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but “it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal” (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then proceeding to the religious impact, first before considering the religious impact, then proceeding to the religious impact.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. The Kurdish family.

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage, is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential. In Kurdistan there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Kurîn. Ibrahim Pasha, founder of Sulaymanîya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 107); the great Bedir Khân had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power; today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 29). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Dagh (Dagestani, 91); 4% in Erzîk (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called hewil. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three tâlîks suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the girls of Shâlîz at 70 had been married 19 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrahim, sôha of the Dîzal (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarriage. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death, which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Dagestani, 99; Avdal, 221; Barth, 29; Edmonds, 345; Hansen, 138), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,
but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (117) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always well-treate, but without excessive refinement, and life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence $a$ of the masculine and the desinence $e$ of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for persons of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, Grammaire 98). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, $eswe$, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist $sinwther$ or by a simple barber (Barth, 112; Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. Tribal organisation.

(a) Listings of the Kurdish tribes.

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lory already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (61-87), the Caucasian territories (88-9) and the Persian territories (92-122). Jabe (1860) specified many of them (118 of the Kurdish texts). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published at Tiflis by E. Kondratenko (1896) and Col. Kartov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 395 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistan (‘Irak) and those which remain outside the Kurdistan foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his History of Kurdistan (1931), M. A. Zakl draws up a complete table of all the tribes (1939-96, Arabic tr. [1939], 372-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Roja Rās of the Kurdish tribes of ‘Irak (No. 66,14—January 1949) and those of Iran (No. 68,4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjābī tribes of Iran (1946), and A. Azzawi presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of ‘Irak (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of ‘Irak, northern Kurdistan (18-27), and southern Kurdistan (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his Anthropology of Iraq (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by A. Azzawi. In Persian, the name of 460 tribes are to be found in Mardōgh (1953), 1, 75-120, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandaj, 11, 10-48. Finally, in B. Karabadat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the villages of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakr, Shīrt, Diiai and Djaff, Mus, Van and Hakkarî, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, ‘Irak and Iran. As for the Yazidi tribes, they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. Azzawi in 1935 (14-71), and those of Singjar and Djabal Akkâr especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-61. The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the Sharaf-níma (1956). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26). Longrigg (1935), Leach (1940, Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazidi tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by T. Hâbîl (1949) in his work on the Yazidis in Arabis (224-60).

(b) The Kurdish tribe and its components.

“The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old social customs and way of life” Hay, 55). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistan, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (E. Mil-ling, 284). Indeed, some contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (habīla) is a kinship line (nsaad), among the Kurds it is the soil (arg), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbâk, 68; Akrâwi, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1949; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 2); political organisation among the Hamavand (45-9 and diagr. no. 4 and 3), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population; and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.E.E. (1952) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an agha claiming a common origin and divided into iras or fractions, such as the Girdi and the tribe under a “feudal” chief of different lineage, such as the Dżawai, the Baban. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious shaykhs, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, Les tribus montagnaires, 39-47).
Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *äštir* (‘aštira) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmande* (Kurdmand), *goran* or *mishka*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *mishka* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *teirin*, such as the Bagrellas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *xulam* (xulam) (Nikitine, 125) or *piştname* (Barth, 49), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tira* of the tribe (Barth, 45) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rendot (1918), with regard to the Omeran. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *famik* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *bavik* constitutes the clan or *ber*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *äštir* (‘aštira). The terminology is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the Djatt *aštira* into a certain number of tribes or *tira*, a political group not to be confused with the *har*, a group of the same lineage. The *tira* is subdivided into many *halten*, each *halten* composed of 20 to 50 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the *halten* there is, or used to be, a *pasha*, the chief of a village, the *tira* has at its head a *ra'is* (*räis*); and at the head of each *halten* an elected chief of a village, the *kîkâ*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tira* is called *ägâh*. For his part, Leech (1943) has prefixed the Islamic term *alî* which "names describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it". It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans of *veyan*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tira*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification: *aštir*, *dvja* and *tira*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (ed. the *bödêl*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser-oba* or *oba bâg* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser-oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. On this organisation of the *oba*, see Ereb Şemao, Şinåmed hirital (ed. Beirut 1947, 99), Nikitine, 149 ff.; Chassemiou, 135-60. According to O. L. Vîlevsky, Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistan.

(c) The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *ägâh*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Baghdad by Sultan Murad IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 223). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because more competent or better-supported, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or *shâh*, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village, that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less generous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *ägâh’s* right, *aštir*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or corvées, *hârâz*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *bâdêl*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in each which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, Connaissance ... , 35-6 or Le vie sociale, 610-11 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obliged by the landlords.

3. The economic structures.

(a) Kurdish nomadism.

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistan, see J. Frélin, Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie, in Géographischema Stockholm Annalen (1944), 219-74; H. Christoff, Krudm en Armænien, Hamburg 1935; O. L. Vîlevsky, Economie de la communauté agurpose nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2* moitié du xixe s., in SE (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, L’exploitation florale des nomades, in Arch. Hist. Acad. Sc. URSS, li (1939); J. F. Petrushevsky, Essai sur l’histoire des relations florales en Azerbaïdjan et en Arménie, du xvi* au début du xixe s., Leningrad 1949, 389; W. D. Fütteroth, Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus, Marburg 1959, 290; T. R. Staufer, The economies of nomadism in Iran, in MEJ (Summer 1965), 283-302; V. Montell, Les tribus de l’Asie and la saédentarisation des nomades, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, Les fondements géographiques de l’histoire de l’Islam, Paris 1968, 442; H. Cerrée d’Encausse, Aperçu sur le problème du
There are the dues in kind or in corvée labour (80%), peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghassemlou, 168). Reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in a price which renders the situation of the peasant at a loss, the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out in a hectare or a quarter of the harvest and the peasant 1/4 of the harvest; stîkbar, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the harvest of labour, and takes 1/4 of the harvests; sitqat, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives 1/4 of the harvest; and zamânî, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes 1/4 of the harvest (Ghassemlou, 132-8). In 'Irâqi Kurdistan the same problems are encountered. Thus in the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes 1/4 and 1/4 in the case of the rice; for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, 1/4 or 1/4. In addition, there is that which is owned or leased: 7.5% for the serbal, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that is set aside for the qahvani or coffee maker of the master, the mawdîf or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the distributized villages under landlords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows: 1/4 for the landowner, 1/4 for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the villages, 1/4 for the share-cropper or farmer, and 1/4 for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rossi, 86), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the Muslim of the Kurîn-Dagh (Syria) directed by İbrahim Khalîl between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, Les Kurdes, 15-115), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dîzî, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to 1/4 of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however, the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious nîkâhs, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muhammad Shah, 203). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non-irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from the beginning, rose 4.5% in 1965 and 8,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shah proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its
bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many (Vernier, 398). There was euphoria among the of non-irrigated lands.

Properties should not exceed 230 hectares in irrigated agriculture. According to this law, the area of law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, the Shammar (Warriner, 160). but the major part was assigned to Abmad al-Ajjil (6,863 peasant families from the region of Sinflj c Ir3k a

destroyed. Finally, in 1954. Decree No. 21 allowed the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In

August 2958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 2932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law No. 53 (called lasma) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 11 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,560 dönems (in 'Irak a dönem = 1/4 hectare) were distributed to 6,863 peasant families from the region of Singdir, but the major part was assigned to Ahmad al-Ajjil, 452/1 of the Shammar (Warriner, 160).

These problems of the land are not posed in the

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, L'îme des Kurdes, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of 'Irak, was contained before Islam within the Sâsnûn empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Puthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had
a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The Arts of the martyrs of Persia (Syria) and of the Iraqis (Edmonds, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-62). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. F. Labourd, Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanides (224-653), Paris 1904, passim) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until the invasions of Timur (1336-1405); cf. Fley, D'histoire chrétienne, passim. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been magi or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, The caliph's last heritage, 142).

The fall of the Sassanian dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a blow nor without regret. But after many battles in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnis, sometimes with the heretical Khwarizmis, the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the Sunna, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shafi'i (d. 204/819), as the Sharaf-nami already recognised (1,4) and also Ebyla Celsi (IV, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the convents have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Salih al-Din or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (Sharaf-nami, ed. Cairo, 97-171). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, 'ulama and fakhs, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous madrasas of Bitteh (Sharaf-nami, 455-495), of Djalma (ibid., 173) and of Zako (ibid., 147). At Akhtca, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Maragh in the 7th/8th century (ibid., 409).

'Almawiyah is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damien), Imad al-Haddad, 39-64; al-'Abbadi, Imad al-Din, 141-165. The famous university of al-Azahr in Cairo counts many Kürdi students of theology (cf. Nikitine, Les Kurdes, 210). The cemetery of Eyyub in Istanbul and that of Sévati contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of Shaykh al-Islam (cf. Th. Bois, La religion, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiaries attached to a mystical fakhr and linked directly to a sheikh who serves them as spiritual guide, mystically linked to a (art ha shaykh, the shaykh is the leader of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority; he is endowed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded as a man of the orthodox 'ulama who have almost no faith in him and distrust him; finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role; whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the murids is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their murids, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, Storia, 91-3; Nikitine, op. ed., 227; Rondot, Les tribus montagnardes, 43; Th. Bois, L'âme des Kurdes, 52-53; Edmonds, Kurds, 24-6). A recent group of Naflsh-bandis, the Nalice, was founded by the Kurd Sa'id Nalice (1870-1969) in Turkish Kurdistan (cf. MW (1965), 232-3, 338-41, 1965, 71-74). The hand of the sheikhs and their adepts, especially Naflsh-bandis, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in Irak, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of Shaykh 'Ubaid Allah of Nacre (1880) and that of Shaykh Sa'id of Piran (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical tekkés in Turkey, and also the insurrections of Shaykh Maimud of Barzilje (1919 and 1942).


But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their teaching to the extreme, have left the fold of Islamic orthodoxy, as the Yazidis (q.v.) who, born of the 'Adwiyah of Shaykh 'Adi b. Musaffir (ca. 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, Les Yezidis, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse, in Mashriq, IV (1961), 191-243). Similarly, the Ahl-i Hak and those of their adversaries, have left the fold of Islamic thought. Dr. Mohammad Mokri has published numerous Guran and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. L'Islamisme kurde, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect of the Ilkhanian frontier, known by the name of Kakal, op. cit., 182-207; idem, The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Haq of Iraq, in Iran, Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies, vii (1969),
To be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in Trāṣ, such as the Sarāl who are connected with them and, around Mawīl, the Šabāki who are Kurdish Khalībāšt, not without contact with the Echtāštā, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268-9).


C. Customs and social traditions.

1. Dress.

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see Trāṣ]. It also evolves with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the clothing changes from one country to another and

2. Marriage and burial customs.

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds there are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of prenuptial virginity, whose lines bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, les origines de l'islam, Paris 1946, 100-11), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions. Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5; K. A. Bedir Khan, La femme kurde, in Hufaz, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6; Tavernarès, Les mariage chez les Kurdes, in ibid., 54 (1943), 12-15/264-8. Kurds of Trāṣ: Barth, in op. cit., 24-24/237-231; Edmonds, 235-6; Hansen, 135-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmîya region: ibid., 113-15; Kurds of Syria and the KurD Dašt; K. Dogheestani, La famille kurde contemporaine en Syrie, Paris 1932, passim. Kurds of Azərbaydjan: Nikitine, 135-38. Kurds of Transcaucasia: E. A. Würd, in Actes du Cong. intern. d'histoire des religions, Paris 1941, 22-23 (cf. Nikitine, in L'Afrique et l'Asie, xli [1960], 73-61).

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the toilette of the dead, the funeral cortège or cortege, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, dara sin, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 21-5, with a fine elegy; Nikitine, 135-38; Mukri Kurds: O. Vîlsk, Mukrîsî Kurds, in Peremiyatskîa etnografîsî person, l(1958), 241-48. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mêrez, Ismâyîl mîn ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1964, 89-94. Yazidi Kurds: Lescot, op. cit., 154-6; Dower, 97-8, 185-6; I. Joseph, 191-23; Damudiîl, 70-2. Children’s funerals: Hansen, 139-43.

3. Festivals and seasonal rites.

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and so do
neurosis of Salih Karadaghi, 32, at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in Tehran, in Iran, for the festival of the birth of the Prophet.

picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed heron berdan, Erebo Eremo, shearing of the sheep, xoxan; the departure for the summer pasturage, xoxan; the departure for the spring (Wahby, pp. 12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, the family and with friends, with the aim of having off-scene entertainment and masquerades with a mask, the festivities are associated with all kinds of solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khalidin (d. 684/1284), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arméens*, Paris 1946, 118-19. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mevslidname* of Mela Ahmad of Batêl (1425-95) edited in Cairo in 905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1919 and always used; Blyssá Fázbek, *Lage of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Küdesna Hasevi, 4* (1933); Shaykh Mohammad Khalî, *Mevslidname-i new-zar* (*The new account of the birth of the Prophet*), Sulaymân 1937; idem, *Mevslidname*, in *Kurdistan* (Tehran) Nos. 166 ff.; Mela Hasan Harûpî, *Mevslidname*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-74 (1960-6).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in Iraq since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Nevruz* (see rawwâr), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazidis, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Sertal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescol, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case earlier than Islam, as “myth of the eternal spring” which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l’Iran*, Paris 1968, 58-67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamâlid (H. Massé, *Croisières et contes persans*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poetry, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kaew against the dragon Zakhâh or Ahi Duhaka is enacted, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymân, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false aim. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 81-5; Taufiq Wahby, *The rock sculptures of Gundâh caves*, in *Summer*, iv/1 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii [1940], 2-13). Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Koze geldi*, Berbâng, in *Berevoh*, Erivan 1969, 62-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *sannani pasan*, is baked, which, by night, *Azâha or Fatima will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having off-spring (Wahbi, pp. 11-12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (N. Meker, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du “Dernier Mercredi de l’année” en Iran*, in *Millâner Magazin*, Tehran 1965, 288 ff.). The girls make vows then: Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Mâser, *op. cit.*, 159). Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Deichl Delair, *Nevruz and the legend of KaPan*, in *The Kurdistân Journal, U.S.A.*, lii [March 1965], 2-5). Let us note further in Kurdistân, London, organ of the K.S.S.E., Nos. 978 [1961], the poem *The festival of Nevruz* of Salih Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *swapet*; the departure for the summer or summer pasturage, *berdawî*; the shearing of the sheep, *berbâng*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran* bordan. Ereb Şemo, ibid., 98, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei den Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalische Studien*, in *Uppsala Universitet*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1961, 7-26). The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gêzidan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. 1).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so-called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 19), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 5-9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *najî berdan* does not succeed, a derawî is performed: a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one’s prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reimond, *Chants pour obtenir la pluie en Kurdistân*, in *L’Anthropologie*, xvi [1968], 635).

4. Dances and music.

The Kurds sing always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botani, Serbedî, *êzanî*, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *gêzidan*, *gazîn*, *gazîna*, or the rounds *gëzidan*, *hûxî*. The students have a special dance *bûlê or bûlê*, of which TawOspardz has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistân*, in *Hasevi*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772-6). The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdistân dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84; Drower, *Peacock angel*, 130-4; Bois, *Connaissance, 62-2, cites the name of twenty dances*). Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples.

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante au Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vii/2 [1958], 108-9). Kurdistân music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astonishing among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants populaires de l’Armenie*, in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1853, 224-55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants; others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs. Hansen, 125-9, have found this music “flat and false” with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitas (1859-
The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the modes of entertainment. As for the Ahl-i Ha^k, Mohammed Mokri gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bous, La vie sociale, 52-362-9 and notes 136-94.

The abundance of game in Kurdistan, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurds' passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this national sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabri, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. Nîdir ("Hunting") in Ronah, 17 (1 August 1943), 317-23, 18 (1 Sept. 1943), 347-50. He is presented in three ways (317), also the hynia (317), the ibex (318), the fox (319) and the hare (319). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the bow, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds of prey, sparrow-hawks or falcons of different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321-2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8).

Os. Sabri very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348-9). The author does not forget fishing (350), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (326). Among the odours and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kivi, The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles, in Yedval. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre, ii, Jerusalem 1972.

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The forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring languages, form a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages, or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish has been used in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in 'Iraq and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

V.-LANGUAGE

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The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is: \( \text{i, i, i, k, k, e, e, } \) and emphatic \( \text{i}, \text{e, e} \). In the north-east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes \( \text{p', f', f, k'} \) and unaspirated \( \text{p, f, k} \) is found. In a large part of the Kurmanji area \( \text{o, u} \) are replaced by \( \text{u, o} \) respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between \( u \) and \( o \) is lost, in favour of \( u \). A new distinction is made, however, between palatal \( l \) and velarised \( l \) (though this coincides with \( r \) in Arbil), and \( g \) has acquired phonematic status in Sulaymaniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably in the loss of potential and stress to trivocals, e.g. \( \text{do} \) "water", P(persian) \( \text{d} \); \( \text{lo} \) "night", P lab. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. \( \text{bild} "brother", P \text{beld} \); \( \text{dun, dam} "to give", P \text{dun} ; \text{si} "white", P \text{safi} ; \text{sa} "dog", P \text{ra} ; \text{eld} "mountain", P \text{ak} \). The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North: \( \text{m} \); Central: \( \text{mi} \); South: \( \text{mi} "dead" \), cf. Cent. \( \text{z} \); \( \text{z} \); South. \( \text{z} "alive", P \text{z} \).

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative service to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) \( -p-, -b-, -m-, -n-- \) replaced by \( -d-, -d-, -d-, -n- \); (ii) the development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North: \( \text{m} \); Central: \( \text{mi} "dead" \), cf. Cent. \( \text{z} \); \( \text{z} \); South. \( \text{z} "alive", P \text{z} \).

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KURDS, KURDISTAN

VI.—FOLKLORE AND LITERATURE

A. Popular and Folk Literature

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich: Prof. O. Vilkovsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign Orientalists: A. Jaba, Recueil et notices et récits kurdes, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Frym and A. Sokol, Kurdistische Sammlungen, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, Kurdische, Persische Forschungen, iv. Die Mundarten der MUKRI, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, Kurdische Texte (Mardin), Leningrad 1928; B. Nikitine, Kurdish stories from my collection, in BSOS, iv (1926), 122-38; idem, Quelques fables kurdes d'animaux, in Folklore, xi, (1929), 228-44; E. Lascot, Textes kurdes, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1947; Th. Beis, L'âme des Kurdes à la lumière de leur folklore, in Cahiers de l'Est, Beirut, Nos. 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikaner, Recueil de textes kurmandjâdji, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, Kurdisch dialect studies, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir Khan annals, from 1903 to 1946 in their famed "Kawar, Ravani, and Roja nê"; H. Cindi and E. Evidal, Folklor kurmança, Erivan 1936; Cindi, Folklor hîrmânî, Erivan 1937; and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, Edëbi folklor-i hûrdî, Lâkolhâwê, Baghdad 1970 (cf. Th. Beis, Connaissance, 117-25).

This folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings, in BSOS, iv (1921), 78-93; D. P. Marguevsk and Erric R. Bedir Khan, Proverbes kurdes, Paris 1938; Lascot, Proverbes et énigmes kurdes, in REI, iv (1937), 237-50, reprinted and added to in Textes kurdes, i, 189-237; Frampelini, Proverbi kurdo, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, Some Kurdische proverbs, in Iran, JIBPS, viii (1970), 105-73; Ismail Heqi Şawayes, Oise-i fîşnim, Bahrain 1923; Marifî Çayraw, Hazar bêj â pend, Baghdad 1930; Cegerekwin, Gûna fîshivin, Damascus 1937; M. Xal, Pend-i fîshîn, Bahrain 1937; Djumil Renna, Amelîl kurdiyapa, Aleppo 1957; O. Celî, Muzulâ me id'dilîcî xinâmî xirvan, Erivan 1966-7, 2 vols.; O. Celî and C. Celî, Kurdische poselîvî in popovawî, Moscow 1972; J. Nebes, Sprichbucher und Redensarten aus Kurdistan, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindi, Folklor, 1947, 149-81, and in the grammars of Jardim and Deidar, as well as in the dictionaries of Markdlcik, i, 8-66.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, dilok, songs of love, lâwî, or war, sar or dalal; songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, serbî, or in the autumn, palîtîk; lullabies, lori; epithalama, kevail or seresavonî; also songs of mourning, sin or gevî, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews Kawar, Ravani, and Roja nê have published hundreds of them, as have Cindi and Evidal, Folklor, 342-474; Cindi, Folklor hîrmânî, 189-248; see also Rondot, Trei...


Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mâmî Aalâm* (Lesoc, *Textes* ii, p. 360) or *Sûhurâd or Hothek;* others are a purely kylïde form, such as *Zeîra & Fâtîq, Lâyân & Mâyîn, Sîyaband & Xorât, Zambîfîrek, "the basket-seller", Xurîjî & Xasn, Sûhrîn & Xosgèn, Xîlê & Fêrhad, Farsî & Sîhiye, Manîca & Bîjaft*, finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dimdûm, Jûvlûl*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Changir or Zendeheng and more recently the exploits of Nadîr and Topal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Meriwan, Abdul Rehman Baiban or Ezdûnî Bedir-Xan. These accounts were the glory of the poets, but also of the professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Soûn, Cindl ete, and also Bois, *Poêtes et troubadours au pays des Soriqits*, in *Mâljî* ii (1939), 260-99; various authors, *Kurdîche legendeb*, in *Textes et tr. thosoc*, 1968; V. Minorsky, *The Gürânî*, in BSOS, xi (1943), 75-103; O. D. Dallali, *Kurdish geylechole pièces Zlatroshikhân*, Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, in *Mâljî* (1939-40), 217; Diwânzde siwarî Merman, *Sulayman* 1935; Gew, *Tabriz 1966; A. Ayyubian, (Jirîke kurde, ruhijjian.., Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, in *Mâljî* (1943), 75-103; BSOS, in *Joyce Blau*, 1967.

Narrative legends, few in number, have a rather dry list of titles (535-58). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zâbâwî (1683-1936), Ahmad Shawkî, the prince of poets (1880-1932), al-Rukshî (1875-1945), the sociologist Kâsim Âmin (1885-1968), the novelists al-Akbâd (1889-1964), Muhammad Taymûrî (1892-1925) and his brother Mahîmîr (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muhammad Nâdirî Kurdistanî, Ragîdî Yâsîmî and İbîn Nûrî, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimîîî and A. Yamîkîî, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de recits houards*, 3-11, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmanji dialect, and almost all originating from Hakari. Less than a century later, "Ali”-al-Dîn Sigidî published in Baghdad a *History of Kurdish literature* (1925), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistan and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-146), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (147-334), followed by a rather dry list of 322 other authors (335-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of Iraq and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Mârîf Xandîr, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of İzz al-Dîn Müwafî Râsûl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1966, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kûrdology since Jaba’s time and faithfully complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. Origins and the classical period

Jaba’s informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Efi Herîrî (1425-95), Šex Emmedı Şenî, better-known under the name of Meîâyî Cînrî (1407-81) and Meîa Emmed of Bâştî (1414-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mr. Mîhmed of Mûki, er enamed Faqîrî Teyrîan, was also by other witnesses, such as Hâdîlî Kâhilînî (1638) (cf. Adîn Advâr, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 94, 106), or the traveller Eliyâhû Câlipî in his *Kâmîl* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nâmâ* and *Encyclopædia of Islam*, V
supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article Meld-é Jast and Fagl Yawdir, in Yıldın-ma-yi İran-ı-yi Minorşky, Tehran 1969, showed pertinent thanks to the method of the nbi, that Melayé Cizrl lived between 1390 and 1600 and his disciple, Feqiyé Tyvan, between 1550 and 1600. The most famous is Melayé Cizrl, later than Hâfiz (d. 791/1380 or 792/1390) and Dîrî (875/1470), in which Dîrî of more than 2,600 verses has remained very popular among the shaykhs and mollahs, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Kurdâ schools of Kurdistan, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Sûfîsm. His works include, in Persian, the classical poem al-Adrîb b. al-Mella Muhammed al-Buhtî al-Zavîngî, Nos. 35-57 (194X-3), incomplete by Mohammed Şeqf Anwasl Hesînî, Istanbul 1346/1922; Qeşri Çemî Fäqî, Dîwan Mâli, in Latin characters, in Hâmar, Nos. 32-57 (1941-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Shayqî Ahmad b. al-Mella Muhammed al-Dalîfî al-Zîvîngî, al-Fîqâh fi lâgårî Diwan Shayqî al-Dîrî, 2 vols., 597 pp., published in 1965, whose Dîrî translation and finally a mystical commentary. Melayé Bate is especially known for his Metâvd, published by von Le Coq, Kurdische Texte, Berlin 1903. Feqiyé Tyvan, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizrl, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the History of Shayqî Sanâan, published and translated into Russian by M. M. Rodenko, Moscow 1965, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazi, Tabriz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Ekmedê Xani (1650-1760), who settled at Bayazîd. He is the author of the famous, Kurdish national epic, Metvîd. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic Mâmi Ahân, publ. by R. Lucot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Sâza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic Mâmi Ahân has multiple variants which have been translated into German, French, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem Metvîd has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlard (Irbîrî 1954; translated into Mukri by Hejar, Baghdad 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rûdenko, Moscow 1965; with Turkish translation by M. E. Bûxaslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Ekmedê Xani is also the author of a rythmized Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary Nûhûr "First fruits" edited by Yûsûf Dîrîzî al-Dîn, al-Hâdîyya al-Balâdisyâ fi l-Îsga al-Kurdisyâ, Istanbul 1310/1892, 227-97, and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, Kurdische Texte, i, 47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazîd, Isamîlî Bayazedî (1634-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurnanci-Arabic-Persian glossary, Guitar "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerîf Xan (1685-1748), of Cûlman, of the family of the amis of Hakâtî, author of numerous verses in Kurnanci and Persian, and Mûrad Xan of Bayazîd (1738-75), author of numerous lyrical poems. In the same period, but at the court of the walis of Ardalan or the sultans of Hewraman, appeared a whole panoply of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gûrân dialect. One may cite Emdê Xeëti (1340) and Şîx Mîstês Besarani (1411-1702), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1706). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets, with Xûnaç Qûbâtî (1070-50), author of a Sulâsûn-nûs, and with Mahâtî (d. 1783). It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century. We have attempted to mark how the influence of Western literature spread between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Ximadar (218-23) and Rostûl (222-32). On the poets in Gûranî, cf. Minorsky's article, The Gûrân. Some have been studied at greater length by Sîjdât in his History of Kurdish literature, a.g. (222-32), Mevlevî (1860-82). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a tâkhûllî or pseudonym will also be remarked.


Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şeref Xânîn of Ardalan (800-97), Sîrâ Xânîn of Diyarbakîr (1843-93) and Mirhêban of Bervartî (1858-1905).

2. The modern age.

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3 below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymân, the real capital in Îrâq of Kurdistan, let us cite before all Piromî "The old man" (1863-1950), pseudonym of Hacî Têvîqî, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bakes, Fâlq Abdallâh (1903-48), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Ziwa,
Abdallah NiThem (1873-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Gora, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-63), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse, as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life; a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qami, Mihemed Emin (1880-1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdish in which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of Irak, Emad Mustaf Cef (1897-1955; ed. Sulayman, 1960); Hamdi (1936-11; ed. Bagdad, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahid Nuri (1903-44), Dildar (1913-45; Dinas, ed. Hewer 1962) and Dikar, born in 1926, who edited in 1957 the Quatrains of Bahar Tahir, the 9th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahabad, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hamim and especially 'Abd al-Rahman Hejar (born in 1920), whose works, in particular his publications of thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as Allokb (Tabriz 1945); in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, Beht serem dar u lasayi sag u manges; he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-5) and several poems (185-222), in the Kurdish dialekt Mutcr of K. R. Ayubi and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1968, and published a translation of the Quatrains of Khayyam (Beirut 1968).

In Kurdistan, one may note Kamran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegexwin, Siv'ul Xesin (born in 1903), author of two collections; Dinas Cegexwin (Damascus 1945) and Soma inesl "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the "The revolt of liberty* (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the "The revolt of liberty", such as the pages of Victor Hugo, G. S. Cochrane and others, the rest of Persian verse, an undercurrent of revolt, such as Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Aboyan, Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are: C. Cell, H. Cindl, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Essed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Cell, E. Evdal, Nadj=x Xilo Mehdni and many others.

In 'Irak, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Hapiin Dixirmacl, and Nadi Elbas have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistan.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review Husar, one may read the stories of Nureeddin Zaza (born in 1939), and the fables in prose of Mastic Elahem Botli. In these stories, Qadiri Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendency. But one should note very especially Osman Sebri (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In 'Irak, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the found 'Iraqi Hamed Muhiddin (1889-1947) as the author of varied studies: The history of the Kurds emirates, 1929-31, Famous Kurds, 1931, The Soviet emirates, 1935, The Kurds and Nadir Shah, 1934, The Zoroastrian, 1934, Mubarran Kurdistan or Atropatene, 1938, etc. General Mihemed Embo Zeli (1850-1948), published a Summary of the history of the Kurds, 1931, a History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period, 1946, a History of Sulaimani and its district, 1939, and two volumes of Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistan, 1945-57. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Retig Hilm (ul. 1961), began the publication of his Memoirs, in fascicules of a hundred pages, beginning in 1956 and entitled them A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the recollections of Shafiq Mahmud (a work still uncompleted). Tewfik Wehbi, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Va'ddis, 1964, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yusuf Rofii and Dildar, Kamiran and especially Maruf Nizamdar, who
in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xiznedar, apart from his History of Kurdish literature, also composed Ắşb us gasyyet le ńićk kurdı da ("Rhythm and rhythm in Kurdish poetry"), Baghdad 1962. Comill Bendj Roffeyndar, Arabic translator of the Sharaf-namı in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengene, Kelhür and neighbouring tribes. Alia' al-Din Sijfeld published not only his History of Kurdish literature (in 1953), Researchs on Kurdish literature (1968) and also the Value of knowledge (1970), but also five volumes of Necklaces of pearls (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his Journey in Kurdistan (1956). Let us finally cite Izz al-Din Rasol (born in 1931), for his works on literature and folklore (1958).

* In Irak also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militant, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded for the most Urgent social causes of the disinhett, such as Şerif Futah in The companion of the children (1948), The Kurdish woman (1958), The new life (1960), Ibrahim Edmed (born in 1931), in Misery (1959) and many articles in newspapers; Alim corpses Emmed Emmed (born in 1921), in Unce Omar (1954), The tranquil lake (1957) and The path of liberty (1954).

* In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in Kuya late their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikhail Rejd, and especially Elmireide See, and Orlin Kelle Cell is an excellent critic. Her books on Cegherwini, Dimdum, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published Poems (1954) and Tell Humas, a kind of epic (1960). But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets. They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of their present social situation. At their head is their veteran Erebut Şemo (born in 1898), who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, Beresok (Erivan 1959), takes up the text of Berbang "Tunen" (1958), a revision, revised and corrected, of Şinmed kurd "The Kurdish shepherd" (1935), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them; there are also his Juna bestuwur "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished Hopo, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet regime. Şemo has also published Dimdum (1960), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Ell Erdal-Refan published in this same vein of social chocolate, Khal Kamen "Ludly Xalid" (1959), and others. Şurdi Metasuni, "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehan Gazi, Hisyarb An "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors.

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature. It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer, even in 1948. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia, from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nixid, Rus a jodu, "The abduction" (1953) and A. Mirzai, Zenadl gulu "Time past" (1943), and recently Ismaila Duko, Zevecan bëc dil "Marriage without love" (1961). In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Irak with Burkan, Kiş a quiican "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jiri, Afret a niquest "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emna Mirza Kerin. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper Sin several verse plays, including The poor man's dream, The voice of death, etc., which aim at waking up a new generation of Kurds from its inhibits of life and thought. But the Four martyrs (1959) is a patriotic play of Xadl Deilal. Cemal Abud Qadir Babun published Nérko (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zaki Emmed Henari, The fate of the oppressor Dashak (1960). Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), Birluna res "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azadi Karho, The Kurdish stage, in The Kurdish journal, 1/3-4 (1965), 115-38.


C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds. Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of Iran, Bagdad, Sulayman, Hewler and Kirkuk; of Iran, Tehran, Mahabad and Tabriz; or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of linguistic contents. The KURDS, KURDISTÂN
The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after 'the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper Hezâr, with 76 nos. In Bagdad there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal Jutim, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1965, Biyareet "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Sahîl Yûnîî. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: Dicle & Fırat (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; Dengî, in 1965 and in 1966 Dengî dawîc "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistan saw the birth, from 1970 to 1973, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkuk, 5 in Hawler, only 4 in Sulaymânî, but 16 in Bagdad, which seems to indicate that the 'Irakî capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in Iraq. In Sulaymânî, there is Birayet (1971-2, 18 nos.); Dengî xwamîna (7 nos.); Jîn, since 1971, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Pîmerend, and since 1972, the monthly Ezîret "The star", intended for children. In Bagdad, there is Birayet, supplement of the daily Talêhî (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published Gêle-i xwamîgen "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ Biyareet-i kuvehêran "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 289 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an annual publication The Journal of the Kurdish Academy, izî (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor-in-chief is İhsan Şîhrzad, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name Rêgari yûkhî "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Govern-
ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1973 and which continues to appear regularly (1974-78).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French Deneg Kurdistan "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year a new edition of Nakhshbandi practices of Egypt which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1923/1905. He lived first in the West and a place where the products of European creation of St. Mearop, inventor of the Armenian

**Early history.** From earliest times, Georgia has been a meeting-place for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ebi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is Tanver al-kubth fi mu’dwilat ‘ullam al-shaykh, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Sufism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1936/1959. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Nakhshbandi saints (al-Mawādah al-sarnadisyiya fi mandāhib al-Nakhshbandiyah), published in Cairo in 1320/1931, as well as manuals of Shafi‘i and Maliki fiqh.

**Bibliography:** A comprehensive account of Muhammad Amin’s life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salah al-Azzam to Tanver all-ka(sh)b (6th ed., Cairo 1358/1940). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his Sufism, London 1950, 129-32, where Muhammad Amin’s description of Nakhshbandi practices of dākh is summarised. The same passage from Tanver al-ka(month is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard’s version of La petite galacée.

**KURDS, KURDISTAN — al-KURDJ**
and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Hellenic times, the western Caucasian region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Sameba, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta-Armeni, on the river Kura just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pepin in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class-division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia ca. 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nina. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see Arménia] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sásáns of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Chalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolomy, Geography, 5.10 Μετσχετα = Μέσσητα) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Mândlid Dílı ('Ramayon (Mas'dīl, Murādī), ii, 56; cf. Marquart, Streifzüge, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian cistáu ('ethnarch') sent against Varaz-bakar (379-95?) king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sásáns of Persia), built Tiflis 'between the Gates of the Caucasus' (i.e. between Darial and Darband) 'to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta' (Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie, i, x40).

During the wars of king Walikhtang Gargasal (426-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (kala) and the village (segel) of Tiflis were destroyed. Walikhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Daši (499-514) completed all its walls (op. cit., 156, 156-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian marbáš (Marburg 1903), 149-225). Marquart, op. cit., 226; Marquart, op. cit., 307, 431-2; Djavalov, Khrst. Postob, i (1912), 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the marbáš. Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention 4 Τιφλίς (Tiflis) μαρτυρίως under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Ptolomy, in Migne, Patrologia graeca, xii, 1370; cf. Muralt, Essai de chronologie byzantine, St. Petersburg 1855, i, 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of St. on in Tiflis" (l, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khusraw Parviz (after 600), the son of Guaram, the Bagratids (who was content with the title of círistam = 'chief') joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as mardab ('chief') Adanaeans of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the círistam Dílgab (Theophanes: Zabīya); according to Marquart: Tung Yabghu Khakan. The citadel (kala) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balâdïrû f,D, 94; and Yâkût, ii, 58, where Dündzân is a nádaya of the country of Arménia). According to the Georgian chronicle (K'artlis tskhovreba), the Agarians invaded Sómbêshia ('Armenia'), a rather ambiguous term, for "Sómbêshia of Kartli" began to mean the river (Khosrov) about 20 miles north of Tiflis in the reign of Stephanos II (639-57?), son of Adarnasces, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arcil withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Mursvan Kru ('Marwân the Dead') sent by the Amir al-Mu'minîn Eshîm (Hishân whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Čurokh (Klarketi). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements (see Arménia).

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Tabâri, i, 2606, in 23/643 Suraqa, having made peace with Shahr-Bakr (king of Bab al-Abwâb (w.)), sent Habîb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Tabâri, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of Ummân (Yakibb, Historie, 194: Balâdïrû, 196). When Habîb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nikôl = Nicolas? Tiyî = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the bâtrîk of Dündzân and his people were well-disposed. Habîb's answer (cf. the versions in Balâdïrû, 207 and Tabâri, i, 2764; Yâkût, i, 857, rather follows Balâdïrû) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in the rus/dâft of Mandalis (now Manglis) in al-Ejran (= Georgia) in the land of Hârmân".

Habîb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Dîzâ' to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam.

After reducing Tiflis, Habîb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balâdïrû, 202-3; cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarîan, Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft, in Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie, ii (Marburg 1903), 249-252). Among these, the Šanâryîa play a prominent part Ptolomy, 5-8-13: Σαναρία in Armenien Tsa-narkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Tush, whose language is related to that of the Câsâns (cf. Text. Akad. Nauk, 3/1 (1936), 1359-1406).
From the time of Habib’s expedition to the reign of al-Mutasim (237-43/852-58) the ‘Abbasid caliph against Isbik did not bring the reward desired (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 5., tr. Dulaurier, i, 74). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Walid (273-87/887-92) recognised Isbik as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muhammad, son and successor of Khalid, defeated Ishak and drove out the Saniria. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muhammad against Isbik and his allies, the people of Kakheti and the Saniria.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutasim, the Turkish commander Bugha al-Kabir al-SharabI (q.v.) sent to Armenia. In Rabbi I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabul for Tiflis. Bugha watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughabul (the reference is to the heights of Maghatha to the north of Isan = Sughabul).

Ishak made a sortie, but Bugha’s sappeurs (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Ishak’s palace was burned. He and his son ‘Amr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Magharia. Ishak was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Magharia took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. Ishak’s wife, daughter of the lord of Sarir (— the principality of the Avars in northern Dagestan), was at Sughabul, which was defended by the Khwaytiva (people of Sasun; cf. MAGHARIBI). Bugha granted them aman on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of Djurdzan and Bayakbas (Tabari, iii, 914-16; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 9-16, ed. Broscot, St. Petersburg 1874, 140-150). A Georgian inscription on the church of Atani gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bugha; cf. Djavakhov, Khris. Posob., 1 (1912), 284. The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Mas‘udi, ii, 67; Yakût, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bugha was soon recalled; cf. Broscot, op. cit., 1, 266-8, and Thomas Artsuni, ibid.

There was an ‘Abbāsid mint for dirhams at Tiflis till 334/942 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 314, 342, 330, 332; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 11, 54). A Georgian inscription on the church of Atani gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bugha; cf. Djavakhov, Khris. Posob., 1 (1912), 284. The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Mas‘udi, ii, 67; Yakût, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bugha was soon recalled; cf. Broscot, op. cit., 1, 266-8, and Thomas Artsuni, ibid.

The aid which Bagrat (826-75) had lent to the caliph against Ikhshid did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Mas‘udi (writing in 334/944), Murūdī, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdzan (Bagradid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, op. cit., 176) crossed the land of Abk’has (sic) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagradid kingdom Abgat (885-907) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Broscot, i, 270, n. 22). Mas‘udi gives Mas‘ud Dhi ‘L-Karmān (= Mshhatha) as the residence of the king of Djurdzan (al-fanbaghi, ingeniously emended by Marquart, op. cit., 186, to the Armenian *mambagi > mambalha, a Georgian term).

The Sājidē, the Sālaride and the Shaddādīs. In the meanwhile, there arose in Abkar-
The Saljuk was given compensation. Tiflis and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Ashman, son of Aghmashenebeli), but was defended by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city, although the rulers resided in Kutais (Kv't'at'is). In 429/1030 a capital for his sons"; Brosset, i, 365-7, and Additions, i, 230, 336-41; cf. Ibn al-Athir, 3, 308 (= Defrénery, Fragmenta, 26); Kamal al-Dîn, Ta'rikh Halab, in Recueil des histoires croisées, iii, 528; Ysküt, i, 537 (sv. act. Tâbil). The Arab historian al-Āynî (761-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, i, 230), says that the king respected the feelings and of which was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banû Dja'far. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banû Dja'far, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Mono in Tiflis, al-Āynî gives the Banû Dja'far alone a period of 300 years. We have seen that in ca. 500/1217 the amir of Tiflis was already called Dja'far [b. All] (Brosset, i, 247). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; dirhams are known of Mansûr b. Dja'far, dated in 542 and 543 (with the name of the caliph al-Mustâ li'Ilhâm), and of Dja'far b. Mansûr, dated 364, 366 (al-Ṭâbil li'Ilhâm). In the time of Banû Dja'far (1027-72) the amir of Tiflis was called Dja'far (his father All had carried off the property of the Sveti-Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhât Gwend Dja'far (Mukkât Gwend is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young men of the family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-Āynî).
The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him in Adharbayjan, the aqebide lidziz or Eldiguz (qv) in (Georgian Ilidiguz); at Ani, the scions of the Seidachidze; at Khât, Zahir al-Din Shah-i Arman (523-701/1128-83); at Erzerum, the amir Saltik b. 'Ali, whom the Georgians defeated near Ani in 543/1143; cf. Ibn al-Athir, xi, 128, year 549/1153: Mnâsadji-fm-bash, ii, 577: Defrémery, Fragments, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 539/1143, carried off the famous iron gates of this town and took it to the monastery of Gefali (cf. Taebeh, Mem. Ac. St. Petersburg, ser. 6, Ct. morales, iii, 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraq, the historian of Mâyâfîrîki, who visited Tiflis in 546/1193. He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (dahe) opposite the mausoleum of Mâyâfîrîki; cf. Anodroz, Three Arabic manuscripts, in FRAS (1902), 291 (al-Azraq may have been the source used by al-Aynî).

Under Giorgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ani, Dvin, Nakhkîwân, Gendje, Bardagh and Baykal'dz. To assist his cousin the Shirvâne Shâ'ârî al-Din, son of Tamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king went away to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 483-93, and Add., i, 253-7, 266). Ibn al-Athir, years 556, 557, 559, and 561, 569).

The reign of Tamar (1184-1217 or 1218), the "Sun of Kartli", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saljuk to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar placed an important part in the creation of the empire of the Commendari of Trebizond (Kunik, Csom. Tropez. imperii v 1204, in Ucen. Zap. Akad. Nauk, ii [1853], 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzudjian inflicted defeats on the Ildefizids of Adharbayjan. The sack of Ardashir by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 460-73) and the continuation in the Stlisat al-nasabi safawiyâ, Berlin 1845, 412, cf. Khanykov, MéJ. Asiatiques, i (1852), 380-93. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-12 an expedition to the borders of northern Persia as far as Tabriz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). At home also the Saljuks, of whom the Chronicle always mentions (aJ-Azraft may have been the title of Afaq ("used among the Sultans"; Brosset, i, 469), the growing power of the feudal lords disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djumâeran entered Georgia via Gndje. This took place in 539/1143 (Brosset, i, 499-500). Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his heir Tamar, whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the family. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khan, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

Second coming of the Mongols. Djâl al-Din disappeared from the scene in Shavvâl 629/August 1231, but the remnants of the Khârazmian disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djumâeran entered Georgia via Gndje. This took place in 539/1143 (Brosset, i, 499-500). Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his heir Tamar, whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the family. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khan, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The reign of Tamar, Giorgi III Lash ("splendid") in the Abkhazian language who ruled from 1122-23, levied the aqebide Gendje, Nakhkîwân, Erzerum (Karmakalak) and Khât; but in 567/ 1172 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djâbe (in Georgian: Suba and lama or C'eba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 495) considers the defeat at Berdjud (on the Borzala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (Kh-malîk, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 499). In the end she chose the son of the Saljuk of Erzerum, Mughlî al-Din Togrîl (in Georgian Oruff) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 270: hâdîthu lahu sharîât lana yâdâ hâdîthu). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khârazm-shâb Djâl al-Din defeated the Georgians at Garnî in Shâban 624/225 (Ibn al-Athir, xii, 283; Nasawi, ed. Houdas, 132; Brosset, Add., i, 309). The Georgian commander Shâlwa (Djouwayîn, ii, 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djouwayîn, Djâl al-Din spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Akhânia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athir on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (nassâwa wa-shâbâna wa shâbâna wa shâbâna wa shâbâna wa shâbâna wa shâbâna wa shâbâna). After the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Shâraf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gndje, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawi, 125). Djâl al-Din, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 629/1229 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Lor, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwân (the Avar of Daghistan), Lake, Kipcâk, Svan, Abdîl, Djâlîl (Čan-čty) and men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djouwayîn, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 507) says that after the victory at Bolnîs (at Mindor?), Djâl al-Din committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.
was removed from the country. A certain Egerstan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him David, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Tsikheata. He also had to go to Batu and to Karaqorum. The "two Davids" are mentioned among these present at the journal of Gayuk Khan in 643/1243 (cf. Djawawadi, i, 205, 222; Rashid al-Din, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Mongke (1266-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hulegu did not like David Naria, the latter escaped to Abkhasia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities," says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side, Botu Khan, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side, the Il-Khans of Persia asserted their rights over it. David, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khodja Aziz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashid al-Din, ed. Quatremere, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The noin Dyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had bought beside Hulegu against the throne. Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shabdah in 2162 (d'Ossosson, ii, 182). In the reign of Abagha or Abaga, Berke returned to Transcaucasia, and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. ibid., 413).

The successor to David, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Ahmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the ordn. The Georgians call him T'av-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain David VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khan of the house of Batu (Gilgha - Takhleggha); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholics and the kadi of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 625; this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim noin Nawruz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i, 677) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gillan expedition of 1300).

Giorgi V. After the death of Udjeytu (717/1317), Giorgi V (Birskumwale, the Splendid"") was placed on the throne (1326-46) under the patronage of the amir Coban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il-Khans to drive out the Mongols. He extinguished the rebels, went with his army into Imberi, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Isipr) but all the lands from "Nikopha (75 miles from Sukhumi on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Timur. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1350-95) that Timur made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a dastād. Timur set out from Kars in the winter of 785/1380 (Zafar-nama, i, 402). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Mesopotamia (Nève, Exposé, 371) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Timur's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1355. The Zafar-nama, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 795/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Aghsaltsde (Ahkhiša [q.v.]) in order to apply the law of "ghar." Timur in person finally chastised the Georgians called Kara-Kalakanlik ("with black bucklers") - the Georgian mountaineers, the Pahaws and Khewursi and returned via Tiflis to Shahid (925).

In 795/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sidi 'All of Shaki, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Timurid Miran-Shah who was besieging Alloudjaj (near Naxwewaun) and delivered Sultan Tahir Djalayir, who was shut up in it (ibid., ii, 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Timur took Shaki and mercilessly ravaged the wooden defile of Khimshak (?), probably in northern Khalkhej, where a Khimshak family held a fief at Manei, to the east of T'Ioneeti (Brosset, i, 246). In the spring of 802/1400 Timur marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgtn) should hand over Sultan Tahir. On receiving an evasive answer, Timur laid the country completely waste (ibid., ii, 214). Tiflis received a Khurisahinan garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the envoy they admission of a Georgian prince named Djant-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zari (?). Timur's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhasia and sent Tahir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Isma'il (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Timur to pay the kharij. Timur accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivané (the ahdar of Samiskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Kara-Kalakanlik plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Mini-qol ("1,000 Lakes") near Kars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasagird (Panaskert, on the upper Corokh; ibid., ii, 250).

In 804/1402/3 Timur returned to Transcaucasia via Erzurum-Baghdad-Tabriz. His disciples (muqaddas) went to collect the tribute (saw wa-kharadi) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Giorgi gave Giorgi amans on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (ibid., ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1402/3 Timur went from Karabagh (q.v.) to Min and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdik, lieutenant of a certain Tadjji (?).

When, in 805/1403, Timur returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Säyazid. At Min-gol, Ivané, son of Ak-bujda, arrived with gifts as did Kustandil (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (ibid., ii, 513). Shagird Ibrahim of Shiraz was sent to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (ibid., ii, 521). Giorgi sent new presents, but Timur refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muharram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kürzin defended by Nazal or Nazwal (the Chronicle calls it Birthwiz on Alget) and took it in nine days (ibid., ii, 532-33). The troops then laid waste the country round (sand) Georgia as far as the borders (badiat) of Abkhasia: "which is the end of this country." Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Timur waxed eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Timur only stopped them when the Sülfame. The Georgians sent 1,000 tampossible to grant amans. The Georgians sent 1,000 tampossible of gold in the shock of the
Tlmvlr left Georgia. In 1444/1448 the Kara-Koyunlu Vakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun prisoners taken from Georgia. According to King Bakzatl (read: Bagrat) prevented him taking Afehaltilth*, but he returned iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1469. The history of Vakhusht, (consisting of Samtskhe. on the upper course of the Dzorubeg, and later at T^lav. In addition, the princes came to pay homage to Tahmasp at Sijilagael. The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabaratli (called Barat-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget defeated a feart on the Turkomans.

The Safavids. In 909/1501 a detachment of Ismaiil's forces under the command of Khilbed-Beg invaded Georgia (Shahin-din-nama, quoted by Dorn). The invasion of Dwr Sulthan in 926/1519 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Isma'il I (cf. Mirkh-Snd, in Defdtnery, iv, 35 and Mirkh-Snd; cf. Mafle ).

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Uzun Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Hasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The Turba-ru Amis, however, calls the governor (isfan) left by Uzun Hasane, Sftl Khalil Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Hasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulhan Ya'qub Ak-Koyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the AtdBeg Kvarkvare. In the next year, Ya'qub sent Sftl Khalil Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghsia-kala and Karczani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Dzbeda (Bozala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the Geography of Vakhusht). Kustandel (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Sftl Khalil Beg then the siege with the help of reinforcements, which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudja-Koli (Kodori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Fali agha ethnic-aghast took the town (3 Rabib 1 894/February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Ya'qub, Turba-ru Amis, MM. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 101, fol. 101a-52 and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 536-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and asks that the people of the fief of Sabaratli (called Barat-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget defeated a feart on the Turkomans.

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 689-89) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1415 (1416?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhalskhe, Kara Yusuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsop; cf. Neve, loc. cit., 96; Brosset, Add., i, 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sveti Tskhoveli (at Mtskhet) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgians who envied Shah-Rukh in 823/1420 at Kara-bagh (cf. Mirkh-Snd, in Defdtnery, cf. cit., 254) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 845/1447 Shah-Rukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf.above), Alexander sent him gifts (Brosset, i, 690-91) which the son of Timg left Georgia. In 844/1446 the Kara-Koyunlu Dihlar-ahih made a raid to Akhal-tsikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 681; according to Thomas of Metsop, Dihlar-ahih took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Neve, 140).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 699-99). The history of Vakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1459-1505), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii, 1:18, 247, 248, 249): Kartli, with capital Tiflis; Imereti, with capital Kutaisi; and Kajgheti, with capital at Gremi (Persian Garm) and later at Telav. In addition, the atdbeg of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Samtskhe (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klaedjatna on the Corokh), the princes of which from Manuchar III — Safar pasha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Guriels of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans; cf. mnez). In Kartli also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Ak-Koyunlu. In this period Umz Hasan comes on the stage. According to Munezhdinibashli, ill, 190, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1466, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Cemigah (9). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe, but he returned to the capital in 876/1471. King Baqtrak (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was overthrown (kark) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Umz Hasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Umz Hasan then garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The Turba-ru Amis, however, calls the governor (isfan) left by Umz Hasane, Sftl Khalil Beg, who stayed there till the death of Umz Hasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.
with the vissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, the son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1553-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by this brother Dawid (Dawid Khân), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamut, from where he was released by Ismâ'îl II (1641-1676) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1021/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shâh Aghâलbând, the Ottomans under Mustâfa Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Tskaltubo, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dawid Khân had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muhammad, son of Ferhad-Pasha, was given the sandjak (pashalîk) of Tiflis (von Hammar, Göv., ii, 488). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a sandjak to Swimon. When Mustâfa Pasha returned to Erzerum, Taimûn Kull Khân, son of the Shâhâlîslân by Özcemir-Pasha, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Hasan Pasha (ibid., 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new sâsâker Sinân Pasha arrived in Tiflis and appointed as Beglerbeg a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yusûf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Radjâh 990/August 1582 Muhammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhad Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu 'l-Ka'da 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 990/1584, Rûqûsan Pasha left for Tiflis. Dawid Khân on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Rûqûsan but without success. Ferhad Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Aghal-kalâki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrîz (see), the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Aghal-bâyqân and of Taronjavi kâyala including Georgia (truce of 1000/March 22, 1590) cf. the Chronicle of the Paschas of Mustafa Pasha in Tahkami, viii, Op. cit., 183-214; von Hammar, i, 481-92 (Brosset, has given an annotated translation, i, 471-90). The principal source used by von Hammar is the Nuzhat-nâme of Jalâl ad-Dîn Jan. 1577-Jan. 1580. On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, Göv., 177, 185. Soon after the accession of Muhammad III (1595), Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 15 Djamada I 1003/1602 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shâh 'Abbâs I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1021/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sultan Selim (272-6/1522-36).

Shâh 'Abbâs I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Gorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Erivan in 1602, 'Abbâs after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1603-16) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Golâb-kala. In 1023/1616 'Abbâs came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, Alâmârâ, 615, the number of those put to death was 50-20,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-150,000; 'since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king'. In 1031/1623

Kartiqa-Khân on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred 'as if at a battle' (shâhid-âdâr; Alâmârâ, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the mûrâw ('governor of lower rank'); Brosset, i, 143; the Persians write mîhrâw) Gorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shâh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1033/1645 (Iosselian, Žiim mahattrâ G. Saakadze, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, ii, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shâh Safi, successor to 'Abbâs I, owed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mirzâ, brother of the King Bagrat who was darâgâ of Isfahân.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), T'ezimurraž I of Kartli (1603-64), a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khet'ezian was put to death at Shirâz in 1624; Brosset, i, 167; came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1654, after which the Kay Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1654-68). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of sul erroneous and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian princes who had become converts to Islam returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1043/1636 Murâd IV took Erivan and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Kas and Afgâh lands (Târîkh-i Na'mânî, 666); according to Vakhshurri (Brosset, i, 68), the Sultan received Imereti and Saatbagho and the Shâh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhshurri (to Muslims, Shâh Nawâz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persian policy continued. Shah 'Abbâs II (1052-77/1642-66) married the daughter of Shah Nawâz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, ibid., 79). In order to give more support to Shâh Nawâz, the Muslim tribes of Aghal-bâyqân and Karâbâh (15,000 Dawanghirli and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the History of Shâh 'Abbâs II by Muhammad Tâhir Wâhlî, in Dorn, 109, xii = Brosset, ii, 503-4). Shâh Nawâz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shâh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639. Gorgi XI Shâh Nawâz (11) was received everywhere as a Shâh by Shah Suleymân. In 1668 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shâh replaced him by Erdeleâ I (1668-91, 1693-79). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Nazar 'All Khân.

The Afghan Invasion of Persia. When the Bârück and the Afghans began to disturb eastern Persia, King Gorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shâh Husayn. He restored order in Kandahâr, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mir Wây (cf. Afghânistan. v. History (i)), who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Gorgi's successor, Kay Khusraw (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghan invasion of Persia.

Vakhshurri (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,
1723–24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Vahtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general “humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis”.

Between 1724 and 1726 he was replaced by a jervent Muslim lese (= Ali Kull Khan) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghans at Gushab, near Isfahan (1134/1722), Shah Husayn sought help from Vahtang, but in November 1722 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Derband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muhammad-Kull Khan (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vahtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135/47/1723–34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shii was declared permitted. In Ramadān 1135/June 1723 the sarkash Ibrahim Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vahtang, installed in Tiflis the latter’s son Bakar (in Persian Shah Nawaz and now given in 31 H./117). Peter the Great, who reached Derband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muhammad-Kull Khan (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vahtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The Ottoman historian of these events is Eshrat Askari in his work on the history of Georgia (Brosset, ii/x, 236). In 1728 he divided Transcaucasia as far as Shamakha, in 1141/1726 Shī Allah Pasha captured T’emurah and sent him to Persia. At the beginning of the Indian campaign, Nādir released T’emurah but kept his young son Erekle with him. In 1157/1744, T’emurah Khan captured the pretender Sāfī Mīrzā and later (1160/1747) went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few months too late. On his arrival near Hisar on the Aragvi Yusuf Pasha of Aghtalsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghestan to work for another pretender Sāfī Mīrzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Tahmūrah’s services, transferred him to Karla and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (ibid., 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/1, 77 (Papavas Orbelian) and ii/2, 208 (Khakhuleidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 liraacs on Georgia. Teimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tbilisi he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter’s successor was Sāfī Mīrzā, husband of Khetevan, daughter of Teimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakheti. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1167/1750) and the reign of Karim Khand, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skillfully exploited by Teimuraz (king of Kartli 1746–50) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1747–50; king of Kartli and Kakheti 1757–60). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghan Azād Khan, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erivan in 1750 captured at Karlik and sent to Karin-Khan. The Kurds of Erivan were chastised in 1756, 1770 and 1780, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazid. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raids bands from Dāghestān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿUmar Khan Awar). Only the Khand of Shaki, Ḥadjī Chelebi and Agha Khand (1752–3) ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these successes, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1760 Teimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few months after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th/20th January 1762.
Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Totleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Agha-kalaki. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imeri, besieged Agha-kalaki. Sulayman Pasha of Agha-kalaki soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Kültik-Kaynardja (1774 [18.2]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulayman Pasha of Agha-kalaki had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (prisovkupinio) to Russia (Tsagareli, Grumad, No. 144). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Kâdîârs. During this period the Kâdîârs had the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muhammad Kâdîr laid siege to Shusha in Karabakh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, Hist. 2, 200; Olivier, Voyages en Orient, iii, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Daghistics. In 1796 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muhammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shusha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fath 'All Kâdîr was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Kar, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons; dyastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (prisovkupinio) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 28 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 17 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartli-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the Caucasus, Prince Tatischev (himself the son of the noble Georgian family of Tsitsishvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lezghian tribesmen of Muslim Daghistan and the Muslim khans of Baku, Shaki and Gandal in Adharbaydjan, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gândja, killing its ruler Djawâd Khân, who had helped the Kâdîr Agha Muhammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above; Gândja [j.1.] was now renamed Elizavetopol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tatischev marched on Bakti in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later in that year led to the capture of both Bakti and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1806, Shikkâm-Kâtfî in Aâbbâhâ in 1807 and the strategic centre of Ashalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811; it was only now, in 1810, that the local ruler of Imerti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Aâbbâhâlaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistan Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, togethor with Daghistan and the Muslim khânates of Karabakh, Gandja, Shaki, Shirwan, Darband, Bakti and Kulâ [j.1.]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the December conspiracy in St. Petersbur, Persia invaded Georgia and Karabâb. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich, and by the Treaty of Turkmenâây in 1828, the Russian frontier was fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Daghistan. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Sambalkhe and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzerum; the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Sambtlke over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggression in the Caucasus shored itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the Mudi movement under the Imam Mâjâ Mollâ and then Shãmil [j.1.], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhazia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Kâf in 1855; meanwhile, a Turkish army under 'Omer Pasha landed in Aâbbâhâ and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades.
of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppression in 1831 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties, in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo-Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antonii II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility, and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia; but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagrati restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. N. Lang has called 'a mood of torpid acquiescence' for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Felicie Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhazia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Shavashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see Circasses]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhazia and Svaneti in the following period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhazia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Shavashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see Circasses]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhazia and Svaneti in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-82, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of the lost Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the Treaty of Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Kars and Ardahan [q.v.], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marred by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was ominous for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction. At the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for Georgian nationalism and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Djugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called 'Third Group', one of whose leaders was Nee Zhdanov, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaisi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1905 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in southwestern Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formations of the Transcaucasian Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Lazi (q.v.) and Avars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Adharbaydjan refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 22 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Adharbaydjan. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces thus soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up; peace was made between Georgia and Turkey in June, with Turkey regaining Batum, Kars, Ardahan, Alghitsikhie and Akhaltsikhe. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhdanov, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner to the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1919 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemalists, Turkish forces to the south, and above all the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were
threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic
sea to Istanbul.

Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and
pressed. For the next two decades or more, up to 1953,
minating in a general uprising in 1524, ruthlessly sup¬
ernating in a general uprising in 1524, ruthlessly sup¬

According to figures from January 1970, the toal
population of the republic is 4,68,00,00, 48% of these
beig town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns
being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller
centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhumi and Batum.
Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67%
Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Arme¬
nians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Ab¬
khazians (see DB, 256-90). What proportion of
all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear,
but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of
Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet
rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish
newspaper, Yeni fikir, and a journal, Dan yildiz.
(see Mirza Bala, Maiyurul, Baku 1921) but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,255
Azerbaijani Turks and 3,984 Persians, presumably all
Muslims. The Azerbaycan Turks in Georgia arc
indeed be located in the present day ruins known
the north of the Wadi 'I-Kur£ (p.196), though that of al-tfidjr

in the coming of Islam, and
poets like

...

**Bibliography:** given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibī, The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150, Beirut 1973, 220.

KURJIB b. Dābir al-Kurayhī, the ardent eulogist of the Zirid princes of al-Kurayh and of their governors, the Banū Abī l-‘Arab, and a very capable poet, is described with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Kurayh, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations.

However, Kurhub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the dité of the poets of Ifrlkiyo during the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezghins [f.v.]. KURHUB (Russian: Kurin'kiy yazlk) is also the former designaton for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1250 Nigerian census. (R. Wixman)

KURIN KHAÑATE (see LEZHGIN).

KURIYA, KAWIRY, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, municiipio of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Caunum of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by Al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al-Idrisi states that this city belonged to the ši‘lum of al-Ḥaṣr, and was then "an attractive, well-built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al-Iṣṭaḵšārī’s itinerary (472) places it at 12 days’ journey from Córdova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the post-136-733 period (Al-Ḥibūr maḏḏāma, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north-west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 1707/86 ‘Abd al-Rahmān I attacked there the rebel Abu ‘I-Aswad Muhammad b. Yūsūf al-Fāhi (ibid., 138/950). Muhammad b. Tāhūr al-Masmāḏ rebelled there during the amirate of Muhammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Dijlīkī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥ ḥārān, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Khaldūn, Ytar, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zīṭh/Zeltī (Cron. Alfonso III, Valencia 1961, 63-2). The town became much fought over; it was taken by Ocdhlo in 860, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yabīr al-Tudījī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Makkārī, Aṣālata, i, 248). Al-Mansūr [f.v.] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (427/1037), and he fled there after the defeat of al-Zallīkā [f.v.]. Al-Mutawakkīl b. al-Afīs marched the army of Spain to the letter to Yūsūf b. Tāhūr al-Battūl al-Mansūriyya, ed. Allouche, 23. It was occupied by the Almoravids in 313/1129-30, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1143.


KURKUB, a town in Khūzīstān, on the road from Wāsit to Sūs (Sus). The statements regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwart, Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen, 1921, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a state tān [f.n.] manufacture there. A material called sānāḏīrīd was made there, cf. de Goeje’s glossary in ODA IV, xv, Al-Iṣṭaḵšārī and Ibn Hawkal say that the sānāḏīrīd of Fāṣī [f.v.] was better than that of Kurkūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used; cf. on the textiles of Kurkūb, R. & S. Jerje, Isamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-


KURRA. Political organisation. The term kurra, sing. kurra [Ar.], occurs in Arabic historiography referring to a group of 'Iranians rising against 'Uthmān and later on against 'Āli, after he had accepted the arbitration. In European research, kurra has been usually rendered as "reciters of the Kur'ān" (kurra < ḫrāʾ) "to recite".

Brunnow was the first historian to try to assess the role of the kurra as an independent group acting within a heterogeneous Khārijīte [q.v.] movement. Brunnow’s results were partly rejected by Wellhausen, who held that the kurra were not an autonomous movement which was merged in Khārijītism at a certain date. He claimed that the kurra had in close connection with the learned ḥudūdī, forming a wider circle of pious men around those ḥudūdī, the supposed nucleus of men of religious learning. It was the khurrah’s religious zeal, unhampere by scrupulous deliberation, which according to Wellhausen led them to act against an Islamic authority which in their opinion had failed to carry through the commandments of the Holy Book. Their ardour for the sake of Islam became obvious for the first time, when they took part in fighting against the Ridda [q.v.] rebels (Battle of the Yamamah or of ‘Aqrabū [q.v.]). During ‘Āli’s war against Talhah and ‘Abd Allāh, they threw in their lots with him, and they supported ‘Āli in his abortive wars against Mu’āwiya. When the Syrians proposed to resort to the judgement of the Kur’an, they at first approved of ‘Āli’s compliance with this proposal, but later on, when the disastrous consequences of the arbitration had become obvious, they turned against ‘Āli, blaming him ruthlessly for having preferred human decision to God’s judgement. In the Khārijīte rebellions against ‘Āli, and later on against the Umayyads, the kurra are said to have been the most fanatical instigators. Wellhausen’s account of the kurra shows his general view of the early Muslim parties as resulting from a politico-religious conflict. This view, which aimed at studying the development of political and religious thought in Islam, has proved very fruitful, but it impedes us in realising the social conflicts concomitant to religious strife. Therefore, until recently the character of the kurra was described vaguely or even misleadingly. If the kurra actually had been a group of people applying themselves to a peculiar form of reciting the Kur’ān, or holding a certain view concerning the validity of the Kur’ānic commandments, why do we not find any trace of such a group in treatises on heresiography or on recitation of the Kur’ān? Besides this arguments et silento, one doubts whether Wellhausen’s almost generally-accepted assumption was right that only after ‘Āli’s political defeat did the kurra, repenting of their imaginary failure, become the fanatical partisans of the Kur’ān. For according to the sources, they had never been wholehearted followers of ‘Āli’s cause; hence they had no reason to consider themselves as traitors because they had urged ‘Āli to accept the appointment of the two arbiters.

Recent research into the matter has tended to take the social groups into consideration, reasoning in principle Brunnow’s idea. In a detailed study on Kifān political alignments, G. M. Hinds has drawn an entirely new picture of the kurra. He states that a group of people called kurrā’ first acted jointly against Sa‘d b. al-‘Āṣ, Ujūmah’s governor in Kūfa until 33/653. The evidence adduced by Hinds proves that most of the kurrā’ were ‘Irāk in the very beginning of the conquests and thus had acquired some privileges. But under Ujūmah, the political situation, in southern ‘Irāk was changing rapidly: these early-comers who could not stabilize their position by amalgamating with an influx of population belonging to their respective tribal entities gradually lost their influence. Al-Aṣhtar and Yazid b. Kays, who were to play a prominent part in the subsequent troubles, were among these early-comers who feared lest they be ousted from their position. Their situation was even aggravated when Ujūmah allowed the fighters of al-Kādisiyah now resident at Medina to exchange their shares of ‘Irāqī land for landed property in the Arabian Peninsula. To carry through this measure meant first of all a careful distinguishing between the worthy residents and the others; this was the task which the kurrā’ had been in charge of. The early-comers suspected that they would be the losers by these administrative measures. Fearing a blow to their pretended rights, they succeeded in removing Sa‘d b. al-‘Āṣ from his post. They then elected Abū Mūsā al-Aṣhtar governor of Kūfa. During the events which led to the murder of Ujūmah, the kurrā’ played only a secondary part, though al-Aṣhtar figures in the list of the assassins. When ‘All arrived in the vicinity of Kūfa, the powerful tribal leaders did not join him. They seem to have favoured a neutral position, which would have served their interests best. ‘All, pursuing an egalitarian Islamic policy, did not even want to attempt a compromise with them. A coalition between him and the disappointed early-comers therefore came into being. Al-Aṣhtar, Husayn b. ‘Aṣ, and Abī Dā’ir b. Hātim are said to have been kurrā’; now they were Shī‘i leaders. During the fighting at Siffin, the kurrā’ are mentioned as separate para-tribal entities supporting ‘All. When Mu’āwiya suggested settling the points at issue by means of arbitration, the kurrā’ urged ‘All to accept the proposal, because they envisaged a peace in which ‘All would be able to accomplish an Islamic policy checking an ascendancy of the new-comers. When they felt that their dreams would not be realised, they turned against ‘All, who refused to withdraw from the agreement. ‘All tried to placate this dangerous internal opposition by giving high appointments to the most prominent kurrā’, but the majority of the kurrā’ became his irreconcilable enemies. In the Khārijīte movement of the first century they are often mentioned as one of the most active groups.

In the light of these new results, it seems rather absurd to refer to the kurrā as “Kur’an-readers”. Shaban was the first to suggest a new interpretation. He holds that kurrā’ means “villagers” (ahl al-kurrā’) denoting those participants in the early wars (ahl al-ayyām) against the Sasanid Empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern ‘Irāk and whose de facto privileges had been threatened since Ujūmah’s reign. Shaban and G. H. A. Juynboll have adduced evidence corroborating this thesis, but it still remains speculative. The rendering of kurrā’ as “Kur’an-readers” seems to be a result of the well-known fact that Muhammad used to appoint reciters for stimulating the zeal of the Muslim fighters (see Shihb Ahmad al-‘Āṣ, al-Tāsimī, al-‘idbā’īyya wa l-shihṣibā’īyya fi l-Baṣra, Beirut 1969, 56 ff.), further

KURRĀ — KURRA  409
mora, the "Irakian Jurrâ" had appealed to the Kurra. But they did so, not because they held some special doctrine concerning it, but because they wanted to enforce the judgment of the Kurra in that actual issue, where the reference made in the Sifina agreement to an ill-defined "practice" (rûma) seemed dangerous for their interests.


1. Life and career of Kurra.

There is no need to make an organized presentation of Kurra's governorship. The extensive number of papyri discovered in Egypt through the last 80 years, together with a couple of earlier reports, has produced a wealth of information about Hurra's governorship, if indeed they mention it at all. As Becker observes (Beitrgge, ii, 245-5), this doubtless increased the Arab chroniclers' general contempt for the Byzantines in the middle and eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindt notes that Kurra re-organized the diwân of Egypt in 45/763-7, the third person (after 'Amr b. 'Abd Allâh and 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-Malik) to do it. As Becker observes (Beitrgge, ii, 245-5), this doubtless increased the Arab chroniclers' general contempt for the Byzantines in the middle and eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindt notes that Kurra re-organized the diwân of Egypt in 45/763-7, the third person (after 'Amr b. 'Abd Allâh and 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-Malik) to do it.
KURRA N. SHARIK -- KURRAM

KURRAM, Kurram, the name of a river which flows down from the western end of the Safi Kohn or Spiti Ghar range of the Hindû Kush-Koh-i Bâbd massif of eastern Afghanistan and which joins the Indus River in modern Pakistan just below tribal. The lower course of the river flows through Darah [q.v.], and the middle reaches through the northernmost part of Waziristan [q.v.]. The upper valley, beyond the headland of Thal, forms what in British India and now in Pakistan is the administrative region of the Kurram Agency, a thin wedge of territory some 70 miles long and covering 1,305 sq. miles. From the headwaters of the river, the fairly easy Shutargardan Pass leads towards Khost and the Shi'ite Turf began to complain of oppression by Afghan officials, and this caused in Kurram in favour of a British presence there or at least of some degree of British protection, especially as the Treaty of Gandamak made with Muhammad Yâsbî Khân in 1879 declared Kurram to be an assigned district, to be administered by the Government of India, together with the Khyber and the Pathan districts of northern Baluchistan. Hence in 1892 British forces moved up from Thal at the request of the Turi, and in the next year the border with Afghanistan was delimited along the Durand Line at the head of the valley. In 1894 it became a political agency, and then at the time of Lord Curzon's creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901, Kurram became one of the five tribal agencies. British garrisons were withdrawn, and replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles [see KHYBER PASS]. It was down the upper Kurram valley that Nâdir Shah brilliantly penetrated with an Afghan force during the Third Afghan War of 1899.

Kurram now comes within Pakistan, and has its administrative centre in the town of Parachinar. The Pakistan government gives the Kurram Agency the same degree of autonomy as the other tribal areas, except that it enforces certain regulations identical with those prevailing in the directly-administered areas along the Indus, including the collection of land-tax; in fact, a negligible amount of taxation is collected from this economically poorly-endowed region, and the Agency receives back far more from the central government's purse than it sends out. In 1961 the census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 22,953, with the population of Parachinar as 22,953.

Kurram is divided into an Upper Valley and a Lower Valley. The 1961 census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 200,512, with the population of Parachinar as 22,953.


(C. E. Bosworth)

**KURRAT AL-AYN, Fatima Um Salama**, also known as Khâliqâ, Zârin-tâ, Thâhirah (see below), Persian poetess and Bâbî martyr, was born in Kazvin in 1217/1814, the eldest daughter of a famous mawdudâh, Hâdâdî Mûllâ Mûhammad Saiûb Bânghalah. She was educated in Kazvin, and became proficient in the Islamic sciences. She was married to Mûllâ Mûhammad, the son of her uncle Mûllâ Mûhammad Tâkî, by whom she had three sons, Shâykh Ismâîl, Shâykh Bâhâram and Shâykh Ishâk, and one daughter. While staying with him in Karbalâ', she joined the Shâykhî sect, together with her sister Mardiyah and brother-in-law, Hâdâdî Mûllâ Mûhammad ‘All, an action that earned her the fierce hostility of her husband and father-in-law, though her own father remained neutral. She studied with Sâyîd Kazim ‘Alâ’î, a brother-in-law, Hâjdj Mulla Muhammad Saiib Bârâghânî. In turn, she was back in Karbalâ'. It was here that she had returned to Kazvin. It was here that she studied with Sâyîd Kazim ‘Alâ’î, together with her sister Manjiya and seven other Bâbîs, was cruelly put to death by means of kuryâštik, and it is uncertain whether one should link with the adjective *kurayštik*, which has further given forms closer to the English *corsario*, still in use today, as is also the noun *kuršân*, and also *SURSAK* (Q. 7:129, 63-133; ‘All al-Wardî, *Ta’rikh-i jadîl or New History of Mindâh and Ummî, Tehran 1977-2; Muhammad ‘Alî Malik Khurşuwal, *Tâ’rikh-i juhâdî-an, or mir, Tehran 1973-4, 129-215; ‘All Akbar Mashîr Salîmî, *Zârutân* al-Makkânî, Tehran n.d., i, 70-98; Miâdî Asad Allah Fâdîl ‘Alî Mâsandarunî, *Kûrdštî-i Zâhîh al-kâhî, iii, Tehran 1992, 152-90. Husâm Nûsâbînî, *Kurrât al-’Ãyn*, Tehran 1977-2; Muhammad ‘Alî Malik Khurşuwal, *Tâ’rikh-i juhâdî-an, or mir, Tehran 1973-4, 129-215; ‘All Akbar Mashîr Salîmî, *Zârutân* al-Makkânî, Tehran n.d., i, 70-98; Miâdî Asad Allah Fâdîl ‘Alî Mâsandarunî, *Kûrdštî-i Zâhîh al-kâhî, iii, Tehran n.d., i, 70-98; Miâdî Bândâmî, *Tâ’rikh-i Rûdâyî-i Irân*, Tehran 1472/1953, ii, 204-9; H. M. Sâyîlî, *The Bâb*, London 1973, esp. 24-7, 162-71.

(L. F. Elwell-Sutton and D. M. MacEoin)

**KURSAN (A), pl. karsân**, and also karsânî, karâqânî, "corsair, pirate", stems from Italian corsale, which has further given forms closer to the original but less commonly-found, such as karsîl, pl. karsîllî/karshîllî, and karsîldî, pl. karsîlîyana. In turn, Arabic has formed the abstract noun *kursaniya* "privateering, piracy", still in use today, as is also karsânî, sometimes conceived of as a plural. In the colloquial there is further the verb *kursâni* "to raid, act as a pirate", and the dialects also give to *kursânî* the double sense of "corsair" and "boat". This latter term was an Andalusi one (cf. Pedro de Alcoba, *De luoghi arabici liber duo*, Cringdtdn 1833, 158), and it is uncertain whether one should link with the Spanish corsario the adjective *karshiyat* used by al-Sâkiq, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de lesbi*, Paris 1931, 50, to denote women who are supposed to have recovered their virginity (the two editors prudently suggest the translation "carried off by the corsairs?", and P. Chalmete, in *Alm. (1971 II), § 111, translates this term as corsarios). The necessity felt by the Arabic language, probably in the course of the 3rd/9th century, to use a loanword shows that, even if piracy had long existed in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Arabs (who called a pirate *lis al-bahr* "sea-rober") had a distinct feeling that privateering had a different character. They
nevertheless adopted the same term to denote two distinct forms of activity, which are indeed often enough confused, even by Europeans; in fact, privateering consists of attacking enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, whilst piracy proper is a purely private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging any vessels encountered.

i. The Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic

It was in the Mediterranean, "the sea of adventure" (Ch. E. Dufourcq, L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIe et XVIe siècles, Paris 1965, 574), that the Muslims most continuously practised kahṣana from the moment onwards when they established themselves along its shores and had to face attacks from the Christian powers there. In reality, the Arabs—and very soon, as will be seen, adventurers of European origin, renegades and captives—were merely participating in a traditional practice of the Mediterranean basin since the most early antiquity, whilst at the same time giving it, more or less consciously, a religious aura. It was often in the name of Islam that the corsairs of the southern shores of the Sea acted, just as those of the northern shores acted at times in the name of Christianity. It was for this reason that privateering, if not piracy, soon came to be considered as an integral part of the holy war, dhikād [4.2] and it is as part of this that the question is treated in the works on law.

Given the fact that it is impossible, in an encyclopaedia article, to go into detail and to trace the entire history of privateering and piracy as they were practiced by men based on the coasts of the Muslim lands, what follows is a sketch of the broad features of the topic. Reference should be made to those sources which are in general well-documented and which have been utilised for this present article, and also to the articles MURA and SAFRA, especially for technical details; the article FRO in the Supplement should also be consulted for the topic of the ransoming of captives.

From the 251/864th century onwards, there were added to the attacks against the islands and the shores of the western Mediterranean by corsairs coming from the Near East, raids undertaken by the people of Ifriqiya, whose regularly-organised fleets succeeded in gaining control, in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century, of Malta, Sicily and Pantelleria [see KAWSA], whilst the Balearic Islands were definitively taken over by the Spanish Umayyads in 925/530.

However, from the 10th/14th century onwards, what one may properly call organised pirate activity began to take shape both in North Africa and in Muslim Spain. One notable act is that in which, after the suppression of the "Revolt of the Suburb" in Cordova [see AL-ANDALUS and KURTA] in 260/878, a group of émigrés who practised piracy in the central and eastern Mediterranean gained control of Alexandria and in 273/887 seized the island of Crete, which they made into a Muslim possession and a centre for their further activities [see KURTA]. It was likewise from Spain that there set out the Muslims who, between 278/892 and 283/897, established themselves at Fraxinetum [q.v.], where they founded a pirate state which lasted for 80 years. As early as 229/842, other corsairs sailed up the Rhône to Arles, and they renewed their incursions in 235/830 and 255/869; under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the sailors of Pechina acquired a great notoriety in this respect (cf. Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. Mus., i, 244, 519, 535, 552, ii, 154-60). Some centuries later, Ibn Khaldun, Hist. des Beschers, text, i, 619, tr. de Sale, iii, 117, summarised the two essential forms which the activities of the kahṣana took. "A more or less numerous group of corsairs gets together. They build a ship and choose as its crew men of proven valour. These warriors go off and descend on the coasts and islands where the Franks dwell, arriving there suddenly and carrying off everything they can find. They also attack the infidels' ships, frequently capturing them, and then return home, laden with plunder and prisoners". This text is one of the ones rarely encountered on this subject in the Arabic sources, which dwell at much greater length on the Christians' naval enterprise against the Muslim lands, or on the spectacular attacks from the Atlantic made on al-Andalus by the "Northmen" from 230/844 to 355/966 [see AL-MARA]. In the Mediterranean, violent attacks by the Christians were more difficult, for a defence system had been established along the coasts, whether in Spain (see R. Arié, L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naufragés, Paris 1973, 273-8) or from Alexandria to Tangier (see M. Tabi, Emirat aglibide, 395).

Concluding the situation obtaining on the high seas, Ibn Khaldun's remark [MUHAQQA, ed. Qalam/Noster, ii, 35, tr. de Sale, ii, 43, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 47] alleging that "the Christians could not even launch a plank on the Mediterranean" is probably correct for the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when the Muslims did have command of the seas. Economic necessity accordingly compelled the states to try and assure the safety of navigation along the various commercial routes (see Chr. Courtois, in Mélanges G. Marcas, Algiers 1957, ii, 51-9), but the international agreements made with this end in mind were not always respected by the pirates. The activities of these last were however controlled, and there are extant some interesting fatwas on these. M. Tabi has published one of them (in Cahiers de Tunisie, 1956), pronounced by Sabūn (d. 240/854 [q.v.] and concerning three associates who had organised a pirate enterprise but had then fallen out over the division of their booty. More interesting still is a fatwa of Muḥammad b. Sabūn (d. 255/870 [q.v.]) analysed also by Tabi (Emirat aglibide, 554-5); it emerges from this that seizure was legal in the case of a Christian merchant ship making for a non-Muslim country, but illegal when it was the case of a building utilised for commercial exchanges between Christians and Islam. Thus, whilst hindering freedom of navigation, pirate activity tended to divert traffic into a pattern favourable to the Muslim lands.

After the beginning of the 5th/11th century and during all the Crusades period, privateering may be regarded as more often than not assimilable to the dhikād. The Zirids (see H. R. Idris, Zirides, index) organised it on a grand scale and sowed terror in the western Mediterranean, whilst the island of Djurba [q.v.], already an important base, became a real haunt of pirates, who were not content with attacking Christian ships but also infested the coasts of Ifriqiya. Djurba was conquered in 510/1121 by 'Ali b. Yahya, but soon resumed its traditional rôle, until it was captured in 520/1125 by the Normans of Sicily; it was to remain the plaything of Christian and Muslim rivalries until the end of the 12th century, and then was to play a leading part in the events of the 13th century.

Various dockyards built along the coasts of the Maghrīb and al-Andalus [see AL-ANDALUS], especially at La Caleta (María 'Ibarran), Bône and Bougie,
provided local pirates with galleys which skirmished the coasts of the Mediterranean islands and swept the seas in search of prey. As well as the cargoes and crews seized on the open seas, the raids on the Sardinian and Coriscan coasts secured slaves of both sexes which were much in demand.

Doutouq (sp. lanli, index) has gathered together considerable material on the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the rulers’ desire to make maritime commerce safe, the occasional prohibition of privateering warfare and concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean remained for adventurers of all varieties a special field of activity. After having died down somewhat, from the Muslim side, in the 7th/13th century, sararana revived with fresh force, and the islands and shores of the Christian world were often ravaged. On the Christian side, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims; Sicily ravaged. On the other hand, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims; Sicily ravaged.

Arudj chose Tunis as his base most famous of them should be consulted, and one concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean
centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the

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index) has gathered together

KURSAN

in 1630, by the expulsion of the Moriscos [504]. Like their predecessors, these last groups settled in various parts of North Africa where, without always openly proclaiming dhikhdh, they constituted a fresh impetus and a new pretext for the Barbary pirate activity, seeing in this a means of mounting a revanche. Algeria and Tunisia remained very active centres (see M. de Epala and R. Petit (eds.), Études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie, Madrid 1975, index), but it is from this point onwards that piracy based on the port of Sale comes into prominence, and the history of this is well-documented for us (see H. de Castres, Les corsaires de Sale, in Ronce des deux mondes, XVII [1993]). L’Europe, l’Islam, traités et industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé, Paris 1902, 152-72; and R. L. Caudeville, Les corsaires de Salé, Paris 1948). During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Sale [see Sale] had been a centre for privateering on a relatively modest scale only, like other ports of the Moroccan littoral like Tétouan [see TETOUAN], whose corsair fleet had however been destroyed by the Spaniards in ca. 1630/1400, or al

Amongst these pirates, Murad Raâs was especially notable. He was the first, in 924/1519, to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1518, his brother Khavr al-Dln (d. 953/1546), who had helped, together with Sinan Pasha, in seizing V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/15*3,

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding “Barbary” states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and from there, was able to defy the power of Charles V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1518, his brother Khavr al-Dln (d. 953/1546), who had offered the province of Algiers to the Ottoman sultan, resumed his pirate activities against Mediterranean shipping and his attacks on the Christian towns. For his part, Dragut (d. 972/1565) set up his base in Darsa, and then succeeded Murad Agga, whom he had helped, together with Sinân Pasha, in seizing Tripoli from the Knights of Malta; he may be considered as the founder of the new democracy.

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding “Barbary” states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and that they established pirate organisations which necessitated numerous interventions by the Europeans. The battle of Lepanto in 1571 [see ARAKAKH] put an end to privateering, but made no difference to piracy, which continued to rage until the conquest of Algiers.

Amongst these pirates, Murad Raâ’s was especially notable. He was the first, in 953/1585, to venture into the Atlantic (if one excepts the expedition of Khaghân [see al-Mas‘ûdî, Murâqî, I, 258-9 = § 274] and his companions from Cordova in the 9th century, see Lévi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. Mar., I, 324, liii, 343). Murâd Raâ’s learnt to plunder the Canary Islands, and on route, put in at Sale, which was not as yet the nest of corsairs of which later history was to have a burning memory.

It should also be noted that, at the moment when these Barbary states mentioned above came into existence, there was an event of highest importance happening in Spain, so the reconquest of Granada, followed by the exodus of the Andalusians and then,
from Greece to the I-askarid capital at Nicaea. The growth of Venetian fleets in the Aegean. In 633/1236, the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I burned his positions at Abydos (near Canakkale [q.v.]) and Syria. Muslim states sheltered corsairs and used their own vessels simply to collect booty by harrying foreign settlements or commerce, rather than to protect trade or acquire new lands, they may be described as "pirate-states." The most notorious was Aydınlı (see Aydın), especially in the days of Utkür Paşa [q.v.] but ships from other maritime emirates of Veneția, Sarıkhan and Karsalı [q.v.] also engaged in sea-borne raids. In the Black Sea, Şahzade Celebi (d. ca. 724/1324?) established an emirate around Sinop [q.v.], whence he made raids on Genoese and Trapesantine commerce and settlements. The Ottomans do not seem immediately to have taken to the sea as corsairs. When Orhan [q.v.] gave lands to Kara Mürsel after the conquest of Nicomedia [Iznik], Iznik [q.v.] in 739/1337, his purpose appears to have been to protect the shores of the Gulf of İzmir against Byzantine raids.

During the 8th/14th century, Turkish raids became a feature of life in the Aegean. In 78/1382, corsairs from the mainlands Anadolu ravaged Sanctorum, and in 717/1316 Marino Sanudo reported how the Turks infested the Cyclades, their attacks made easier by the disunity among the Latin Lords of the islands. In 723/1323, Utkür of Aydınlı occupied the harbour of Smyrna and began his attacks on Christian ships and on islands and territories in the Aegean and mainland Greece. In 728/1328, however, he signed an agreement with Andronikos III Palaiologos not to attack Byzantine shipping. It was possibly in part to compensate them for loss of booty that Andronikos employed Utkür's troops as mercenaries in Albania. With the death of Andronikos III in 742/1341, Utkür's fleet began to raid throughout the Aegean and, between 742/1341 and 744/1344, interceded in the Byzantine civil war on behalf of his friend and ally John Cantacuzene.
Piracy particularly affected Venetian and other Latin commerce. In 731/1331, Venice had imposed a treaty on the Catalans of Athens, forbidding them to help or employ Turkish corsairs, although this did not prevent the Catalans calling on Umur to defend the Duchy of Athens against the claims of Gautier de Brianse. The activities of Umur and other Muslim corsairs eventually led Pope John XXII to assemble a fleet under the command of the Venetian Pietro Zen to which Venice, the Papacy, France, and the Knights of St. John contributed vessels. This force did much damage to the Turkish corsairs and defeated the fleet of Yaghîshî Beg of Karaf in the Gulf of Edremit in 735/1334. However, it disbanded after the death of Pope John in the same year, and piracy continued as before. More effective was the Latin occupation of the port of Smyrna in 745/1344, and the death of Umur in 749/1348, after which Khâlid of Aydîn signed a treaty with the Latins, according to which he undertook to burn all the ships in the emirate, forbid all acts of piracy and offer no help to corsairs. Large-scale raids may have ceased, but in a letter dated 757/1356 theAndre Des Andraments to the Sultan suggested that the Turks from Aydîn continued to attack Christian shipping. finely based on other emirates seems also to have flourished. After 757/1356, Ahmed Ghaçî of Mentosaîèr prevailed on shipping between Cyprus and Rhodes.

Ottoman raiders began to appear on the Aegean in the 1300s. They seem to have infested the Sea of Marmara considerably earlier, leading the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene to clear the old harbour of Haptaiskalon in Constantinople some time after 750/ 1350, as a base against Turkish pirates. The annexation by Bayezid I [924] of Sarukhanî, Aydîn and Mentosaîèr brought the western Aegean shoreline under Ottoman control by the 1390s. With Bayezid’s construction of an arsenal at Gallipoli, the Ottomans were able to build sizable fleets. In 793/1392, an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels ravaged Chios, the Cyclades and the coasts of Euboea (Negroponte, Igvorgos) and Aitika. To meet this new threat, Venice allotted a fleet to Francesco I Crespo di Naxos. The defeat of Bayezid by Timâr in 804/1402 and the subsequent restoration of the emirates put an end to the depredations of an Ottoman fleet under the Sultan’s auspices, but did not otherwise prevent piracy. In 806/1403, the restored ruler of Mentosaîèr, Tiyâs Beg, signed a treaty with Venice in which he undertook to prevent acts of piracy. He was evidently unsuccessful, since in 813/1410 a Venetian fleet appeared off the ports of the emirate as a forceful reminder of the beg to adhere to the terms of the treaty. It made no difference. In 817/1412, vessels from Ottoman territory raided the Cyclades and, at about this time, the Florentine Buondelmonti reported Turkish raids on all the Aegean islands except Patmos. Perhaps the shared reverence for the shrines of certain saints, such as St. George of Levitha, called Kîc Papas or Koc Baba in Turkish, led the Turks to leave the monasteries of Patmos in peace. Piracy remained endemic throughout the 9th/15th century, and measures such as the imposition of direct rule on the Venetian Duchy of Naxos in 899/1494 only temporarily deterred the corsair fleets of Kârân Hasan and others.

There were, however, significant changes in the Aegean in the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Under Mehemmed II and his successors, the Ottoman fleet became an instrument of conquest and a weapon of imperial policy rather than simply a pirate fleet of the Sultan. Mehemmed II’s fleet, for example, played an important part in the conquests of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sinop, Trebizond (Trabzon [941]), and Lesbos (Mudîzîlî) in 865/1462-2 and Euboea in 875/1470. Under his successor Bayezid II, Ottoman fleets appeared in the Ionian Sea during the war with Venice between 904/1499 and 908/1503. As the frontiers of naval warfare moved south and westwards from the Aegean, Turkish pirates such as the famous Kâmîl Reys [934] extended their activities to North Africa and the western Mediterranean. By 957/1549 most of the Aegean coasts and islands were Ottoman possessions, and the odd exceptions such as the Venetian Tinors (Istincîlî) and the Genoese Chios, which in any case fell to the Ottomans in 974/1566, did not threaten Turkish hegemony in the area.

The Aegean was now an Ottoman sea and the Sultan had no wish to encourage piracy in his own waters. The Ottoman government attempted to control the activities of corsairs, forbidding the construction of privateer vessels without special permission. In 967/1560, the kâdet of Isâmîd received instructions to seize all alleged illegally-constructed ships, whereas in 972/1565, the Ottomans (Rodos [943] and Mentosaîèr were encouraged to build ships and serve in the Imperial Fleet. The squadron permanently based in the Aegean at Kavalla, Lesbos and Rhodes presumably guardian the seas against pirates as much as against enemy action. In the 1550s/ 1560s Mustafa ‘Ali of Gallipoli or Gelibolu [947] looked back with nostalgia to the mid-century when the Imperial Fleets kept the sea free of corsairs.

It is, however, most unlikely that Muslim pirates ever disappeared from the Aegean. The western shores of Anatolia seem, in fact, in the 10th/16th century to have been a forcing ground for pirates who, after acquiring sufficient ships and booty in their native waters emigrated to Algiers (al-Fâsim [934]), or later to Tripoli (al-Gharb [947]) or Tunis [947], where their raids on non-Ottoman Christian shipping changed them, in Ottoman eyes, from pirates to warriors of the faith. The famous Khayr al-Dîn Barbarossa [934] and Sîbîb Reys [934] of Algiers, for example, originated from the west coast of Anatolia, found fame in North Africa and, like many lesser known corsairs, later served in the Ottoman Imperial Fleet. Mustafa ‘Ali specifies Kazeddîlî in particular as an area from which many North African pirates originated.

In the late 10th/16th century, piracy seems to have increased throughout the Mediterranean, and the Aegean too was affected. It is most likely that the disorders in Anatolia in this period found their counterpart on the sea.

Bibliography : There are no modern studies of Turkish pirates in the Aegean. The only coherent account, relating to the 10th century only, appears to be Geliboluun Mustafa ‘Ali, Meîtîd’ül-meîdîlâs fi İmbârîd-ü medîyalîs, facs. edition, Istanbul 1955, 34-9. For Tzačas, see The Alesiad, Books VII, VIII, IX, XI, and A. N. Kürat, Caffa Bey, Antikara 1966. There are scattered references to piracy in Pachymeros, De Michaelis et Andronies Palaiologos, ed. Becker, Bonn 1839; Nikiferos Gregorios, tr. J. L. van Dieten, Rhodische Geschicht, Stuttgart 1973; Buondelmonti, Liber insularum archipelas, ed. Sinur 1824, Legrand 1897, and in other contemporary Greek and Italian writers. See also Piri Reys, Kâdet-i bahriye, facs. Istanbul 1935. For further references, see M. F. Köprüli, Anadolu beyâniîîler tarihine aid notlar, in Türkiye Mezunları, II (1920), 7 ff.; G. H. Uzuncar$ili, Anadolu beyâniîîler,

iii. In the Persian Gulf

Piracy has been endemic in the Persian Gulf since ancient times, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the poverty, until very recently, of the resources of the country and the richness of the commerce which has at various periods passed through its waters. Piracy has flourished most in time of war or in its wake, when authority has broken down and the predatory instincts of the maritime tribes have been given full rein. Thus, for example, the Karratian revolt, the Mongol invasions and the collapse of the Abbásid caliphate were all accompanied or followed by maritime depredations on an extensive scale.

To all intents and purposes, piracy in the Gulf was insinuating itself from maritime warfare, which in turn originated in political, dynastic, sectarian or racial conflict among the littoral principalities. Hostilities at sea were apt to degenerate swiftly into piratical warfare, which gave rise to a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Kāsīmī tribal confederacy (see al-Kawāsim) of Shīhārja (al-Shībār) and Ṭan'ah or Shībār, which took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Līnā (which they had first seized after the death of Nādir Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Kārin Khān in 1770/1771) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hormuz.

Part of the impulse for the Kāwāsim's marauding was that which occurred after the destruction of the Kāsīmī confederacy (see al-Kawāsim) of Shībārja (al-Shībār) and Ṭan'ah or Shībār, which gave rise to a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Kāsīmī tribal confederacy (see al-Kawāsim) of Shīhārja (al-Shībār) and Ṭan'ah or Shībār, which took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Līnā (which they had first seized after the death of Nādir Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Kārin Khān in 1770/1771) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hormuz.

The Kāsīmī war fleet, operating with Wāḥḥābī encouragement, if not under actual Wāḥḥābī direction, was reckoned in 1723/1780 to number some 70-80 large ships; if fishing and pearling vessels were included, the Kāsīmī confederacy's total strength was said to exceed 800 vessels manned by 28,000-25,000 fighting men. (Another estimate, made in 1723/1780, put the resources of the Arab maritime tribes at 80 large ships and 161 smaller craft, manned by 10,000 fighting men.) Controlling Līnā and part of
Kurān

Kishm Island, and with bases at Khawr Fakkān, Dibba and Khawr Kalba, facing the Gulf of ʿUmmān, the Kawāsīm were able to strike at will at any ships entering or leaving the Straits of Hormuz. Often they would lie concealed, waiting for their prey, in the deep winding inlets of Khawr al-Shāʾīn (Elphinstone's Inlet) and Ghulbāt 'All (Malcom's Inlet) on the western and eastern sides respectively of the Musandam peninsula (Raʾs al-Dībāl), the existence of which was not known to European seamen until the first survey of the Gulf was undertaken by the Bombay Marine (the armed maritime service of the English East India Company) after 1235/1820.

Hence the Kawāsīm were able on a number of occasions to elude pursuit by the cruisers of the Bombay Marine by slipping into these hidden anchorages.

With the passage of time the Kawāsīm grew bolder, ranging as far afield as the coasts of Kutkh and Kathlawar, the ports of the Hadramawt and the lower reaches of the Red Sea. They sailed in squadrons of up to twenty dhows, taking their prizes by closing alongside, grappling and boarding. As often as not they would put the entire crew of a captured vessel in the sword—generally among chlorous avowals of religious fervour. Women, children and slaves taken captive were afterwards either dispersed among their captors or, in the case of the first two, held for later ransom. A fifth of all booty taken was reserved for eventual consignment to the Saʿūdīs (q.v.), the Wahhabi capital. A good portion of the remainder was customarily disposed of at Bājrān, which served as the principal clearinghouse for the proceeds of Kāsimī piracy.

After the capture of a number of European and Indian ships by the Kawāsīm the British authorities in India dispatched an expedition to attack Raʾs al-Khayma, Linga and the Kāsimī outposts on Kishm Island, and at Shinās, on the ʿUmānī coast, in the autumn and winter of 1809-10 (Shabān-Dhu l-Hijjah 1224). The expedition had only partial success in crippling the Kawāsīm's naval capabilities. Many Kāsimī dhows were absent from their home ports on piratical or trading voyages, while others had been hidden, after word of the expedition's objectives had leaked out ahead of its sailing, in the inlets of the Raʾs al-Dībāl. The expedition's commanders were also inhibited by the orders given them not to cross swords with the Wahhabi ruler. A second expedition, dispatched in the winter of 1819-20 (Muharram-Dhu l-Hijjah 1225), after the defeat of the Wahhabis and the destruction of Dirīyya by Ibrāhīm Pasha the previous year, was far more effective in subduing the Kawāsīm. Raʾs al-Khayma and the other piratical ports were reduced, the Kāsimī war fleet was burned or prised, and the Kāsimī chieftains, along with the other principal strongholds of the Pirate Coast, were made to subscribe to a treaty (the General Treaty of Peace of Rabīʿ I, 1225/January 1810) outlawing piracy for ever.

Neither the expedition of 1809-10 nor that of 1819-20 had attempted to bring to book the man who over the division of the spoils from their joint conquest of the island in 1207/1793. From that time until the end of his life he conducted an unrelenting war of attrition, marked as much by fierce daring as by atrocious cruelty, against the trade and shipping of the Āl Khaifa and their kinsmen, the Āl Sabāb of Kuwait. His most remarkable single feat was his capture in Dhu l-Kaʿda 1224/December 1809 of twenty large Kuwaiti dhows, whose crews he massacred to a man. He escaped the attentions of the British expeditionary force at that time in the lower Gulf, partly because of confusion over his status (he was a Wahhabi protégé) but mainly because his stronghold at Khawr Hasan was deemed too difficult of access to attack from the sea. Some time later (in 1227/1812 or 1228/1813—the accounts vary) he fell out with the Wahhabis and was forced to abandon Khawr Hasan. He established a new lair in 1234/late 1815, after the Wahhabi collapse, at Dammām, on the Ḥasad coast, from which he continued to harry the seaborne commerce of Bahrām.

Rahma b. Dībār was again spared retribution at the hands of the British expedition of 1819-20, less because he had now assumed the guise of a Persian dependant than because his vendetta against the Āl Khaifa, however, brutally it might be conducted, was reluctantly conceded to come within the category of legitimate warfare and not that of piracy. As a consequence of the improved security established by the British expedition and the subsequent system of "watch and cruise" operated by the Bombay Marine, Rahma b. Dībār's fortunes steadily declined, until by 1241-2/1826 his fleet has been reduced to a single dhow. Now seventy years of age and totally blind, he had his last fight with the Āl Khaifa war fleet off Dammām in Dhu l-Muʿāzamah II, 1242/December 1826-January 1827. Surrounded and outnumbered, he calmly set fire to the magazine of his ship and blew herself and everyone aboard to the gates of Paradise.

The last serious piratical outbreak in the Gulf occurred in Shawawl-Dhu l-Hijjah 1250/February-April 1835, when the Banū Yās of Abu Dhabi (Abū Zābl), hitherto little given to piracy, made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in a desperate bid to recoup the losses inflicted by the British. Their efforts had been severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the Kawāsīm and the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running. Brought to action off the Tuḥūb by the Bombay Marine lop Edolphinstone on 18 Dhu l-Hijjah 1250/16 April 1835, the Banū Yās war fleet was outflown and scattered. The following month the British political resident in the Gulf, Captain Samuel Hennell, persuaded the rulers of Abu Dhabi, Sharīja, Raʾs al-Khayma, Dubayy and ʿAdīmān to agree to a suspension of hostilities at sea among themselves for the duration of the coming pearling season. The maritime truce signed on 22 Muharram 1255/2 May 1835 ran for a period of six months, to 29 Rādjab 1256/1 November 1835. It was renewed every spring for the next seven years, being gradually extended in length to cover the full twelve months of the year. In 1259/1843 it was renewed for a ten-year period, at the expiry of which it was made permanent, in a treaty signed by the principal Trucial Shāykhns on 25 Rādjab 1268/4 May 1835. Though isolated outbreaks of piracy were to occur at intervals up to this century, notably in the narrow waters between Bahrām and the Ḥasad coast, the institution and consolidation of the trucial system brought to an end the great age of piracy in the history of the Gulf.

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This throne of God has been an object of debate, for example: to be mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval, an ink stand and the base of the small oriental table, other usages (including that of footstool!) indicates kursi (J. Sadan, 1929). In early period in Muslim history, attributed a particular sanctity to an empty throne of King Solomon) is to bestow a particular sense, among the seven heavens encircling the universe, the two furthest from the throne of God “sitting” on a seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediaeval Muslims it refers more specifically to a stool (i.e. seat without back or arm-rests), and there are a number of other terms which are applied to a throne (sairi and lobster, for example). Kurš in is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, practically the famous La Campifia [see Th. O. Kurz, in Selections from the records of the Bombay Government, new series 2968; R. D. Bathurst, Artists and the Arab Coast, ii, 225-6). In mediaeval Muslim concept (Sadan, xvi, 129-30, in the Arabic translation of the Krussin (Burhani) need not therefore indicate a seat in the sense which, in richer and more exact terminology, the term tends thus to become loaded (especially in colloquial speech) with senses which, in richer and more exact terminology, are given by distinct terms. Among the other objects designated by hurs the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night (Dozy, Suppl. ii, 455-6); a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth (ibid.); a stool for daily ablutions (al-Tanukhi, Mustafa, 128); in mediaeval Egypt, a seat for flour sellers (Malconides, Tisarti, ed. Derenbourg, 1, 137); an astrolabe-stand (Dozy, loc. cit.); a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base (ibid.); in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Ka‘ba (bid.); among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low “table”, under which a fire is lit; blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth, ibid.) the base of a column, pedestal (Beaussier, s.v.); a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint-lock rifle (ibid.); in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as kori (Dozy-Engelmann, Glossaire des mots espagnols, 95); hurs is the seat of a bishop, his see, chaise etc. (Dozy, Suppl., loc. cit.); in orthography, each of the characters ( alf, waw, yāt, b) on (or under) which the ksera is placed; in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form (Huart, Calligraphes, 352). In certain miniatures illustrating an Arabic astronomical work, which represent dah al-hurs (Cassiopeia) in the form of a woman seated on a chair with back and arm-rests, we find the shape of a genuinely “classical” chair (E. Weisbach, in Ars Orientalis, iii, 8-9 and figs. 6, 44, 47, 51), which, copied from one manuscript to another, tends to become modified to the point where it is adapted to the mediaeval Muslim concept (Sadan, op. cit., 135-6). In general, the hurs is nothing more than a very large stool. But, surrounded by other lower seats (cushions for example), such a stool can draw attention to the person who is seated there (see the dimensions indicated by M. D. Lutfi in Sommer, xvi, 129-30, in the Arabic section, unless it is lecterns that are in question). These kursi stools were of various heights. Some had straight legs, others crossed legs (they are illustrated by a rich iconography, as well as by texts: O. Kurz, loc. cit.; Sadan, op. cit., 133-33). In the modern period, kursi is also applied to various chairs of “western-style” form.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. Huart - J. Sadan)

KURSUN, KURTUBA

KURTUBA, Spanish Cordoba, French Cordoue, English, Italian and German Cordova (Kordova), Latin Cordoba, a town of southern Spain, situated at 390 feet above sea-level on the right (north) bank of the central course of the Guadalquivir (from the Arabic al-Wad al-Kabir “the great river”), the ancient Baalis, with 2,254,900 inhabitants, is at the present day the capital of the province of the same name which lies on both sides of the river in the heart of Andalusia.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña [see Kâşanîya], rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted...
to viticulture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 2,000 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Marismas Montes) with the plateau of los Pedregales which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zújar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east; this plateau is called Plana al-Andalus by the Almoravides and by others Plana al-Baḥrī, "Field of Crops", and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Bitrājū or Bitrāğ (whence al-Bitrūjī). The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (caballos cordobeses) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician-Punic Ḫariba, "good town" since Conde first suggested this etymology in his Descripción de España de Xerif Aledres, Madrid 1799, 105 (for even rarer etymologies, see Madoz, vi, 646 and al-Makkari, i, 352). The name is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Salduña, the Old Iberian name for Caesar-Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza; there is a Salduña — Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (see Cordobae) under the name Córdoba or Corbūs or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcus in 232 B.C., colonised with Roman citizens and as Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Cordoba had taken the side of the Carthaginians in 149 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Tüika).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Córdoba was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 534 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Greeks spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman urbs quadrata and the enlargement of this encircling in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 575, King Leo, Athanagild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines; but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Córdoba was leading a precarious existence; its protective encircling was partially ruined on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīlī al-Raml, governor of Córdoba, destroyed the last bridge of its kind without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July-August 711, and three months later, in Muharram 93/October-November 711, the fortified church of San Acisio to the south-west of Cordoba, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīlī; he treated the Cordovan citizens with leniency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al-Hurr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Thāqafi transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Sevilla to Cordoba (97/100/716-19). His successor, the governor al-Samb b. Mālik al-Khwāriz (100/2719/21) restored the old Roman bridge and the ruined part of the protective encircling, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, st. the Makbarat al-Rabāb or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Philī expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (al-Dabāna) in Cordova. This governor (239/3874-56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahmān I b. Muḥawīya al-Dāliḥī (q.e.), the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria; the great period of prosperity of the city now began, and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty (q.e.) of Cordova, which was independent of the 'Abbasids in Bagdad (138/950 or 422/756-1013 or 1015).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Bagdad, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (Arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Ka'ba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1216, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell-tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 12th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mesquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world-famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd 'Abd al-Rahmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171-71/785-8. His son and successor Hishām I (172/786-99) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spanish sanamera and nurra = nurra), but 'Abd al-Rahmān II (100-1018/822-52), son and successor of the Amīr al-Hārān I (180-206/796-822), found himself forced to enlarge the building; by extending the 11 naves southwards he added 7 naves with 10 rows of pillars and built the second mihrāb into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahra', one-and-a-half
hours' journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra (cf. al-Makkišn, i, 344 ff.). In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its encinte was declared a national monument; since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nizar's creation, and especially, the great hall called the "Salon Rico", which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling its length of the building in the east and thereby raised the "miskar") alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hisham II al-Mu'ayyad's (596-596/1198-1204) powerful vizier, the regent al-Mansur (Almanzor, d. 601/1204), who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called magíj in Spain) MdTaAr al-Sáhíbí to extend the enceinte in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transcepts, and built a splendid new mahábra, a new sáhabí and the third noble "miskar", which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hisham II al-Mu'ayyad's (596-596/1198-1204) powerful vizier, the regent al-Mansur (Almanzor, d. 601/1204), who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called magíj in Spain) MdTaAr al-Sáhíbí to extend the enceinte in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transcepts, and built a splendid new mahábra, a new sáhabí and the third noble "miskar", which alone has survived in its entirety.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hisham III al-Mu'ta'íd (942-942/997-998), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Qawwálds: Abu 'l-Hazm Djawwar b. Muhammad b. Djawwar (931-40), Abu 'l-Wálid Muhammád (943-64) and Abd al-Malik (1064-70). In the latter year it passed to the Almoravides; in 947 to the Almoravides, which in 1187/1223 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town; and in 1128 to the Almochads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, we will only mention here Ibn Hazm (d. 458/1066), Ibn Rustah (d. 524/1128) and Maimóncides (d. 501/1104) (see Ibn MAMÖNE).

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Among his masters, the best known is Abu 'l-'Abbás Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Kurtubi whose commentary on Muslim, al-Musā'min fi sh̄āb Muslim, he studied. This man was an eminent Malikī faqīh, born in Cordova in 578/1183, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawi quotes his Musā'min in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned hadīth: the kāfis Abī al-Hassan b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Barki, and the kāfis Abī l-'Iṣāf Allī b. Muhammad b. Allī b. Ḥaṣ al-Yaḥyabī. Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Koran entitled Al-lamā'ān Al-Kurtubi bi-ṣaḥa'ab al-A'mal, which is devoted to biography of the Malikī 'abd al-Rahmán b. Nafih al-Shafi'í of Spain and the Maghrib up till the 8th/14th century. He also features in an article in Nafī al-šib al-Malikī. Very little information is known concerning his life. Born in Spain, he was one of those who travelled outside this country (al-Malikī). Al-Dhahabi is said to have written of him: "He travelled, he wrote and he took lessons from the masters." In fact, he made his way to the Orient and settled at Munyat Abī Ṭikhraybī in Upper Egypt (Muḥān Banī Ṭakhraybī in the version of Ibn al-Imād, Sharh Kashf, v, 335); he died and was buried there in 674/1277.

Al-Dhahabi says of him, in his Ta'rikh al-Islām, that he was an imām versed in numerous branches of scholarship, an ocean of learning whose works testify to the wealth of his knowledge, the width of his intelligence and his superior worth. Al-Kurṭubī, in his "Uyun al-ʿuwalīfī, refers to him approximately the same terms. But in addition to being a conscientious scholar, he was remembered as a pious man, inclined towards asceticism and towards meditation on the life after death. He appeared in public attired in a single garment and wore a small cap (ṣabā'īyya) on his head.

Among his masters, the best known is Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Kurṭubī whose commentary on Muslim, al-Musā'min fi ṣhab Muslim, he studied. This man was an eminent Malikī faqīh, born in Cordova in 578/1183, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawī quotes his Musā'min in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned hadīth: the kāfīs Abī al-Hassan b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Barkī, and the kāfīs Abī l-'Iṣāf Allī b. Muhammad b. Allī b. Ḥaṣ al-Yaḥyābī. Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Koran entitled Al-lamā'ān"
know the Book of God, is that he is to reject that which He forbids and to remember that which has been explained to him in this Book, to fear God and stand in awe of Him, to hold himself under His protection, and to abstain from disobeying Him through shame in respect to Him; then he becomes, as opposed to the burdens of the prophets (ja-tawwiq hummabi *ʿala ʿl-tawit*) and he must become a witness to the Resurrection before adepts of religions of a different persuasion (milat). Thus is the high estimation placed by al-Kurtubi on the role of the commentator.

The entire Introduction is divided into chapters which constitute a sort of ethic, methodology and theology of the commentary. Attention is drawn to the superior qualities of the Kur'ān (labādī al-Kur'ān) which comes from the light of the essence of God (ja-ʿuwa min ʿur dhihāt); God gives his servants the strength to bear it (4:40). Then (10), al-Kurtubi turns to the manner of reading the Book of God (hāṣfiyyat al-ṣāhib li-Kur'âb Allâh) in a chapter which may be compared with that of al-Ghazālī in the Ihyā‘. INTABAR al-Kurtubi; he discusses at length the problem of knowing whether the Kur'ānic text may be chanted or set to music: he maintains that it is impious to believe that the Kur'ān requires embellishment by the human voice. An important chapter (17) concerns the inward dispositions of men who pursue knowledge of the Kur'ān: they must rid themselves of all hypocratic consideration of the self (labādī min al-riya) and, turning towards God through takba and inwā', attain with self-purification to perfect sincerity (ibūs). This could be interpreted, on account of the opposition of the two terms-riya and labās, well-known in Sufism, as a sign of deep mystical piety, and this is confirmed by the passage which follows: “It is not the giving of the words of the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the ‘bearer’ of the Kur’ān: it comprises a precise and concise history which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it through shame in respect to Him; then he is charged with the responsibility of the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the ‘bearer’ of the Kur'ān: it comprises a precise and concise history which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it to perdition.” Thus, he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences: al-Kurtubi simply gives it the sense, according to Katada, of al-ʿaśim bi-rāb ʿam khaṭā (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Kūrānī, the sense of al-ʿašim al-ʿašim male bi-nūr khānṭub. He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

Finally, al-Kurtubi reduces considerably, but not entirely, the dependence on interpretations and especially elucidations based on accounts furnished by rabbinical legends, apocryphal gospels and other equally unreliable sources. Thus, he makes very little use of the ishrāfiyya (p.r.), unlike al-Ṭabarī and even al-Kūrānī. But, unlike Fākhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Kurtubi does not attempt to derive philosophical notions and conceptions from Kur’ānic verses. Thus, when explaining the verse kāsūyin (II, 235) in the verse of the Throne, al-Rāzī interprets it at once as denoting baʿṣim li-țaḥātah (existing through Himself) as Ibn Sīnā defined it in the Jāmā‘, and he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences: al-Kurtubi simply gives it the sense, according to Katada, of al-ʿaśim bi-rāb ʿam khaṭā (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Kūrānī, the sense of al-ʿašim al-ʿašim male bi-nūr khānṭub. He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

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AL-KURTUBI, YAMMĀN. R. SUMRAN AL-KUARR, &Amdash; poet and Maliki jurist, born in Cordova in 1687/1969. He travelled extensively in the East, visiting Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus for the purpose of study. He died in Maywil on the Qd al-Fitr in 567/172. His chief surviving literary works are
Dala‘ī al-akham, Abūl-‘Imra‘ All, and the poem on Muslim religious observances, the Uṣūlīs aš-šī‘a, also known as al-Māhidātān al-kuryyān, for which he is best known. The Uṣūlīs sets out in summary form the basic observances of the five “Pillars of Islam” in rhyming couplets designed to be easy for children to memorize, but the contents of the poem are in no way simplified for the juvenile reader. The eighteen abāb into which the Uṣūlīs is divided are each linked by an obligatory rule (fard‘ūj) connected with each observance, and with rules which are recommended but not obligatory (sunnā).

The Uṣūlīs has been the subject of two commentaries, those of Ahmad b. Zārūr al-Ṭātār (died 941/1533) and Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Tātār (died 941/1533).


Kūs, a town of Upper Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, some 30 km. to the north of the ruins of Thbes (al-Aswūn/Luxor) where the course of the river is at its closest point to the Red Sea, or about 200 km. from Kusayr [q.v.]. This large village with a Coptic name, first called Ks or Ksī (H. Gaubert, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques, v, Cairo 1938, 178) seems to have become a more important place with the name Apollinopolis Parva in the Ptolemaic age, when the Greek sovereigns of the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D. undertook to develop commercial contacts between Egypt and Arabia Felix and the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, and favoured the building-up in this region of various centres to the detriment of what was left of Thbes. The remains of the small Ptolemaic temple are still visible in the town. Under the Roman domination, Apollinopolis Parva was, like Copts/ Kifīt [q.v.], although to a lesser degree, the terminus of the caravan route from Berenice; it too took the name Diceliatopolis towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. A bishop of the town is mentioned among those present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Greek residents would appear to have been in a minority, and when the pressure exerted by nomadic peoples between the Nile and the Red Sea brought about an end contacts with the east and caused a decline of urban life, the town reverted to its Egyptian name (in Coptic form, Kōs) more than a century before the Arab conquest; this name was retained, transcribed into Arabic as Kūs. In the organisation of Arab Egypt, it belonged first to the Kifīt al-Kifīt and al-Aswūn. A rampart was constructed in about 232/847 to protect the urban area against the attacks of the Boha [q.v.].

Subsequently the town developed: al-Ya‘kābbī noted towards the end of this century that it had already taken the place of al-Aswūn (Buhūlah, BGA, vii, 324, tr. Wiet, 183) and according to al-Mas‘īdī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, it had taken the place of al-Kifīt (Marqīj, iii, 50 = § 893). The reason for this prosperity must doubtless be attributed to the trading of its merchants with Nubia; its administrative status, however, did not change, because the population of the town was basically Christian, and the Muslim community was comparatively small. Under the Fatimids, the restoration of contacts with the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, especially al-Ayyīh [q.v.], brought advantages, at first most notably to Usūn [q.v.], where goods unloaded at al-Ayyīh joined the Nile. But at the time of the serious crisis experienced by the Fatimid caliphate in the mid-16th century, the occupation of the region of Usūn by the negro troops who took refuge there after being expelled from the capital, after 459/1067, and the revolt of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, disrupted commercial traffic until the restoration of order by the vizier Bahd al-Djanūlī [q.v.] in 469/1077; the traders then adopted the practice of joining the Nile at Kūs, thus avoiding the extreme south of Upper Egypt, where Usūn began to decline. The governor of the Upper Sa‘d, given the task of maintaining order in the region, installed himself in the town which became the new capital of the south and a point of surveillance on the situation in the Red Sea. Kūs was henceforward an important market on the major trade-route with the Far East, frequented by the Muslim community of the Caneta of Cairo on account of the presence of a Jewish community providing a staging-post for these exchanges.

The establishment in Palestine of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which cut the normal route of the Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, deflected towards Kūs a large proportion of the pilgrims (who used to embark at al-Ayyīh, which lies opposite Mecca) and added still further to the increase of traffic. A mint was established there in 516/1122 (al-Makritī, Ittā‘īs, iii, 93) and no doubt continued to function there until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. In the troubled times that marked the decline of the Fatimid caliphate, the role of the governor of the Upper Sa‘d was seen as “the most important post after the vizirate” (Ibn al-‘Athīr, xi, 194) and an ante-room of power, to which the careers of the viziers Ridwān and Shāwar also bear witness.

In 550/1155, Tā‘līf b. Ruzzayj ordered the construction of the mosque and gave to the town one of the finest minbars of the Fatimid epoch; the Muslim community grew, apparently through the installation of families from Usūn and Ismā‘īl; but the town continued to have a Christian majority.

The abolition of the Shī‘a Fatimid caliphate seems to have been strong felt; from 562/1167, Kūs was besieged by the Su‘di troops of Shāhād, who did succeed in capturing the town, and it seems to have been affected by the revolts in Upper Egypt that followed Saladin’s accession to power in Cairo. However, when the Ayyūbids reverted to the policies of the Fatimid in the area of the Red Sea, the growth of Kūs continued. It served as a point of arrival for Yemeni traders in Egypt and it was a staging-post for the merchants of the “Alexandrian Koreans” (al-Nuwayrī [see Kārīm]), This flow of wealth into the town was reflected in the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside, where the growing of sugarcane was developed, and Kūs became a centre for sugar production. The urban area outgrew its fortifications, and in the 7th/13th century Yākūt considered it the third city of Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria (Muqaddas, col. Wunstenfeld, 552). Cultural life developed; the poets Ibn Matrūh and Behā‘ al-Dīn Zābār spent part of their lives in Kūs. The town was nevertheless unable to play the part of a regional capital because the minds of the growing Muslim community of Kūs were not reconciled to Sunnī
Islam: the influence of the Sunni counter-reformation promoted by the pietist school in the neighbouring town of Kûs [q.v.] led to the founding of the first madrasa of Kûs in 680/1280. Henceforward Kûs became in its turn a centre for the propagation of Sunni Islam in Upper Egypt.

The Mamlûks felt that the town seems to have reached its zenith, even though the inclusion of Egypt in a political unity embracing the Syrian states had long ago deprived the governors of Kûs of the power that they had enjoyed in the last days of the Fâtîmid caliphate. The expeditions mounted against the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the last quarter of the 7th/13th century and at the beginning of the 8th/14th one contributed to the maintenance of a strategic role for the town, its main function being to control the highways of the South.

Doubtless following the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and especially since the start of the Mamlûk period, the pilgrims to the Hajjâz for the most part reverted to the route via the Gulf of Suez, but a certain number continued to use the 'Ayyûhab route, and traders still frequented it. Kûs was then known to Europeans as a staging-post in the transporting of spices. The profits from large-scale commerce, but also from urban craftsmanship (textiles in particular), created the wealth of its markets. The Christian community continued to be important and perfectly integrated into the Mamlûk state (they were employed in the administration of the funds of the sultans and amînîn); it was during this period that Athanasius of Kûs drafted in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language. But the Muslim community now played a dominant role. Nothing, however, of an architectural nature remains of the Muslim city which seems to have developed around the ancient town, never penetrating the Christian enclave with its churches, grouped round the Pharaonic temple; this is because the severe post-medieval decline affected this peripheral zone first.

The names are known, however, of some fifteen places of education, madrasas or mosques, including a dâr al-hadîth, whose Sunni Muslim teaching was felt throughout Upper Egypt, eliminating the last traces of Shî'ism which in the Mamlûk period long held out only in Udûf, creating a movement of people from the minor centres of the province to Kûs, and from Kûs to Cairo, and ultimately spreading Islamic culture in Upper Egypt to an unprecedented extent. The Shî'îm chief bâbî Tâbi al-Dûn Ibn Dakîk al-Tû al-Khûshayfî, al-Nawwâyî and al-Munayyir were the products of this social and cultural phenomenon.

The factors which had assisted the expansion of the town disappeared altogether towards the end of the Bahri period and at the beginning of the Cairean era. The fight against the Arab tribes, constantly growing in strength since the disappearance of Christian Nubia permitted them useful access to Upper Egypt, unloading their wares at Tûr in the Sinai peninsula, closer to the Mediterranean. This occurred perhaps from 775/1375 onwards, the date at which a serious drought affected Kûs and the surrounding region. (al-Mâshîrî, Kûsî, ed. Wiet, iii, 300).

Henceforward, the major commerce of the spice trade only occasionally passed through Kûs. The town, living on its assets, nevertheless remained probably the most important urban centre of Upper Egypt until the catastrophic crisis at the start of the 9th/15th century: famine, epidemic and political upheaval. According to al-Mâshîrî, the plague of 886/1480-6 killed 17,000 people at Kûs (Kûsî, ed. Wiet, iv, 124), or a large section of the population. In the unfavourable demographic context of the 9th/15th century, and in view of the total transformation of the regional framework which had formerly promoted the prosperity of the town, this destruction of the fabric of the town proved irreparable. When the Mamlûk state had succeeded in surmounting the problems of the early decades of the century, at least from the time of the sultaneys of Barsbay [q.v.], onwards, the governor of Kûs was not thought of as a secondary figure under the authority of the kâsîf of Asyût.

A section of the Muslim élite apparently left this declining city, and the proportion of the population formed by Christians began to rise once more, in an Upper Egypt no longer invigorated by commerce of any kind and henceforward less Islamised then the rest of the country. Commercial relations, on a reduced scale, with the Red Sea through the Kusayr highway, now tended to be directed from Kûs, and not from Kûs; it was to Kûs that the bâbî was transferred after the Ottoman conquest. The major regional centre was henceforward Gîna [q.v.], where the Hashwû Bedouins [q.v.], settled; their hegemony was gradually established over the region in the course of the 9th/15th century and was to be maintained until the end of the 16th century. The material ruin of the medieval Muslim urban cadres seems to have been essentially brought about during the 17th century, a period when the city, although the seat of a kâsîf, appears to have sunk to its lowest depths of degradation and dilapidation. It only recovered a certain degree of vitality in the second half of the 18th century, although the population numbered only 5,000 at the time of the French expedition. The renewal of the town dates from the end of the 19th century. The swelled of the population following the rural exodus to towns, the opening-up of the town towards the outside world by means of education dispensed by foreign missions and the Egyptian state, and the installation of a modern sugar-producing industry, have brought about the rebirth of a expansive urban area, where, apart from a few isolated remains, nothing bears witness to the ancient mediæval centre.

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Kâs Owâsî (see KUSOWA). KUSANTîNA (see KUSANTINA).

AL-KUSANTîNA (in dialect: Ksentini, in French Ksentini) Ksentî, Algerian dramatis...
progress was mediocre, and he learned French in the street. Some years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. In 1909 he married one of his cousins by whom he had two daughters, both dying in infancy. Having grown up in a class of petty Algerian artisans, nostalgic for the past and constantly on the verge of poverty, al-Kusantini inherited a dual legacy of bitterness and failure. He felt ill at ease in his milieu, from which he brusquely broke away in 1914, abandoning his wife and settling out to travel the world. During the first months of the war he worked as a merchant seaman; Marseilles, Malta, Salomica, India, China and America were all to be visited in turn by this son of the Mediterranean, this bit of a "card", insatiably curious, interested in everything but attached to nothing.

Four years later he returned to France, where he worked for a while in a factory in Normandy and married a Frenchwoman. In 1920 he moved to Paris and obtained employment as a cabinetmaker in the workshop of a large store. It was at this time that he began attending theatres and he even played a number of walk-on parts, in particular at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. In 1926, he rapidly became friendly with some amateur comic actors (Allalò, Dahtànû, Bash Djarrâh), and, a few months later, he appeared in public for the first time in a play by Allalò, Don Alklak (Bâ 'Aklah), a play which owed its success to his flair for energetic bufoonery. From the very start he made a powerful impression, with his innate acting talent and his unusual gift for improvisation, expressing himself not only with his face but with his whole body, from head to foot; he was all movement. His silhouette, his mime, the twinkle of his eye, the unexpected laugh gave a sharp edge to each response emphasising the word, with an incomparable shaft of humour. To call him a comédian would be an understatement; he was a spectacle.

In fact, he was still not sure at this time how to make his own entry into the theatre, and his first attempt—al-'Ahd al-wdfi, "The promise kept", a comedy in three acts, Algiers, 1927—was far from being a masterpiece. After this failure, he was luckier the following year with a comedy (Bâ Bóyma), which was warmly received by the Algerian public.

Over the next ten years, al-Kusantini was to compose, stage and act in twenty-five plays, as well as a number of farces, most of which have been lost. In this brief space of time he chalked up a number of important dates in the history of the young Algerian theatre. In fact, his successes were as varied as were the responses of the public and the critics, and the conditions under which the plays were staged. Even the settings varied; sometimes the municipal theatre, sometimes the auditorium, sometimes, in a rural district, a hastily-erected barn. Furthermore, his performances generally gave only a meagre profit to the author and his colleagues, actors, singers, dancers and musicians.

During this same period, al-Kusantini played minor roles in French films like Savoirs le Terrible and Pépé le Moko, alongside Harry Baur and Jean Gabin. After 1938 he practically stopped writing for the stage, but, deeply attached to his profession, he was acting in the plays of his successor, Muhyl T-Din Bash Tarz, almost to his last day. He died in Algiers on 2 July 1944, having lived for close on twenty years the somewhat austere existence of the milieu to which he belonged; he was however, a straight-forward man, generous and sincere, an enemy of all forced pretence and all hypocrisy.

Written in Algerian dialect and almost entirely unpublished, al-Kusantini's work covers a wide variety of genres. But in spite of the diversity of form, the central core is one of powerful originality. His work comprises:

(a) Approximately two hundred satirical songs, for the most part on moral and social themes, often written as parodies of well-known Arabic and French songs. About a hundred have been recorded on disc.

(b) Approximately thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man-about-town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old sailor, and the ghost, the mysterious table, the unwavering sparrow, Bashir, etc.

(c) Twenty-five stage-plays, listed below in chronological order:

1. al-'Ahd al-mofî; comedy in three acts, Algiers, 22 March 1928;
2. Zeghrebina ou les deux manges de kaschib et le fils du roi (Zirabbbân), comedy in three acts, Algiers, 15 February 1929; 4. Tânsu al-Qâssar, "Times have changed";
3. Zeghrebina ou les deux manges de kaschib et le fils du roi (Zirabbbân), comedy in three acts, Algiers, 15 February 1929; 4. Tânsu al-Qâssar, "Times have changed";
4. About thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man-about-town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old sailor, and the ghost, the mysterious table, the unwavering sparrow, Bashir, etc.

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saw around them every day, in the street as well as within their families, and this is fairly remarkable. Al-Kusantini confined himself in general to making rough drafts, sketching out his ideas, laying down the simple foundations of what was to become a play on the stage. His style also reflects this premature provisory: it is a comedy style, more often than not recommends itself better to performance than to reading. It is admirably suited to its purpose, natural, alive, full of ingenious features and significant images, always pleasing and witty, often provocative.

In his satirical verses, which by contrast were written before being sung, the phrases are short and staccato, punctuated by exclamations and rhetorical appeals; it could be said that they represent an almost breathless approach to the pursuit of emotion.

In conclusion, it is thanks to al-Kusantini that Arabic comedy rose for the first time in Algeria to heights similar to those attained, for example, in Athens with Aristophanes, in Rome with Plautus and Terence, and in France with Georges Courteline.

For his high qualities of theme and of form, in dramaturgy as well as in his satirical songs, al-Kusantini deserves to be long remembered.


KUSAYLA b. LAZAM, or KASILA was, in the tradition of the Massinissa and Jugurtha, one of the most eminent figures in the struggle of the Berbers to preserve their independence. In 55/674, at the time when the mawill Abu ‘I-Muhajir Dinar came from Egypt to replace ‘Ukba b. Nafir as governor of the recently conquered province of the Maghrib, Kusayla was certainly "king" of the Awraba, a broad alliance of tribes of the Barânis group, for the most part sedentary. The territory of the Awraba was centred at that time on the region of Tlemcen, called Pomaria in antiquity, and it probably stretched from west of the Aurès range to Wallia (= Volubilis) to the north of Fez. It may be recalled that Idris [q.v.] was brought to power by the Awraba of Wallia. At the time of the conquest, the majority of the latter were no doubt Christianised. In fact, according to al-Bakri their...
capital Tiemcen maintained, along with the features of its ancient civilization, a large Christian population until the 9th/10th century. It was at Tiemcen that Abu 'l-Muhadjir was confronted by Kusayla. The new governor, preferring a policy of conciliation to one of force, took the opportunity of making an ally of the "king" of the Awarba. Kusayla became converted to Islam and henceforward lived with Abu 'l-Muhadjir at Takerwan which had replaced the capital founded by 'Uqba b. Nafi', and the name of which, by its prefix, symbolized a full scheme of Arab-Berber agreement.

The death of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'awiya, led to a change of policy. In 64/681, 'Uqba set out once again for Ifrikiya, dreaming of vengeance and a great déjávù. With him, the policy of subjugating the Berbers by force took on a new hue: vengeance and a great déjávù. 'Uqba found himself confronted by Kusayla. Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under 'Uqba, and rallied the forces of Kusayla. The new resistance passed subsequently to the Banū, but with the typical scene, described in all the sources, where 'Uqba, as a means of humiliating Kusayla, forced him to skin a sheep in his presence.

In the early stages, the lightning campaign that he initiated, the more unexpected in that it followed the policy of peace and conciliation of his predecessor, seems to have had the advantage of surprise, which explains, in part at least, his initial decisive success. But resistance soon became organized. In fact, 'Uqba made no major conquest. The Banū, the most romanised of the Berbers, allied themselves with the Byzantines. The Awarba secretly made contact with Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under 'Uqba, and assumed leadership of the resistance. Over-confident in his successes, did 'Uqba for his part, as all the sources assert, commit the foolish error of sending the bulk of his troops towards al-Kayrawān, keeping with him only a handful of men, some of three hundred. Was there any reason to think that these were to relieve the capital threatened by the Byzantines? Or was this more simply a question of an act of indiscipline on the part of soldiers exhausted by a long and tedious campaign? Whatever the case may have been, to the south of Biskra, at Tahdta (= Thuburs), 'Uqba found himself confronted by Kusayla at the head of powerful Banū and Byzantine contingents.

Here he found, along with all his men, including Abu 'l-Muhadjir, the epic and spectacular death of which he dreamed and which perpetuated his legend. A mausoleum, that of Sidi 'Uqba, was erected on the site of the battlefield and became a centre for pilgrimage which is still revered today.

At al-Kayrawān, there was panic, which illustrates the importance of Kusayla's victory and especially the strength of his forces. The idea of evacuating the country, proposed by Hanāz al-Ṣan'ānī, finally prevailed over that of resistance, supported by Zuhayr b. Kays al-Balawī. So the army withdrew. But al-Kayrawān did not lose the whole of its Arab and Muslim population. It had already advanced beyond the status of a simple military camp, a fact which deserves underlining. Between the years 64/683-6, it became the capital of a huge Berber kingdom ruled by Kusayla. Ibn 'Uqbarī (Bayān, i, 32) notes that: "Kusayla granted anda to the Muslims who had stayed in al-Rayrawān. He established himself there as sovereign (amir) of all the inhabitants of Ifrikiya and the Maghrib, including the Muslims present in that area." Hence no xenophobia, no persecution, no religious fanaticism. We may underlie this fact, reported by witnesses who had no cause to foster their adversaries. Kusayla himself, we are assured, took care not to renounce Islam after his victory. These measures are sure evidence of a political programme designed to deprive the Arabs of any religious pretext for invading the Maghrib once again.

But the wave of conquest was not yet exhausted. When the crisis which arose in the East with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr had abated, Zuhayr b. Kays al-Balawī set out for Ifrikiya with a strong army. Kusayla, who was not sure of the conditions prevailing at his rear in al-Rayrawān, chose to go and wait for his enemy at Mams, 50 km. to the west of the capital, thus in a region where mountains could offer refuge in the event of defeat. The battle, in which he lost his life, went against him. But it should not be believed that it was as decisive as our sources claim. In fact, although victorious, Zuhayr preferred to evacuate the region again, so as not to succumb to the good things of this world, so we are told. In turn, he met his death on the return journey, at Barka where the Byzantines had sectored a landing. Was this supposed to be a combined operation, designed to catch the Arabs in the Ifrikiyan trap, a plan which failed because of poor co-ordination? If Kusayla's attempt to found a great empire governed from the city founded by 'Uqba b. Nafi', had succeeded, the history of the Maghrib would certainly have taken a different turn. But were the Berbers ripe then for such a scheme? With al-Kahina, the torch of resistance passed subsequently to the Butt, but with no more lasting success.

Sa'id was from this time onwards fixed in the
establish relations with the Negus of Ethiopia set off
outlet for Upper Egypt on to the Red Sea.

Remains of works from the period of the Middle
Kingdom and from Ptolemaic times (P. Jouglet, in
Histoire de la nation égyptienne, iii, 94-5) show that
the site was used from ancient times onwards,
although it lost its importance in the Roman period
when, because of difficulties in navigation through
the Red Sea to Suez, landing was preferred on the
coast further to the south, at the port of Berenice.
In the neighbourhood of the future 'Aydhab, despite
the increased distance along the track between the
sea and the Nile thereby required (G. W. Murray, The
Roman roads and stations and the Eastern Desert of
Egypt, in Jnl. of Egyptian archaeology, xi [1923]),
Toward the end of the Roman-BYZantine period,
adequate control of the regions through which this
more southerly road passed probably brought Kusayr
an increased importance, and at the opening of the
Islamic period it served as a port of embarkation for
pilgrims travelling to the Hijāz.

However, when the Fāṭimid caliphate in Cairo
revived the ancient traffic of Greco-Roman times
with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean shore lands,
the security which was re-established in the moun-
tainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea
favoured the use once more of the southerly route to
'Āydhab, a port which was moreover more or
less opposite the holy places of the Hijāz. From the end
of the 8th/9th century, the installation of the capital
of Upper Egypt at Kūfis nevertheless brought a
certain amount of traffic to Kusayr, even if it was
still much less important than that of 'Āydhab.
While 'Āydhab was over two weeks’ journey from
Kūs, Kusayr is given as only three days’ journey
from the sea to the Nile (about 200 km.).

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KUSAYR 'AMRA [See Architecture]

KUSAYY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the
fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islamic
cult of the Ka'ba in Mecca.

His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as
Habalah, with the son or only some more distant
offspring, either after a long struggle with the
Kūfis or Kūayr's b. Khâlid (Ibn al-Kalâbī; Ġamanah, Tab. 1), and his life and exploits are
recorded by our sources in three recessions which
only differ from each other in trifling details; these
now go back to Muḥammad al-Kalîbī (d. 1067/84-5), Ibn
Ishāq (d. 1070/72) and 'Abd al-Malîk b. 'Abd al-Asâr
b. Dihraj al-Malikī (d. 1325/69). Kusayr is
represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who
found a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity: a
younger son of 'Abd b. Murra, a descendant of the
Kūfis whose supremacy in Mecca had been
replaced by that of the Banū Ḥāshim; he loses his
father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother
Fatīma bint Sa'd b. Sayāl who had married again,
his second husband being a member of the tribe of
Banū Ḥāshim, to that new husband’s tribe in the
north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood
of Ṣurq; according to Ibn al-Kalîbī (Ibn Sa'd, i/1,
30, 46) a place on the Syrian frontier of the Hijāz,
now Tabuk (Yakât, iii, 77), or right into Syrian terri-
tory near Yarmūk (al-Balkhi; 777)); here his original
name of Zayd was changed to Kusayr from the root
h-s-y, "to go far away". Having learned his true
origin from his marriage with Hubba, the daughter
of the Kūfis chief Ḥusayn b. Sa'd, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the
Ka'ba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an
important position in the city. On the death of his
father-in-law, Kusayr managed to succeed him in
his offices, either after a long struggle with the
Kūfis, or as a less reliable tradition has it by
means of a tricky bargain which he made with (Abū)
Chubayb, with the son or only some more distant

northern part of the province. The beginning of
the Ottoman occupation saw the rise of Kūfis, which
replaced Kūayr as the regional centre of the
region as the main departure point for Kusayr. The greater
part of commercial traffic continued to consist of
corn, continuously despatched to the Hijāz, and of
coffee imported from the Yemen. In the 18th century,
Hawwâra control over Upper Egypt did not harm
the port’s traffic, in fact the reverse, since Kusayr's
situation along the route to the Indies attracted the
attention of the French and British as much as that of
the Beys of Cairo. Bonaparte's soldiers found at
Kusayr an agglomeration essentially made up of
stalls open to the sky, with a very scanty permanent
population (this being also the case with 'Āydhab in
his time), and with Hijāz influence very strong
(Description de l’Egypte, État moderne, i, 203-4). Under Muḥammad al-Saff, buildings for the Egyptian
government were again set up at Kusayr. The small
town became one of the district centres of the
province of Kūfis. The pilgrim traffic remained each
year the main source of activity for the port, but after
1859 the Pilgrimage traffic was deflected to Suez. At
the time of the 16th century, Kusayr had ca. 1,800
inhabitants.
relative of Hulayf (ibn Durayd, al-I'tiqad, 277, 7 with 282, 2). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Kusayy to fame is given in the article Kuz'ayfa.

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Ka'ba, Kusayy rebuilt the latter and organized its worship; he united the clans of the Kuraysh, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which ascertained them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Kuraysh (from babaraqba, "to combine") replaced the old name Banu 'l-Nadr; Kusayy is said to have been called al-Mudjarnatun, "the re-uniter". On his death, the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons 'Abd al-Dar, 'Abd Manaf, 'Abd al-Uzza and 'Abd Kusayy, the second of whom through his son Hashim was the direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Kusayy had built himself quite close to the Ka'ba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Kuraysh under the name Dar al-Nadwa. To Kusayy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-Ajjaj (Kufr al-Din = Cairo, Sadi, Melka, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 107, below; Bakri, Futuh, 48; 'Abd ill, iii, 39-20; al-Khalif, 236). For what has been said above, it is evident that the Kuraysh regarded Kusayy as their true founder and the founder of the Ka'ba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-A'shay (al-Bakri, 489) and by several of Hassán b. Tábíbit. Later historiography has tried to harmonize this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Kusayy = Fírrr b. Málík b. al-Nadr (Wustenfeld, Geneal. Tabellen, N) as well as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Ka'ba and its vicissitudes under the Džhurn and the Khuza'a. Kusayy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge, one cannot, however, say whether such a legend should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab oniomosticon: a Nahlk b. Kusayy al-Salafiyy (R. Wustenfeld, i, 6o-6, 464-5; Ya'qub, Historica, 1, 273-8; Ms'djisti, al-Bad' wu'l-Tabiyih, 1, 165-7, tr. 118-20; Ibn Kusayy, Ma'arif, ed. Wustenfeld, 34; Ibn Durayd, al-I'tiqad, 13, 97, 'Abd ill, i, 235, ii, 524-5, iii, 625; Bakri, Ma'arif, ed. Wustenfeld, 58; Cassius de Percoval, Essais zur Geschichte der Araber, i, 234-5; Caen, Annali, i, 735, 96-106; M. Hartmann, in Zd., xxvii (1912), 43-9; Lamme, La Mosquée al nb la ville de l'Aigre, in MFOE, ix (1924), 52-5, 268-70; idem, Les sanctuaires préislamiques dans l'Arabie occidentale, in MFOE, xi (1926), 27-33, 412; T. Fahd, Le peulhes de l'Aigre centrale, Paris 1968, index.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

KUSDAR, Kuzdår, the name of a town in mediaeval Islamic Balkhîstân [q.v.], modern town and district of Kusdår in the former Kalát state [see kâlät] in Pakistan. It lies in lat. 27° 48' N. and long 66° 37' E. at an altitude of 4.905 feet, some 85 miles south of Kalát; the long, narrow valley of the Kohachi River in which it is situated is strategically important as a nodal point of communications, from Karâtî and Lambâla (q.v.) in the south, from Kafâ'î in the east, from Kalát in the north, and from Mârîn and Khârân [q.v.] in the west.

Kusdår was first raided by the Arabs under Sinâmah b. Salma al-Hudhîy, who was appointed governor over the Indian marches early in Mu'sâiya's caliphate by Ziyâd b. Abîth, and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Dârûd al-Abîdî (Bakri, Futuh, 433-4). The 4th/10th century geographers mention it, together with Kîkân or Kîkân [see kîkân] as one of the towns of the region of Tûrán or Tîwârân, which must have lain in the east-central part of Balkhîstân (see Minorsky, H. Art. Tûrân), and as being 80 farasfah from al-Mansûra in Sind. Khîkân is mentioned in the middle years of this century as being the residence by Kusayy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name 'Abd al-Kusayy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Tahîr, Thahîf, is analogous in character to Kusayy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dar al-Nadwa [q.v.].

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the control of the Ka'ba and of the hadjîf was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Kusayy and that the Kuraysh were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Kuraysh, among others the Banû Umayya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands: the Banû Mâdîjân, for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Kusayy. It seems probable then that the Meccan "republic" was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banû Kusayy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banû Kusayy. 

Bibliography: Ibn Hisâb, Sîra, ed. Wustenfeld, 75-83; Ibn Sa'd, Tabakât i/3, 36-42; Tabari, i, 102-110; Araj, Chron. der Stadt Melka, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 60-6, 464-5; Ya'qûb, Historica, 1, 273-8; Ms'djist, al-Bad' wu'l-Tabiyih, i, 165-7, tr. 118-20; Ibn Kusayy, Ma'arif, ed. Wustenfeld, 34; Ibn Durayd, al-I'tiqad, 13, 97, 'Abd ill, i, 235, ii, 524-5, iii, 625; Bakri, Ma'arif, ed. Wustenfeld, 58; Cassius de Percoval, Essais zur Geschichte der Araber, i, 234-5; Caen, Annali, i, 735, 96-106; M. Hartmann, in Zd., xxvii (1912), 43-9; Lamme, La Mosquée al nb la ville de l'Aigre, in MFOE, ix (1924), 52-5, 268-70; idem, Les sanctuaires préislamiques dans l'Arabie occidentale, in MFOE, xi (1926), 27-33, 412; T. Fahd, Le peulhes de l'Aigre centrale, Paris 1968, index.
of the local ruler, but Kusdār is described as the chief town, with a citadel and a flourishing mercantile quarter, to which traders from Khurāsān, Kirmān and India resorted, and with fertile agricultural lands around it (Ibn Hawqal, 346; tr. Kramers and Wiet, 377; al-Musaddad, 476; al-Hurr ad-Dāhir, 123, 177; Vahāb, iii, 357; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 237 ff.). Kusdār was certainly the seat of the local ruler by the later years of the century, the time of the rise of the early Ghurānī, for in 397/977-8 Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn (or Badr al-Dīn) reduced the ruler of Kusdār to obedience. However, his son Mahmūd of Ghurānī had to come once more and attack Kusdār in 407/1016, and make its ruler tributary (Uthān, in Nāṣir, The life and times of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghurānī, 74), and his son Masʿūd in 410/1019, also sent his uncle Yūsuf b. Subkītgin, and his son Masʿūd al-Dawādīr, and attacked Kusdār in 402/1013, and made its ruler tributary (Bayhakī, in R. Gellèpe, Sulṭān Masʿūd l., 1, von Donzel). The three earlier rulers of his house (412/1022, 417/1027, 420/1029), Munich 1935, 57 ff.).

Thereafter we hear little about Kusdār. In recent times it fell within the Khilāfat of Kallat. H. Pottenger visited it in 1810 and found it a small town of ca. 300 houses. It being the summer residence of Mir Mnsʿīd ‘Allī of the Brahibī Kanbarān tribe, brother-in-law of Mahmut Kān of Kallat (Travels in Afghanistan and Sind; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries, London 1842, 33-7). C. Masson noted a large tepe north of the town of Kusdār, with the remains of mud walls, presumably relics of the mediaeval Kusdār (Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, London 1842, ii, 14-4). In 1870 a fort was constructed there, a garrison posted in it by Mir Kūshyar b. Miḥyar Kān of Kallat in the course of his warfare with the Dīfân or local ruler of Laš Bāla (362). Kusdār town and district now form a talābit of the District of Kallat Subdivision of the Khilāfat District of Pakistan, with a population in 1961 of 26,726.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Imperial gazetteer of India, xv, 296-9, and Population census of Pakistan 1951. District census reports, Kallat, i-24-5, iv-2.

(For Bosworth)

Kūsh, a Biblical personage whose name appears in ch. 6 of Genesis in the genealogical lists of the posterity of Noah (Nūḥ). According to the information in verses 6-7, Kūsh, the eldest son of Hān (Nūḥ), is the brother of Māryām, Pūt and Kūnān (Kanaʿa). The father of Shībā, Hūwaj, Sābīkt, Rāshīd and Sābitka and, by Rāshīd, the grandfather of Sīrāz and Dīdīn Mūṣayrīf is Egypt; Pūt doubtlessly Libya, Khaʿān, the land of Canaan (Palestine and Phoenicia). Most of the names of the descendants of Kūsh are to be attached to the maritime regions of the Red Sea. Sīrāz has been identified hypothetically with the Port of Saba in the Bay of Adulis on the south-west of the Red Sea, which is mentioned in Strabo (xvi, 4, 8, 10); Hūwaj, which is given in Genesis xxv, 18, for the western border of the Ishmaelites' territory, has been associated with the name of the South Arabian tribe of Khāni; is Sābitka the Μαβεντ of Strabo (xvi, 4, 21), the Sabata of Pline (vi, 155, 211, 93), the Sābīnθ of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (27)? Whatever may be the case, it is to be located in the Arabian peninsula, as Rāshīd is placed by various authors in Hadramawt, Sīrāz, which is not the Kingdom of Saba, is situated in the north-west of Arabia. As for Dīdīn, this is the oasis of al-Šalā, near Maḍīna (Sūrī), in the north-east of the Hidjār.

Thus Kūsh appears to be linked by this genealogy with Arabia and the Red Sea. But in verse 8 of the same ch. of Genesis, which seems to reflect another tradition, he is presented as the father of Nimrūd (Arabic Namrūd) with whom Mesopotamia is associated.

Indeed, in the whole text, Kūsh, as an ethnic term, in the ordinary way designates neither Arabia nor Mesopotamia, but the neighbouring populations of Egypt, on the south-west borders of the land, i.e. precisely the region which the Egyptians called Kūsh (see also Babylonian kūš, Assyrian kūš, Old Persian kūša), an oracle of Ezekiel (xxix, 10) also announces the destruction of the land of Egypt "from Migdol to Syene (from the extreme north to the extreme south) and as far as the frontier of Kūsh". In 2 Kings xix, 9, the Pharaoh Tirhakah, of the so-called Ethiopian dynasty, is called King of Kūsh. Everything leads us to suppose that Kūsh is the name of ancient Nubia, i.e. of the region which extends as a whole from the first to the fourth cataract of the Nile. The Semitisation translates it in general as Ethiopia, which, because of the value placed on the word "Ethiopian" in antiquity, is at the source of the erroneous interpretation of kūš as "black" or "African".

In the Kūšī the Kūsh is named no more than the sons of Noah, Islamic tradition, which knew his name, however, supplies pieces of evidence which do not agree totally with one another or with the evidence of the Bible. They are all reported by al-Ṭabarānī. According to some, Kūsh, son of Hān, is the brother of Māryām, Kūt (Biblical Pitt) and Kanīn (Anuwalu, i, 232, 237). But elsewhere Kūsh appears as the son, and not the brother, of Kanīn, himself presented as the fourth son of Nūḥ (i, 219, 237). According to fourth sources, i, 229, 237; Ibn al-Ṭahir, 1, 292; Ibn al-Ṭahir, 1, 30). He is given finally as the progeny of Kanīn as king of the universe after the disappearance of the sons of Aḥdar (Chronique, French tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 120). In all the traditions, he is the father of Nūḥ, tyrant (mistajabbī) of Babil, conforming with Genesis, i, 8. But if, in the general way, the paternity of the Hābasha as well as those of the peoples of Sind and Hind are attributed to him, the Nubians on the other hand are never explicitly associated with him. In the genealogy supplied by al-Ṭabarānī (i, 223) on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbīh, it is from Kanīn, brother of Kūsh, and his wife Kūshēyi, great-granddaughter of Yūsuf, that the Nubians are descended, together with the populations of Fausan, the Zangi, the Zagheva and all the blacks (or, according to another passage, the blacks with fuzzy hair). Elsewhere (i, 216), it is Hām who is the only one named as the ancestor of these peoples.

The Kushitic languages.—It is from the name Kūsh that the word Kushitic is derived, under which are grouped a body of Hamito-Semitic (but not Semitic) languages spoken by about fifteen million people, the majority of them Muslims, scattered over a vast territory of almost 2 million km², within which are included the populations speaking the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The area is constituted basically by the Horn of Africa and spreads in the north into Sudanese and Egyptian territory to around the first cataract of the Nile and in the south into Tanzania, as far as the 4th degree of latitude.

Beqja (l'Bejewiyye) is spoken by Muslims in the north of the area, in the northern part of Eritrea, and stretches between the Nile on the west (where it is in contact with Nubian and Arabic) and the Red Sea (where it is in contact with Semitic Tigre) as far as the environs of Kusayr. It is true that in the northern-
most part, the Muslim ‘Ababbde tribes are today almost entirely Arabised. At the same time, in the south, a part of the Besi Amer (Banu ‘Amir) nomads have abandoned Bedja for Tigre. Between these two groups are to be distinguished, with their particular dialects, in the centre the Bighari and Hadendowa, and in the south the Halenga and Arteiga.

Still further to the south, on the shores of the Red Sea, there is the area of Sao and ‘Afar, other Kushitic languages.

Saho is the language of an almost entirely Islamised population leading a pastoral existence in the south of the Massawa region in Eritrea. The Irob-Shac Christians, who constitute an enclave on the Abyssinian plateau, have partially abandoned Sao in favour of Semitic Tigrinya.

The language of the ‘Afar (Arabic Danakil) is spoken in the south of Eritrea, in the north of the region of Djibouti, and extends towards the west as far as the Awash River.

Somali-speaking tribes who inhabit the extreme shore of the Horn at the mouth of the Tana River are also almost entirely Islamised. The most important dialects are those of the Isak who inhabit the shore of the Gulf of Aden and the Darod tribes at the edge of the Indian Ocean, as far as the north of Kenya and who also inhabit the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia. In the north, in the territory of Djibouti and as far as Dire-Dawa in Ethiopia, it is the dialect of the Hal which is widespread.

In the valley of the Wehi Shebelle as far as Khamar (ancient Mogadishu), it is Hawyja which dominates, while in the south, in the province of Benadir, Digil is spoken, a dialect of the Sab, also widespread in Aden among the emigrant foreigners called Diarabti (see Djarabt).

The Oromo (whom the Europeans, adopting an Abyssinian word treated as pejorative by the natives, call Gala) at present occupy a vast territory from the centre of the Abyssinian plateau as far as the centre of Kenya (to the north of Mombasa and along the Tana River). These are on the whole pagans. Islam, however, has conquered a part of the northernmost populations. Of the dialects of the Oromo, Mara in the south, Tulama in the north-east and Borana in the south-east, are very close to each other. They are opposed to a southern dialect group, so that constitutes the speech of the Fararreta and Kofin in Kenya.

Agaw, in the north of Ethiopia, occupies no more than a limited and fragmented territory, having for the most part given place to Semitic, e.g. Tigriinya and especially Amharic. A northern Agaw dialect, Bilin, is spoken by a small Muslim population. Other dialects still in use are Khamar, Khamta, Kwara, Kaimant and Avngy or Awnya.

To the west, a group of languages relatively close to one another covers the region of the lakes (from Zway to Shamo and Lake Rudolf) and extends into the adjacent mountainous zone (the province of Sidamo). These are Gudella or Hadiya and Kambatta. Generally connected with them, but not as close, are Gidole or Gardulla, Arbora, Galuha etc. On the other hand, these are a tendency today to consider Rendille in the north-east of Kenya, on the edge of Lake Rudolf, and Bayso in an island to the north of Lake Abaya, as projections of Somali.

In the region of Omo, one can distinguish Onneto, Dawro or Kullo, Goba, Walamo, Maruor or Gabbam, Baditti, Zayse, Basasetto, Doko, Cara, Djamadero, Kaffeto, Antillo, Shinasha or Gongga, etc.

In the same region, some languages, which are probably Kushitic, are spoken by Nilotic peoples, e.g. Gimira, Majji and Gunza.

A Kushitic extension in Tanzania is possibly represented by Irakw and less probably by Mbugu.

There may be seen from this simple inventory, although it remains incomplete, the immense linguistic variety of the vast area generally considered as Kushitic. It is still very inadequately explored, and numerous tongues are known to us only by a rare and insignificant documentation. There result from this a serious problem to which lead at times to calling into question the very membership in the group of some of the most anciently recognised languages. There has also been a proposal to detach from the Kushitic ensemble an Omotic group consisting essentially of the languages of the region of the Omo, and from this some authors have come to consider Bedja as a particular division of Hamito-Semitic without any special connection with Kushitic.

In so far as the existing documentation allows one to judge, such questionings appear excessive. The existence of common traits peculiar to a body which can be called Kushitic do not appear capable of being explained by simple phenomena of diffusion. But it is no longer as possible today to admit the traditional division into two groups: Lower Kushitic with Bedja, ‘Afar, Sao, Somali and Oromo, Upper Kushitic consisting of Agaw, Burdji, Sidamo and the western languages. Without attempting here to propose a real classification, for which the state of studies still gives no authority, one may to some extent rely on the characteristics of these languages to discern some particular affinities. The linguistic information which is to be supplied below can justify the following table:

A. Northern Kushitic: Bedja;
B. 1. Eastern and southern Kushitic: ‘Afar, Sao, Somali and Oromo;
   2. Central Kushitic: Agaw and languages of the region of the lakes;
   3. Western Kushitic: languages of the region of the Omo.

The group of Eastern and Southern dialects and that of the Central dialects are closer to one another than each of the two others.

Linguistic characteristics. — These are the principal common traits in the Kushitic languages or in the majority of them.

(i) On the phonetic plane.— The predominant syllabic type is of the consonant + vowel form, at the beginning of a word; closed syllables of the consonant + vowel + consonant type are present especially as final syllables. In the intervocalic position, the best-tolerated consonant groups have a first liquid element or are constituted by a nasal — an oral homorganic consonant (mb, nd, etc.).

The consonant system includes in general "emphatics", most often glottalised in effect, which, if combined at the same point of articulation, the orders formed by an unvoiced stop and a voiced stop, without always participating themselves in correlation of voicing. The majority of the languages also present a post-palatal order: k, g, k, but none opposes a g to a k. However, one must take account of the very frequent present of a voiced cerebral d which can adjoin the "emphatic", unvoiced denti.

Except in some Agaw dialects which are innovative on this point, there is no distinction in the labial zone between the spirants and occlusives. Where there is
The majority of languages are familiar with tonal opposition, in various degrees of development. In a language like Bedja, only a small number of lexemes of the CVC-form seem to bear a tonal descending tone, capable of constituting a distinctive morphological mark, cf. the "mother": "mothers", kynti "sister": kynti "sisters"; but in Awinya and in Mola for example, tones play an important role in the morphological plan as in the lexical one: (Mola) biino "aches"; biino "coffee"; (Awinya) ajgye "I give": ajgye "he gives". Unlike the tonal schemes, the accentual schemes are not generally distinctive, except possibly in some forms where phonetic evolutions have accidentally conferred on them a differentiating role: (Bedja) ha'dab ada "I killed a lion"; ha'dab ada "I killed him".

(ii) On the morphological plane. —Lexemes are constituted in Kushitic by constant radicals with variable incisions, and generally suffixed: (Sidamo) min-inae "be built", min-ed "house"; (Ometo) med- ned-ih "he forms", med-ia "form"; (Somali) deke dekh da "environment", dekh da "to be between, among", dekh-idda "between". Despite some phenomena of asponomy in some languages (Bedja dir "to kill": dar "to massacre", rimid "to avenge": rimed "to be revenged"), the radical vowel may be considered stable in every series of derivation, as may be seen from the preceding examples.

By far the most frequent form of radical is CVC: nearly 90% of the verbal radicals in Kafficho; in Somali. In Bedja, however, and uniquely in Bedja, it yields predominance to radicals of type CVC or CVCC. But analysis reveals that these roots are often derived from Semitic, and particularly from Arabic. The verbal system is based general on the fundamental opposition of two aspects: the incomplete and completed. Conjugation is of two types. In some languages, a certain number of verbs are conjugated by means of prefixed signs. This is the case with 'Afar, where this type of conjugation represents more than a third of all verbs, and especially with Bejiga, where it represents nearly two-thirds; but Somali and Agaw have only four verbs with prefixed conjugation. For all the other verbs and in all the other languages, conjugation is suffixal. Thus the verbal forms are constituted in principle according to one of the following two schemes:

A. Prefixal conjugation: sign of the person + sign of the aspect + root + desinence of the gender and/or number. Example: 'Afar: e-ba-ta-je "you know" (incompleted indicative); e-ba-ta "you know" (completed or perfective)

B. Suffixal conjugation: root + sign of the aspect + mode + desinence of the gender and/or number. For example: Bejiga: idm-ina "you (fem.) eat" (completed indicative); idm-ina "you (fem.) ate" (completed or perfective); tani-2i "(if) you were eating" (modal).

These schemes are capable of minor modifications in various languages. In particular, attention is drawn to newly-developed forms by means of suffixed morphemes. The most frequently used variable morphemes are:

— for the gender and number: f for the feminine singular and n for the plural;
— for the aspect: a as the sign of the incomplete is often opposed to an antecedent vowel (a, e, i) for the completed or perfective, while the modal form is characterised by a; certain languages however, such as Bejiga or Agaw, present some slightly different situations from this point of view;
— for the expression of the persons, the paradigm is the following: Sing. 1. (a) 2. 3., masc. (v), fem. 1.; Plur. 1. a., 2., 3. (v). (The forms between parentheses are often represented by a). The identity of this system of signs with that of Semitic and Berber conjugation, whose very characteristics it presents (the same form in the singular for the 2nd pers. and the 3rd fem., distinct forms for the 1st pers. sing. and plur., the 1st pers. plur. being in addition deprived of the sign of number) has led to the positing of the probable hypothesis that the morphemes of aspect/mode which in the scheme follow these marks, are no more etymologically than short auxillaries conjugated by means of prefixes.

The completed: incompleted opposition, with possibly a modal form, does not exhaust the complexity of the Kushitic verbal systems. Periphrastic forms, constituted by means of auxillaries, often serve to add the expression of different aspect-temporal values, such as the near past, the pluperfect and especially the "continuous-progressiveness" or "concomitant". Examples: 'Afar: kalabah m-oin (incomplete + complete of a to "be") "you were engaged in looking; you were looking"; Somali: saa- "he is engaged in eating".

As regards their conjugation, the languages of the Omo have a separate place in the Kushitic group. The scheme there is also suffixal, but the morphemes used and their modes of combination are peculiar to them. For example, Ometo: and sig, incomplete ed-dsa "you know", complete ed-dsa "you know".

The Kushitic languages distinguish various secondary verbal themes by added signs. A first method of derivation is partial or total duplication of the radical which gives the roots intensive or frequentative value: Agaw (Bilina): daba "to cover": dababa "to cover completely"; Sidamo: hht "to shake": kubbub "to shake strongly"; Bejiga: ba'as "to turn": ba'bas "to turn and turn again"; Oromo: ba'b "to know": bebbe "to know well".

The second method is the fixing of signs to express the orientation of the process in relation to the subject: 'a (as) for the causative, t (at), n, r for the internal reflexive, the passive and the reciprocal. Hence in Bejiga: kipam "to extend" (intrans.), kipam-ad "to extend" (trans.); dir "to kill", se-dir "to have [someone] killed"; lam "to eat", lam-am "to be eaten": min "to shave", (male-fem. "to be shaved".

In Oromo: teb "to break" (intrans.), teba-s "to break" (transs.), beba-"he knew", ba'ba- "he understood"; arg- "to see", arg-am "to be seen". In Ometo: ke "to go out", ke-u- to cause to go out": kse "to sec", kse "to see".

One should also mention a type of verbal composition widespread in the majority of the Kushitic languages and which consists in the juxtaposition of
an invariable element (plain verbal radical, noun, interjection,ObjectName postposition, etc.) and of a verb meaning "to say": "Afar: kô y "to say ho" = "to roar", Sidamo: xwa y "slowly + to say" = to act slowly; Agaw: yik y "down + to say" = "to lower"; Oromo: ol gec "to say + up = to raise"; Oneto: xipi ga "hush + to say = to be silent". The Kushitic languages of the centre and east have various series of pronominal forms. One of them, called "emphatic", is used especially to act as a sub-
ject. Other forms generally suffix al serve to express clearly constituted by an invariable base with per-
sonal suffixal signs added: Sing. i.

He also made several journeys to Egypt, Sind, and other parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra, Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1051-701/1602-3) he travelled with his father to the Yemen, where he studied with various of the religious teachers, especially those with whom his father, Muhammad b. Yusuf had studied. An incident not specified in the sources disturbed him deeply, causing him to return hurriedly first to Mecca, and then to Medina, where he continued to study from some of the great mystics of Indian origin, especially al-Shamawi and 'Abd al-Malik al-Hasani, and through them, the works of al-Ghazali and his students. He was affiliated to several mystical orders, including the Nakhshbandi, the Kadiiri and the Naqshbandi. He attracted numerous students, and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility. He is of particular importance because of the character of his transmission of the doctrines of the school of Ibn al-'Arabi [9.17], particularly as reformulated by 'Abd al-Karim al-Dilli [9.16] to various parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra and Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1051-701/1602-3) he was the Sunnati 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel, and numerous Dāwī associates of whom we do not know the names. His pupil and successor as 'Aghṣal of the Sharī'īyya mentioned in the Kārānī [9.46], maintained his wide circle of students, and gives much information about him in his al-Amān (see Bibliography). It is worthy of note that Tahir, the son of his greatest student al-Kūrānī, was a teacher of Shāh Wall Allāh [9.46].

His works include Sar interpretations of hadīth, rare among Sar authors, who devote most of their exegetical skill to the Kūran. He was noted for the extent to which he associated Sarī'ī and hadīth quotations with his views, and his skill in presenting the isnād of every hadīth that he cited. A commentary on his own works translated into Portuguese by al-Abi al-Malik al-Sarī'ī's student Idrīs al-Kūrānī entitled Kuf al-Dāwī was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student 'Abd al-Ra'uf [9.46].

His books include hadīth, wa'il and tasawwuf number more than fifty. One has been published al-Simf al-maṣūdī fī wa'il al-dhikr, Haydarābād 1527. Other works, listed by al-Baghdādī, include Ḥādiyya Sar 'l-Insān al-maṣūdī li-'Abd al-Karīm al-Dāwī, al-Kūrānī al-wa'lī fī sharh hikam Ibn al-'Abī', and al-Kandālī al-taṣawwuf. He died at Medina in 970/1660-1, and was buried in the Eski cemetry.
selves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and "Irafc, and Caetani, dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition against the kings of al-IJIra (cf. the texts in §a'a, especially in those against the Tamlm, the of the tribe of the Banu Sulayrn [...]. During the mother of Rayta bint Kunfudh b. Malik makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Kushayr b. Ka'b b. Rahiba b. 'Amir b. Sa'afa. Tradition makes the mother of Kushayr Rayya bint Kunfudh b. Malik of the tribe of the Banu Sulayn [?]. During the pre-Islamic period, the Banu Kushayr settled in al-Yamama were involved in all the wars of the 'Amir b. Sa'afa, especially in those against the Tamim, the Shayban, whose chief Hadjib b. Zaurâ was made prisoner by Malik b. Salama al-Khayr b. Kushayr, called Dhu 'l-Rukayba, at the battle of Diabala, and against the kings of al-'Irâfa (cf. Nekhède, ed. Bevan, 79, 404-5). After Muhammad's successes in central Arabia, the Kushayr joined with the other tribes of the 'Amir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in Caetani, Ammali, i, 297 [A.H., § 281]. Later they took part, without particularly distinguishing themselves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and 'Iraq, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Umayyad period they were very numerous and powerful in Khurasan, of which several Kushayr families were governors (among others Zaurâ b. 'Ukba, whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Kushayr colony has as its founder and common ancestor Hayda b. Mu'fihiyya b. Kushayr, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Hadjar, Isâba, Cairo 1531, ii, 56, No. 1850; Abu 'Ali al-Sulaymî, in Goltzeh, Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil., ii, 97). On the other hand, we find in Muhammad, Kâmil, ed. Wright, 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu 'l-Rukayba, the Kushayr chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Kushayr families of note in Khurasan were recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khayr to which Dhu 'l-Rukayba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe. The Kushayr did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yâhid Ibn al-Tahâriyya who lived between the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbasid period. The genealogical sources, and in particular Ibn al-Kalîlî, also mention other ethnic groups bearing the name Banu Kushayr, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the 'Umman and the Aws (Ajamî). Ibn al-Kalîlî, in Ibn al-Kalîlî, Casdel, Couducu, Tab tot and Register, ii, 473; Wustenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen, D, 117 [Register, 140-1]; Ibn Dhouray, K. al-'Irâfa, ed. Wustenfeld, 181; Ibn Kutayba, K. al-Mu'afîr, ed. Wustenfeld, 43, ed. Ukasha, 89 and index. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

**AL KUSHAYRî, the nica of two noted Khurâsân scholars.**

1. Abu 'l-Kasîn 'Abd al-'Amîn ibn Hâwazîn, theologian and mystic. He was born in 376/986 in Ustuwâ (the region of actual Kûchân [q.v.] on the upper Atrak), the son of a man of Arab descent (from B. Kushayr) and a woman from an Arab (from B. Sulaymân) dikham family. He got the education of a country squire of the time; adab, the Arabic language, chivâyîn (fortiety) and weaponry (islâm al-silâh). When as a young man he came to Naysâbûr with the intention to get the taxes on one of his villages reduced, he became acquainted with the Shifâ dâish Abû 'All al-Dâshkîl, who became his master on the mystical path. Later on he married Abû 'All's daughter Fatima (born 397/1007). Besides his mystical exercises, he studied fiqh with the Shifâ jurist Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Bakr al-D'lâ (d. 420/1029) in nearby Tâbil; he seems also to have visited the city of Marw n ilâh al-Islâm (Subkî, v, 158). In Naysâbûr he studied hadîm and naâilî fiqih with the Ashâarih scholars Abû Bakr b. Fârak (d. 406/1016) and Abû Dâhâb b. Istarfâmî (d. 418/1027).

After the death of Abû 'All in 405/1015, he seems to have become the successor of his master and father-in-law as leader of the mystical sessions (modâfûs al-tadhkirî) in the madrasa of Abû 'All (built in 397/1007), which henceforth was known as al-madrasa al-Kushayriyya (later on as madrasatul-Kushayriyya, "the madrasa of the Kushayrî family").

At an indeterminate date, al-Kushayrî performed the Pilgrimage in company with Abû Muhammad al-Duraydî (d. 450/1059), the father of the Imam al-Jârâmiyyâ, and other Shï'î scholars; during these travels he heard hadîth in Baghâd and the Hijâz. Probably after his return to Naysâbûr he held his first modâfûs al-imdâdî, i.e. session for the teaching of hadîth, in 437/1046.

After Naysâbûr had passed under the control of the Seldûks in 425/1036, al-Kushayrî was involved in the struggles between the Hâfizî and Ash'âriî-Shâfi'î factions in the city. In 446/1054 he issued a manifesto defending the orthodoxy of Abû 'l-Hâsân al-Ashâarihî, the document (preserved by Ibn 'Asfikî, Tabûsîn, 112-14; cf. Subkî, iii, 374; F. Halm, Der Wesir al-Kundurî, 224 ff.) was signed by the most renowned Shîtî scholars of the city. In 446/1054 the Hâfizî-Shâfi'î conflict broke out into a violent fitna, and al-Kushayrî was involved by his adversaries, but was rescued some weeks later by his partisans by force of arms. As a reaction to these events, he wrote his famous "Complaint", Shâhâyât ul-hîl us-sawma ibnîlm-nâlâm min al-mîrân (preserved by Subkî, iii, 399-423; separately ed. by Muhammad Hasan, see below), by which he defended al-Ashâarihî against the slanderous accusations of his adversaries (analysed in Halm, Der Wesir al-Kundurî, 224 ff.).

In 448/1056 al-Kushayrî went to Baghdad, where the caliph al-Kâhin commissioned him to teach hadîth in his palace. After his return to Khurasan he left Naysâbûr, now dominated by the Hâfizî faction, and emigrated with his family to Tûs, where he stayed until the accession to the throne of sultan Alp Arslân in 455/1063. When the vizier Nâmân al-Mulk re-established the balance of power between the Hâfizî and the Shâfi'î, he returned to Naysâbûr where he lived until his death. He died on 16 Rabî'II 456/30 December 1062 and was buried in his madrasa beside his father-in-law Abû 'All al-Dâshkîl. He left six sons and several daughters; some of his numerous descendants (cf. the pedigrees in Bulletin, Patricianifs, 189-4; Halm, Ausbreitung, 61) officiated as hâfol of the Shï'î Manî's mosque in Naysâbûr.

Even if al-Kushayrî's studies covered the whole scale of the traditional Islamic sciences, his writings...
mostly deal with mystical topics. His great mystical text, the *Lāhāf al-ʿumār*, was composed between 410/1020, the *Tarīb al-ʿulākh* is an introduction to the practice of *tasavvuf*, and the famous *Rāsūl* (composed in 439/1049) is a most important compendium of the principles and terminology of *tasavvuf* (analyzed by E. Hartmann). In all his works (cf. Subki, v, 150; Brockelmann, I, 536 ff.) al-Kūshayrī tried to reconcile mystical practices, suspected by so many scholars, with the principles of the Shariʿa.


His principal treatises comprise the s. *al-ṣūra* and the s. *al-battīj*, as well as an astronomical treatise, the *Uṣul bīḥāb al-Ḥind*. His astronomical tables mark an advance on those of Abu ‘l-Ḥawāf and al-Battānī. Whereas the latter only indicate the values of sines and the cotangent, Kūshayrī also gives those of the tangent, and the values of these functions are given by him to the third sexagesimal.

His other great work, the *Uṣul bīḥāb al-Ḥind*, contains the first description of the “Indian system of calculation”, i.e. of the system of numeration by position (the value of the figures depending on their place in a number), which brought about a revolution in the ways of calculating used in the Near East. The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author works out logarithms for the four basic arithmetical operations and for finding the square root. Whole numbers are treated within the decimal system, and fractions in the sexagesimal one. The second part deals with this latter system, already used by the astronomers, but set forth by Kūshayrī in a way of numeration by position. He shows how whole numbers can be converted from the decimal into the sexagesimal system, and then sets forth logarithms for the basic arithmetical operations, for finding the square root and for finding the cube root. Finally, he gives a famous multiplication table, called “the table of sixty”, for multiplying within the sexagesimal system. In these various calculations, he already makes use of the elementary rules for multiplying and dividing both positive and negative whole powers. As for the figures which he uses, for calculations made in the sexagesimal system, he uses the Arabic alphabetical characters, the *kurīf al-dīmnal*; but for those in the decimal system, the so-called “Indian” figures, the origin of what were later called “Arabic numerals”. Kūshayrī’s system of logarithms for finding the square root forms the basis for the theory of decimal fractions which was subsequently to be elaborated by al-Karaqī and al-Samaw’al.


KUSHKUSU (K.), a word probably of Berber origin meaning couscouss, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. It appears with the article and with a final *n* in an anecdote depicting an Oriental being advised by the Prophet, in a dream, to treat with al-kūshkūs a sick Maghribī; this anecdote, related by Dozy (*Suppl., s.v.*), is very well known and is probably responsible for leading Moroccan scholars to adopt the form attributed to the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangssprache*, Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangssprache*, Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard *harkous* or *kushkous* in Palestine, describing it as *Teigkügelchen in Fleischbraten gekocht*. Couscouss was known in Spain, and the word *kuskous* is provided with the article in the *Kūsh al-Ṭabāk* published by A. Husi Miranda (*Madrid 1965, 84*), but this is a case
of an arabization which is not found in vernacular Arabic, where the word never takes the article; sifaa, kuskus, ksish, kussi, etc., which betrays its non-Arabic origin. The equivalent term among the majority of the Bedouin tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is fohn used alone, elsewhere it is 'ayy, wa'dh, or mfr.' all of which illustrate the importance of couscous in the minds of the people, especially those in rural areas, who make it the invariable staple of their evening meal.

The quality and the weight of the grains as well as the presentation of the dishes offer a considerable diversity, which is covered by the generic terms cited above but which is expressed by means of a detailed and extremely varied vocabulary according to regions. We confine ourselves here to a description of the general processes.

Couscous may be prepared at any time, but it is exclusively the work of women: some choose out of the land, etc., to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack in a bod omen; on the contrary, it is the custom to must not see or hear anything that might constitute an evil omen; on the contrary, it is the custom to make an invocation and she makes an invocation and she baraka [q.v.].

To make her couscous, the woman sits on the ground, using, in front of her a wooden plate called disjua, gisja, kbsryia, etc. and, to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack of semolina: in some regions, a little flour is also used and to the salted water are added a few drops of niski water (rain of early May preserved in a flask). The housewife takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the plate, sprinkles it with salted water and a little milk; she puts the couscous in a special receptacle (krsku), a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, the base of which is perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw.

Escaping, the steam passes through the bo'cs and the colour rises to the top. The grains, which arc generally finer, are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

In a cooking pot perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot contains only water; once cooked, the grains, which arc generally finer, are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

When they are to be eaten, the housewife cooks them for a second time. In a cooking pot (hashra), she boils water to which she adds vegetables (chick-peas, turnips, wild teasels, etc.) and/or mutton or beef sometimes browned in a little oil; she puts the couscous grains in a special receptacle (kuskas), a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, the perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw. Escaping, the steam passes through the holes and cooks the couscous. The housewife takes care that no curds are formed, and when the grain is cooked, she turns it into a bowl, garnishes it with a little butter and moistened with a little milk; barbusha, made with barley semolina; this is called sisik in Morocco. The Kitab al-Talibah gives the recipe of fisuun which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon; it also mentions couscous with chicken.

Couscous is quite widely known at the present time, especially in France where it is found commercially in food factories and sold "pre-cooked"; conical vessels ("couscassiers") made of metal are also produced. Restaurants serve several varieties of this Mağdibi dish accompanied by a sauce strongly seasoned with pepper (masala herna; harissa).


Kuss r. Sa'da al-Iyadi, a semi-legendary figure of Arab antiquity pictured as the greatest orator of all the tribes (al-Iyadi, Babun, i, 52) and whose eloquence has become proverbial (ahlag min Kuss: al-Mayyad, MAjma'), i, 117-18: Imad al-Din al-Istakhani [q.v.] even formed an adjective rhyming with itadi in the title of his history of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, al-Fath al-kussi (of Hussain inspiration). He is also an heroic figure, described as being also the poet, sage, judge, etc. par excellence of the Arabs of his time. His genealogy cannot be established with certainty, but the nearest to reality seems to be: Kuss b. Sa'da b. 'Amur b. Shurur b. 'Abd b. Mīlīh b. Aydān b. al-Na'mar b. Wālib b. al-Tamājān b. 'Awād Munāb b. Yǎjām b. ilbī b. Yūsuf (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 471). Moreover, his very name poses a problem, since it is unique (cf. however the toponym Kuss al-Nāṭîfī, in Yahşi, iv, 97-8); although it is given without the definite article, it could well be connected with kuss and kussā and point therefore to a relationship more or less close to the Christian clergy. It is not impossible that Kuss had relations with the Christians of Najrān, but it is wrong to take him, as has sometimes been done, as the bishop of that town, perhaps on account of an assimilation brought about by the phrase "eloquent as the bishop of Najrān" (see e.g. al-Dībāj, Bayyān, iii, 88). Legend, which also credits him with a number of miracles, has it that he presented himself at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium, but he seems to have delivered his orations in the regions between Trak (where the iyād [q.v.] had been established, but had lost however their independent existence by the end of the Dīkhiliyya), the Highs and Syria. Nothing is known of the date of his death, which Cheikhho [Shārī] al-Nāṣirīyya, 211] fixes arbitrarily in 660 A.D., and, it is at Rūthīn, one of the dependencies of Aleppo, that his tomb was fixed, becoming the goal of a still much-followed pilgrimage in the 12th/13th century (al-Harasī, Ziyārah, 510; Yahōt, ii, 820; D. Soudrel, in Syria, xxii (1951), 89-107). Interred beside him were supposedly the two friends to whom he is said to have devoted an elegy (inj al-mete, and the rhymed-abadā) which is often
mentioned but attributed to various poets (al-Baghdädi, *Kušäna*, ed. Bäkäk, i, 261-8 — ed. Cairo ii, 66-79, of which *gulul* 92 is taken from this piece of verse, lists the possible authors in his long commentary; see also D. Soudrel, op. *laut.*, 205-11).

In fact, as well as in his eloquence—the specimens which are extant of this, in rhymed prose, being of very doubtful authenticity—tradition further ascribes to him a poetic talent and attributes to him an extensive course whose remnants are equaly suspect (they have been gathered together, with extracts from his homilies, by L. Cheikho, *Sharä' al-Nasä'ithyy*, 217-18).

He is counted amongst those who enjoyed longevity, having allegedly lived between 280 and 700 years, so that in the view of certain people he had even known the Apostles. But we have here the manifestation of a tendency of the traditionists to prolong considerably the lives of certain personalities of the past (see *mu'amman*). Although al-Süürüä (al-*Lahid al-manṣūr* i, 270-1) criticises the legend of Kuss, no-one doubts his historical existence, which seems to be attested by an *hadith* often given on the authority of Ibn Abäh. When receiving a delegation from the Bakr b. Wädi (whom the lyâd had joined), the Prophet is said to have enquired about Kuss, and learning that he was dead, to have received a passage from a speech which he had heard delivered at *Ukuf* and to have had someone (Abä Bakr or another person) reminded him of some lines of the orator-poet's which he had forgotten. He is even said to have exclaimed, "I hope that on the Day of Resurrection, he will return to life and form a people of his own". Al-*Džhir*, who is usually fairly prudent, remarks (Bayän, i, 52) that if the Prophet repeated his words, it was because Kuss upheld the concept of monotheism and believed in the resurrection. This is why he was quickly included in the list of the kanis (see *ratna*) and, even considered as an ascetic (al-*Džhir*, Bayän, i, 365). Ibn al-Abîh (Usä, iv, 204) and Ibn Hägdär (Iṣbä, N° 7340) cite him in their biographies of Companions, and although Ibn Išäkh and Ibn Hägdär do not mention him, "All b. Buçhän pays some attention to him in his *Sirà Halažiyya*, i, 210-12, 216-19.

Finally, tradition attributes to him the merit of being not only the first to believe in the resurrection, but also to have been the first to preach mounted on a camel or leaning on a sword or staff [see *fay khali*, *fay kuš*]. and even considered as an interval [see *fai khali*, *fai kuš*].

No comprehensive study of Kussä's works has yet been undertaken, nor there has been made any detailed evaluation of his contribution, certainly a significant one, to the progress of science. His services as a translator must surely rank at least equally with his original works. The biographers are unanimous in praising his skill as a translator of Greek works into Arabic, and in the light of the surviving translations their esteem seems to be fully justified. For example, although the original of Hero's *Mechanics* is lost, an examination of Kussä's Arabic version (Caëa de Vaux in *FA*, 9th Série [1893], Tome i, 386-472, Tome ii, 252-269, 420-534 = Arabic text and French translation) leaves us with little doubt that this is a faithful and sensitive rendering.


*KUSSÄ* (see 1845).
The situation of Constantine makes the town a natural fortress. It is built on a rocky plateau in the form of a trapezoid, bounded on the south-east, north-east and north-west, by deep ravines and connected with the surrounding country on the south-east only by a narrow isthmus. The plateau itself declines rapidly from north to south. The Kasba on its highest point is 2,500 feet above sea-level, while the Marabout of Sidi Rašīdī not a mile away is only 2,700 feet high. Of the ravines which represent the moats of this natural fortress, the most remarkable is that which runs along the south-east and north-east faces of the plateau, at the bottom of which the Rummel (Wādi il-Ramūl) flows. This river runs along a narrow gully, a real cleft, the walls of which rise sheer up to a height of 500 to 600 feet, disappears for 1½ miles under three subterranean passages, through which the water has hollowed out, makes its exit in waterfalls and descends to the verdant plain of al-Hammāma. Across this gorge, above which on the right bank rises the plateau of Manṣūra (2,340 feet), the Romans threw a bridge which existed for several centuries after the Arab conquest. Al-Bakri (Description de l'Afrique, ed. and tr. de Slane, Art. text 63, tr. 131-2) mentions it, and al-Idrīsī (ed. de Goeje, in, 23) describes it as one of the most remarkable works which it had ever been granted to see. Consisting of two rows of arches, one above the other, 217 feet high, a road and an aqueduct bringing the water necessary for the town ran across it. It collapsed in the 7th/8th century, was rebuilt in the 18th by order of Sīdī Bahī, under the supervision of a Spanish engineer, and on finally breaking down in 1947, it was replaced by an iron bridge 423 feet long crossing the Rummel at a height of 528 feet. Another bridge is, farther up the river, to connect the plateau of Manṣūra with the quarters previously in existence to the southwest of the town.

This last preserves an originality of aspect which is in striking contrast to that of other Algerian towns. It resembles a great Kabylc village rather than a city. It is an agglomeration of houses with clay roofs, penetrated by an irregular system of narrow, tortuous streets, which sometimes descend like stairways to the edge of the ravine, the heights of which are crowned by houses. A few monuments recall the past history of Constantine. The great mosque dates from the time of the first Hafṣids sovereigns (7th/8th century). The mosques of Sīdī al-Qāzālī, of Sīdī Lakhdar and of Sīdī al-Kattānī, all of which were built in the 18th century, belong to the Turkish period, as does the palace built by Ahmad, the last Turkish Bey, just before the French conquest.

The origins of Constantine are obscure. But in all probability, the site must have been occupied at a very early period by autochthonous peoples. The classical texts mention the existence of a town named Cirta at this place. The origin of the name (Kurti "town" [see Kārya]) would lead one to suppose that the Carthaginians had established a colony there. In any case, Cirta appears in the period of the Punic Wars as the capital of the kings of Numidia; Syphax had a palace there. Masāissā and his successors erected important buildings in it and invited Greek and Roman merchants thither. During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C., P. Sittius Nucerianus, an adventurer, seized Cirta and on the latter's ultimate triumph received the town and territory. Cirta then became a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Cirta Julia or Cirta Sittianorum. Juba II made it his capital after the restoration of the kingdom of Numidia by Augustus and lived there for seven years (44-47 B.C.), till he was forced to exchange Numidia for Mauritania. Cirta still remained the capital of the republic of the "four colonies", then in the 3rd century A.D. it became that of the province of Numidia Civilis or Numidia Cirtensis established by Maximianus Herculius in 297. In the course of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Diocletian, the inhabitants recognised the authority of the usurper Alexander and gave him asylum after he had been driven from Carthage and thus brought upon their heads the wrath of Maxentius. The latter took Cirta and razed the town to the ground in 311. It was rebuilt in 313 by Constantine, the conqueror of Numidia, and received the name of Constantine which it has retained to the present day. At the Vandal invasion, Constantine was occupied by the barbarians, but given back in 441 by the Emperor. After the destruction of the Western Empire, Constantine remained independent, till the Byzantines, victorious over the Vandals, brought Northern Africa under their sway in 533. It remained subject to them till the invasion of North Africa by the Arabs.

The chroniclers are silent as to the date at which it fell into the hands of the Muslims. It is probable, however, that it was not affected by the first Arab incursions but was only occupied at the end of the 1st/2nd century at the same time as Carthage and the other Byzantine strongholds which were the last to surrender. Included in the province of Hikāya, Constantine owned the rule successively of the governors of Cirta, the Ashkāls, the al-'Azīzīs, the Zirids, then the al-Mu'aḍīds. The latter retained it even after the Hāmamīds had deprived them of a portion of the eastern Maghrib. They lost it entirely at the Hīlāl invasion. The Hāmamīd al-Mu'aḍī made a new start of their troubles to seize the town and include it among his own possessions. The successors of al-Mu'aḍī retained the town for a century in spite of a revolt instigated by the uncle of the amir al-Nāṣir. After the capture of Bougie by the Almohads, Yahyā, the last king of Bougie, sought refuge in Constantine, then giving up any idea of further resistance, surrendered to Abī al-Mu'āzīn whose troops took possession of the town. Attacked unsuccessfully by Abī al-'Arīf as-Sāhibīya in 531/1135, Constantine then remained faithful to the Almohads till the final collapse of the empire founded by Abī al-Mu'āzīn.

At this period, Constantine was a very prosperous city: "Kustantina", says al-Bakrī (op. cit., 63, tr. 131-2), "is a large and ancient town with a numerous population; ... it is inhabited by various families who were originally part of the [Berber] tribes established at Mila, in the land of Nafṣīwa in that of Kaṣīfliyya, but it belongs to certain Kūṭāl tribes. It has rich bazaars and a prosperous trade". Al-Idrīsī describes Constantine (Kusantīnāt al-hawāf, "of the air"), because of its position as a populous and commercial town. "The inhabitants, he continues, "are rich; they have agreements with the rural population (al-'Arāḍ) and co-operate with them for the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the harvests."
Their silos are so good that corn may be kept in them for a century without suffering any deterioration. They collect large quantities of honey and butter, which they export to the outside..." (loc. cit.).

When the Almohad Empire broke up, Constantine recognised the authority of the Hafsid Abū Zakariyya, who was proclaimed at Tunis in 628/1230 (see n. 995). The history of the town under the Hafṣids (7th-10th/13th-16th centuries) is very confused. The latter, however, took great importance to the possession of Constantine; they frequently lived there and delighted in improving it; they usually entrusted its government to princes of their own family. Nevertheless, in spite of their precautions and trouble they lost it on several occasions. In 681/1282, for example, in the reign of Abū Ishāq, the governor Ibn al-Waṣir rose against the sovereign of Tunis, whom he had to send his son, Abū Fāris, to retake the town by force. In 683/1284, its inhabitants opened their gates to the pretender Abū Zakariyya of Bougie; in 704/1305 at the suggestion of the governor Ibn al-Amīr, they submitted to the Hafṣid sovereign of Tunis, whom they cast off almost immediately afterwards, however, to place themselves again under the authority of the king of Bougie, Abu l-Bakr. The latter succeeded in restoring to his own advantage the unity of the Hafṣid kingdom in 709/1309 and for some years maintained peace in the eastern Maghrib. But new troubles were not long in arising. From 712/1312 to 719/1319, Constantine was almost independent under the authority of the vizier Ibn Ghānū, who succeeded in placing on the throne of Tunis a prince of his own choosing, Abū Yāḥyā. In 725/1325 the revolt of another vizier, Ibn al-Kāṭūn, exposed the inhabitants to an attack, which proved unsuccessful, from the Abū al-Wāḍīds. The wars which then broke out in the eastern Maghrib between the Marinids and the Abū al-Wāḍīds, as well as the good government of the governors Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Zayd, son and grandson of Abū Yāḥyā, king of Tunis, gained Constantine a few years of respite. But peace, which had only been established with difficulty, was again broken in the middle of the 8th/14th century by Marinid expeditions. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan entered Constantine without striking a blow and supplanted Hafṣid authority by his own in 748/1347. The defeat of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan at Kayrawān brought about a revival in favour of the Hafṣids and one of them, al-Ḥāḍir, took advantage of the occasion to seize the town. He held it for only a short time. The former Hafṣid governor, Abū Zayd, set at liberty by Abū ʿl-Ḥānīn, retook Constantine, then abandoning his protector, proclaimed as Sultan a son of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan named Ṭāfṣīfīn. Soon afterwards, Abū Zayd's brother, Abū ʿl-Abbās, overthrew him and deposed Ṭāfṣīfīn. He in his turn took the title of Sultan, repulsed the Dawwārida and Sadawahkī Arabs, who had laid siege to Constantine in 756/1355, but could not prevent the town being taken by Abū ʿl-Ḥānīn, who came in person against it. He regained it from the Marinids in 761/1359. Becoming Sultan of Tunis in 772/1370, Abū ʿl-Abbās maintained peace in the province of Constantine till his death. His successor Abū Fāris had on the other hand twice to reconquer the province from his brother Abū Bakr, who had seized it with the help of the Arab tribes.

We have no exact details on the history of Constantine in the 9th/15th century. Revolts against Hafṣid rule were, it seems, less frequent than in the preceding century, but its authority was more nominal than real. During this period, the real masters of Constantine were the chiefs of the Awšād Sala, a section of the Arab tribe of Dawwārida. In the town itself the exercise of authority was in the hands of a few families, clients of the Awšād Sala. Such, for example, were the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭān of Marabout origin, whose chiefs exercised by hereditary right the functions of ṣāḥib al-Ṭāfarīn and Ṣaḥib al-Rabab (leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca); the family of the Banū Shālīs, whose members had arrogated to themselves the duties of ḥāšī; and that of the Banū ʿl-Faggūn (or Ḥaḍān), famous as legal authorities.

The arrival of the Turks in Northern Africa reopened an era of troubles for Constantine. There were two parties in the field. The one, led by the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭān, was favourable to the maintenance of Hafṣid suzerainty; the other, led by the Lāqūn, invited the Turks thither. According to Vaysset, a first attempt by the Turks to occupy the town was made as early as 929/1520. The submission of the town was only an ephemeral one, however, for in 932/1529 the representatives of the Hafṣid sovereign of Tunis was rejected by the town. It is not till 1634 that the establishment of a garrison definitely marks the occupation of Constantine by the Turks. Their authority was not firmly established without difficulty. The belated partisans of the Hafṣids did not bow at once to the Turkish yoke, but sought to rid themselves of their new masters. In 951/1547 they massacred the Turkish garrison and expelled their supporters. To restore order, the Pasha Muḥammad had to lead an expedition against Constantine, the inhabitants of which did not dare resist but opened the gates without showing fight. Another rebellion broke out in 1572 and was suppressed with the greatest rigour. The ʿAbd al-Muṭṭāns who had instigated it, were deprived of their privileges, and from that date ceased to play a predominant part in the affairs of the town. They resigned themselves to their fall with a very bad grace. We find them again in 1652/1652 taking advantage of the difficulties caused to the Turks by the revolt of the Kabylies and the insubordination of the great Arab chiefs to stir up risings again which were, however, speedily put down. After being selected as the capital of the beylik of the East in the 10th/16th century, Constantine enjoyed complete tranquillity for the half century following the period of government of the Bey Farḥāt (1049-1057). But the intervention of the Algerians in the affairs of Tunisia ended in exposing Constantine to the reprisals of its neighbours. In 1112/1700, Murād Bey of Tunis, victorious in two battles against ʿAy bīdān Bey of Constantine, laid siege to the town and blockaded it for three months. The Bey of Algiers at length received warning of the precarious situation of the town by a messenger, who had succeeded in escaping from Constantine after being let down the cliff by a rope, and sent an army to its help, the arrival of which the Tunisian general did not dare await.

The 18th century marks the zenith of Turkish domination at Constantine. The beylik was held during this period by men of energy and intellect, ruling like independent sovereigns rather than as docile representatives of the Day of Algiers. Such were Kāyān Ḥasan Bey, called Bē Kamya (1713-36), Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn called Bū Nāṣir (1736-54), ʿAlī al-Kālid (1756-71) and above all Śāhī Bey (1771-92). Constantine owes to them many public works and buildings of general interest. Bē Kamya built the
mosque of Sûlî al-Ghazâl; Bî Hanak made new streets and built the Mosque of Sûlî Lakhâdar. Sûlîh Bey rebuilt the bridge over the Rummel and the Roman aqueduct bringing the waters of the Diobal Wâligh to the city; he also built the mosque and madrasa of Sûlî al-Kattâni and commissioned Italian artisans to build a palace adorned with faïences and marble columns purchased in Italy.

A period of anarchy and disorder succeeded this brilliant epoch. Sûlîh Bey himself, deposed by the Bey of Algiers, to whom he had given offence, tried to stir up a rebellion but perished miserably. Seven Beys ruled Constantine in the period 1792-1826. Some of them only held office a few months or even a few days; almost all were distinguished by their cruelty and rapine. Constantine suffered much from this state of affairs. To the internal disorder were soon added attacks by the surrounding peoples. The Kaybîl hordes of the Marabâcit (Ibn al-Arabî Sûlûyâmân Khâyya) rose against the Turks and advanced up to the walls of Constantine in 1804. A Tunisian army commanded by Sûlûyâmân Khâyya besieged the town three years later. It was blockaded for two months (April-MAY 1807) and was once bombarded. The approach of a relieving army from Algiers caused the Tunisians to raise the siege, and in their retreat they lost 3,157 prisoners and all their artillery.

Almah, the last Bey of Constantine, possessed those qualities which were lacking in his predecessors, Intellectual, active, ambitious and energetic, he unfortunately made himself hated by his acts of cruelty and by the exactions levied by him to raise funds to build a palace in Constantine to replace the old Dâr al-Bey. After the French occupation of Algiers, he sought to profit by the disappearance of the qâdî to create an independent princedom in the east, and had the title of Feđhkî given to him by the Ottoman Porte. Deposed by a decree from General Clauzel on 15 December 1830, he nevertheless retained possession of Constantine. The hesitation on the part of the French government, which tried to come to terms with him for his voluntary submission and after the failure of these negotiations did not wish to enter on a dangerous campaign, delayed his fall. But in 1836, Marshall Clauzel, then governor-general of Algeria, obtained permission to undertake an expedition against Constantine. Leaving Bone on 2 November, the French troops arrived without difficulty in sight of the town and took up a position on the heights of the Mansûra and of the Kudîya. Two sorties by the besieged, led by Ibraîîm Khâlîsa of the Bey, were repulsed; on the other hand, two attacks by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also failed. Clauzel decided to raise the siege and returned to Bone after a retreat which was rendered very difficult by bad weather. This check was made good by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantine. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantine by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following hadîth: “You shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!” (‘Ali, Khân âl-zâhir, v, 252; Solakzâde, 104; Ewliyâ, i, 32, 73; ‘Allî Sâîfî, Hâdíkat al-jâzîmi, i, 2); Suûyîlîs al-Dîrânîs al-sâghîn is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and vigour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 646 (beginning 2 September 655), according to Theophanes, 344 a fleet was equipped in Tripolis ‘against Constantinople’, which under the leadership of Khârûn ibn Bûr b. Abî Arfat defeated the Greek fleet at Phoënix (Finolis) on the Lycian coast (see †† 147 AL-SAWâDI in Sâbîl), but did not reach Constantinople; at the same time, Mu‛âwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 446/654 took place the campaign of †Abd al-Rahmân b. Khâlid, who advanced as far as Pérgamon; the admiral Bûr b. Abî Arfat, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople (Tambîri, ii, 86).

In the course of the next year, Fâdîl b. Ubyad advanced as far as Chalecand, and Yazîd, son of Mu‛âwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 659 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Eilias of Nisibis, Yazîd
appeared before Constantinople in 53/672; a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abi Arêtái supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmora under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired "after seven years' fighting."

A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theoph., 333 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53/672. The Arab historians vary between the years 48/669 and 52 and place the death of Abü Ayyûb in the year 50, 51, 52 or even 53. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anjârî Abû Ayyûb Khalîlî b. Zâyd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Muhammad II was an event only comparable to the recovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. (The grave of Abû Ayyûb is first mentioned by Ibn Kûtyûba, 740; cf. Tabârî, iii, 3232, Ibn al-Athlr, ii, 351, Ibn al-Djawzî and Kâzûnî, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (îyûbû); the Turkish legend is given fully in Lemuclavius, Hist. Mus., 43 ff. and in the painstaking monograph by Hâjjîl 'Abd Allâh, al-ATHLR al-madîdiyya fi l-mawâdîh al-khalîdiyya, Istanbul 1257.

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantines and Arabs until in 97/157-16 Sulaymân b. 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne. A khâdîjî was at this time current according to which a caliph who should bear the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymân took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab army attacked partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmora and partly in the Bosphorus; the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 23 August 716 and lasted a whole year; Maslama then himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulgars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386-99; full details in Ibn Mishkawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24-33; cf. also Tabârî, ii, 1314 ff.; Ibn al-Athlr, v, 17 ff.; cf. the vivid account in Gezer, Pergamum under Byzantines and Saracens, 49-74).

There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped (Masûdî, ii, 317 = 728; Ibn Khurradûdîbîn, 104) and the mosque built by him there (Yâkıî, i, 374). 'Abd Allâh b. 'AYûb, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Kusânîfînîya" was one of Maslama's commanders (Ibn Kûtyûba, 275). Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (Mujaddâdî, 147; Ibn al-Athlr, x, 38; Dîmashqi, 227); finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata (Dîmashqi, 228) and the 'Arab Qubârî in Galata (Hâджî Khalîfî, Takbîm al-ta'mawirîh, year 97 A.H.). Ewêliyà and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nurekî (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his Penatîs, following, to he says, Muhûlî 'l-Dîn al-'Arâbîl Mu'ammarî.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hârînî, the son of the caliph al-Mahdî, had marched through Asia Minor unsupported and encamped at Chryssopolis (Securî). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 652 of the world [81-2]; Baladhûrî, 168; Tabârî, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Athlr, vi, 44; year 165/782-3). Ewêliyà and his authority (Muhûlî 'l-Dîn Dîmashqi, died 957/1550 according to Ricou, Catalogue, 46) have made no less than four regular sieges of Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Mahdî and Hârinî against the Greeks. After the second, Hârinî gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dîdî gained the site of Carthage (Leunclavius, op. cit., 544; Ewêliyà, i, 81 = Travels, etc., i, 23); the same story is given by Clavijo, 43, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewêliyà, Travels, i, 56, of the building of Rumelî Hisrî by Muhûlî 'l-Dîn.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 9th/15th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Younger, and the Bosphorus as a single "canal" (khâdîjî), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Iççali and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships; this is probably the chain, which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The two double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augustus) are described by them in many or less detail. Ibn Hawqal and Mukkâdîs devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yâkıî, i, 709, s.v. Bâlî, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De carmonii, i, 392, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardî (8th/14th century); he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Battîtî (ii, 434-44) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time; the latest notices are given by Frâsûbâdî (d. 917) in his dictionary the Kâmînîs.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Mamlûk Sultânîs occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families; Sâliîjî Sultânîs and pretenders (Kâbid Arslân i, Kaykâwûs ii) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Sâliîjî historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to
light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyri. De adn. ch. xxii (Bonn Corpus, 101, L. 22); it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and plighted by the Crusaders in 1252 (Nicetas Choniates, 469, 211, ed. Bonn). According to Ibn al-Athir, ix, 380, cf. x, 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fida derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049-50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saldjuk Toghtil Beg. According to Makrizi (i, 177, ed. Quatremer), Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261-2 which the Mamall Su1tan Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the 'Arab Djéfi' and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of fable.


3. AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST [696 ISTANBUL].

KUSTENDIL, KUSTENDIL (in Serbian: К宁夏иниа - К宁夏иниа), a town of some 35,000 inhabitants in Western Bulgaria. It was in the Serbo-Bulgarian Middle Ages a small fortified stronghold on a hill above the wide plain of Kustendil, serving as a princely residence, and was known as Velbukh. In Ottoman times it was capital of the sandjak of Kustendil, and an Islamic cultural and administrative centre of some importance. The town is the indirect successor of the Roman Pautalia, of which substantial remains have been unearthed.

The Ottoman chroniclers Sa'd al-Din and Mulledjimbashi mention that the ruler of the land of Konstantin (the son of the Serbian nobleman Degan) accepted Ottoman ovelordship in 773/1372-2, after the latter had captured the strategic fortresses of Ilkhan and Samokov. Neshri mentions Konstantin among Murad's vasals during the Karaman Campaign. A Šahkipašažade, Oruç Beg and the Anonymus Giese do not however mention the acquisition of the land of Konstantin. This prince married Helena, the daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (their daughter married Manuel Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium), and died as a loyal Ottoman vassal in the battle of Beblik in 1355 against the Wallachians (975/1555). He left no suitable heir behind. The memory of the princely couple is perpetuated by the monastery of Poganovo in the ravine of the Ernie north of Kustendil, today just across the Yugoslav border. Konstantin's lands, including the towns and castles of Stip, Radomir, Petrič, Melnik, Vranje and the rich silver mines of Kratovo (places today partly in Yugoslavian, partly in Bulgarian territory), were transformed into an Ottoman sandjak, known as Kostadin-ili, the land of Kostadin. There are some traditions that the Bulgarian population rose in revolt in the difficult years of the Fetret Dewri and around the time of the accession of Murad II. The fortified town had already been retaken, after which it was dismantled. The unreliable population was transferred to the neighbouring villages. Whether true or not, it is at least certain that in the time of Murad II a new open town was founded below the "Castle Hill", grouped around a mosque, a caravanserai and a school. The new settlement became known as Ulîba-yi Kustendil, or Ulîba in Turkish, Konstantinova Banja or Velbukha Banja in Slavic. The Turkish town Kustendil appears to be a corruption of Kostadin-ili.

At the end of the 17th/18th century and the beginning of the 18th/19th century, important groups of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor were settled in the sandjak of Kustendil. According to an Ottoman census from the beginning of the 18th/19th century, these groups numbered 6,460 families. The Christian section of the population then comprised 56,988 families. According to the census of 1829, the city itself consisted of a Muslim population of 293 families and 60 bachelors, as well as 47 Christian families, six bachelors and eight widows, perhaps altogether 1,800 civil, non-administrative inhabitants. In spite of this relatively small size, Kustendil appeared in 1499 to the widely-travelled Rhenish knight Arnold van Harff as "eine grossen schöne Stadt". This source also remarks that "Wruskabalna" (Velbukha Banja) had a palace where the sultan kept a number of his wives. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jordan Ivanov still saw a "Seray Kaliesi", situated next to a fine basin (hamam) built and paved with large slabs of marble. Tower and basin were situated in the "Seray Mahallesi".

In the 19th/20th century, Kustendil witnessed a rapid expansion. In 1863/1559 an anonymous Italian traveller described it as a town with "about a thousand houses, built in the Turkish manner, many mosques and quite a number of baths. The town is inhabited by Turks and some Jews...". We passed the night in a 'Khan, called Imaret, which in our language is an inn. A Sandjakbeg ordered the construction of this very convenient building for the traveller and stranger, for the salvation of his soul." During this century, a number of military commanders and members of the administration erected a considerable number of mosques and caravanserais, and opened up mineral baths. Mehmed-i 'Aşik-i in his Menâsrî'vl-vâslâm (Hafiz Eleni, No. 616, i, fol. 212a) noted in 997/1589 twelve mineral baths, many with stone-built domes over the disrobing section and over the bathroom proper, others even with separate rooms. The most beautiful was the so-called Beg Binjasli. In 894/1489 the beglerbeg of Rumeli, Khâdîm Suleymân Pasha, had erected a large domed mosque and a double bath in the city, and had laid out a water supply system which brought good drinking water from the village of Bogoslovia some 4 miles away and distributed water to the houses. The villages of Bogoslovia received a privileged status as sâ-i-polîdî. The sâ-i-polîdî deyti of 925/1519 also attributes an imaret and a number of shops to this governor. (The mosque, very similar to that built by Khâdîm Suleymân Pasha on the banks of the Tundja in Edirne, was demolished shortly before the Second World War.) Other important buildings were the Imaret Djami, with
caravanserai, madrasa and baths, erected in 937/1532 by Mehmed Beg (the building was often confused with the mosque of Murad II; see Ayverdi, Osmanlı mimarisiye Fatih devri, iv, Istanbul 1974, 806, which enumerates and continues the old mistakes). The mosque was demolished in 1949. Other 10th/11th century buildings, happily preserved, are the Dervish Banya from 973/1566 and the large mosque of Ahmed Beg from 953/1557-8, this last now serving as a local museum.

According to the Ottoman census register of 981/1573, the town then numbered 623 Muslim households, 84 Christian households, 28 Christian bachelors, 14 widows and a Jewish community of four families. The whole population, including the members of the administration and their families, amounted perhaps to 4,000 souls. By then the number of Muslim madrasas had risen from six (in 925/1519) to 21, the number of imams of mosques from seven to ten. An Ottoman Diyet register (Türkî i lüzuri va Edilgârska Istoriya, ill. Sofia 1972, 129-50) from 981/1573 gives a fair cross-section of the composition of the town’s population. A total of 57 Muslim diyebs are registered against six Christians, all given by name, patronymic and profession. Both groups were almost all craftsmen, leatherworkers, smiths, meûids, idécéafs, goldsmiths, shoemakers, soapmakers, carpenters, etc. Out of the number of diyebs in the villages of the kadı of Kustendil, 558 were Christian against 20 Muslims, from which may be concluded that the Bulgarian Christian element continued to be the bulk of the rural population.

In the 11th/12th century, the development of Kustendil apparently stagnated. The city had suffered badly from earthquakes in 993/1585 and 1093/ 1631. Ewliyya Çelebi (Scyafa-hâ-nâmé, vi), who visited it in 1071/1660-1 and left his signature on the front wall of the Ahmed Beg Mosque, counted eleven small madrasas with 1,100 houses, and he further made some important notes on the Islamic buildings of the city, among which he mentions a number of mosques, three madrasas, five tekkes, six schools and twelve mineral baths.

In March 1690 Kustendil was occupied by an Austrian force under Antonio Valerio Zî, which led to a considerable diminishing of the Muslim population. In about or after that year, the entire settlement was surrounded by a wall with towers and gates, and the Castle Hill was again fortified. A picture of these works, made at the end of the 17th century by the Dutch artist Harrewyn, is preserved in the "Fremien Kabinet" of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

In the early 19th century, Kustendil recovered slowly. St. Denis gives the number of inhabitants in 1807 as 7,000. J. Hütz (Beschreibung der europäischen Türkei, Munich 1826, 259-41) gives the same number. Ami Boué (Histoire d’Orient, i, Paris 1826) counted 9,000 inhabitants, Bulgarians and Muslims. The Said-nâmé of the Têma Willkjeti of 1885-1886 mentions 16 mosques in Kustendil, three madrasas and 16 tekkes. When in 1878 Kustendil came within the frontiers of the newly-established Bulgarian state, most of the Muslim inhabitants emigrated. In 1890 Jireček (Das Fürstentum Bulgarien, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891) counted in 1890 10,689 inhabitants, of which only 581 were Turks. Jireček still saw nine lead-covered mosques. Jordan Ivanov noted in 1908 ten mineral baths. Today (1979) only two mosques and one of the baths remain preserved, and the Muslim element is reduced to a handful of families.

Kustendil produced some Ottoman scholars and men of letters, such as Sandûzîzedâ Hâliet (d. 972/1566), Shemî Mehmed Efendi Kustendil, scholar, poet, and calligrapher who was for a long time muftî of the town (d. 1322/1556-5); and especially, Kustendil Mollaüzedâ Süleyman Sheyhi Efendi, for a long time sheykh of the Nağhibbandî convent of Kustendil, who left behind some 26 works including a History of Kustendil. The Nağhib Derşah, built by Süleyman himself, and in the yard of which he was buried, was demolished shortly after Bulgaria became independent.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waxing nodes, i.e., the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, al-nafs" and "tail, al-dzanab", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign $\Omega$ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horse. But Severus Sebokht (ca. 650) (F. Nau, Notes d'astronomie syrienne, in Jaf, Ser. 1, 10, xvi [1907], 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the nodes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e., the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, al-nafs" and "tail, al-dzanab", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign $\Omega$ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horse. But Severus Sebokht (ca. 650) (F. Nau, Notes d'astronomie syrienne, in Jaf, Ser. 1, 10, xvi [1907], 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the nodes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes. But we still find in al-Biruni's *Tafhim*, etc., the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. The modes.
observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber, in Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissenschaft, x* (1900)).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called “fingers” (tiba‘ or tiba‘ al-kusuf) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of “digits”. In the same way, the surface is imagined to be divided into equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battâni, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The duplo of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. One with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount a of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, and the magnitude b of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as

\[ a : b = g : \frac{\pi}{2}. \]


**KÇT al-‘AMARA**, a place in al-‘Iraq (lat. 32° 30’ N., long. 43° 50’ E.), on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdád and ‘Amára, 100 miles south-east of Baghdád as the crow flies. Két is the Hindustani word Kät meaning “fortress” [see sówân] found in other place-names in al-‘Iraq, like Kät al-Mu‘ammar; Kät al-‘Amára is often simply called Kät. Kät lies opposite the mouth of the Shatt al-Hāya, also called al-Gharráf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e.g. at Náṣiríyá and Súk al-Shuyúkhi. The plains to the north of Kät are inhabited by the Baná ‘Alábá, a division of the great tribe of Baná ‘Alám [g.v.]. Kät is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhár mentioned by Yākût (I, 275; cf. Le Strange, *Landis, 56*, and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam, xiv, 17*). In the beginning of the century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Kepple in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, I, 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdád and Basra, Kät became an important station on the river; and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (beginning 1865), Kät was the capital of a kâda‘ of the same name in al-‘Iraq. About 1860 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet), almost all Shí‘is (but including about 100 Sunnis and 100 Jews). The kâda‘ extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristán [g.v.]. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kâlîd and contains several villages, the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the kâda‘ likewise grew after 1865, and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnis (except the population of Kät itself).

It was at Kät al-‘Amára during the course of the First World War that several thousand British and Indian troops were cut off by Turkish forces and compelled to surrender on 26 Dinâmáda II 1334/29 April 1916, after a siege lasting five months.

Kät was first taken by the Sixth British-Indian division under Major-General Charles Townshend in Dhu-l-Ka‘a‘a 1333/late September 1915. Continuing his advance northwards, in an ill-judged attempt to occupy Baghdád, Townshend was repulsed at Cressphon in late November by the Turkish Sixth army under Yüsuf Núr ad-Din Bey and forced to retire on Kät. Here he decided to stand, for the ostensible purpose of blocking a Turkish advance down the Tigris to ‘Amára, or by way of the Shatt al-Hayy to Náṣiríyá. In fact, however, his troops were exhausted, he was burdened with many wounded, and the Turks, under their new commander, Khalil Bey (later Paşa), were hard on his heels. If he had not halted at Kät, his division would almost certainly have been caught in the open and destroyed.

Kät was invested by the Turks on 27 Muḥarram 1334/5 December 1915. Townshend’s force consisted of just under 30,000 infantry and artillerymen (he had sent his cavalry south before Kät was encircled) and over 3,000 Indian non-combatants (cooks, drivers, etc.). A quarter or more of the fighting troops were sick or wounded. The Arab population of the town, which Townshend allowed to remain, numbered about 6,000. The besieging force was made up of one-and-a-half divisions (about 7,500 men) of the Turkish Sixth Army, whose total effective strength of something under 30,000 men was mainly disposed between Kät and Sháykh Sa‘d, 30 miles to the east. Its tactical direction lay with Field-Marshal von der Goltz, head of the German military mission in ‘Iraq.

Desperate endeavours were made by the main body of the British expeditionary force between January and April 1916 to relieve the garrison at Kät. In a series of severely fought actions, notably at Sháykh Sa‘d, Hama and Dujiyála, the British and Indian troops suffered 23,000 casualties, while Turkish losses were estimated at 10,000. The British efforts were in vain, and in the last week of April Townshend asked Khalil Paşa for terms. When the Turkish commander indicated that he would not be content with anything less than unconditional surrender, Townshend suggested, with the concurrence of the Cabinet in London, that the Kät garrison be freed on parole in exchange for its guns, stores and one million pounds sterling. On the orders of Enver Paşa [g.v.], the Turkish Minister of War, the offer was rejected, and the fact of its having been made was afterwards used to good effect by the Turkish government to discredit Britain’s reputation in the Middle East. A last-minute attempt to persuade Khalil Paşa to change his mind was made by Colonel W. H. Beuch, head of military intelligence in ‘Iraq, and Captains Aubrey Herbert and T. E. Lawrence of military intelligence, Cairo, who were authorised to double the ransom offered. The attempt failed, and twenty-four hours later, after destroying his guns and stores, Townshend surrendered, under a solemn guarantee from Khalil Paşa, which was afterwards reaffirmed by Enver Paşa that his troops would be treated as “the honoured guests of the Turkish nation”.

During the siege, the garrison at Kät had suffered
casualties of 1,818 men killed or died of wounds (278 of them Indian non-combatants) and 2,500 wounded. Nearly 250 of the Arab inhabitants had been killed and over 600 wounded, though more were to die after Turkish forces had re-occupied the town. The Turks allowed the worst cases among the British and Indian wounded, 1,475 in all, to be sent down to Basra in exchange for Turkish prisoners of war. Nearly 12,000 British and Indian troops, along with their Indian camp followers, went into captivity in Anatolia and elsewhere. By the end of the war more than 4,000 of them, including 70% of the British rank and file, had died from disease, starvation and inhuman treatment at the hands of their Turkish captors.

Küt was retaken by the Mesopotamian expeditionary force in Dien quy 53 (1917), opening the way for the occupation of Baghdad a fortnight later. After the war, in the administrative reorganisation that accompanied the institution of the mandate, Küt was made the principal town of a new Îlahi District.


(J. H. Kramers - J. B. Kelly)

KUTADGHU BILIG ("Knowledge that brings happiness"), the first long narrative poem in Turkic literature as well as the oldest monument of Turkic Islamic literature. A relatively long (6,645 strophes) didactic work, it is in Karakhand, the earliest variety of Eastern Middle Turkic and the first literary language of the Muslim Turks. Its author, Yaşıf Khoşâ Yusufu, was a self-made scholar and a leading figure of the early Turkic Islamic literature. The work is in the form of a dialogue between the king, the ruler of an imaginary country, and his wise minister, who offers advice on various aspects of life. The author presents his views in a series of dialogues, in which the chief participants are a king, Küt Togdû; his ministers, first Ay Toldî and, after his death, his son Ogülûmî; and the ascetic Odghûmî, a relative of Ogülûmî. The author uses these characters symbolically: Küt Togdû represents the true path; Ay Toldî, happiness; Ogülûmî, reason; and Odghûmî, destiny.

No one source or model for the Kutadghu bilig has been discovered. Frequent references in it, however, indicate a broad spectrum of still-unidentified sources: poetic works (sülübâ sâsî); sayings of elders (ibnîn bânilk évâ, bânilk xandur); the learned (bîlîk, bîrîk, bîlûk), and notable figures (hûlûk, hûlûk, hûlûk); as well as proverbs (hûlûk xandûr). Some of these references appear to be direct quotations, especially those in the form of quatrains.

The Kutadghu bilig follows the rules of Arabic-Persian prosody, but also includes a few elements of the traditional Turkic syllabic versification. It is in the mâyâwi form and in the mülêkârîb metre (–/–/–/–). The quatrains (rubûs or tusağã) embedded in the poem are all in the same metre, and all have the rhyme pattern anba. Alliteration and rhythmico-syntactic parallelism, features of pre-Islamic Turkic prosody, occur quite frequently. The author's style is concise and expressive. He favours such stylistic devices as epithets, apostrophes and rhetorical questions, and he often indulges in word-play and folk-etymology.

The language is very closely related to Late Uygur, although the Persian language—colloquial and classical—has left an imprint in the form of loan-translations and direct borrowings, both on its grammar and vocabulary.

Philological research on the Kutadghu bilig is at a fairly advanced stage. The three extant ms. have been published in facsimile. There is also a good critical edition, translation into Modern Turkish and thorough philological analysis by R. K. Arat (Kutadghu bilig t. Meşhur İ. Meriç, Istanbul 1947), Ankara 1958). Its language has been described, very sketchily, by M. Mansuroğlu (Das Karakhandische, in Philologische Tatsachen Fundamenta, i, 87-112). Most of the lexical material of the Kutadghu bilig, with illustrations, has been included in the Old Turkic dictionary, prepared by Nadelman and his team (Drodmyrâhâsib stêvur, Leningrad 1969). The best context analysis of the work to date is that given by A. Bombaci in his book on the history of Turkish literature (La letteratura turca, Milan 1969, 83-90).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see H. Vâmbervip, Uygurische Sprachmonumente und das Kaduktu Bilik, Innsbruck 1890; W. Rüdell, Kaduktu-Bilik, Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien, St. Petersbourg 1890; idem, Das Kaduktu Bilik des Josef Chass-hadschib aus Ballasaghun, i, St. Petersburg 1893; O. Alberts, Zur Textkritik des

(A. J. E. BORDROGLU)

KUTAHYA, modern KUTAHYA, a town of north-western Anatolia, lying at an altitude of 3,351 feet (922 m) in lat. 39° 25' north and long. 29° 59' east. It is in the south-western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Fosrak Çayı, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called Ağlum Dugh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeum, the city of Cotys, and the largest city and runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called 'Afljem Dagh, which is 25' north and long. 29' 59' west of the hill. It is in the south-western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Fosrak Çayı, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called Ağlum Dugh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeum, the city of Cotys, and the largest city and capital of Phrygia Salutaris, an early centre of Christianity and then in Byzantine times the seat of an archbishopric.

Kutahya was taken by the Turkmen Solyamyk b. Kutumulm in ca. 472/1080, in the aftermath of the battle of Manzikert or Malazgirt (see), and until the battle of Dorylaeum remained under Seljuk control. It then reverted to the Greeks for a brief while as a frontier fortress subject to Turkmen attacks, and was retaken in 571/1175 by the Seljukts under Kılıç Arslan II (see). It later passed once again to the Byzantines but was finally regained by the Seljukts in 631/1234-4. In the 5th-14th century it formed the centre of the beylik of the Germiyan-öğullar (see). Süleyman Şah Celebi (ca. 765-901/1363-98) transferred Kutahya, with others of his towns, to the Ottoman prince Bâyazîd Yıldırım when the latter married his daughter Dewlet Khâtun. Süleyman's son Ya'qûb Celebi tried to recover it on the death of Murâd I (791/1390), but it was regained by Bâyazîd in the following year. After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (801/1402), Kutahya was taken over by Tâhir, who installed his son Şah Rukh as governor whilst he himself went on towards Ephesus. In the subsequent period of succession squabbles in the Ottoman ruling house, Kutahya fell briefly into the hands of the Karâmanlı Mehmed I [see KARMANLI-OGULLAR] (814/1413), but was recaptured by Ya'qûb Germiyanî with Ottoman help. When Ya'qûb died at Kutahya in 832/1429, the principality of the Germiyan-öğullar was divided, according to his bequest, to the Ottoman Murad II.

Under the Ottomans, Kutahya was the capital of a sandjak of Anadolu, and then in 1461 a sandjak of the province of Kudâvendâlik (see), in 1461 it comprised the kudâs of Kutahya, Eski Şehir (see), Üskûk (see), Redas or Gediz and Sinâûn. Kutahya was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha b. Muhammad Pasha (see), in its advance on Istanbul (1634), and his camp at the nearby hot springs of Yenidje was the scene of diplomatic negotiations which followed the intervention of European powers. In ca. 1660. Coguzzo numbered the population of the town at 22,206, including 4,000 Greeks and 3,000 Armenian; there were 24 mosques, 21 madrasas, 16 dervish tekkes, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths and 12 potteries. Kutahya was indeed formerly an important centre for the production of glazed, polychrome pottery with floral decorations, the so-called Rhodian ware, and this is still produced today in a somewhat cruder form; carpet weaving has also been an important family craft. A standard-gauge railway runs from Bâlekesir to Kutahya and joins the Eski-Şehir-Ayvon Karahisar line a few miles further on. Kutahya is still today: the capital of an ili (formerly vilayet) of the same name; its town population was 82,442 and that of the ili 470,413.

The monuments of Kutahya, from the Germiyan and early Ottoman periods, are significant, and include the Kutschnu Dîjâmi (777/1375-6), the Ulu Dîjâmi (814/1413-4) and the Karâşah Ahmed Dîjâmi (915/1508); notable is the use of tiles for roofing rather than lead. There are also some interesting old houses remaining. Bibliography: Hâçdî Kâfîî, Dîjavvamandî, 632; Sâmil Bey, Kâtûm al-âdâm, v, 3910; J. von Hammer, Histoire de l'empire ottoman, i, 248; V. Coletti, Le Turque d'Asie, i, 203; Murray's Handbook, Athens, Mimar Sinan, Travancor, Persia, etc., London 1899, 439; Th. Conrads dervishes tourneurs, Paris 1807, 54 ii; E. decker, Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkanstaaten, Leipzig 1914, 281; i. H. Uzun'sarji, Kutahya şehri, Istanbul 1932; Admiralty handbook, Turkey, London 1943, ii, 566 and index; G. Goodwin, A history of Ottoman architecture. London 1971, 31, 175, 430-43; A. Birken, Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches, Wiesbaden 1926, 115, 123; IA, art. Kutahya (M. Tasyö Gökalpilâc, exhaustive treatment).

(K. E. BOSWORTH)

KUTAHYA, now a kabupet (regency) in the Kütahya province of Kütahya-Timur (East K.), the modern town of Kutahya, lies on a highway stretching along the Mahâkam river. It covers 40,000 km² and has 250,492 inhabitants, among them 34,729 Muslim (1971). It is rich in oilfields (near Balik Fapan), gold, and timber.

The population consists of: Kutânine, probably originally Malays who immigrated as pagans, and whose Malay language now bears the influence of Javanese, Buginese and Banjarise; Buginese, from South Sulawesi, and especially from the old kingdom of Wajo, who appeared as sailors, shipbuilders and traders since the first half of the 17th century; Banjarise, who may have participated already in the colonisation of Kutai by Hindu-Javanese from Banjarmasin, which later on kept close contacts with Kutai; Bajau, who originate from the Sulu Islands and who came first as sea-
of time moved more to the interior, obviously Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, Hindu relics in the archipelago, have been discovered—century A.D., which belong to the oldest known up-river areas; and some 245 Chinese and 246 Datak tribes, living mainly in the interior and nomads until they finally settled on the coasts; several 540 court at Tcnggarong, was to a large extent the old, ’Ada, law (see adat it gives the impression that the stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries narratives.

According to the Salasila rajaraja di dalam negeri Kutai Keria Negara, or Chronicle of Kutai, Islam was first introduced during the reign of Raja Makota by Tuan di Bandang (in Buginese sources known as Dato‘i ri Bandang), who only stayed for a short while, and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, both of whom arrived from Makassar, most probably in the first years of the 17th century. In his efforts to spread Islam, Tuan Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, as the Salasila, composed under the reign of Raja Makota’s grandson Pangeran Adipati Sinum Panji Mandapa ing Matapura before 1655, eloquently narrates.

This Salasila reveals a still-existing attachment to the animistic and magical mentality which is stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries to avoid anachronism, such as the mentioning of Islamic terms or customs in its narratives about pre-Islamic events, and although it shows a remarkable familiarity with the moral and legal prescriptions of the Tadj al-salatin, or Makota segala raja-rale, and the Javanese Panji narratives as well as the wayang, it gives the impression that the adat law [see ADA, iv. Indonesia] which remained in use even at the sultan’s court at Tenggarong, was to a large extent the old, indigenous one.

An important role in the history of Kutai was played by the Buginese settlers, most of whom originated from Wajo, and who were centred on Samarinda, forming the strongest “foreign” colony and enjoying some kind of internal autonomy under the Pua Adu or Matoa elected from among their own nobility, but reconfirmed by the sultan (until 1860). In 1726-7, prince Aru Singkang from Wajo conquered the best-known of these was J94ar b. SHAYH b. ‘AMIR, who probably came from the Djumsh b. Bahar of Tabghib (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Cakel, Register, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Sa‘di al-Shawwâ‘i “the one felled by beautiful maidens”. Like his fellow-tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhtal Bakr of Tagfib (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Cakel, Register, 474); see al-Amidi, Mukhtar, another from Kalb; see al-Amidi, Mukhtar, 166); the relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and adat law.


AL-KUTAMI (“the falcon”), the name of several poets (including one from Durbah b. Rab’is and another from Kalb; see al-‘Amidi, Nahj al-baladh, 166); the best-known of these was Shuyukh b. Shuyukh b. ‘AMIR, who probably came from the Djumsh b. Bahar of Tabghib (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Cakel, Register, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Sa‘di al-Shawwâ‘i “the one felled by beautiful maidens”. Like his fellow-tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhtal Bakr of Tagfib (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Cakel, Register, 474); see al-Amidi, Mukhtar, another from Kalb; see al-Amidi, Mukhtar, 166); the relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and adat law.


(O. SCHEUMANN)

KUTAMA or KUTAMA, one of the great Berber families; when Islam was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the region of the Constantines, between the Auras [q.v.] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Ifrug, Seth, Blegia, Naga (Nigawr), Tigit, Tisna, Mila, Constantine, Skikda, Diggeli, Belzema, and also Lesser Kabylia. One legend flattering the national pride makes them to have been descended from the Hajjariyait, brought there by ‘Afif, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said to be the son of Berenice. He had two sons, Charsen and Iassida, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Kutama. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of Uqba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Kharijites. When Ubayd Allah gave himself out to be the Mahdi, his emissaries met some Kutama pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Isma‘ili doctrines. The principal convert was Mus‘af chief of the Sakya, a branch of the Djamila whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (‘a‘ib ‘Abd Allah al-Shif‘i) settled in Ifrug and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the Mahdi, who was a prisoner at Sijilmassa.

The empire of the Fatimids was thus founded with the help of the Kutama. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrib after the departure of al-Mu‘izz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldun tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Kutama are the Zuwarah of the Djamila and the population around Diqljeli and in Lesser Kabylia. Whether the Kutama origin, renounced oil connection with this region are Sunnis.


(R. Basset)
mentary, and has also been the subject of a somewhat enlarged edition by I. Sama'ari and A. Majid (Beirut 1960). The first edition contains 35 pieces of varying length (the longest of 100, 71, 66 and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, varying length (the longest of 70, 66, and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, which to should be added 52 hemistiches of radjas.

Al-Kutabani was a Bedouin poet who detested the townpeople, and who hymned his own military exploits and those of his tribe, together with the virtues of ziyadides like Zufar b. al-Harith. According to Hadi al-Khalaf (ii, No. 5629), he died in 1073/720.

 Bibliography: In addition to the references given above and the introductions to the editions of the Divan, see Ibn Sallam, Tabakat, ed. Shakkur, 452-7 and index; Ibn Kutayba, Shi‘a, 453-6; Aghlab, xx, 116-31 (ed. Beirut, xxii, 175-230); Abu Tamannah, Hamdan, i, 128-9; Baghawi, Khizana, ed. Beha, i, 399-414 = ed. Cairo, ii, 320-6 (Shakir No. 149); Brockelman, S, 1, 19-5; R. Blachère, HLA, 474-5.

(II. H. B. R. [Ch. Pollitt])

**KUTAYBA b. MUSLIM, ABD AL-RA'ISH KUTAYBA b. AHI SHUH MUSLIM b. 'AMIR AL-BASHTI, ARAB commander under the Umayyad caliphate. He was born in 49/669 into a family influential at the court and with extensive possessions in Basra. His father, Muslim, was the boon-companion of Yarad b. Mush'iyah, and during the revolt of al-Muktahir (q.v.), he was in charge of the prison at Basra; but he later sided with Musab b. Zubayr and was killed in 72/691-2 when Musab's dominion in Fars was ended, after having failed to secure a pardon from 'Abd al-Malik. The family nevertheless continued to be important in Basra, and a tribal mosque of their branch of Bahlil, the masjid Banu Kutayba, is mentioned (see Balaghshireh, Arab, iv, 11, 87, 92-4, v, 342-4).

Kutayba himself attracted the attention of the governor of Fars and the chief, al-Haddad b. Yacub, after participating in the warfare against the rebel Abd al-Rahman b. As 'Abd (see Ibn As'Am). He was given the governorship of Rayy in 83/701: after he had expelled from there the rebel 'Umar b. Ali Salit (see J. C. Miles, The numismatic history of Rayy, New York 1933, 9). Then at the end of 83 or beginning of 86/705 he was appointed by 'Abd al-Malik to succeed al-Mu'adhid b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khorasan under al-Hajjaj, thus reversing the position in Khorasan, where the Yamani Muhallabs had previously been dominant, for the Bahlil tribe (q.v.) generally allied itself to the Kaysi or North Arab interest in the Murabit period.

There thus begins the ten years' governorship of Kutayba, which contributed much to the extension of Islam in what is now Afghanistan and Central Asia, and which forms one aspect of the wave of Arab expansionism which characterised al-Walid's caliphate. Kutayba's administrative talents, backed by the authority of al-Haddad, had full play in the consolidation of Arab rule in Khorasan, although the momentum was not maintained after his death. An appreciable factor in his success here seems to have been some recognition of the position of the indigenous Iranian population, and some care to use their administrative talents. There were in his time perhaps as many as 7,000 professionals in the qa'idah and receiving regular pay, and in addition to these regular forces, Kutayba required ad hoc levies of soldiers from the towns of Khorasan for his spring and summer campaigns into Central Asia; in Tabari, ii, 1245, the contingents from Bukhara and

Khurāzim besieging Samarkand in 93/712 are described as "the slaves" (al-'abid). Also, he left the local Persian dākhilān in power on payment of tribute, apart from the planting of Arab garrisons in Buhārā, Samarkand and probably Kāf in Khurāzim. With regard to the Arab tribesmen in Khurāzim, Kutayba organised them, on the Bāṣra model, into the five groups of the Azd, Tamīn, Ahi al-Valiyah, Bahr and 'Abd al-Kayy; at least, it is in his time that such a division is first mentioned. (See for general reviews of Kutayba's political and social policies, Gibb, The Arab conquests in Central Asia, 29-31, and Shaban, The Abbāsid revolution, 63 f.)

The military campaigns of Kutayba's governorship have been divided by Gibb, op. cit., 31 f., into four periods: firstly, the recovery of Bākhīz and Tukhristān in 86/705; secondly, the conquest of Baykand and Bukhārā from the local Sogdians, 87/706-9; thirdly, the consolidation of Arab authority in the Oxus valley and the securing of Khurāzim and Samarkand, 91-91-14; and fourthly, expeditions into the Jaxartes valley from Shishān against Isfīdān and Faridān, 94-1/712-13. Many of these undoubtedly remarkable successes were achieved through Kutayba's own blend of military skill and ruthlessness, mingled with a willingness to use treachery, if need arose, and to exploit local divisions, as amongst the princes of Tukhristān and Sogdān and amongst the rival claimants to the throne of Khurāzim.

In 86/705 Kutayba moved against the princes of the upper Oxus valleys of Shām, Akhrūn and Cāghāniyān, and he also persuaded Taḥābān Nizāk, ruler of the northern Hephtalite principality in Bākhīz [see NAYIRIJA], to submit to the Arabs and accompany Kutayba on the ensuing campaign against Bukhārā. The campaigns of 87/706-9 against Baykand and Bukhārā were long and arduous. Kutayba's savage sacking of Baykand stiffened the resistance of the Sogdians under Wadān Khudāh, but Bukhārā was in the end stormed against fierce local resistance, apparently backed up by Turkish help. A tribute of 200,000 dirhams was imposed on the city and an Arab garrison placed in it: in 94/712-13 Kutayba built a mosque inside the citadel, but had at the outset to pay the local people to attend the worship. In 91/709-10 Kutayba and his brother 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muslim were occupied with suppressing the last rebellion of Nizak, now in collusion with the Fāghku (Arabic form Dhahbāya) or local ruler of Tukhristan. On capturing Nizak, Kutayba had him killed, despite his earlier promise of aman or quart; and although in the poetry quoted by Tabari, ii, 1245, we find Naḥr b. Tawās praising Kutayba's behaviour as salutary for the interests of the Islamic, like that of the Prophet towards the Jews of Medina, we also find a verse by Thabit Kutna warning against calling perfidy "resolute action". However, for the first time, Arab rule became reasonably secure in lower Tukhristān, and Bukhārā now develops as a centre of Arab power and Islamic culture; a subsequent governor of Khurāzim, Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kas; was to move temporarily the provincial capital from Maw to Bukhār (118/736).

In 92/711 Kutayba was in Statān, which was at that time under the subordinate governorship of his brother 'Amir. Here, the Arabs in their strongpoints of Zarang and Būst faced the powerful ruler of the southern Hephtalites, the Zumbils of Zabulistan [see ZABUL]. Kutayba's presence scared the Zumbils into temporary submission, but as always happened, once the Arab forces departed, all obedience was
renounced. The conquest of Khwarazm in 93/712 was a spectacular feat of Kutayba's, and it led to the tentative implanting of Islam there, though it was several decades before the people of the province or their šâhs were fully converted; for details, see Khwarazm. In the last years of his governorship, Kutayba's attention was focussed on Soghdia again. In 93/712, on the way back from Khwarazm, he attacked Samarqand and imposed a fresh peace treaty on its ruler Chirâh; the breaking thus of an earlier agreement considerably tarnished Kutayba's reputation in Soghdia amongst the Iranian population. It may be that it was at this point that the Western Turkic or Turgesh intervened in Transoxania at the request of the Soghdian princes; at all events, Kutayba endeavoured to secure the regions of the Jaxartes adjacent to the steppes of Turkistan, moving into Shâh and Usbûnsana, and in 94-5/713-14 he led a series of raids into Farghânâ. Whether Kutayba had expressly in mind the securing of the trade route through Central Asia towards China is uncertain, and the report in Tabârî, ii, 1276, that his troops crossed the Tien Shan Mts. to Khog'har was rejected by Gibb as a fabrication, see his The Arab Invasion of Khaškar in A.D. 715, in BSOs, ii (1925), 436-7.

The fall of Kutayba in 96/715 was ultimately the result of the change of régime in Damascus from al-Walîd to Sulayman, the death of Kutayba's patron al-Hâdîjâdî, and an expected reversal of the favour previously shown to the Jâbars in the empire. Kutayba was campaigning in Farghânâ when he heard the news of al-Walîd's death, and though the new caliph confirmed him in his governorship, he feared an imminent change of attitude. He therefore proclaimed rebellion against the caliph's authority, but was supported only by his own family, the inadequate power-base of his fellow Bâhhî tribesmen, and his bodyguard of Iranian archers; the mass of the Arabs mutinied and refused to support him, as also the Persian mawdry troops under Hâyân al-Nabati, formerly his faithful supporters. He and several of his family were therefore killed by their soldiers in Dhu l-Hijjah 69/September 715, or according to some sources, later in that autumn at the beginning of 716, and Wâlî b. Abî 'l-Sâda al-Tamînî assumed power in the east in his stead.

Kutayba's death meant a halting for several decades, and indeed, a definite regression, in the momentum of Arab conquest beyond the Oxus; the Soghdians and their Turkish allies were now able to mobilise their forces for counterstrokes. He is understood to have been the first Arab governor of Transoxania to claim the title of king or shâh for himself and his successors; the title was assumed to be in the middle of the figure of a fish (amakta: al-Birûnî has instead; qabla hâlilât, "an elliptical figure") formed by two curved lines of stars, one consisting of the five stars β, γ, δ, ε, ζ of Ursa Minoris, and the opposite one of very small and faint stars (most of them not registered by Ptolemy in his Almagest), among which Fl. 5 and 4 Ursae Minoris, near one of the small stars in the curved line of faint stars, (al-Marruq, Ibn al-Ajdâbî, al-Sâsî, loco cit.). This difference in location obviously reflects the effect of Arabic 766 was twice governor of Basra, and his grandson Âbu 'Amr Sa'd b. Sâmî (d. 212/828) was governor of Armenia, Maw'sî, al-Qiṣâra, Sîstân, Sînd and Tabaristan.


of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was near the star α21 H Camelopardalis in A.D. 1000, and still more southwards in A.D. 500. It was also observed that the opposite point of the sky, the place of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was invisible in the lands of the Arabs (Ibn Kūtayba, loc. cit., 122; Ibn Manṣūr, op. cit., 172).

After the introduction of scientific astronomy, it was known that this pole belonged to the equatorial system, hence it was occasionally called ḫuṣṭ maʿaddil al-nāhār, "pole of the equator." Besides its other designations, such as simply ḫuṣṭ, or ḫuṣṭ al-ṣamāli (and al-джdhāri, respectively), ḫuṣṭ al-idhārī, ḫuṣṭ al-falāk, ḫuṣṭ al-h拱, etc. Al-Būrīnī seems to be the first to declare a Ursae Minoris ("Polaris") to be the nearest bright star to the [north] pole, at his time, and hence to serve as a substitute for the pole wa-yāminūn taʿnī the [North] pole (al-iṣnaʿ al-ṭabāstūn l-ayyāḥī l-nāfūṣ). In the same time, the ecliptical system was assigned two poles, as well, which were called ḫuṣṭ al-ṭābāṣār and ḫuṣṭ al-ṭāṣār ḫuṣṭ [the poles of the ecliptic] (al-Ṣufi, loc. cit., 23 ff.; al-Būrīnī, Taṣrīḥ, 55 i: [§ 139], idem, Rūḥān, iii, 993, 995 ff.; al-Kazwini, op. cit., 27, tr. 59, and 52 cf.).

North and south pole because of actual value for the Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean (ca. A.D. 1500), who used both of them for altitude measurements in order to fix their position and determine their routes. In their terminology the north pole was generally called al-ḍāhīk (a word of Persian origin, used both for the pole itself and for the Pole Star). Travelling south of the equator, they also acquired two poles, ḫuṣṭ swaḥāl ("the pole [in the region] of the star Carinae") or simply al-ḥib (as opposed to al-ḍāhīk), which they observed—contradistinction to the north pole—not to be marked by a bright star near it, but having the two Magellanic Clouds at some distance (Ahmad b. Māṣūd and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; in English tr. see C. E. Titcomb, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean, London 1971, the pole and its indexes, 518 and 547 (s.v. al-ḥib), 538 (s.v. ḫuṣṭ), 609 (s.v. Polaris, Pole, Pole, North South).

The poles also seem to have excited the fantasy of astrologers, for two lists of magic virtues (khawāṣ) appertaining to both of them are repeated by Ibn Mānṣūr (op. cit., 146-153; partially also in al-Kazwini, op. cit., i, 30 cf. tr. 64 f. and 40, tr. 83 f. cf.). In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called ḫuṣṭ (with adjective ḫuṣṭ, "polar"). Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolobe al-ḥib signifies the central pivot, or axis (elsewhere also called al-mibaran, which keeps together its differences and the rule (al-hidāda), latinised (since the 10th century) as Alciato, Alciato, Alcatoth, etc. See Arūmān, al-Ku ʿArāz, Muḥāfiẓ al-Sūrī, 235; al-Battānī, Opus astronomi- cum, ed. Nallino, i, Milan 1903, 141 and 159; al-Būrīnī, Taṣrīḥ, 155 i: [§ 325], etc. Latin: J. M. Mill Villarrosa, Asis de historia de les idees fisiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval, i, Barcelona 1931, 278, 56; 286, 4; 289, 25; 32, 36; N. Eubner (ed.), Gerberti Persica Silicensis ii Epistae opera mathematica, Berlin 1899, 125, 10; Hermanus, De mensura astrolobi, in Nigro, Patrologia latina, exlibri, Paris 1884, 587 A; (Ps-) Messahalla (Māṣāḍaʿallāhī), De temperature astræobi, ed. R. T. G. Gunther, Chaucer and Messahalla on the astrolabe, Oxford 1929, 201, 202, etc.

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(P. KUNTZE)

2. In mysticism

In Islamic mysticism, this term (lit. "pole," "axis") denotes either the most perfect human being, al-insān al-khāmil (q.m.), who heads the saintly hierarchy [see al-quatayn and wali] and is also referred to as al-ḥib al-khāmil ("the [temporal] phenomenal heaven") or else al-hākim al-muḥammasiyā (see nāṣīna), which manifests itself in al-insān al-khāmil and is sometimes referred to as al-ḥib al-muḥammasiyā ("the cosmic nunnal heaven"). Both meanings of the term are covered by Abū al-Raṣṣāb al-Khāṣṣānī's definition: "the place of God's appearance in the world at all times" (Kamāl al-Dīn Abī l-Ḡanāmī Abī al-Raṣṣāb b. Dīmāl al-Dīn al-Kāshī [al-Kāshānī] al-Samārjandī, Kūṭb iṣlaḥātār al-sūṣīyya, ed. A. Sprenger, London-Calcutta 1845, 141; cf. Muhly I-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, al-Futūḥāt al-makhṣūya, Būlāk 1274/1857, ii, 6).

The conception of the temporal ḫuṣṭ (A. ḫuṣṭ al-waḥīd, sūhī al-waḥīd, sūhī al-zamān; P. wāḥi-d saḥī) referred to by some authors as al-ghaṣṣā ("the helper") (q.v. in Suppl.), which by virtue of the cosmic ḫuṣṭ or ḫuṣṭ al-ḍāhīk, manifests in him, has been traced back to al-Hājj (q.v.), whose name (unlike that of its image with all his attributes) (q.v. and ṣūfī (q.v.) in Adam) may be considered as the prototype of the conception of al-insān al-khāmil (cf. A. E. Affī, The mystical philosophy of Muḥyīʾ al-Dīn ibn Arabī, Cambridge 1939, 79, 189), and also further back to pre-Islamic ideas, in particular to Iranian, Neo-Platonic and early Christian thought (see T. Andrae, Die Person Muḥyīʾ al-Dīn in der Lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde, Upsala 1917, 333 ff.; and H. H. Schneider, Die islamische Lehre vom Volkomm- men Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung, in ZDMG, N.F., i: [§ 92], 120-256).

The notion of the ḫuṣṭ as head of the saintly hierarchy is found in the teaching of al-Ḥākim al-Tirmīdī (q.v.) outlined by ʿAbī b. Uṯmān al-Hudžwī in his Kitāb al-mahṣūm (see R. A. Nicholson, tr., The Kāshf al-Mubīḥ. The mystical thought of al-Ḥākim al-Tirmīdī, creative on Śūṣīm, Leiden-London 1921, 214, 228). The scriptural justification for the belief in this hierarchy, of which the different forms mentioned by a variety of authors are discussed by E. Blochet, Études sur l'esthétique musulman, in JA, xx (1902), 77 ff. (in addition, see Ḥasan al-Qdīwī al-Ḥamāzī, al-Nafāfī al-Shāfiʿiyīa fi Sharḥ al-Burda al-Bāṣīriyya, Cairo n.d.; Sayyid Ḥaydar Amūlī, in La philosophie Shiʿite, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Bibli.-iranien 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 146, and H. Corbin, En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques, Paris 1972-1, i: 181 ff.), is a ḫuṣṭāt attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Ṣawād (see Abū Muhammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāʾīnī, Raud al-raydān fi fiqih al-ḥāṣad, Cairo 1860-80, 90; ʿVāyā b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, Šulūk al-kabd fi l-ʿtāṣalūq bi-sawāyd al-ḥāṣad, Cairo 1232/1815-16, 10; ʿYāūsū b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, Šulūk al-kabd fi l-ʿtāṣalūq bi-sawāyd al-ḥāṣad, Cairo 1232/1815-16, 10; Dīlāl al-Dīn al-Sūyūṭī, al-Kādir al-dālī šulūk al-ḥāṣad wa al-ḥāṣad (q.v.), Cairo 1351/1932-3; 27). The relativity of the form of this ḫuṣṭāt was discarded by Muhammad Rashīd Rūḵā (al-Murādī, xl (1909), 50 ff.). Other ḫuṣṭāt, all without isolated, mentioning the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the ḫuṣṭ, are listed in al-Yāʾīnī's Raud al-raydān, 10 (see also al-Zamān al-Ṣāḥīb, al-Abūd wa l-ḥāṣad wa l-akhāyīr fi l-ḥāṣad sayyīdāt al-ṣūfīyya, in al-Musām, i/o (Cairo, September 1952), 18 f.), including the most frequently cited one attributed to Ḥūn l-Nūn al-Mīṣrī (q.v.). The tentative suggestion by R. A. Nicholson (The
Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a kibd. From these kibd the saints who belong to these different ranks receive their knowledge, which they owe in the last resort to the supreme (temporal) kibd (cf. Ibn al-'ArabI, Fatwdd, ii, 7; Ahmad Diya al-Din al-GhulamkhAn, Diijis al-asal fi l-'Ushiyah, Cairo 1328/1910, 4; 'Ali Salim Ammar, Abu 'l-'Hasan al-Shaddii, 141, 192; Farhat, wa't-Rikhsitu, wa't-llamu, wa'ttaframekh, Cairo 1951, i, 192: Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ayyd, al-Masfrkhar al-siyra fi 'l-mahZfgh al-Shaddiiya, Cairo 1964, 20 ff.).

For Muhyi 'l-Din b. al-'Arabi (g.n.), the universal rational principle, the metaphysical essence of all existence, was headed by a kibd, through which Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, finds its fullest manifestation in and is identical with the kibd, who is al-insin al-khamit. He is the cause of creation, for in him alone creation is fully realised. He is al-barzak (g.n.), the hikmat al-kaqith, or in other words he is Muhammad as the inward aspect of Adam, i.e. the real Adam (Mankind) or al-kibd (g.n.), which is forever manifesting itself on the plane of al-masas (g.n.) in prophets and saints (i.e. in ajd), who come within the category of al-insin al-khamit, since they are perfect manifestations of God and have realised, in mystical experience, essential oneness with Him. This makes ajd infallible, and since there is only one kibd at a time (al-kibd al-masafi), he is God's real khalifa (g.n.), who is the preserver and maintainer of the universe, the mediator between Divine and human, who passes on knowledge of the manzal (degrees of mystical perfection [see manzal], which cannot be entered by anybody else except by him, through virtue of his being in the manzal tamal al-tawhid (absolute transcendence of God); cf. Ibn al-'ArabI, Fatwdd, i, 168 ff., 201 ff., 253 ff.; ii, 7 ff., 77, and in particular iv, 80 ff.).

These ideas were further elaborated by 'Abd al-Karim al-Durra (cf. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge 1921, 86 ff.). They were rephrased and/or simplified by other authors (cf. Blochet, 86 ff.) and have remained part of the mainstream of Islamic mystical thinking since.

An idea of the succession of kibd as the active principle (or interior, biih; cf. al-Khasb, 244) in all inspiration and revelation, comparable to the 1923 in Neo-Platonism and manifesting itself in the form (khwara) of a prophet, is found earlier with 'Umar b. al-Farid (cf. Muhammad Muwafaq Hilmi, Ibn al-Farid ra 'l-bubb al-slih, Cairo 1945, 275). This idea is noted by Hilmi, ibid., 277, has a striking similarity to the Ismaili (g.n.) belief in the personification of al-nab al-awwal in al-inma' al-na'id. Other authors have equally drawn attention to the similarity between the Shi'i conception of the Ismail in a manifestation of the Divine Logos and the conception of the cosmic kibd in Islamic mysticism, or the possible identity of both concepts (see e.g. Kamil Muwafaq al-ShaybI, al-Siha bayan al-tasarruf wa 'l-nuzajayyin, Cairo 1959, 463, and Corbin, En Islam iraHien, i, 95). Several authors have noted the analogy between the Ismaili (Fatimid) da'wa hierarchy and the mystical hierarchy under the kibd (see e.g. al-ShaybI, 457 ff. and Y. Marquet, Des Ispahani al-Sa'fI d'al-Hass 'Omar (b. SallT Tall), marabout et conférent toulonais, in Arabic, sv [1968], 27) or have regarded the mystical hierarchy as derived from it. The historical possibility of such a derivation was discarded by W. Ivanov, An Al-I'Iah Fragment, in Collectanea, i, The Ismaili Society, Series A, No. 2, Leiden-Bombay 1948, 166.

Among the Shi'i scholars, some have stated explicitly that kibd and Imami are terms which have the same meaning and which refer to one and the same person (Amoli, La philosophie shiite, 223; 'Allama Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabarrq, Shi'ite Islam (tr., ed., introd. and notes by Seyyed Hessem Nasr), London 1975, 214; Corbin, En Islam iraHien, ii, 76). The notion of the saintly hierarchy headed by the kibd is considered by Corbin as basically a Shi'i idea which has been appropriated by Sunni mysticism (see e.g. his En Islam iranien, i, 229, ii, 270; cf. al-ShaybI, 233). Several of his publications contain phenomenologically-inclined analysis of the historical development in conceptions of kibd in a perspective of Isra'ili (see e.g. his En Islam iranien dans le soufisme iranien, Paris 1971, passim, and his En Islam iranien, i, 186 f.).

Conceptions of a saintly hierarchy headed by the kibd and distinct from the hierarchic system headed by the Imam are found in the works of 'Aziz al-Din Nasafi (cf. M. Mo'd, "Asadoddin Nasafi, Le livre de l'homme parfait (Kitab al-insin al-Kasimi), Bibl. Iranienne xi, Tehran-Paris 1962, 20, 261; and 'AlI' al-Dawla Simnani (idem, Les Kubrawiyya entre Sufisme et Shiisme aux huitiéme et neuviéme siècles de l'Islam, in REL, xxix [1961], 197 f.; cf. Corbin, op. cit., ii, 74). Similar conceptions are held in contemporary Shi'i mysticism (cf. R. Gramlich, Die Schiitischen Denkerkunden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Geist und Leben, Wiesbaden 1975, 160 ff.). Shi'i mystics have referred to the twelfth Imam as kibd al-'ashid (Corbin, En Islam iranien, ii, 74-5, iv, 357) or kibd-ibn-Nasafi (Gramlich, op. cit., 178), and to the head of a jarid (g.n.) as kibd, kibd-i-barnat and kibd-i-zamun (idem, 135 f. for further references and additional detail).

In the existence of ajd and in the whole saintly hierarchy was denounced by Ibn Khaldun (cf. Ibn Khaldun, ed. de Slane, ii, 164; iii, 24, 104-5; Ibn Khaldun, Sijill Sai's-Sam'al ittekhaf al-Mawali, ed. M.B.T. al-TanJ, Istanbul 1958; H. S. Nyberg, Kleine Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi, Leiden 1919, 113 f.), and has been under attack by those adhering to a non-mystical conception of Islam up to the present day (see e.g. Ibn Khaldun, Al-Wali, Hadhdh biy5, "Ushiyah, Cairo 1937/1955, 124 ff.).

The kibd is regarded as being able to perform distinct haratim, which reveal his ma'bad (cf. Ibn 'AtB Allah al-Sakandari, Lajla'i al-mawin, Tunis 1964/1886-7, 57 f.; and Ammar, i, 193), to know the meaning of the letters at the beginning of the qur'an, which he has received from God directly—this qualifies him for al-arad (al-idwi, op. cit., ii, 98), which is known as khadidjat al-ta'ifat (see e.g. 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali al-Hasan al-Atiq, Zikhr al-hakim fi bayan al-jarad, Bombay 1932/1904-5, 265; Muwafaq Hilmi, Al-Mulqfi al-dalal al-nabid [al-adad min al-Ismailiyyah Abi Shadi], Cairo 1930/1932-3, 270)—and to incorporate the sifat of the mahd, the na'b, the abdul and all those who belong to the saintly hierarchy (al-Guhlammii, "Ushiyah, al-wafi al-ma'bad, 4; Ammar, i, 194).
in consequence of the fact that he is the means by which al-kabh sees his own names and sifat (cf. 'Abd al-Karim al-Dilli, al-Ina'iq al-Kâmil fî ma'rifat al-sifat al-qâlimiyya wa 'l-lawâdîl, Cairo 1328, ii, 48). All secret beings and every animaté and inanimate body have to give them their pledge (bay'a) except for the following three classes of beings: al-af'fâd, who belong to the independent intellect in the kufb (cf. Ibn al-'Arabi, Falsafat, i, 223); the djinns who are under the authority of al-Khadir (cf. cf. Mubârak al-Bannânî, Mudânfa al-suluk la jil'tik, Cairo 1330, 1939, i, 434-5). This scholar, however, expresses himself in a fâdil to the effect that the orthodoxy of the belief in the kufb al-qâlimiyya cannot be established (cf. Mubârak al-Bannânî, Mudânfa al-suluk la jil'tik, Cairo 1330, 1939, i, 434-5).

In another treatise, Ma'dâr iqtisi'd al-hilâm, al-Kayyâm states that al-Khadir was the kufb in secret at the time of Mubârak before the latter became the kufb al-akfâb on the plane of manifest being (see Anduc, 345).

Belief in al-Khâdir as a mortal being identical with the temporal kufb is reported as being held by the vassals of Cairo (sec E. W. Lane, J. 168; according to Ibn 'Azûz, 75; al-Sakandarî, 68); 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Pîlînî writes that the kufb is a servant under God on earth to whom the pîhâr fâdil of his spirit is a servant under him and which was claimed by thou of his descendants (cf. A. A. Rizvi, Muslim renovist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Agra 1965, 266 ft.). This belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mir Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, Paix and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India, Leiden 1976, 51); and Tijânî doctrine centred upon the belief that Ahmad al-Tijânî (q.v.) was khâmî al-wîlîya and kufb al-qâlimiyya simultaneously (J. M. Abun Nasr, The Tijânîyya. A Sufi order in the modern world, London 1965, 27 ff.). Before and after Ahmad al-Tijânî, Sûfîs claimed or were considered to be al-qâlimiyya. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 158, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abû Sa'id b. Abî 'l-Khayr (see Muhammad Nûr al-Dîn Munawwar b. Abû Sa'id Asâ'ûr, Abû le-ta'lid fî ma'rifat al-sifat al-qâlimiyya, Abû Sa'id, cf. Dâbîbî Allah Sa'id, Tulun 1346, 352 ff.); 'Abd al-Râbi al-Jâînî (cf. Ahmad Husayn Dabâhar, Kâlima muwâdâî'a 'an kufb khâmî 'alî 'abd al-Râbi al-Kânî, n.p. Kûnî, 1388/1968); Abu l-Hadîdî al-Uskari (see Ibn 'Ayyûd, 35); Abu l-'Abbâs al-Mursî (see al-Sakandarî, 68); Abu l-'Abbâs al-Mursî (see al-Sakandarî, 68); Abu l-Kâdir al-Dîlînî (q.v.), Ahmad al-Râbi, Ahmad al-Badawî (q.v.), and Ibrahim al-Dasgî (q.v.). The last four of these are referred to as al-qâlimiyya (see Muhammad Mubârak al-Sulûbî, al-Taşwirî al-ma'sîlî, 55 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre-creation out of al-nur al-muhammadi before their birth, as successors to the four khâmîs al-ra'âihilation during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V

Mawallî, in MW vili (1918), 141-4), which was a site for generation and votive offerings (cf. J. W. McPherson, The Mawls of Egypt, Cairo 1947, 141). In contemporary Islamic mysticism, the dominant view seems to be that only his spirit is seen at Mecca, i.e. at the Ka'bah, which is the makâm (q.v.) of his spirit and the throne of his heart (see Muhammad Zakî Ibrahim, Kâyâmât nûmâmu'dî II-muqaddas al-kubb, in al-Masînî, x 1) [June 1965], 8). A few cases are found where a farâbî teaches explicitly that the kufb will always belong to this particular farâbî. Examples are al-'Azzâziyya (see the relevant section in F. de Jong, The Sufî orders in post-Ottoman Egypt, forthcoming) and al-Shâdhîliyya (see Ibn 'Ayyûd, 105). The latter farâbî teaches that God gave Abu l-Hasan al-Shâdhîlî the bay'a at al-kâmil liyya after the death of Abu l-Ma'thîddîl al-Usgâî (b. 'Ayyûd, id., 35). The siâla of the farâbî is referred to as the siyâla at-al-kâmil (Abû Bakr b. Muhammad al-Bannânî, Muwâdâî al-nûmâ fî Mâsh al-Mukhtâr, Cairo 1330/1972, 90) going back to 'Abî al-Tâlib through his son Hasan, who is considered the first kubb (al-Sakandarî, 59; Ibn 'Azûz, 75; al-Kusânî, 181).

Distinct cosmological systems revolving around a conception of the kufb and derived from the ideas outlined above, and presenting or incorporating a modified version, have been developed and have gained some degree of significance at distinct times and places. Notable are, in chronological order, Abu l-Fadl 'Allâmî's (q.v.) presentation of the Mughal emperor Akbar (q.v.) as inäd al-kâmil or temporal kufb around whom the world revolves in his Akbarnâma; Ahmad Sirînî's (q.v.) conception of the bay'a at of God on earth to whom the kufb is a servant under his rule, a rank which he ascribed to himself and which was claimed by others in his descendants (cf. A. A. Rizvi, Muslim renovist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Agra 1965, 266 ft.). This belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mir Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, Peace and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India, Leiden 1976, 51); and Tijânî doctrine centred upon the belief that Ahmad al-Tijânî (q.v.) was khâmî al-wîlîya and kufb al-qâlimiyya simultaneously (J. M. Abun Nasr, The Tijânîyya. A Sufi order in the modern world, London 1965, 27 ff.). Before and after Ahmad al-Tijânî, Sûfîs claimed or were considered to be al-qâlimiyya. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 158, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abû Sa'id b. Abî 'l-Khayr (see Muhammad Nûr al-Dîn Munawwar b. Abû Sa'id Asâ'ûr, Abû le-ta'lid fî ma'rifat al-sifat al-qâlimiyya, Abû Sa'id, cf. Dâbîbî Allah Sa'id, Tulun 1346, 352 ff.). 'Abd al-Râbi al-Jâînî (cf. Ahmad Husayn Dabâhar, Kâlima muwâdâî'a 'an kufb khâmî 'alî 'abd al-Râbi al-Kânî, n.p. Kûnî, 1388/1968); Abu l-Hadîdî al-Uskari (see Ibn 'Ayyûd, 35); Abu l-'Abbâs al-Mursî (see al-Sakandarî, 68); Abu l-Kâdir al-Dîlînî (q.v.), Ahmad al-Râbi, Ahmad al-Badawî (q.v.), and Ibrahim al-Dasgî (q.v.). The last four of these are referred to as al-qâlimiyya (see Muhammad Mubârak al-Sulûbî, al-Taşwirî al-ma'sîlî, 55 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre-creation out of al-nur al-muhammadi before their birth, as successors to the four khâmîs al-ra'âihilation during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death.
moved from Dihli to Lahore, where he is said to have become the builder of the city, which was completed under Aybak's regime that Hasan Nizāmī [q.v. in Suppl.] began writing his florid Tāj al-mašā'īl, which was completed under Ilutmish. Both are important sources for the early period of Muslim rule in Hindūstān.

**Bibliography:**


KUTB AL-DIN BAKHTIYAR KĀRĪ, a Sūfī who settled at Dihlī during the reign of Ilutmish [q.v.].

Kbā'ja Kutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyar (Ahmad b. Mūsā b. Kākī al-Uṣb) was a native of Uṣb, a town in eastern Farghāna. The *lāḥḏūbi* literature depicts him as the disciple of Mu'in al-Dīn Či-Qāhīrī (d. 633/1236), the founder-figure of the Čishtī affiliation in India. The accounts disagree as to whether the two contemporaries first met at Uṣb, or at Isfahān, or in the *sūfī* circle of Abū Hāfīz Umar al-Sulhārvardī (d. 628/1234), or in the mosque of Abu 'l-Layl al-Samarkandī at Bāghdād. After years of wandering, Kutb al-Dīn came to Multān early in the 7th-8th century during the rule of Nasīr al-Dīn Kabīdā (d. 625/1228). There Farid al-Dīn Mas'ūd (d. 654/1256) sought his company, while Bābā al-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 660/1268) seems to have encouraged his departure for Dihlī. Kutb al-Dīn settled outside the walls of Dihlī near the tank, ḫawd-i shahrist, during the reign of Ilutmish (607-53/1211-16), but declined the office of Shaykh al-ţābīn offered to him by the Šulṭān. Kutb al-Dīn was well-known for his Šūfī practice of listening to music (zamān), and is said to have died during a zamān performance on 14 Rabī‘ I 633/27 November 1235. His tomb is in the vicinity of the Kutb Mīrzā at Multān, near the city of Mīrāwāli. The Kutb Mīnzār [q.v.], completed by Ilutmish in 629/1236, is believed to derive its name from Kutb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (not from Kutb al-Dīn Aybak).

The Čishtī affiliation venerates Kutb al-Dīn as one of the outstanding members of its founder-generation in India, and records him in its *sīstān* as the link between Mu'in al-Dīn and Farid al-Dīn. Kutb al-Dīn is the alleged compiler of the apocryphal *maṭn-i lāḥḏūbi* of Mu'in al-Dīn, entitled *Daulāt al-ţārif* (Lucknow 1868), whereas his own sayings supposedly have been collected by Farid al-Dīn in the spurious *Fawādīt al-sulhārin*. A more reliable source, however, appears to be the *Miftāh al-ţābitin*, which was compiled in the immediate circle of Kutb al-Dīn's associates at Dihlī.

Kutb al-Din Bakhhtiyar Kaki — Kutb al-Din Shirazi


Kutb al-Din al-Iznīkī, Muḥammad al-Rumū, early Ottoman Hanafi scholar and father of Kutb al-Din-īz̲ād̲ Muḥammad [q.v.]. He was born at Iznik [q.v.] and died thereon 8 jihār ' early Ottoman Hanafi scholar and father of Iznīk. He next sought instruction with the conqueror Timūr when the latter occupied Anatolia, [q.v.]. Of Ibn Sīnā. He then travelled in Khurasan, where he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, his teacher. But he distinguished himself also in astronomy, mathematics, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidā'ī to give him the name al-muṭāfāfīn 'experienced in many fields'. He received his medical training with his father al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī, i.e. of Kāzarūn (to the west of Shirāz), in the hospital of Shirāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kāmil al-Dīn Khayr al-Kāzarūnī and Shārāf al-Dīn al-Za'kī al-Rūshdī (Sīyūṭī has Rūshdīwī) and Shāms al-Dīn al-Kitbūrī; he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still young he conceived the idea of editing the Kulliyāt, the first theoretical part of the Kāmil of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shirāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two 'Irāq, Persia, Anatolia, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the Kulliyāt, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still young he conceived the idea of editing the Kulliyāt; he must have played a part in politics, as Ahmad sent him with his uncle Kāmil al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sultan al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Khalīwān (672-98/1272-99 [q.v.]). He was sent to defend the former's conversion to Islam and to cast doubt the result of Kutb al-

Dīn's influence, and to conclude a peace between the Muslims and the Mongols. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the Kulliyāt. He dedicated the work, probably finished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Sa'd al-Dīn, Ahmad Khān's vizier, and called it al-Tābīf al-Sa'dīyya, 'the present to Sa'd', or Naṣīr al-bukhārī, wa-nawādat al-asībābī, 'the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians'. In his later years Kutb al-Dīn retired to Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied Naṣīr al-Dīn's al-Iṣrāfīrā ("Encyclopedia of principles") and to the Sharh al-Sunnāt ("Commentary on the Sunnah"). Ibn Shīhba and al-Suðībī give a sketch of the character of Kutb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was innocent; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that, in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects, he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Sūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough; he also induced al-Tabātābāy (d. 760/1364; see Broekhuisen, II, 371, S II, 293-4) to come to critical decisions (manāhīj) on the Iṣbātāt of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakhīr al-Dīn al-Rūshdī (Hājdī Ghūṭā), No. 743. He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless, al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his salāt with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chessplayer and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small viol (rabābā). His commentary on the Ithnān al-isrāfīrā ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrāwārī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless, as Hājdī Ghūṭā (No. 745) emphasises, Kutb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the Kurān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his Fakh al-namānī fi ṭaḥrīr al-Kurā (in the Fārūqī al-kāfī al-kāserī al-Maṣūbī al-kashfī). In the Muṣkāhāl al-Kurān he also dealt with passages in the Kurān difficult to reconcile with each other. He wrote a commentary on al-Kalābshīn hadīth al-dawātī al-Maṣūbī al-Makhdūmī. Kutb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q.v.] (d. ca. 720/1320) to the Optics of Ibn al-Haytham [q.v.], with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Kutb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haytham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works Niṣāriyyat al-asrāfī fī dirāsiyat al-asrāfī, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and al-Tufāsir al-asrāfī fī lāalihiyyat al-asrāfī, which are very similar to each other, Kutb al-Dīn shows the excellently the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the al-Taqdīb al-nasīriyya, the memorandum of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, his teacher. But Kutb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The
Nihāya discusses, for example, details of the cosmo-
graphy of al-Qāhira or Ibn al-Haytham, which are
again found in Roger Bacon. Passages from these
works are discussed by E. Wiedemann in: "Zur den
optischen Kenntnissen von Kūtb al-Dīn al-Schirāzī,
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xiii (1923), 59-60.

"Every work is entitled Shahr al-šādīkha al-majširīyya.
As an appendix to the Niṣāya, Kūtb al-Dīn wrote the
Fi ḥarakāl ḥarrakā ṭabīb wa-l-nisba bayn al-mušshārī wa-l-
munīkāni, "On the motion of rolling and the
connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are al-Tabyr va-l-hayya and a work with a very peculiar title, Kūtb al-
fi ḥakīma wa-l-hayya’a, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not."

Besides the works by Kūtb al-Dīn already men-
tioned, there are also recorded a treatise on diseases
of the eye and a commentary on the work, mainly grammatical
of al-Sakkālī and on a work of Ibn al-Hādjīb, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the Durrat al-tādīq,
written for one of the lāhāqī wa-l-dābī al-sātibā wa-
wayyidhārum; commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical
of al-Sakkālī and on a work of Ibn al-Hādjīb, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the Durrat al-tādīq,
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of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world.

It is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihl [q.v.], in the ruins of the first city of that name, and about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Kutb al-Din Aybak [q.v.] in 768/1368, just after the capture of the city by the Hindu king, Prithviraj. Like the Minâr at Ghazna [q.v.] and the Minâr at Koyl [q.v.] [no longer in existence], it is an isolated structure, from which the mu'alladhim gave the call to prayer, and is 236 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the southeastern corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 922/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [q.v.]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Mu'izz al-Din Ghur [i.e. before 601/1205]; the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, [q.v.], but during the reign of Firuz Shâh Tughlî [q.v.] the building was struck by lightning, and this in 795/1393 it was struck again and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Firuz Shâh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the outer court, which was added in 622/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [q.v.], it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Mu'izz al-Din Ghur [i.e. before 601/1205]; the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, [q.v.], but during the reign of Firuz Shâh Tughlî [q.v.] the building was struck by lightning, and this in 795/1393 it was struck again and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Firuz Shâh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the outer court, which was added in 622/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [q.v.], it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Mu'izz al-Din Ghur [i.e. before 601/1205]; the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, [q.v.], but during the reign of Firuz Shâh Tughlî [q.v.] the building was struck by lightning, and this in 795/1393 it was struck again and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Firuz Shâh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the

KUTBH SHAH, the name of an Indo-Muslim dynasty that dominated the eastern Deccan plateau as one of the five successor states to the Bahmanâi kingdom. Basing their power on the city and hill-fort of Golkonda [q.v.], the Kutb Shâh kings achieved de facto independence with the decline of the parent Bahmanâi kingdom in the early 10th/16th century, maintaining effective rule until Moghal armies under Auranâq conquered and annexed the kingdom in 1562/1687.

The founder of the dynasty, Sultan Kull Kutb al-Mulk, was a Turkoman adventurer of the Karâ Koyunlu clan [q.v.] who, having migrated from Persia to India as a youth, rose in Bahmanî service until in 901/1506 he was appointed governor over the easternmost Bahmanî dominions. Although he never claimed legal sovereignty during his long rule, Sultan Kull managed to carve out for himself and his descendants the broad territorial outlines of a kingdom over which they held effective sway for nearly two hundred years. He also gave the dynasty ideological definition by declaring Shâfî as the official creed, following the precedent set by Shâh Isâ'îî of Persia in 907/1501. This orientation, continued by all of Sultan Kull's successors, caused the dynasty to identify ideologically with Persia as its link with Dîr al-Islâm, rather than with the Ottoman or Moghal empires, which were Sunni. The sequence of Kutb Shâh kings is as follows:

Kull Kutb al-Mulk 901-50/1500-1553
Dinmahsh b. Kull 950-7/1543-50
Subbân b. Jâmshîd 957/1550
Ibrahim b. Kull 957-8/1550-60
Muhammad-Kull b. Ibrahim 985-1017/1578-1612
Muhammad b. Muhammad-Kull 1020-35/1612-26
'Abd Allah b. Muhammad 1035-9/1626-92
'Abd Allah, son-in-law of 'Abd Allah 1083-9/1672-37

Through most of the 10th/16th century and the early 11th/17th century, the Kingdom of Golkonda was engulfed in constant warfare either with the most powerful two of its sister successor states to the west, Bijâpur and Ahmadnagar, or with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the immediate south. These conflicts were sustained by mutual jealousies and petty intrigues, resulting in constantly shifting military alliances among these four principal states of the Deccan. Thus, although Golkonda, Bijâpur and Ahmadnagar were able to band together in 972/1565 to crush Vijayanagar and sack its wealthy capital in the battle of Talikota, immediately after this battle the three Muslim states resumed their mutual hostilities. This situation prompted increasing intervention in Deccan affairs by the Moghal empire, which was expanding its imperial interests in the area in the 16th/17th century, and in 1530/1626 Shâh Jîsûm forced 'Abd Allah Kutb Shâh to recognise the Moghal government's ultimate suzerainty over Golkonda in a "Deed of Submission." By clarifying Golkonda's relationship to Dihl, however, this arrangement relieved 'Abd Allah of further anxieties about Moghal aggression so long as tribute was paid, and freed him to expand Kutb Shâh arms southward as far as the Pellar river [near Madras], absorbing a number of petty Hindu principalities formerly dependent upon Vijayanagar.

But the reign of 'Abd Allah's successor, Abu I'lîsâfis Kutb Shâh, witnessed a dramatic transformation in the internal ruling structure of the kingdom as a number of Brahmins, especially the brothers Madanna and Akaamma, acquired the reins of central authority. This development, combined with the
1. Dillī, Kūṭb Minār (562/1166) and 'Alī' Darwīṣā (705/1305). (A. Volwahsen, Inde islamique, Fribourg 1971, 27)
state's official Šahi ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mughals, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marathás, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mughal government.

In 1636, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, led a determined Mughal effort to end Golconda's subordinate status and annex it to the Empire. In 1656, after a protracted siege of Golconda fortress, the Mughal conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Kuth Sháhi monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-Hindu culture. On the political level, the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (náyaks) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing náyaks in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous elite group, the Brähmins, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brähmins who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in each through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered in the Krishna river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golconda the world's most important diamond market in the 17th/18th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telugu, Persian, and Dakhini literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife, Ibrahim Kuth Sháh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (sákka, lyākha, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brähmins and temples, erecting pillars on which the sūtra of Bhakti was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhini, which achieved its first literary expression in Golconda in the 10th/110th century, with Sultan Muhammad-Kuli himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Hydardáráb. Planned in 1596/1597 by Muhammad-Kuli Kuth Sháh as a suburb of Golconda fort, the city of Haydardáráb [gpr], with its gardens, barracks, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Cárínár, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later, Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore, in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the fassādīq around the town, which comes within the district of Ardestāghī Pāpakhlān and is in turn divided into 20 mādī. According to al-Marzubān (Tashk. B.GA., vili, 79), al-Kabīrī (the Biblical Ör Kasānān) from which Abrahām migrated is a place min bālā Kūthā. The miṣbā from Kūthā is Kūthā or Kūthānī.

Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia, Yālkāt and al-Bakīr also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

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KUTHAM B. AL-'ABBAS B. 'ABD AL-MUTTALIB AL-Hashimī, Companion of the Prophet, son of the Prophet's uncle and of Um'm al-Faqh Līhāba al-Hilāyya, herself Muhammad's sister-in-law. Al-Mas'ūdī gives the date of his birth as 22 or 23/643 or 644 (since he lived 80 or 81 years (Mu'djam, Cairo 1960, 242), then 24/645), and the next year, when menaced by his rivals for the caliphate, Talba, al-Zubayr and 'Aisha, he made him governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'īr. He seems to have retained this office all through his cousin's caliphate, leading the Pilgrimage in 30/659 (ed. Ibn Ḥāshim, iii, 1078, 1020, 107, Guillaume, 667; A. Śad, i/2, 70, i/1, 2, 22, viif, 100; Balādhurī, Ansībil, i, ed. Hamdullāh 447, 569, 577; Tabarī, i, 383, 1333, 3092, 3105, 3399, 3343; Muhammad b. Ḥallīb, al-Muhābbār, 17, 40; Ibn Khālidān, ed. Ibad (Abbās, vi, 381, etc.).

After this comparatively undistinguished career, Kuthām achieved fame through the manner of his ostensibly death. He was with the army of Khurāsān under Sa'd b. 'Uḥayya b. 'Affān when the latter in 29/651 defeated the Muhāsunas in 29/651 (cf. Gibb, The Arab conquests in Central Asia, xix-20), and was allegedly killed (thus in Muhammad b. Ḥallīb, 107, and Zubayrī, Nashī Kūra, 47, or died a natural death (thus in Balādhurī, Fudalā, 412) at the siege of Samarkand in 37/657. Tabarī makes no mention of Kuthām's death in his account of this campaign, and Ya'qūbī, Boddān, 298, tr. Wiet, 119, and Narsūkhā, Ta'rikh-i Fudalā, tr. Frye, 40, state that he in fact died at Marw.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the supposed tomb of Kuthām at Samarkand subsequently became a shrine and pilgrimage place; Barthold plausibly surmised that this cult was probably built up by his family, the 'Abbāsidī, when they came to power. It is, however, equally possible that some existing pre-Islamic cult of Soğdiana was Islamised and transformed into the cult of Kuthām. In the inscriptions of the later buildings making up the shrine complex of Afrosiāb, the citadel area of Samarqand and the heart of the pre-Mongol invasion city (see Samarqand), Kuthām is generally referred to as the Shīk-i-simādān "living prince" or Shīk-i-dīmānān "prince of the youths", and I. E. Rempe has suggested that Kuthām is a syncretistic figure incorporating elements of the Islamic prophet Khidr (see al-Khajā) and of Sūyūsh and other ancient Iranian heroes (in G. A. Pugachenko, ed., Istoriia velikogo goroda, Tashkent 1972, 36-35).

The shrine flourished greatly and was added to in Karakhanid and Ṣa'dīid times, so that a whole complex was formed there, and during Sanjār's sultanate, probably in the 520s/1130s, a Madrasa Kuthāmīya was founded. When Ibn Battūta visited Samarqand two centuries later, in the reign of the Qaghatayid Allī al-Dīn Tarmashīrīn (347-54/1347-54), he found the shrine opulently appointed and much visited by the local people of Samarqand plus the Tatars of the region. It had a ūmsāna (q.v.) or hospice attached to it for pilgrims and travellers, and a dormitory for endowments: the grand vizier Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir, great-grandson of the penultimo Bagkīl al-Mustanibīr (649-1252), who had migrated from Trak to Transoxania, acted as nāsir or superintendent of the shrine (Kūthā, iii, 52/4, tr. Gibb, iii, 568-9).

The shrine continued to attract royal patronage, including from the Timurids; a mausoleum, possibly to be ascribed to Kuthām Allī, one of Timur's wives, was built in 762/1361, and in the next century, Ulugh Beg (q.v.) added to it. Alterations were, indeed, made to it up to the early 19th century.

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KUTHAYYIR B. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN (better known as KUTHAYYIR 'AZZA and often called al-Mulābi after Mūsāji, a sub-tribe of Khuzā'ī, or Ibn Abī Diuma, after his maternal grandfather), a poet of the Udhri school of the Umayyad period. Like other poets of the same school, his life was a favourable field for the imagination of story-tellers who wrote entertaining ašurū literature. In such cases, legend plays such havoc with history that it becomes almost impossible for later critical studies to separate one from the other. Legends were introduced to suggest pseudo-historical occasions for some poems, and some poetry was made to suit stereotypes of the ideal lover. Other factors, both political and sectarian, made it easy for the rural to shroud Kuthayyir's character with ever thicker layers of legendary material. Nowhere else does authentic poetry stand in sharp contrast to the alleged character of its writer as it does in the case of Kuthayyir. When stripped of such accretions, the biography of such a poet becomes a mere skeleton.

Kuthayyir's parents were both from Khuzā'ī, and lived in Medina or in the adjacent hills to the east. If we believe al-Mazzubān, who states that the poet lived 80 or 81 years (Mūṣājam, Cairo 1960, 212), then he must have been born ca. 23 or 24/643 or 644 (since...
there is no doubt that he died in 105/723). This date of birth seems very early if we consider that there are no traces of his poetical activities before 80/699, a fact which makes one think that he could not have been born earlier than 40/660. Although Kuthayyir's father died when he was still in need of a guardian, he is nevertheless accused of being an undutiful son (this is more likely a reflection of much later sectarian prejudices). When his father was afflicted with a sore in one of his fingers, Kuthayyir considered that as a heavenly punishment for the father, who used to raise that same finger whenever he spoke falsely. The piouc interpretation here is ignored, and the sharp comment is taken as indicating an unfaithful attitude.

Kuthayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring djumif disclosed him to the stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring djumif disclosed him to

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Kuthayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring djumif disclosed him to
the poet to preserve much of his dignity. But when such a feeling is exploited in love-poetry, it reduces the quality to a minimum. The lover even, in moments of self-esteem, admires the sovereign when he describes how admiring women feel towards him and how he enjoys the sight of entrancing "subjects". It is true that this is not always the case, but, being there for once, it can outweigh all his other expressions of total absorption in love.

Kutb-ud-Din was a prolific poet. During his long life, he appears never to have stopped writing poetry except for a certain period, after the death of Azzah and Abbâd al-A'zâz (86/925-71); the poet's use of a simple and direct style of composition helped that prolixness. When writing on love or praise, or combining both themes in one poem, his vivid descriptions of the scenes from the Hûlây to those on the route to Egypt or Syria add much to the length of his poem. It is said that, of lâminiyât, he wrote so considerably as to make them could not be granted letters, according to the Seljuq Sultan who gave them to his vizier, although he had not been well disposed to the Tadjiks and men of Kirman. Kutb al-Din was authorized by the Khâ'ân to put Rûk in al-Din to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the Khâ'ârîm-Shâh Djââl al-Dîn. He severely punished the Kûcâ and Bând (see BALGÜSTAN and KARAT). His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife, Kutlugh Türkân Khâ'tûn, whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the Ta'âfîk-ûz-gudia she had been the concubine (surra'iyah) of Burâq (according to the last of the Khâ'ân, brother of the Khâ'ârîm-Shâh Djââl al-Dîn) and would thus be a different person from Khân Khâ'ân. The son of Burâq, this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Kutb al-Dîn.

Kutb al-Dîn died in 655/1257. His son Hadîdîdî, when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ogedey and acted with little regard for Kutlugh Türkân, but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pâdshâh Khâ'tûn, married to Abâka-Khân, forced Hadîdîdî to retire to Dihîl in 666/1267. Then the other son of Kutb al-Dîn, Suvarqaratâbakl, successfully disputed Türkân's power and she went to Tabriz, where she died in 671/1272. Her daughter Bibî Khâ'tûn, who had married the assâl 'Adud al-Dîn Hâdîdîdî, removed her remains to Kirman. Marco Polo went through Kirman (ca. 1272) in the reign of Kutlugh Türkân. Djââl al-Dîn Abbâs Mu'azzaf Suyûrgâhatmah (679/1280-9-2) received his investiture from the Il-Khân Ahmad, but could not agree with his sister Pâdshâh Khâ'tûn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Hasan Shâh (cf. MOGUNDI) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became, however, the wife first of Abâka and after his death, of his son Gayhkhât. The latter on coming to the throne in 690/1292 gave Kirman to Pâdshâh Khâ'tûn. The princes, who was a poetess of talent, was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first, Suyûrgâhatmah governed the province in the name of the Pâdshâh, but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife Kûdâvâvân-zâda Kârdûgûn, daughter of Mengü Timûr b. Hûlây and the Salghurids (q.v.) princes Abâsh, ruler of Fars, and his daughter Shâh 'Ali Min. Gayhkhât, however, handed him over to Pâdshâh Khâ'tûn, who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier, who was captured by stragglers. In 694/1295 Bayâd,
husband of Qamal Khâtun, became king, and Pâdshâh was handed over the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghâtmlâ. In the reign of Pâdshâh Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, 23, 91) passed through Kîrmân on his return journey (ca. 1293).

In 695/1296 Muzaffâr al-Dîn Abu 'l-Hârîfî Muhammad Shâh Sultan b. Hâjîdîlâr succeeded his aunt by command of Ghâzân Khan, but his brother slew his vizier and rebelled in Kîrmân. The troops of Fârs and 'Irâk besieged Kîrmân for 48 months. Muzaffâr al-Dîn came from Tabrîz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ring-leaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muzaffâr al-Dîn, who loved wine, died in 703/1303-4 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sultan Kûtb al-Dîn II Shâh Dîjahân b. Suyurghâtmlâ succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (until 706/1306-7). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Oldjeytâ déposed him and appointed a simple governor in Kîrmân, Nâ'îr al-Dîn Muhammâd b. Burhân. Kûtb al-Dîn II retired to Shiraz to build the madrasâ to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghâtmlâ, wife of Mubârâz al-Dîn Muhammâd, the real founder of the Kîrmân shaykhî dynasty who later took possession of Kîrmân (in 711/1312-3).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kîrmân the Kubbâ-yi sâdâ (remains of the madrasâ of Turkmânâbâd) bearing the date 629/1231-2 (i.e. contemporaneous with Rukn al-Dîn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, Ten thousand miles in Persia, London 1902, 194, 264). Turkân Khâtun founded the little towns of Sarâsîyâb and Caturîd, to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghâtmlâ built the madrasâ of Darb-i Naw, where she was buried.

Bibliography: The special history of the Kût˘ludging Khânîds is the Siyâq al-Salîd in six volumes (after the name of Marw). It seems to have been written in 716/1316-17, cf. Storey, i, 358, 1297. The author Nâ'îr al-Dîn was the son of Kûnu Muntâqân b. al-Dîn Yâhî, the trusted advisor of Kût˘ludging al-Dîn (cf. the Paris ms., B.N. Persian No. 1777, i, 129). On Burhân, Rukn al-Dîn and Kût˘ludging al-Dîn, cf. Dîwanayî, ed. Kâzîmî, ii, 211-18, tr. Boyle, iv, 472-82. On the whole dynasty: Târîkh-i guidâ, cf. Browne, 527-35, 625; Mîrkhân, Kânafat al-safâ', Bombay 1266, iv, 128-31; cf. E. A. Strandman, Chauandii's authorities and the Geographical Records of Turkmânî, Kabul 1890; Körânli, Hâyib al-'arab, Bombay, ii, 10-12; Münzefî-with, Turkish tr., Istanbul 1937, ii, 537; Rieu also quotes Wâsî, ii (to the year 699), which seems to contain full references. Cf. also D'Herbelot, Histoire des Mongols, ii, 19, 53, 253-5, 396; iv, 90-3, 269, 485; Zambour, Mânûd, 227; Boyle, in Camb. Hist. of Iran, v, 233.

The title Kût˘ludging Khân was conferred in 699/1299 by Qâlam b. 'Abî Bakr b. 'Abd al-Salîm. (V. Minorsky)

KUTLUGH-SHÁH NOYAN, a notable Mongol amir in Ilhâmid Persia, especially during the reign of Ghâzân Khân and Oldjeytâ (941-766/1295-1316). He was a member of the Manqut tribe, and a descendent of Chingiz Khân's general Dîiedy Noyan.

After the accession of Ghâzân, Kût˘ludging Shâh led the pursuit of the amir Nawrûz, besieged Harât, where Nawrûz had taken refuge, and captured and executed him in 696/1297. He was also charged with the execution of the fallen amir Sadr al-Dîn. In 698/1299 he was sent by Ghâzân to Rum to suppress the revolt of prince Sârîmâsh. In 699/1299 he accompanied Ghâzân's invasion of Syria, and was subsequently appointed by him shânîna of Damascas. He commanded the right wing of the Ilkhanid army when the Mâmlûk forces were defeated at Hîmâs. During the Syrian campaign of 703/1303, Kût˘ludging Shâh was less successful; he was defeated by the Mâmlûks at Mârjî al-Sûfâr. He among others was held responsible by Ghâzân, and together with his fellow-general Cûbân he was crucified with rods at the judicial enquiry (yârdqâ) which followed his precipitate return to Persia. Any eclipse that Kût˘ludging Shâh may have suffered as a result of this defeat was only temporary, however. On his accession in 704/1304, the Ilhâkim Oldjeytâ appointed him commander-in-chief. But in 707/1307 Oldjeytâ's armies invaded Ghîlân, and during the campaign Kût˘ludging Shâh was defeated and killed. His death cleared the way for the later ascendancy of Cûbân in the Ilkhanid state.

Kût˘ludging Shâh's eminence among the amirs of his time is amply attested in anecdotes concerning him. Râshîd records that during a dispute at court between Harâtî and Shâh Shâh Mubârâz al-Dîn, the successor of Oldjeytâ, Kût˘ludging Shâh urged in his exasperation that the Mongols should abandon Islam—of whose tenets he is represented as having a very curious conception—and return to the yâsîk and yâsûn of Cîngiz Khân (Târîkh-i Oldjeytâ, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 58 = Aya Sofya MS 3019, f. 72a). On the other hand, in Ibn Bazzâz's Sâfâst al-saftâ, a near-contemporary life of Shâh Shâh Safâ al-Dîn of Ardabîl, he is shown as a devotee of Sûfî shâyâks, and there is an entertaining account of how in a contest of piety and abstinence, Kût˘ludging Shâh's favoured shâykh was beaten by Cûbân Khân's candidate, Shâh Shâh Zâhid Gilânî (ed. Abjam b. Kühmînî, Târîkh-i Oldjeytâ, ed. Khânîsâ, 2nd ed., Tehran 1969, 38-9 = Aya Sofya MS 3009, f. 28b).


KUTN, KUȚN (A.), cotton.

1. In the medieval Arab and Persian lands.

In the period of the Arab conquests cotton had already been propagated from India to eastern Persia and the neighbouring lands. It was cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry produced cotton goods as far as China. Marw and Nishapûr were the most important centres of the cotton industry in Khorasân. The province of Marw also exported large quantities of raw cotton, much appreciated for its softness. The cotton materials produced at Marw, especially mulbaar, a cotton and silk fabric, were so renowned that, according to al-Thâwilli, in all countries fine materials originating from Khorasân were called shakhânâ (after the name of Marw).
The industry of Nishapour was known for the material called halâf. The cotton goods of these two towns passed in the caliphal empire, according to an observation of al-Dâjîn cited by al-Thâfâlî, as the best in the world. Transoxiana also produced large quantities of cotton. From the province of Shâhî it was exported into the Turkish lands. Samarkanâd, the small town of Washân not far from it, Buhârâ and Tawâsî were the most important centres of the cotton industry there, whilst Buhârâ was renowned for its heavy cotton goods, whose firm fabric was praised. The cotton plantations had even been introduced into cold lands such as Êfârâzam. Factories for cotton goods were also developed there, whose products, such as those called araqqûf and umirî, enjoyed a great reputation.

Dhîbâl itself produced cotton and had factories which worked it, although on a smaller scale than those of Khorassân. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century relate that the cotton of the province of Rayy was exported as far as 4Trâk and Aðharbâyjân. Speaking of irrigation by means of subterranean canals in the province of Iṣfâhân, Ibn Hâwîk remarks that it served for the cultivation of cotton. In Kirmân, there was a flourishing cotton industry at Bûnûm which doubtless used the raw material produced in the province. As for the province of Fârs, there was no room for doubt about its presence there, for Ibn Hâwîk points out as to the rate of tax levied on the cotton plantations in the district of Shâhêz. Yazd and Abarbakhsh themselves had factories which certainly worked the cotton cultivated in their provinces. However, in this part of Persia, the cultivation of flax and its manufacture prevailed over that of cotton.

At the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century, there were already cotton plantations in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, but in these lands they constituted a new sector of agriculture. Al-Iṣâfîkhânî, writing in the first half of the 4th/10th century, relates that in most of the lands of Râs al-Ayn, in Upper Mesopotamia, cotton was cultivated, and Ibn Hâwîk speaks of the cotton plantations and cotton goods production in the town of Arahân, in the same province. Al-Muṣaaffâdî, for his part, mentions cotton plantations in the district of Ḥarrân. Later on, 4Yâkût mentions cotton goods' production at Ḥaza, a small town near Râs al-Ayn. In the 4th/10th century much cotton was also planted in the province of Aleppo and in Palestine, in the region of the Ḥâla and in the Diwâlân, near Bâniyâsid. To judge by the description of Palestine by al-Muṣaaffâdî, it was also cultivated near Jerusalem. A passage in the description of Upper Mesopotamia by Ibn Hâwîk reveals that the cotton plantations increased considerably in the 4th/10th century in this land, when the new lords, who had replaced the caliphal régime, established large estates and introduced the cultivation of industrial plants such as cotton. Ibn Hâwîk speaks of the Hamânids, but there is reason to suppose that other dynasties were also involved. Whatever may be the case, the cultivation of cotton as yet only played a modest role in this period within the total agricultural production of these lands. Indeed, Ibn Hâwîk specifies that cotton goods were imported from Upper Mesopotamia into Syria.

In Egypt, the cultivation of cotton constituted, in this period and also later, under the domination of the Fàṭîhûn, a still more limited agricultural sector. Several papyri, it is true, testify to the cultivation of cotton in Egypt, in the 2nd/6th-3rd/9th centuries, and other documents refer to cotton plantations in Egypt under the Fàṭîhûn. According to al-Iṣâfî it was even exported in this period from Egypt to Libya. On the other hand, numerous Judaeo-Arabic documents preserved in the Cairo Geniza from the second half of the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century show that cotton and cotton goods were imported from Sicily and especially from Syria and Palestine.

The same observation will be made as to the cultivation of cotton in the Maghrib in this period; it was planted almost everywhere but on a relatively small scale. Ibn Hâwîk mentions the cotton plantations in the districts of Tunis and Mâṣîla in Algeria. Abî ʿUbâyî al-Bâkî mentions too the cotton plantations in the province of Mâṣîla and speaks of them further in his description of Mostaganem in western Algeria. In Morocco, cotton was planted, according to the reports of the Arab geographers, in the districts of Fès, Tâdla, Basra and Kûrt. In Islamic Spain it was cultivated, in the 4th/10th century, in the province of Seville and also in the district of Guadix, to the east of Grenada.

In the period of the Crusades, the cultivation of cotton developed to a great extent in Syria, especially in its northern provinces. Several treaties concluded between Venice and the Ayyûbîd princes of Aleppo and Salâmûn export the export of cotton from their states. However, the great rise of cotton cultivation in Syria was to begin later, after the fall of the Crusader states. When the farmers lost the great markets provided by the Crusaders' towns, there was a glut of cereals and they went over apparently to the cultivation of cotton. Already in 1239, some Venetian emissaries went to visit the Mamûl governor of Sâfâd, doubtless to negotiate with him concerning the trade in cotton, the plantations of which had increased considerably in his province. The depopulation following the Black Death and the still further diminished demand for cereals accelerated this development, so that the export of Syrian cotton became an important sector of the Levant trade.

The connection between the reduced demand for cereals and the increase in cotton production emerged clearly from the reports of mariners in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Marco Polo relates, at the end of the 13th century, that the provinces of Mûsh and Mârdîn produce enormous quantities of cotton which was worked there. Hamâd Allâh Mustâwîfî, writing in the first half of the 8th/14th century, also speaks of the cotton plantations in the district of Mârdîn and still others in the districts of Bânâbû, Bâûtâlû and Irbî in Upper Mesopotamia and in the environs of Walasgîrîd in Armenia. The Venetian ambassador Girsafa Barbâro, who travelled across these lands in 1474, also mentions the cultivation of cotton and the cotton goods' factories at Mârdîn as well as plantations in the district of Ḥân Kûyîtî. The fiscal regulations of Uzun ʿHzan, then lord of this country, refer to the cotton industries of Urfa, ʿArabîq and Erzîngânî, towns today forming part of Turkey. In 4Trâk cotton was cultivated there in the districts of Baghdad, Kûfî and Hîlî. The accounts of Hamâd Allâh Mustawîfî of the agricultural production of several provinces of Persia are particularly significant in this regard, in so far as they mention cotton plantations in some districts which do not figure as producers of cotton in earlier sources. He speaks of large harvests of cotton in several districts of Aðharbâyjân, Dîbâl, Kûhîstân and Kîrnân. There is no doubt that the diminution of the population and consequently of the demand for
The Irish pilgrim Simeon Simconis, who in 1323, cotton was planted in the district of 'Arfol. According to Manuel Piloti relates that cotton is the most important product of the province of al-Gh rawiyya. Arnoud von Harf, a German traveller of the end of the 9th/10th century, saw cotton plantations on his way from Kalya to Ghazza. In the late Middle Ages, Egypt was also able to export cotton to Europe.

Nevertheless, in no other country of the Near East was the role of cotton, in the late Middle Ages, as important as in Syria, nor was the volume of its production as considerable in relation to other crops. Syria exported large quantities of cotton to Europe, where it served as the raw material for the flourishing textile industries in Lombardy and southern Germany. The most important centres of cotton plantations were the region of Aleppo, the province of Hamadi and the northern districts of Palestine. In northern Syria, cotton was cultivated especially in the districts of Dharahala, 'Arif and Sarrin (called Siamo by the Italians, by confusion with al-Samn), and in Palestine in the environs of Acre and in the valley of Jizreel. But cotton was also planted in the province of Tripoli and on the coasts of Lebanon, near Byblos, Saida and Tyre. In the travel books which pilgrims in the Holy Land have left for us, there is mention of cotton plantations near Jaffa and Ramla. In Transjordania cotton was planted in the district of Ajlun. According to the Merchants' Guide of Pegolotti, the cotton of Hamadi was considered the best, and this statement is corroborated by numerous price lists of the Venetian market. But all varieties of Syrian cotton were more appreciated in Europe than the cotton originating from other countries, such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt or Malta. It was appreciated for its finer fibres and for being more flexible. Part of the Syrian cotton fed the cotton goods' industry, especially in Italy. One branch of the Nile and in the provinces of Samman and Mustafa, on its eastern branch. But these plantations were not of great extent. Thus, in 1588 or 1589, the French engineer Louis Alexis Jumel discovered in Cairo a species of cotton which was distinguished by its long, strong fibres and began to cultivate it with the help of Muhammad 'Ali. As the new species fetched a much higher price in Europe than the others, it was cultivated from 1822 on a large scale, principally on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile. Always under the sponsorship of Muhammad 'Ali, experts on cotton cultivation were invited to Egypt and in 1836 a type of agricultural code (Ibn al-Thir al-falafel) containing detailed instructions for the cultivation of cotton was published. However, the great rise of its cultivation in Egypt only began in the 1860s, when the Civil War in America made the price of Egyptian cotton rise and the plantations were greatly enlarged.

It is from this time that cotton has come to occupy a place of the first rank in the agriculture of Egypt.

In western Turkish dialects, "panmi/dabab, pamab, bamab or namab" (see G. Clausen, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish "cotton" is derived from Middle Persian "panahb", while in eastern dialects cotton is "paabga, baabga, or baabk (Radlolf, Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türkidsich, iv) and cotton cloth "hebhehki (Nahmcd Kâğızçî, Etabl. Lit. it-Türk, fasc. ed. B. Atalay, 557; in Chinese "piti" see J. R. Hamilton, Les Oeuvres, Paris 1955, 57-8). In Uyghur, "baab" designated cotton. The word "bas (bas) is a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various dialects (also in the forms of "bas, bas, or bas", with a theory of its derivation from the Greek βαστός, Assyro-Chaldean, B. Wang, Von Kûtûrkiscben zum Osmanischen, Berlin 1921, 14 u. 2, now challenged; see G. Doerfier and S. Tescan, Wörterbuch des chaldaischen, Budapest 1980, 91; H. Esedy, Dö, an exotic cloth in the Chinese imperial court, in Asienorientalische Forschungen, iii, 145-63).

Continuing a long tradition of cotton growing and industry in Central Asia, the Uyghur Turks produced cotton and exported cotton textiles to China, as recorded in the Chinese sources of the 9th century (Hamilton, op. cit., Index, s.v. "piti"). Under the Seljûqs (q.v.), cotton production and manufacture had already been a considerable development in Asia Minor, in which principal towns had cotton bazaars (for instance, "panab jaranab in Konya, Afşâk, Manâch, 618) and caravanserais of cotton textiles (for al-Khan al-Bazzâzî in the 8th al-Bazzâzî in Kâişhî, see A. Temir, Coca oglu Nêr e-Dîn, 23). "Cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery" of Laâbî (Laâdâch-yn-Lykos, today Denizli) noted by Ibn Battîta in 733/1332 (tr. Gibb, ii, 425) were famous all over Anatolia and referred to as late as the 9th/10th century (see Sâlûq-Pashâzâde, ed. Giese, 52).

Although European markets preferred better-quality northern Syrian types (Hâmi, Aleppo) and those of Cilicia and Cyprus (in the t.300s, Pogolotti; cotton; Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant, ii, 458), a substantial part of the cotton imported into Europe in the 8th/9th and 9th/10th centuries came from western and southern Anatolian ports—Ayasouk (Ephesus), Bâlêt (Patara), Alanya (Aâlouss, Candelmère), Antalya (Satâla), and Ayas (Lajazo) (Heyd, ii, 463; H. Wesscher, 3357; M. Mazzoni, ch. 2). Cotton was grown in the immediate hinterlands of these ports. The island of Cyprus became the most important of the Anatolian cotton exported by the Genoese in this period. In the mid-15th century, the value of the annual export of cotton via Chios was estimated at 600,000 ducats. Turkish cotton was re-exported by the Genoese to other European countries and even to the Maghrib (J. Heers, 391).

Over the course of time, Venice tried to monopolize the import and distribution of imported cotton in the West. Venetian annual cotton trade with Lombardy alone was estimated to be worth 250,000 gold ducats in the 9th/10th century (Wascher, 2357; M. Mazzoni, ibid.). By the end of the 10th/11th century, Venice imported an average 4,000 tons annually from the Levant (8,000 sacks from Cyprus and 6,000 from Iznar). The expanding Swiss and German fustian industries were dependent on the cotton imported from the Levant.

Although first known in Germany in ca. 925/1570, cotton from Brazil and the West Indies became a serious competitor only after the mid-18th century. At that time, the cotton industries in France and England began to experience rapid growth. Favoured by special trade privileges (see "imperial"), granted by the Ottomans, France, England, and the Netherlands were then directly importing cottons from the Levant, and superseded Italy in cotton industries cotton 10th/13th century. The war of Cyprus (1570-1) can be taken as a turning point for the Venetian decline.

Cotton-producing areas in the Ottoman Empire before 1698/1699. Ottoman survey books, customs registers, guilds and price regulations, as well as hâshî court records, attest to a very active cotton manufacuring industry with export capacity in Anatolia, both in the small towns near main cotton producing areas as well as in the large cities with extensive dye-houses in the 9th/10th and 10th/11th centuries.

Apart from a growing demand by the Europeans and from internal trade, the state's need of cotton products for the navy and army too appears to have become one of the factors contributing to the extension of cotton production and that of certain kinds of cotton fabrics. According to the tax regulations of the 10th/11th and 11th/12th centuries (see C. L. Barkan, Asian, Index, s.v. "panabuk, penâke"), the annual cotton produce were collected in the provinces of western Anatolia (Kudîwêndêgä, Karasî, Kütâba, Aydîn), of the Aegean Sea and Greece (Trisça, Kene, Euba, Chios), of southwestern Anatolia (Karâmû, Hamlî-îlî, Nîl, Adâna, Sîs, Özer) and south-eastern Anatolia (Maliya, Behiszê, Ärînî, Kâmî, Ergani, Mârdîn, Cissa, Diyarbâk, aq, Mawjî). Northern limits of cotton cultivation on the southern Mediterranean coast reached as far as north as Egoifal lake (X. de Planhol, De la plaine pamphylienne, ng, 7). Today, the cotton cultivation is concentrated in the valleys of Gëzd and the two Menderes rivers, and in the Cukurova (Cilia), and to a lesser degree, in the Antalya, Hatay, Muratç, and Diyarbâk areas (Atlas of Turkey, map no. 75).

The Ottoman survey of the Aydin province dated 859/1455 (Bovkeydët Arşiva, Istanbul, No 1/21), which included the Kudîwêndê-Menderes and Bıyîk-Menderes valleys with the Ixzar (Smyrña) area, attest to extensive cotton cultivation in the region. In many villages (Adakîtil, Yûrsûlî, Bozdehgan, Hâyarda, Orta-Seyid, Cila, Kâlu-begû, Kuîllî, etc.) cotton production was near or sometimes exceeded wheat production. Kulu-begû, for example, where two Turkmen nomad groups had settled, produced about 3.44 tons of cotton against 5.63 tons of wheat in 858/954-5. These were flooded lands and mostly settled by Turkmen nomads by the mid-15th century. Obviously, the major production in this area was oriented to supplying distant markets as well as to supplying towns and cities exporting cotton goods in the region.

In the interior, the beykazalî-Mikhaîâlkî area in the Sakarya-Kirîm valley, a number of villages (Celtik, Karalîsî, Süremlî, Kayalar, Sobran, Kîldîla-vêrîn, Bash-vêrîn, Yûrdîna-Aslâl, Çay, etc.) showed a different structure with a much more limited production of cotton compared to other crops—wheat, barley, and rice (see the hâshî registers of Kudîwêndêgä province, ed. O.L. Barkan). Apparently, this area supplied cotton to the nearby towns as well as to Ankara, the important centre of fustian industries in this region. The area of Tokâl, another important centre of cotton industry, displays a similar situation. Here, Vexn, Karabîsîr, Nilzîas, Fels, etc.
Katar, and Karakush in particular, cotton cultivation constituted only a small percentage of the overall agricultural production (H. İslamoğlu, Dynamics of agricultural production, ch. 2). The general trend, however, showed an increase in cotton production, over ten times in some areas. In no case is there a shift to monoculture in the period before the 13th/19th century.

According to the Ottoman surveys of the 10th/16th century (Soyasal, 32), 6,506 hectares or 20% of the cultivated land in the zandjaş of Adana was devoted to cotton, while barley and wheat cultivation took an area four times larger. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, the cotton production of the Çukurova appears to have been quite important. O’Heegarty (200) tells us that in the good harvest years, ‘cotton of Adana’ was exported from İzmir.

Varieties of Indian gossypium herbaceum, the so-called yerli (‘native’) cotton, were well suited to the climate and soil conditions, and were known as the only varieties cultivated in Asia Minor until the 13th/19th century. Yielding a coarse fibre, thick, short, and of unequal length and curl, this variety was considered unsuitable for fine cotton fabrics. However, in the Kırkagah area in the Bakırçay valley, in the Hamidi-ıli, Gellibolu (Gallipoli) the Çukurova (Adana, Cilicia), and Tokat areas, superior varieties were produced for making fine boghâş fabrics.

It was in the second half of the 13th/19th century that American and Egyptian varieties were introduced and cultivated in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In 1333/1914, however, 90-95% of the cotton production in western Anatolia and the Adana region still came from the yerli varieties (W. F. Brück, Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft, tr. C. Issawi, The economic history of Turkey, Chicago 1980, 244-6; Türk sütun tarihi, 135-35)

At the exhibition of İstanbul of 1279/1863, many qualities of cotton from various parts of the Empire were displayed: 24 varieties from western Anatolia, 4 from Ispil (Ilıslı), 3 from Adana, 2 from Marâş, 1 from Mardin, 1 from Diyârbakır, 7 from Amasya, 6 from Serez, 4 from Filibe, 3 from Edirne, 3 from Drama, 1 from Trikkala, 1 from Rhodes, 9 from Syria, and 4 from Egypt. Egyptian cottons were considered the best quality, while those of Aydın, though of short fibre, were preferred for their colour and strength (Türk sütun tarihi, 166). Of the varieties of western Anatolia, that of Subîcî and Kırkagâh were rated first, with those of Akbûrî, Koşağa, Klâk, and Bayindir coming next. Kırkagâh and Akbûrî, as well as Gelibolu, were the chief suppliers of the Istanbul cotton industries in the 13th/17th century (Ensât nisâburi, in the Miftâh al-Ascî, İstanbul).

In cotton-producing lands were listed among the best quality lands, and a higher land tax was imposed (Ulûqay, doc. 41). Tithe on cotton was, as a rule, one-tenth, while in grain it was one-eighth.

Irrigation works for cotton growing were carried out only on large farms organised and created by the elite (see Vahşi dergisi, ii, 364-5). On big farms, orâbûsâs, sharecroppers, were usually employed, and one-third of the crop went to the landowner (at Turguthu in Sarûkhan, see Ulûqay, doc. no. 33). Such farms of the elite were almost always converted into orâbûsâs. On lands under the timâr (çav) system, cotton was grown by individual peasants using primitive means, and often with no irrigation. Disputes arose when cotton prices were low and the timâr-holders tried to lease the tithe to the peasant and ask instead for cash (examples in Ulûqay, docs. 33, 41).

In Ottoman Egypt, cotton was grown on irrigated land in parts of Middle Egypt and the Delta. Egypt, however, had to import cotton from Syria to meet the needs of its cotton industries. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the imports of Syrian cotton reached 2,000-3,000 bales (Raymond, i, 160, 250, 273, 317-38). A special musâka'a (q.) was established on the cotton trade in the ports of Rosetta and Bûlûk in 1731/1720-1 and 1763/1754 respectively, which provided evidence of the growing importance of cotton in the Egyptian economy. During the same period, the cotton markets at Bûlûk, Daniëtta, Rosetta, Mahâliât al-Kubra, Mafrûra and Semnân, united under one musâka'a, brought 2,195,000 paras per year in tax revenues collected on cotton grown in Egypt or imported from Syria. The total amount of this cotton was approximately 24,000 bales (1 bale = 325 mafûa or 143,9 kg). The musâka'a figures show an eight-fold increase in the period 1165-82/1753-68, falling to half that amount in the following period 1183-1173/1769-98 (see S. Shaw, Ottoman Egypt, Index, s.v. cotton; for the period following, see E. R. J. Owen, Cotton and the Egyptian economy, Oxford 1979: 127). Already in the 9th/15th century, the coastal plains between Drama and Karâşefere (Verrück) and Vedena formed an important cotton producing area in Rumîli. In 1163/1751, the Venetian consul Choidas estimated the total amount of raw cotton exported from this area to be 15,000 bales (7,000 for France, 4,000 for Venice; in Salonika, 1 bale was equal to 110, sometimes 100 ohkas, see Svoronos, 249), while in 1212/1776, Felix de Beaujour’s estimate was 60,000 bales of both raw cotton and cotton yarn exported (30,000 to Germany, 10,000 to France). In 1212/1776, de Beaujour gives a record 95,000 bales for the total export of raw cotton (30,000 to London and Amsterdam, 30,000 to Germany and 12,000 to France). De Beaujour that only 10,000 bales were consumed in the area itself.

The cotton boom in the second half of the 12th/18th century was apparently responsible for the structural changes in the area, i.e. the shift from rice cultivation to cotton, the reclamation of new land for cotton agriculture, the extension of big cifîlsâhs and commercialisation of agriculture, and the growing prosperity of the big âydâhs, with increasing control of the land and peasant labour.

The organisation of cotton trade and industries. The hâdi court records and market regulations provide us with quite detailed information on the processes of cotton trade and manufacture in the Ottoman towns (see İhsâb regulations in Tarih resedâri, nos. 3, 5, 7, 9; for court records see Ulûqay).

In cotton producing areas, hayâk, i.e. cotton bolts, and cotton cleaned from its seeds, was brought to nearby town markets, usually by camels (Ulûqay, doc. 22). In towns, special markets, penke pazâri, were reserved for cotton sale. Most of the crop was purchased in small quantities by local djûlûhs or cîlâhs, spinners who were poor townsmen, mostly women. Usually, foreign merchants from the port cities tried to reach producers or local markets through their agents. In order to get the best grade cottons, the merchants, in keen competition among themselves, used a system of advanced payment for a crop directly to the producers through their “factors”. The system of a future contract was bitterly denounced by the French, since they said it caused scandalous competition, resulting in higher prices (Masson, ii, 435). Also, native middle-men or speculators in the cotton trade, mostly consisting of members
of the Ottoman elite along with Jews and Armenians in the Ilemc area, bought the next season’s produce in advance. Such contracts, called salam, widely practised in Islamic countries, were strictly regulated in Islamic law because of the uncertainty about the subject of contract (see Al-Tahawi, Kithb al-Shar‘iyy al-habib, ed. J. A. Watkin, New York 1972) (see also al-Rawandish, J. A. Wakin, New York 1972).

The customs registers provide definite evidence that there was a group of Anatolian merchants who specialised in the cotton trade and who took their cotton goods as far as the northern Black Sea ports (Izmir, The Black Sea, 92-107). The cotton in bales or bales were taken in caravans into centres such as Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Kastamonu, Tokat and other parts of the Empire or by sea to Europe. Public regulations provided that all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought into a special building, called the pambuka kabind. Cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed there. For accommodating caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravansaries (pambuka kabind, wakilat al-‘ulun in Egypt) were built (Raymond, II, 640).

In the pambuka kabind, each member of the guild of halldad used his share of cotton at the officially-fixed price (marki-i disir) under the supervision of the kadiyya and yigil-bash (of the guild). The halldad, or carders, separated the fibre from the seed by beating (luma or ‘alma) the cotton with a kemân or yay, a bow-like instrument, to make the cotton clean and fluffy. The halldad were also cotton dealers in the cities. According to a regulation dated 1138/1727 (Istanbul 1726 nizâm- name), there were 104 halldad in Istanbul, 15 in Galata (Pera), 9 in Plugj and 4 in Egypt.

Each group of artisans was responsible for a stage in manufacturing. They were organised in birets, guilds, and their shops occupied the same street or kadkhudd. In Magnisa they were included in the group of 14 crafts connected with the guild of the chief tailor.

For example, in Magnisa, a relatively small town but an important centre of production of cottons, we find pambej Galiger (cotton dealers), deejaldir or hajji (weavers of coarse cotton), baghsêdijlgar (weavers of fine cotton), and bessad (dealers of cotton stuffs) directly involved in cotton trade and industry, while boysadindar (dyers), ‘alma (cap-makers), yigil-bash (quilt-makers), and terziler (tailors) were considered as related crafts. In 980/1572, there were 908 baladi, 120 dyers, and 150 bessads in Magnisa (Ulucay, doc. 64). Each craft guild elected its governing body, a skahb, a skahhudd, a yigil-bash, and a committee of experts (khukhbar) responsible for the supervision of the guild regulations, called nizâm or nizâm-‘ulûm. Dijeddav in Magnisa had an adil bâke [see above] as the head of the mawla, dated 1238/1628 (Bursa ihtisâb, II 7, 33, 34).

In important cities, these men obtained through local badijs the Sultan’s diploma empowering them to exercise authority over their guild members and to get the support of the local law-enforcing bodies. In Istanbul, the guilds using cotton goods were hajîyîn (tailors), bâhiyyîn (makers of wadded headgear for men), tâhîyîn (makers of headdress for women), yeghndiyyîn (quilt-makers), gomelîyîn (shirt-makers), dulbadojlyîn (dealers in Muslim turbans), yeghndîjîyîn (dealers of napkins and handkerchiefs), and ceşmejojîyîn (tent makers); for Cairo, Evlîya Celi (x, 370-1) gives a similar list of crafts and dealers. In both cities, guilds dealing with cottons were included in the group of 14 crafts connected with clothing or home furnishings, headed by the chief tailor.

Bessads (in Turkish bessad), textile dealers, can be classified into two groups: big merchants of international or interregional connections; and local traders (see Edime azeri bessad, ed. Barkan, 4-23, 261, 303, 306, 308, 325, 342, 406, 421). The former dealt with costly goods, cottons, silks, and woollen products of Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, Baghdad and India. Their stocks and credits amounted to big sums, sometimes over one million akas or about 16,000 Venetian ducats in the 16th-17th century. They supplied the local guilds of dreamakers, cap makers, etc., with imported materials or re-exported them to distant areas usually on credit. These big merchants usually had their shops in the bazaar or bâshîk (in Turkish, bazaar or bâshî) in the cities (see Inalcik, The hub of the city: the Bedestan of Istanbul, in International Journal of Turkish Studies, 1, 1-17), and were the wealthiest and most respectable members of the society. As far as their social background was concerned, many of them came from the ruling elite (ibid.).

The second group included those dealers of modest capital, dealing only in local trade in the city. Their stocks usually consisted of cheap cottons, and a large variety of textiles in small amounts. In Edime, we find former Janissaries among their ranks (Barkan, op. cit., 306, 308), but also a big merchant of Janissary origin (ibid.).

Some of the big bessads specialised in importing or selling particular kinds of cotton goods.

Market dynamics. Artisans and dealers in cottons had a variety of difficulties as a result of shortages of raw materials, competition from other centres of production, and intrusions by related guilds in procurement of raw materials and marketing. It was in large cities or export-oriented production centres with a dynamic economy that strains and conflicts were particularly acute and recurrent. There was a kind of delicate balance established by custom and regulation among the guilds which performed successive stages of manufacturing. If one guild in cotton crafts or some members of it diverged from the standards or marketing rules laid down in the regulations, the other guilds were disturbed and the whole system was affected. Consequently, the government was usually scrupulously conservative in keeping the old standards and regulations, and often intervened authoritatively to restore the established norms. However, should the public interest require modifications, the innovations were accepted and introduced into the regulations. It was usually through the local bâdi (q.v.) that the government changed the regulations; he consulted with the guild officers and elders in making these changes.

In the regulations, the quality and measures of each product were laid down. Prices were fixed periodically, every three or six months, by the bâdi in consultation with the representatives of each guild. Dijeddav, for example, were required to make coarse cotton fabrics called baladi, three arsig or 2.04 metres long, and buceh or qalb or 49.5 cm wide, with 1,600 threads at warp (Bursa ihtisâb, II 7, 33, 908/1509).

It was the duty of the officers of the guild, yigil-bash and ahb-i skahb, in particular, to supervise the standards during the process of manufacturing. The goods were also inspected by the mutassib (see usma) when marketed. Periodically, the government conducted inspections using special inspectors (mujettis) sent from the capital (see Bursa ihtisâb, loc. cit.). In larger cities, growing demand and the
import of cheaper grades of cottons caused difficulties for the town handcrafters under regulations with strict standards. Despite the periodic inspections, the regulations and standards for town handcrafts were often ignored in order to produce cheaper products so as to compete with imports (see below). Not being organised as a guild, spinners of cotton yarn in cities came from among the poorest segments of the population, mostly poor women and children. They purchased cotton at the cotton market directly from the peasants or from the kulađrts. This group of spinners, the real proletariat in the Ottoman cities, was particularly vulnerable to the speculation which caused unfair competition and unemployment among them. They often claimed that the merchants caused shortages and high prices by purchasing and re-exporting the imported cotton. Also, since too many spinning wheels depleted quickly the cotton supply at the market, the government restricted the number of the wheels in a town so that hand spinners could find enough raw cotton for their use (Ulucay, doc. 25). Sensitive to the complaints of the poor masses in the towns, the government repeatedly ruled that no merchants could purchase raw cotton until after the town spinners and weavers had completed their purchases at the cotton market.

Cotton manufacturers in large cities distant from the cotton producing areas were usually supplied with imported cotton yarn (Bursa ihtisâb, II-7, 53) as opposed to bulky raw cotton with high transportation costs. Under regulations, imported yarn was to be available to the weavers directly from the importers. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of yarn of the city. Both weavers in the city or merchants from outside (in Magnisa, native Armenians or those of Persia) sometimes sold their wares in the bazars of kâbus (caravanserais) or as peddlers in the back streets. All finished goods, however, either locally made or imported, had to be sold under regulation to the dealers of cotton in the city (Ulucay, docs. 16, 44, 41, 48, all belonging to the 11th/17th century). In Magnisa the bezdes obtained the Sultan's order, which protected their monopoly and banned Armenians of Persia from having shops and competing with the town dealers (Ulucay, doc. 61; cf. A. Refik, Istanbul 1700-1200, 98).

Thus the state or the members of the ruling elite became instrumental in constructing 'kâbus' (karhâsesi) or workshops which brought together the artisans of the same manufacture in one place. The confessed purpose for it was to serve the public by making goods abundant and cheap (esnâf ve râhhât). The leases for the shops included the provision that the lessees acquired the monopoly of the manufacture of a specific product. In 1801/1800 the bezdes obtained such a monopoly in an area from the Black Sea mouth of the Bosporus down to the mouth of the Dardanelles on the Aegean. Also, the Ottoman government sent orders to the main production centres for large quantities of sailcloth for the navy (Uzunöarjili, Bahriye, 515) and coarse cottons for lining and underwear for the soldiery in Istanbul (Uzunöarjili, 1, 252-4).

Government orders involving the output of large quantities of cotton goods in a limited period of time appear to have generated changes in the volume, prices, and even in the organisation of manufacturing in the centres of cotton production. The areas most affected by this situation were those closest to the Ottoman capital or those connected with it by sea—Geïbulu, Bergama, Cyprus, Livadia, Athens, Euboea, Sîfa and Aleppo (Uzunöarjili, Bahriye, 515; Faroqi, Şehrolume, 65-73).

Export centres. It can safely be said that, next to leather manufactures, the cotton industry with a large export capacity was the most important of all the industries in the Ottoman dominions, particularly in western Anatolia, Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southern Macedonia. It constituted the foundation of economic prosperity and urban development in the empire until the 13th/19th century. The high cost of transport of the bulky raw material accounted for the concentration of cotton industries in districts near cotton production areas, whereas finished goods, costly cotton textiles, baghast and durbell, as well as cheaper cottons, kirbas and astar, and cotton yarn were sent by sea or land to all part of the Empire and to Europe.

First among the main areas of cotton industries with large export capacity was western Anatolia during the 13th/19th and 14th/18th centuries. The most active towns in this region at this period were Bergama, Mâzma, Memenmen, Tire, Uskûl, Çários and Denizli. Tire specialised in making pillows and mattress cases, astar, as well as cotton thread, called...
Cottons imported in the northern Black Sea lands in ca. 1764/750.

(1 grouch = 40 para = 120 akça; 1 arshina = 68 cm; 1 okka = 1,282.8 gr.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Thousand in grouch</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Price in grouch per piece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tokat</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>6-10 para per arshin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boghaz</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1/4 grouch per piece of 10 arshin</td>
<td>Tokat, Kastamonu, Amasya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astar</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dülhend (Muslin)</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>17-20 grouch per piece</td>
<td>Anatolian as well as European and Indian kinds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şemhur</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>6/12 grouch per piece</td>
<td>Serres, Istanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towels of Serres</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peştemalı</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15 para to 10 grouch per piece</td>
<td>Sinope, Istanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threads</td>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>30-33 para per okka</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gediz-bazı</td>
<td>600 bales</td>
<td>50-65 para per piece of 20 arshin</td>
<td>Gediz in western Anatolia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: M. de Peyssonel, Traité sur la Mer Noire, Paris 1737.
Ottoman types of cotton or cotton and silk fabrics became popular in Turkey—*aladja* and *hundi*—in the 10th/11th centuries (al"ifjas and *akku"us* in the English East India Company documents), see Chaudhuri, 505, 506). *Aladja* and *hundi* were varieties already popular in Turkey before 950/1500 (Customs Registers of Kaffa, Akkerman and Kandahar).

Indian textile imports to Turkey go back to the 9th/10th century. In 875/1470, Mahmud Gawan [96] sent his agents from India to Bursa “with *ahmadia* (cloths) to trade there and in the Balkans (Bilidin, xiv, 69, 73, 83). The list of the Indian textiles, as found in the court records of Edirne, includes Indian dark-blue *kulli* (*kulli i Hindî baxshus*-ward [960/1553]), Indian malmipes (*pekki"s-i frisidi* [977/1569]), Indian kerciefs (*mahramna i Hindî* [970]/1572) and 1587/1588), kerciefs of *ser-badaw* and *bi-Har* and Indian *bhagsta* turbans, quilts, and girdles (*Edrine askeri kasam*, ed. Barkan, 120-3, 138, 147, 244, 335-8, 431). Home made *siga* and *hufsa* were used in Turkey in much earlier times than in Europe (*phutras* and *bajfas* in English, see Chaudhuri, ibid.)

It is possible that while the Indian textiles applied to the Levant market, made necessary adjustments in fashion and varieties (Chaudhuri, 295-40, 247), the original Indian luxury fabrics became popular in the Ottoman lands, as in Europe, particularly from the mid-11th century onwards. The fashion and use of Indian textiles became so widespread in the Ottoman lands that an Ottoman historian, Na*luia (iv, 293) claimed in the 1112/1700s that bullion sent to India to pay for Indian luxury textiles, had reached an alarming point for the whole economy of the Empire. He recommended the use of home-made products instead. At any rate, it was before European cottons dominated the Ottoman market in the 13th/14th century that Indian cottons, fine muslins, prints, *aladja* and *hundi* types, as well as Indian cotton yarn, invaded and apparently threatened the Ottoman native cotton industries. It was during the period 1312-1399/1500-1583 when bullion, cotton and coarse fabrics, were chiefly imported into France. Persecuted (Traill, i, 31), the French consul in Izmir and the Crimea in the mid-14th century, the fashion and use of Indian textiles became fashionable, beginning with the women of the upper class (Glamann, 133; Chaudhuri, 280-3; Masson, ii, 195). The fashion spread to lower classes, and initiated a dramatic increase in demand for cotton fabrics, despite the government prohibitions of the use of imported cottons which were brought about under pressure from the domestic industries of woollens and linen (prohibitions in France in 1098/1688, 1112/1700, and 1221/1770; in England in 1112/1700 and 1221/1770; cottons banned by the Church as “the manufactures of the in"fidsels”, see Chaudhuri, ibid.), and Masson, ii, 277-8). The French imports of coarse cotton cloths from the Ottoman lands rose to about 5 million French livres in 1811/1753. The imported cotton cloths were dyed and “printed” in Marseilles and an important part of them re-exported to Spain and Italy (Masson, 198-9). Thus the Levant shared with India the boom in the production and export of cotton textiles to Europe. This boom reached its maximum in the period 1222-6/1700-4. With their superior quality, the Indian textiles, however, dominated western markets through the East India Companies of Holland and England, while Levantine products, cotton and coarse fabrics, were chiefly imported into France. Peyssonel (Traill, i, 31), the French consul in Izmir and the Crimea in the mid-14th century, found that the export of French textiles to the Levant was limited mainly by the successful competition of the native cotton manufacturers. The French export of cotton to the Levant in 1204/1789 was only 42,000 livres’ worth (Masson, ii, 495; then 3 French livres = £). Red cotton yarn from western Anatolia and Divyarba"ki exported from Izmir always found a ready market in the West, due to its high quality in dyeing and its low price. It was exported in great quantities to the Netherlands (O’Hegucrty, 304) and to France.

**Cotton yarn exported to France**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value in French livres</th>
<th>1700-02</th>
<th>1750-04</th>
<th>1786-09</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Syria</td>
<td>715,000</td>
<td>1,305,000</td>
<td>421,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleppo</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>268,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>97,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>213,000</td>
<td>287,000</td>
<td>156,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izmir</td>
<td>295,000</td>
<td>238,000</td>
<td>1,951,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td>73,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,924,200</td>
<td>1,924,200</td>
<td>2,908,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the end of the 12th/18th century, the annual cotton yarn production of Thessaly and Macedonia reached one and a half million kg., of it dyed (F. de Beaujour, cited by Svoronos, 248). The Austrian firm of Starhemberg, established in Salonica in 1190/1767, became a spectacular success. By 1204/1789, it had opened several factories which produced cotton yarn in Serres and Larissa (Svoronos, 182-5). Importing cotton and cotton yarn mostly through Marseilles, Switzerland too developed a cotton textiles industry, and in 1174/1760 a Swiss consulate was established in Salonica with the main purpose of promoting the cotton trade (Svoronos, 165, 252).

Cotton yarn and textiles from Egypt to Europe, i.e., France, Lefkorn and Venice, consisted of only a small part of Egypt’s total exports (Raymond, ii, 180). However, 600,000 Attles from Cairo, Masbahat al-Kubrâ and Rosetta, called Amârâs (amârâs bi-‘ajnâ), and melâbâs (Maḥallâtun), which were mostly exported to France, increased rapidly from 1133/1720. These exports reached their peak in the period 1143-52/1730-9 with an average of 669,562 livres, or 50.3% of total export. They then experienced a decline, to 291,708 livres in 1766-9 (the figures include exports of fabrics of flax, which made up one-third of the total in 1798). The decline was explained by the deterioration in quality, possibly a result of competition with western cottons (Raymond, i, 230).

England’s share in the import of Egyptian issues was less than 10% during the same period (Raymond, i, 174, 180-2). On the other hand, Egypt itself imported cotton fabrics from Syria, Izmir, Bursa and Istanbul. Syrian cottons or silk and cotton fabrics, such as Anâhâtk, Nîlâ’bât, qabîn, alâq, and ǧhârîn, were an important part (about 43 million paras by the end of the 12th/18th century) of the Egyptian imports from that country (Raymond, i, 190). Before the English cottons invaded the area, Cairo was the main emporium of Indian textiles imported via the Red Sea. The total value of the Indian, European, and Syrian cloths imported was estimated at 900 million paras. The growing imports had a disruptive effect on the domestic textile loom crafts in Egypt as early as the turn of the 12th/18th century (Raymond, i, 191, 193, 199).

European competition. It is generally accepted that the reversal of the roles in cotton manufacturing and export between East and West occurred in the period 1164-84 (1750-70). After 1184/1770, England, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland began to export their cotton textiles to the Levant markets in growing quantities. Already by the mid-18th century, Western governments, changing their policies of prohibition, permitted the expansion and protection of their domestic cotton manufactures.

Note the first-place ranking of the British in the export of cotton goods already at this time, and the dominance of the French woollens in the Levant market.

It is said that while the British cotton industries developed under the impact of Indian trade, the French developed under the Levantine one (Masson, ii, 434, n. 3). From 1133/1720 onwards, in order to protect national industries and those of its colonies in the Antilles, the French government imposed a heavy duty (60 livres per quintal) on the cotton yarn imported from the Levant (Masson, ii, 201). Already by 1143/1729, the French noted with pride that French imitations of Indian cotton prints found an outlet in Istanbul and were expecting even to manufacture the white cotton cloths themselves, thereby reducing their import from the Levant and Holland (Masson, ii, 436, 456).

In the second half of the 18th century, of the great variety of imports from Germany (Leipzig) and Austria to the Ottoman Empire, cotton textiles, muslins, and the so-called indicéens, were at the top of the list. German cotton goods had quite a large market at Izmir (55-60,000 pieces annually) and Bursa (30,000 pieces) (C. Aubin’s report, ed. A. Cunningham) English cotton products exported to Germany also reached the Balkans through the Leipzig fair. Along with Leipzig, Vienna was another important centre for the Ottoman trade. Here we find 268 Ottoman resident merchants by 1161/1752, including a number of Muslim Turks (a certain Molla Huseyn owned six storehouses and Molla Hasan four). During the period 1204-1227/1725-1741, when Austrian-Ottoman trade showed great development, raw cotton and cotton yarn became the principal exports from the Serres area to Austria and Germany (V. Paskaleva, 40-56).

However, the Eastern cotton yarn still had the advantage of lower prices due to the cheaper food and lower wages in the Levant (Masson, ii, 456-7). The cotton yarn imports from the Levant continued. By the 1195/1780s, while French cotton industries found markets, first in Spain and then Italy for their products, whose designs appealed to the taste of the populations there, the Muslim population of the Levant did not favour the imitations of the West. Western cotton industries would definitively conquer the Eastern markets only when they succeeded in solving the problem of price differential (by using machines) and when they imitated or created designs and colours which attracted an eastern clientele.

The introduction of dyeing methods from the Levant was a crucial factor contributing to the success of western cotton industries and exports. The Dutch and the French finally succeeded in learning the special technique known as Edinme dyeing. Consequently, Turkey’s export of red cotton yarn was reduced (O’Hegarty, 204; Masson, ii, 439-40). This reversal of the situation was apparent in the rapid growth in raw cotton imports and the diminishing proportions of cotton textiles and yarn from the Levant. Between 1121/1700 and 1203/1788, the French imports of raw cotton increased ten times, representing 39% of the total imports from the Levant, while cotton yarn did not make the same progress.

As has been seen above, change was rather long process and often achieved in stages. For some time the Levant continued to export its cotton cloths, now in a raw state, undyed; then mainly its cotton

Sources: Masson, ii, 495, 615, and R. Faris, 552.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslins</th>
<th>Woollen Cloths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>691,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands (1778)</td>
<td>258,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice (1782)</td>
<td>97,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trieste (1762)</td>
<td>106,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;bours&quot; and (Austrian and (German products)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
British supremacy and impact of the industrial Revolution. It was to the cotton imported from the Levant that the first cotton industry in England owed its foundation. First, justians, made with a cotton weft and a linen warp, were produced in Lancashire under Elizabeth I at some time before 1584. By the middle of the 16th century, the cotton industry was considered to be a well-established industry in England, although it depended upon a regular import of raw cotton from the Levant, Izmir, Cyprus, Acre and Sidon (A. C. Wood, 74). During the period 1591-1624/1669-1770, the Levant suffered a decline in its exports of cotton and cotton goods to Britain. This was mainly due to the overall decline of the English trade in the Levant, as well as to the English domestic policies against the use and manufacture of cotton goods (R. Davies, Devonshire Square, 29-31). Another factor, a more enduring one, was the competition of colonial supplies to England from the West Indies and India. After the mid-18th century, when British cotton industries were encouraged, the cotton trade experienced a revival from which western Anatolia emerged as one of the main sources of supply.

Cotton imported from the Levant was approximately 350 tons in the years 1111-13/1699-1701, 350 tons in the 1123/1720s and 1123/1720s, and over 500 tons in the 1114/1730s (Davies, op. cit., 273). Also some Levant cotton was imported to England through the Netherlands (Wood, 16c). In the 1118/ 1770s, large cargoes in British ships from the Levant consisted of cotton and fruits. The “cotton boom” was responsible for the revival of the British trade in the Levant in the period after 1129/1758, when the English industry made its tremendous advance (R. Davies, op. cit., 187, 241-2).

British cotton manufactures had to compete in the Levant not only with the Indian fine cotton textiles—muslins and calicoes in particular—but also with Indian cotton yarn. The Ottoman consumer did not at first favour the British imitations of Indian cottons, but price became a key factor, and by 1124/1800, he came to prefer the cheaper British manufactures (Aubin’s report). For the manufacture of fine cottons, Indian yarn was imported into the Levant until 1800, when it was replaced by British “twist”, a strong thread used mostly for the warp (Aubin). “Twist” invaded Ottoman markets as far as the cotton production centre of Diyarbakir via Trebizond, and Central European markets via Salonica (Aubin). The demand of the Istanbul weavers alone was estimated at 20,000 okkas and that of Izmir and its hinterland at 400-500,000 lbs. Also, British imitations of Indian muslins, widely used in turbans, veils, and headgear for women, superseded the Indian imports in the Levant. By 1227/1812, other more popular English cotton textiles, all of them imitations of Indian cottons, were printed calicoes (with a consumption estimate of 37-40,000 a year in Izmir), chintz (Hindal Shind, Persian and Turkish cloths, shawls and “shirtilaghs”, etc. (Aubin gives a long list in his report).

Cheap, durable, bright in colour, the English cotton goods thus enjoyed a “prodigious demand” over the Levant from Cairo to Istanbul. This was considered to be a trade of the “highest importance” for England (Isaac Morcer’s report dated 1814, cited by Wood, 102-3). Although raw cotton imports from the Levant showed a great increase during the same period, their value was not significant when compared to that of the manufactured cotton goods exported to the Levant. Turkish cotton was only one-twelfth of the total imported by Britain.

British imports of raw cotton from the Levant (in Sterling Pounds, declared value)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1233/1817</td>
<td>799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1234/1818</td>
<td>24,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1235/1820</td>
<td>7,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1240/1824</td>
<td>249,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1241/1825</td>
<td>511,547</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After India, Germany too experienced losses at the Levant market for cottons in favour of British manufactures. During the Napoleonic Wars, the British took advantage of the rising prices in Germany and the closure of Trieste and Flume, principal transit ports for Austrian-German exports. Great Britain’s interest in the Levant as an important market for British manufactured cotton goods grew particularly from 1224/1825, when the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was felt at home. Taking advantage of its role as a protector during the Egyptian crisis, Great Britain had the Ottoman government sign the commercial treaty of 1225/1838 which awarded Britain favourable conditions and turned the empire into an open market for its cotton industry (V. J. Purrey, International economies and diplomacy in the Near East, repr. Archon Books, 1956, 197-209; P. E. Bailey, British policy and the Turkish reform movement, Cambridge 1942, 39-178; Mubabat Kitükoğlu, Osmanlı-Türk Bagilarinin İmalatçılığı, 1828-1836, Istanbul 1996). The principle of free trade was virtually introduced into Turkey before it was accepted in Great Britain (Purrey, 147). From 1225/1838 to 1226/1852, British imports of cotton textiles tripled and those of cotton yarn doubled, 63,9 to 183,8 million yards and 5,6 to 11,9 million lbs. respectively (Kitükoğlu, 82, 86). The value of the British cotton imports to Turkey rose approximately from one thirty-eighth in 1224/1825 to one ninth of the total production in 1227/1855 (Bailey, 86).

Ottoman-British Trade in 1226/1852

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total imports to the Ottoman Emp.</th>
<th>Total imports to Great Britain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total imports</td>
<td>Total imports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,254,283</td>
<td>8,469,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(of this, textiles were over 3 million in 1850)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Bailey, 74; O. Kurmuş, Empiryalism, 49.

The Ottoman trade occupied third place in Great Britain’s foreign trade in 1226/1850 (Bailey, 82-3). In the Ottoman Empire, the break-down occurred first in the cotton yarn production, which directly affected spinners, the poorest section of the population in rural and urban areas. In 1249/
1833 D. Urquhart tells us (Turkey and its resources, 184) that "their own yarn being unequal, heavy in weaving and liable to break, the weavers prefer much the English yarn." Also, the first serious crisis in cotton loom industries appears to have occurred in the period 1821-1833 (Urquhart, 47-54; Ö. C. Sarı, in Ch. Issawi, Econ. history of the Middle East, 48-9). At a later date, in 1279/1862, another Englishman, Lewis Farley (The resources of Turkey, 59-60) observed that "Turkey is no longer a manufacturing country. The numerous and varied manufactures which formerly sufficed, not only for the consumption of the empire, but also stocked the markets of the country. The depredations of the received a 1254-1838, "five thousand weavers in Scutari were without state, and reduced to the most deplorable beggary. The fast colors and firm material of Dijbekir disappeared, ... and Barsa towels came from Lyons and Manchester. ... Thus, all the industries of Turkey have perished." Apparently, all these figures given are simply rough estimates, sometimes grossly exaggerated. In Aleppo, for example, in the period before 1273/1856, only 1,000 looms with an annual output of half a million pieces are mentioned in John MacGregor, Commercial statistics, no. 544; Istanbul tarif miyârîlari, Istanbul şerîye siçcileri arşivi, Istanbul Mûttalıqû, ihtisâb ve malik-i ceddât-i defterleri, nos. 5. 7. 9; provincial laws and regulations ed. Barkan, Tarîk vesikalar, nos. 5, 7, 9; provincial laws and regulations ed. Barkan, NY ve NY înci aserîdefî Osmanlı imperatorlukçulûsî, vito alîmînin ve malî üsûlî, F. K. Kâçen, 1913; Ahmed Refik, Istanbul heyati, 4 vols. Istanbul 1930-5; Çağatay Uluçay, Manîsî'de sirat, ticaret ve isnâm, İstanbul 1943; Halil Salihioglu, Bir türçüs hikayesi, in Belgelerde Türk Tarîk Tarihi Dergisi, no. 9 (1968). 63-9; Ahmed Temir, Cahâl Oğlu Nur-al-Din, Ankara 1959; A report on the trade of Turkey in 1812 by C. Aubin, ed. with intro. A. Cunningham (forthcoming in Archivum Ottomanicum); C. Issawi, The economic history of Turkey, 1800-1974, Chicago and London 1986. Narrative sources: Müfettâs Naîmî, Ta'rifî, iv. İstanbul 1281/ 1864; M. de Peyssonel, Traité sur la Mer Noire, 2 vols., Paris 1857; O'Heguerty, Remarques sur plusieurs branches de commerce et de navigation, Amsterdam 1788; Shams ad-Din Ahmad al-Âlîkî, Manâbh al-Sîrîfî, ed. Tahâ Bin Yacuz, 2 vols., Ankara 1976; F. de Beaumont, Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, Paris 1860; J. L. Farley, The resources of Turkey, London 1862; D. Urquhart, Turkey and its resources, London 1833; E. H. Micheelsen, The Ottoman Empire and its resources, London 1853; J. Todc, The world's cotton crops, London 1915; J. MacGregor, Commercial statistics, 4 vols., London 1847; H. Grenville, Observations sur l'état actuel de l'empire ottoman, ed. A. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965; C. Hamlin, Among the Turks,
C. J. Lamm, Cotton in medieval textiles of the Near East, Paris 1937; Maureen F. Mazzacani, The
Cotton industry of Northern Italy in the late Middle Ages, 1100-1600, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, University of
Bibliography: M. Sosyal, La langue des mathématiques en arabe, 285-5. (H. Sutter)
KUTRABUL, a place name of Slav. Also given as Katrabbul, the name is regarded as Persian in origin. (1) Yâbûl lists a village (karya) of that name which was situated between Baghad and Câlabûr. This Kutrabbul was reportedly frequented by pleasure seekers, who recognised the quality of the local wine. As a result, the village is often mentioned by such persons as Abû Nuwâs and in tales comparing the virtues of different wine-bearing locations. (2) Kutrabbul also refers to one of the four major administrative subdistricts (hâsûdâ, and in Yaâkût, also hâra of the greater urban area of Baghadh. The subdistricts, which also included Baddârayâ, Nahâr Bûq and Kalwâdhâ, were in existence before the Islamic occupation of the area and may have continued to serve some administrative function after the construction of the Islamic city. Kutrabbul and Baddâraya occupied the lands west of the Tigris River with the Sarat Canal serving as a boundary between them. The geographers speak of Baddâraya being east of the Canal and Kutrabbul to the west, though it would perhaps be more correct to speak in terms of south and north. Kutrabbul thus came to represent the area which comprised the Round City of Al-Mumûnî (en) and the northern outskirts including the military cantonments of al-Harbiyya. Bibliography: Yâkût, iv, 233; iv, 460-1; Subûrî, 'Adîd b. 231 = Ibn Seraphim, 55. Tabari. index: Muqaddasî, 119-20; Astrophî, index iv; G. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate, London 1900, 14, 501-1, 113, 123, 345; idem, The lands of the Eastern caliphate, 31, 65-6. (J. Lassner)
KUTRUB, the werewolf. The Arabic word goes back to Syriac kaftúfopos (or kafúfopos), which was subsequently transformed into the Arabic kufirub which in the same way as other names of animals, like jundub "locust" or kufirub "bedehog". Kaftúfopos itself is the Syriac transcription of Greek kúttápfouxou. The saga of the werewolf is by itself indigenous to Arcadia in the central Peloponnesus (see Pausanias, viii, 2), but has many parallels amongst the Romans, Celts, Teutons and Slavs. Originally it was unknown to the Orient, and the Arabs came to know the figure of the werewolf in the 2nd/3rd century at the earliest. According to an oft-repeated anecdote, Sinbad once described his pupil Muhammad b. Al-Mustanî as kufirub (kafirub, kufirub) to the latter, which was subsequently known by the nickname of Kutrub (see following

KUTRUB means in Arab geometry (1) the diameter of a circle or of any section of a cone and the diameter of a cone; (2) the diagonal of a parallelogram or of any quadrilateral; (3) in trigonometry, the hypotenuse of the right triangle; as such it is either the secant or the cosecant of an angle, according as the side opposite it is the tangent or cotangent of this angle; in the first case it is called hâr al-sâli al-aswâq ("hypotenuse of the first umbra"), in the second case hâr al-sâli al-îfîn ("hypotenuse of the second umbra").

Bibliography: M. Sosyal, La langue des mathématiques en arabe, 285-5. (H. Sutter)
KUTRUB — KUTTAB

KUTRUB, the cognomen of Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. al-Mustahin, grammarian and lexicographer of Basra in the 2nd/8th century, the freedman of al-Sa‘ib b. Ziyad. He was born in Basra, where he studied not only grammar with the founders of that science, ‘Athir b. ‘Amr, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allah b. Sibawayh (who is said to have given him his nickname), but also theology with the famous Muslim authority al-Nasafi. He became the tutor to the son of the military commander and minister ‘Abd Allah Dulaf al-‘Adli [see: Al-Kasim b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allah Dulaf], and died at Baghdad in 206/821. According to Ibn al-Sikkit, his pupil, he was not to be regarded as a reliable authority for lexicography.

Kutrub holds a very important place in the history of Arabic grammar, as the first grammarian known to have written a work on the following topics: (1) words with two opposing meanings (‘addal [qalal]); (2) words with the same consonant skeleton capable of having three different meanings (mu‘tala‘) according to whether they have one or other of the three vowels; and (3) the explanation of the causes and occasions (‘ilal) of grammatical phenomena. Furthermore, Kutrub seems to have held original ideas about syntax. Al-Zanjiju‘di in his K. al-Idqah (ed. M. al-Mubarak, 70, 77) states that Kutrub, as opposed to all the other Basran grammarians, did not believe that the ‘arba‘ affixed nouns in order to show their different functions and to distinguish them from each other; he averred that there are nouns with the same ‘arba‘, whose function differs, and nouns with different ‘arba‘ but with the same function, and accordingly held that ‘arba‘ only affects a noun in order to distinguish two grammatical states, e.g. at the end of a speech unit, without a final vowel, to mark pause (wa‘af), and within a speech unit, with a final vowel, to mark liaison (‚asal) with the succeeding word.


Bibliography. Brockelmann, l, 102, S 1, 161; ET s.v. (M. Ben Cheneb); Kaballa, Mus‘am, iii, 25.

KUTTÅB (pl. kuttab), itself probably plural of kuttab (‘scribe’), a type of beginners’ or primary school. The term is frequently synonymous with maktab in Arabic and Persian and mekteb in Turkish. In Ottoman it was also called mekteb-i şeyh or mekteb-i şeyh-i sâbîn or şeyh mektebi, (‘children’s school’); later, in the Tanzimat era, it was more generally referred to as ihtidâ‘i mekteb (‘beginner’s school’) and then as âile mektebi (‘primary school’). European writers have often called it “Kurra‘ie school”.

The kuttab was formerly widespread in Islamic lands. Although the appellation was almost universally applied to Muslim beginners’ schools, kuttab has also been known to designate Jewish hadar-type schools in Arabic-speaking countries. While there are no precise indications as to when they were first established, they spread during the Umayyad era in the wake of the conquering armies (G. Thoenes) and by the 8th/14th century the system was already widespread in early Abbasid times. There is some evidence that the structure and teaching methods of the kuttab were modelled on the Byzantine primary school (Lecomte, in Arabica, i (1934), 324 ff.), but its curriculum was purely Islamic and Arabic. The early kuttab was an important agent for socialising different ethnic groups into the Islamic faith and its way of life. Later, in the Ottoman Empire, it served as vehicle for transmitting the values of the Ottoman Islamic society from generation to generation. The kuttab provided a common educational basis for all who attended it. It was homogeneous in its aims and methods, and thus differed from the indigenous tradition of education, which displayed remarkable diversity. Until the penetration of Western models of education in modern time, the kuttab was the only vehicle of public instruction for young Muslim children. Even up to the present, it has played remarkably staying-power by continuing to compete tenaciously with other educational institutions in many Islamic countries.

Since basic education [see TARBÂY] was usually imbued with a religious spirit, and its professed goal was to produce a true believer, much of it was closely connected with the mosque [see MASJID]. Consequently, the kuttab was frequently attached to a mosque, whose officials also provided further instruction.
The kuttab itself was located in any sort of room available, a tent in the desert or even (as in Uganda) in the open. If specially constructed, a kuttab consisted (in the Ottoman Empire, at least), of a large domed, unadorned hall in which all the pupils sat crouched over mattresses in a rough semi-circle, usually next to low desks. Such buildings were generally used by the buranusha (through a madrassa otherwise) or by the pupils' parents, who also provided the teacher's fees (in money and food). In the Middle Ages, wealthier families sometimes set up a private kuttab for their children. The state hardly intervened until well into the 19th century, so that fees, physical arrangements and the curriculum were agreed upon between teachers and parents alone.

There are even recorded instances of teachers volunteering their services without pay, though in many other cases they were underpaid, and some had to send their pupils to collect alms for them (as in other cases they were underpaid, and some had to set up a private kuttab for their children. The state Ceylon; and mu'allam (from the private tutor); in Turkey; in maktabdar khbdja in the Arab lands (in some cases, the later attended in the late 19th century. The state

sion required for the formation of a good Muslim—there were obvious qualitative differences between the towns and countryside, as well as substantive variations in emphasis in the curriculum. The Kur'an was studied in all the kuttabs, with stress laid on memorising and absolute accuracy. The teacher began with the Fatiha, then proceeded to the shortest, the 14th, sura (al-Nas) and continued back until the class reached the longest, the 2nd, sura (al-Bakara). When a pupil had mastered all this, he began to practise his recitation in the correct order. As a general rule, the early-morning hours, considered the best time of the day, were earmarked for studying the Kur'an. At other times, prayer and religious rituals were imparted regularly. In the eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Palestine, Syria and 'Irak), Arabic grammar and poetry were usually studied as well. This was likewise the case in Muslim Spain, where composition was also added to the curriculum. While in Algeria, Morocco and among the Muslims of Africa south of the Sahara, little was learned besides the Kur'an. In Tunisia kuttab was generally included as well. Some calligraphy and a smattering of arithmetic were added in some kuttab in Turkey as well as in Iran, where Islamic history and fragments of Persian poetry (e.g. from Sadi's and Hafiz) were occasionally included, from the 7th/13th century onwards. A little Persian poetry was also taught in the kuttab of Afghanistan and the parts of Central Asia ruled by Imperial Russia. In some kuttab in Ceylon, Arabic grammar, elementary arithmetic and the writing of Tamil in Arabic characters was practised in addition to the Kur'an. All considered, one may surmise that although the kuttab's curriculum laid a basic foundation for further study, many of the pupils who ended their education at this level had to put to use it profitably, except for prayer.

Since the mid-19th century, the kuttab has exhibited signs of change. Some reform has been promoted from above, as in the Muslim parts of the French possessions south of the Sahara, where the authorities initiated a campaign to supervise these schools and improve their quality (their success has not always been evident). Elsewhere the kuttab stood in competition to the newly-imported Western-type primary schools, which also imparted a Muslim education but in more efficient ways. The kuttab has held its own in Egypt, partly because this was the first Arab country that attempted to adapt it to modern requirements and integrate it into the state system.
An inspector of these schools (Mufattish al-makdisb) was first appointed in 1835; since 1867, the Ministry of Education has been officially empowered to inspect these schools regularly (in the Ottoman Empire, a Ministry of Education to supervise the kuttdb and other schools was established by an irade in 1846). By 1890, official supervision of kuttdb was fairly widespread in Egypt, and its effectiveness was increased by governmental grants-in-aid. Later, Muhammad 'Abduh (q.v.) was instrumental in expanding their curriculum (which today includes object lessons). Indeed, there are recorded cases of children attending an elementary school in the morning and the kuttdb in the afternoon, or going to the kuttdb in the early morning before school.

The fortunes of the kuttdb in the 20th century have accordingly varied. In the Sudan, it has coexisted with the more general schools introduced by the British soon after they had defeated the Mahdist (q.v.) forces. In Zanzibar, in 1907, the British director of education decided to make the Kur'an a basic component of the general curriculum and to integrate the kuttdb into the school network. In India (e.g. in Bengal) the British rulers tried to increase the number of kuttdb and raise their standards by introducing secular studies (The Reform Scheme, 1914). The same trend was evidenced in the British administration of Arab education in Palestinian after the First World War. In Syria, in the 1923-24 school year, there were still 1,229 kuttdb, with an enrolment of 34,440 children; more recently, however, the bulk of Islamic education is carried out in secular government schools. Although in Iran western influences began to affect the kuttdb adversely in the 1920s, and a Ministry of Education was set up in 1910 to foster modernism, as late as 1930 there were still 2,536 kuttdb, compared to 1,218 state primary schools.

In recent times, the fortunes of the kuttdb have as a rule suffered wherever Muslims are in a minority, e.g. in the Soviet Union, where all these schools were closed by the authorities in 1928. Much the same occurred in Yugoslavia in 1946. In India, however, they made a comeback after Partition, sponsored by active Muslim organisations. The kuttdb is on the decline (although no detailed statistics are available) in countries undergoing modernisation, especially in urban areas. The extreme instance is Republican Turkey, which disestablished these schools in 1924 and closed them down in 1926—although some have continued to function surreptitiously in remote villages. The opposite case is to be found in theocracies like the former monarchsal Libya or in Saudi Arabia, where the kuttdb (sometimes under other names) has long provided the only type of basic instruction in both the desert and rural areas; modernised primary schools have gradually been introduced there only recently.

In some other Islamic countries, the kuttdb has survived thanks to efforts towards raising its level and enriching its curriculum and to the generosity of various philanthropists. In yet others, the kuttdb flourished for a while due to the impact ascribed to it by anticolonialist movements. In Morocco during the 1930s, the prestige of the kuttdb (called madr, from maqdis, the Holy City) increased because it served as a focus for nationalist propaganda against the French Protectorate. In Algeria during the 1930s, an Association of ulama set out to revive the kuttdb and increase their number as a means of protecting the younger generation against the modernising influences of the French. Later, in January 1964—less than two years after independence—a decree reorganised basic Muslim education to suit the new situation. Elsewhere, too, kuttdb instruction still continues to have current relevance; in 1962, for example, an Upper Volta politician in search of Muslim votes claimed that he had studied in such a school.

Practically all newly-independent Arab states, as well as Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia, have attempted to incorporate the kuttdb into the national school system, to supervise them and to provide them with a better-organised curriculum, including regular class hours, examinations and grades. While the integration of the kuttdb into the state systems of education may well ensure their continued existence, particularly in rural areas, state supervision is gradually altering their original character. This is especially so since in all Islamic lands the study of the Kur'an and of Islam has become a standard part of the core curriculum of basic instruction.


AL-KUTUBI, Abdul-Aziz Muhammad b. Shaker al-Darazi al-Dimashqi (680/1281-1363), Syrian historian. The date of his birth is uncertain, although the majority say 690/1291 for Ibn Hazm's Durar. It has been little studied and not yet been edited, possibly because there is practically nothing known about his life, and because there seems to have been little use of his works. He had personal fortunes and was very poor, and he had a great influence in the Middle East, but he never became a great scholar. He had the personal fortune of being a close friend to his master, the famous scholar of the Middle East, and he spent all his later life in Damascus. He had personal fortunes and was very poor, and he had a great influence in the Middle East, but he never became a great scholar.
forces to combat a Mongol invasion of Syria. In addition, claiming that al-\textit{Manifest} \textit{All} was too immature to defend Muslim territory, Kutuz deposed him and had himself proclaimed sultan. Thus Kutuz was the first of many Muslim leaders to depose the sons of his \textit{usuli}, in order to make himself sultan, thereby setting, according to Ibn Taghribirdi (Cairo, vii, 56) "an evil precedent which led to the decline of affairs in Egypt".

Kutuz promised those \textit{amirs} who protested against this act of usurpation that he would step down from the sultanate once the Mongols had been defeated. To secure the co-operation of the Ayyubids of Syria, Kutuz proffered his allegiance to al-Malik al-Nasir of Damascus and Aleppo and volunteered to defend him against the Mongols. To Hulegu himself, however, Kutuz offered only defiance and in 658/1260 put to death the envoys whom Hulegu had sent to demand his submission. Proclaiming a \textit{diq\textit{\textipa{d}}, Kutuz led an army from Egypt into Palestine. Although the Mamlik \textit{amirs} were reluctant to join battle against the Mongols, Kutuz succeeded in persuading them to march with him and sent Baybars al-Bundukdari, the future sultan, at the head of an advance force. Kutuz first secured the neutrality of the Franks at Acre and then met, and defeated, the Mongol army at \textit{Ayn Djalut}. After the battle Kutuz marched to Damascus, which he used as a base from which to clear Syria of Mongol troops and to establish Mamlik rule in the province, appointing his own \textit{amirs} to some key posts and retaining Ayyubids in others. During the march back to Egypt, Kutuz was murdered at al-Kusayr, near al-S\textit{\textipa{lah}}yya. Though the court historian Ibn \textit{Abd al-Zahir claims that Baybars was the sole assailant, it is clear from other sources that this historian was attempting to establish Baybars' unique claim to the sultanate according to "the law of the Turks" which states that one and only one \textit{hunu} al-malik. (\textit{Shaf\textit{\textipa{i}}, b. \textit{All}, quoted in al-Rawd al-zahir, ed. al-Khowariz, 31).

There is also disagreement over the motivation for the assassination. Several historians claim that Kutuz reneged on his promise to award Baybars the viceregency of Aleppo after \textit{Ayn Djalut}, but Ibn al-Dawd\textit{\textipa{arih} says that Kutuz had already aroused Baybars' enmity by rebuking his brother \textit{amirs} for cowardice during the battle. Ibn \textit{Abd al-Zahir claims that Kutuz offended Baybars by refusing to share the glory of the \textit{djibad} with him. In any event, it is clear, as Baybars al-Man\textit{shar} points out, that the enmity between Kutuz and the Bahriyya was of long standing, and Bahriyya ambitions for the sultanate were undoubtedly a factor. The disposition of the body of Kutuz is also a point of dispute, with Ibn Taghribirdi claiming that Baybars transferred it from the original grave when it became a site of pilgrimage, while others merely say that it was buried in Cairo. Be that as it may, the sources are virtually unanimous in hailing Kutuz as a hero of Islam for the victory at \textit{Ayn Djalut}.

\textbf{Bibliography:} The fullest contemporary source that has been published is Ibn \textit{Abd al-Zahir's} al-\textit{Rawd al-zahir fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir}, ed. A. A. al-Khowariz, Riyadh 1956, see index; a shorter version of this source was edited and translated by Fatima Sadique, \textit{Baybars I of Egypt}, Dacca 1956, index. See also the 8th/14th century historians: Baybars al-Mam\textit{shar}, \textit{Zubdai al-fikra}, British Museum MS. Ar. 1233, fols. 11a-53a; Ibn al-Dawd\textit{\textipa{arih}, \textit{Kanz al-durar}, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg 1971, index; Kutub al-Din al-Yun\textit{\textipa{arih}, Dhshy\textit{\textipa{r}ih nash\textit{\textipa{im}}, i, Hyderabad 1945, 370-82; and

**KUSAD (A.), the verbal noun Ka'ada "to sit," which developed into a technical term.** (1) In the qa'd [qa'd] it indicates the sitting posture which is the penultimate component of a raka'a [rak]. For descriptions and illustrations, see Lane, Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, 3rd edn., London 1843, i, 107, postures 7 and 13, and T. P. Hughes, A dictionary of Islam, London 1885, 457. (2) In early Islamic history it is the designation of the political attitude of a faction of the Kharijids, the ka'ada (also called ku'da, ka'didun and simply ka'ad) after the analogy of haris, pi. hara\(\). This designation is sometimes taken to refer to "self-declared non-rebels." (M. A. Shaban, Islamic history A.D. 500-750 (AD. 161), Cambridge 1971, 251), although the generally accepted notion is "quietism." This notion may have been derived from the pre-Islamic custom with the Arab tribes to "abstain from" warfare, raiding, etc. (in Arabic: ka'ada 'an) during Dhu al-Ka'ada, one of the four sacred months.

The quietist is extolled in a probably spurious tradition dating possibly from the end of the first century A.H.: "There will be a turba [turba], he who does not take an active part in it (ka'ad) is better than he who does (ku'da)". cf. Concordance, v, 439, left column, first trad., where Ibn Hambil, i, 269 and 163, may be added to the list of references. (G. H. A. JUVENBOL)

**Al-KUWAYT (conventionally spelled Kuwait), the capital city, situated in lat. 29°20' N and long 47°59' E. of an amphite of the same name situated on the Arabian shore at the head of the Persian Gulf. The mainland state is bounded by the Persian Gulf to the north and west and by Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwait also owns a number of islands and islets, the largest and most important of which are Bubiyin, Warba and Faylaka. The total area of the state is approximately 6,000 sq. miles.**

1. Geography and economy

At least two explanations have been suggested for the origins of the name; one is that it is a diminutive form of Bub ("fort"), and this in turn is said to refer to the existence of a small Portuguese defensive settlement there in the late 16th century. The other less general derivation suggests that in local usage Kuwait means "a number of small wells," and that these exist near the low sandstone ridge called Ra'a's Aqara, which is where the modern town was founded in the early 18th century. European sources usually refer to this settlement as Grane or Granne, which is probably a corruption of al-Kurayn, an islet in the bay about four miles west of the modern town, near to which there was a good anchorage.

The bay is the largest in the Persian Gulf, with a maximum length of 20 miles (east-west) and a maximum breadth of 10 miles (north-south). It is the only good natural harbor near the head of the Gulf. The terrain is mainly flat and arid with occasional low hills; the highest point in the country, less than 1,000 ft. in elevation, is in the southwest. The coastal lands are low and sometimes marshy. Natural vegetation is very sparse and consists of scrub and stunted bushes. Spring rains sometimes produce a short-lived cover of grass. Oases are few; the largest is al-Dhahir, some 18 miles west of the capital city. Permanent surface water does not exist, neither do springs. In the past drinking waters was drawn from wells which were often brackish, and it was also brought by boat from Basra. Some drinking water now comes by pipeline from the Shatt al-Arab, but a large sea-water distillation plant is the most important source of supply. The underground water table near al-Rawdatayn in the north is also tapped for additional supplies.

The climate is hot, but often less humid than at other places in the Gulf. Summer daytime shade temperatures usually reach 105° F. to 110° F., but temperatures of over 120° F. have been recorded. The coldest month is January, when the daily maximum shade temperature is usually about 60° F. to 65° F. but temperatures as low as 24° have been recorded inland. Pross sometimes occur in the desert but are almost unknown at the coast. Rainfall occurs chiefly between October and March and is slight; the average is under 5" per year. Winds in winter are generally from the north-west and are relatively cool. Southerly winds in the spring and early summer are generally hot and dry, those from the south-west later in the year are also hot but are often damp. Sandstorms more often occur during the winter than during the summer.

Before the discovery and exploitation of oil, the chief coastal occupations were trading, pearling and other fishing, and boat building. In the interior, nomads herded sheep, goats and camels and there was a little settled cultivation. The port served much of north-eastern Arabia, as well as acting as an entrepôt for trade with the south of Iraq and southern Persia. Horses, animal products, fish and pearls formed the major traditional export items. Imports were chiefly foodstuffs and piece goods. In 1904, some 450 pearling boats worked out of Kuwayt and their crews numbered about 9, 200 men. In the winter, about a third of those in Kuwait and of the total from Arabia. The world-wide expansion of the industry which began in 1925, and the introduction of cultured pearls from Japan, greatly reduced the demand for Gulf pearls. Boat-building using wood and fibre from India employed about 300 men in 1904, but this number obviously increased, for in 1912-13 as many as 120 pearling boats were reported to have been built. In 1904 the population of the town was estimated to be about 35,000. Of that number, about 1,000 were Persians, up to 200 were Jews and the Negro population was said to be about 4,000. By 1932 the population of the state had risen to about 150,000. Since that date it has grown very rapidly, because of changes which spring from the development of the oil industry. According to the census of April 1935, the population of the state was over 900,000. This very sharp rise was due chiefly to immigration, but the native birth rate is also very high. The same census reported that non-native-born residents made up 52.6% of the population; many of these were Palestinians or other Arabs, but immigrant workers have also entered Kuwayt in large numbers from Iran and the Indian subcontinent. There is a significant European and American community.

**KUTUZ—AL-KUWAYT**
The first oil exploration concession was granted in December 1934, and oil was discovered in 1938 at al-Burkan, but the Second World War halted the development of these fields. The Kuwait Oil Company, which held the concession, was owned jointly and equally by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later the British Petroleum Company) and the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States of America. Production began in 1946, and in that year approximately six million tons of oil were exported. The Ahbadin crisis of 1951 and the resulting embargo on oil supplies from Iran gave much impetus to the development of the oil industry in Kuwait. In 1956 production exceeded 54 million tons, and Kuwait was at that time the largest oil producer in the Middle East. By 1972 production had reached 148 million tons, but Kuwait was no longer the leading regional producer, having given way to Saudi Arabia and Iran. In January 1973 the Kuwait Oil Company and the Government of Kuwait reached an agreement under which the state was to acquire immediately a 25% share in the Company, and by 1982 this would have risen to a 51% controlling interest. The Kuwaiti National Assembly has, however, expressed strong disagreement with these terms, and there were demands for the immediate nationalisation of the Company. Further negotiations were held and in December 1975 a new agreement was signed which transferred full ownership of the Company to the Government with retrospective effect from March of that year. During the War of October 1973, Kuwait joined other Arab countries in restricting production, and for the first time since oil had been produced output showed a decline. The sharp increase in oil prices in 1973 encouraged the authorities to give increased attention to the question of conservation in order to extend the life of the oil reserves, the country's only known natural assets. A limit on production has been established of two million barrels per day, equivalent to about one hundred million tons per year; at this rate, it has been estimated that the state's known reserves should last at least until the middle of the next century. Kuwait was a founder member of both the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1960) and of the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (established in 1968). The latter institution has its headquarters in Kuwait and the Kuwaiti authorities have taken an important and active part in the work of both bodies.

The recent development of the oil industry has had some striking economic and social effects. From being a relatively poor society of traders, fisherfolk, boatbuilders and herdsmen, the country now (1976) has one of the highest levels of income per capita in the world, and the state provides an impressive array of social services. Kuwait has become, despite its harsh environment, one of the most highly-urbanised states in the world. The dependence on oil is overwhelming, with over 90% of government income currently being derived from oil production. The pearling and boat-building industries are no longer of economic importance. Fishing has been modernised and batches of shrimp are sold in Japan, Western Europe and the United States of America rather than locally. Agriculture is of little significance; less than 3% of the land is regarded as cultivable and only about 1% is actually in use. Imports now consist of construction materials, consumer goods and industrial equipment as well as foodstuffs and textiles. Exports, apart from oil and related products such as petrochemicals and fertilisers, are negligible. Ships of all the major maritime nations now use the port; the airport is served by many daily international flights; and the most modern means of international telecommunication are widely available. Oil revenues have enabled the government to offer significant amounts of financial aid to poorer states, both Arab and non-Arab. By 1977 loans worth over US $1,500 million had been provided.

2. History

Archaeological excavations on Failaka island have revealed traces of settlements dating back to 2500 B.C., but relatively little is yet known of the history of Kuwait prior to the 18th century and the assumption of power by the first members of the present ruling dynasty of Al Sabah in about 1707/1706.

The Sasanid King Shapir I is said to have had a great ditch dug from Hfi on the river Euphrates to the northern shore of Kuwait bay to protect the Sawai (g.v.) from Arab raids, and it was in the neighbourhood of Kuwait that Khalid b. al-Walid is reported to have defeated a force of Persians in 625/626. The first production of the modern state dates from about the end of the 17th century when a group of 'Utub Arabs, who claimed to be a branch of the 'Amaza confederation, migrated into the area. According to local tradition the three clans—the Al Sabah, the Al Khalifa, and the Al Djalalima—were expelled from their previous settlements near Umm Ka'ar by the Ottomans because of their acts of brigandage and piracy. By the middle of the 18th century, the Al Sabah had achieved a position of local dominance. The Al Khalifa (g.v.) left Kuwait in 1785-86/1786 and migrated to Zubara in Katar after taking control of Bahrain in 1785-1786. The Al Djalalima left Kuwait later and they too went to Katar.

The first mention of Kuwait by a European is that of E. Ives, who refers to it as Graha, but he does not give the name of the ruling khanqah at the time of his visit in 1758. Niebuhr refers to the town as having a population of 10,000, but he noted that during the hot months the number declined to about 3,000. He reported that the harbour contained 800 ships and that the inhabitants were employed in fishing and pearling; but like Ives, he does not give the name of the ruler.

Kuwait grew in prosperity after Karim Khan Zand had seized Basra in 1190/1776, for during the three-year Persian occupation, the East India Company used Kuwait and Basra as the terminal point for its caravan route from Halab (Aleppo) to the Gulf. According to Capper, who did not visit the town, the ruler of Graha was very friendly towards local British officials in 1195/1779; and in 1207/1793, after a quarrel with the Ottoman authorities in Basra, the East India Company's Agency was moved from there to Kuwait. The Agency returned to Basra in 1220/1795. It was at this period that Kuwait was often threatened by Wahhabi raiding parties.

The next century-and-a-quarter of Kuwait's history was to be shaped by three sets of circumstances and by the relations between them. Those circumstances were threats from Northern and Central Arabia, the uncertain and varying nature of the relations between Kuwait and the Ottoman Empire, and the emerging interest of first Great Britain, and later of other European powers, in this large natural harbour at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The temporary eclipse of Wahhabi power in Najd and al-Hasa after their conquest by Muhammad b. Ali in 1323-4/1807-9 reduced the threat to Kuwait for a
time. When a British officer visited Kuwayt in 1852/53, he found that Egyptian envoys were present in the town, and that entry of Muhammad Al’s forces into Eastern Arabia shortly afterwards increased British suspicions about the extent of Egyptian ambitions. An officer of the Indian Navy surveyed the island of Fuyshak in 1852/1853 as a possible base for British military forces, but it was concluded that the island was unsuitable. The harbour at Kuwayt was also surveyed at this time. The withdrawal of Egyptian forces in 1269/1854 meant that British interest began to wane. The fact that Kuwayt had not been heavily involved in piracy meant that the principal system of relations, which had been established by Britain from 1830 with Bahrain and the other sheikdoms of the lower Gulf, was not extended to Kuwayt. Although Kuwayt was involved in the slave trade, the anomalous nature of her relations with the Sublime Porte meant that the British government were reluctant to seek engagements for the suppression of that trade from Kuwayt similar to those which had been secured from the Arab rulers of the lower Gulf.

The economic fortunes of Kuwayt fluctuated throughout the 19th century. Stoecker, who visited the town in 1248/1861 estimated that its population was only about 1,000. Some revival appears to have occurred, for Palgrave, who was in Arabia in 1278-9 and intense family rivalries threatened the position of the Shaykh of Kuwayt, and the town was then used briefly as a staging post for the Ottoman annexation of that region in 1280/1864, reported that many horses were exported from there to India via Kuwayt. The possibility of building a railway line from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Euphrates and onwards to the head of the Persian Gulf had been suggested as early as 1866, but the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 put a temporary end to such plans.

The relationship between the rulers of Kuwayt and the Sublime Porte had varied ever since the Al Sabab had established themselves in Kuwayt, but it was rarely anything other than vague and nebulous. Occasionally, as in 1871, the Ottoman authorities in ‘Iral were engaged in open rivalry with the Al Sa’ud, and among other reassurances the ruler was informed that the British government recognised Kuwayt as an independent government under British protection.

The Ottoman authorities were not the only threat to the independence of Kuwayt at the end of the 19th century. The value of that port as an outlet for the trade of Djabal Shammar attracted the attention of the rulers of the Al Rashid, and that clan was engaged in open rivalry with the Al Sa’ud. Much turbulence was caused in Northern Arabia in the late 19th and early 20th century by that contest for power. Abd al-Rahman b. Faysal Al Sa’ud and his son Abul’Aziz took refuge for a time with Shaykh Mubarak, and a raiding force from Kuwayt was defeated by the forces of Abul’Aziz b. Rashid near Hail in March 1901. The capture of al-Riyadh by the Al Sa’ud and the curbing of the power of the Al Rashid reduced the immediate threat to Kuwayt, but as the power of the Al Sa’ud increased it looked as if they rather than the Al Rashid would now pose a danger to Shaykh Mubarak.

In 1913, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Rahman Al Sa’ud succeeded in expelling the Turks from al-Hudaydah and in gaining an outlet to the Persian Gulf. This meant that Kuwayt was now encircled to the west and the south by the territory of the Al Sa’ud. In December 1915 the British authorities signed a treaty at al-Ukhayr with ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Rahman Al Sa’ud, among the provisions of which was a promise by the latter not to attack Kuwayt. Shortly before the signature of this document, Shaykh Mubarak had died and there was renewed family rivalry over the succession. Mubarak’s eldest son Jibir became the shykh, but he died in February 1917, and was succeeded by Mubarak’s second son Salim. Salim was by no means as prudent as his father had been in his relations with either the British or with the Al Sa’ud. He allowed the harbour of Kuwayt to be used for the transport of supplies to the Turkish army and from February 1918 the port was blockaded by ships of the British navy. This blockade was lifted in the autumn after the cessation of hostilities between the Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire.

The lack of a defined frontier meant that relations between the Al Sabab and the Al Sa’ud were unlikely to be easy or harmonious, but the activities of the Ikhwan [B.B.I.] and particularly their building of a hidjra at Karya al-Ulya, made matters worse. In 1920 ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Rahman Al Sa’ud
imposed an embargo on trade with Kuwait and this ban lasted until 1937, doing much harm to the prosperity of Kuwait. Fear of an Ikhwan attack prompted the building of a defensive wall around the city and in October 1920 a force of Ikhwan led by Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawāiṣ, the leader of the Mutayr tribe, attacked the nearby oasis of al-Dhiyarah. This attack did not succeed, but Ikhwan raids continued to pose a threat to the security of this part of north-eastern Arabia until the movement was finally suppressed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Al Ṣafīd in 1930 after it had rebelled against his authority.

Shaykh Alīn died in February 1921 and he was succeeded by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭahar b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Al Ṣafīd in 1930. The new territory of Kuwait was very much smaller than that which had been allotted to it in the draft Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1915, and Shaykh Alīn believed that the British authorities had not supported his claims against those of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Al Ṣafīd as strongly as they should have done. This belief was an important factor in Shaykh Alīn’s reluctance to grant an exclusive oil concession to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and it strengthened his later determination to secure the involvement of an American company in the development of Kuwait’s oil resources. (The growth of the oil industry has been treated in section 1 above.)

In 1920 Great Britain had been awarded the Mandate over ‘Irāq by the League of Nations, and in April 1921 the British High Commissioner for ‘Irāq recognised the frontier between Kuwait and ‘Irāq as being that which had been laid down in the Anglo-Ottoman draft convention of 1915. Thereafter, however, there were disputes about this boundary. The most serious occurred in June 1921, when the 1899 agreement between Great Britain and Kuwait was terminated and Kuwait became a fully independent state. The Government of ‘Irāq immediately claimed that Kuwait was rightfully an integral part of ‘Irāq, and it strengthened its later determination to secure American involvement in the development of Kuwait’s oil resources. (We refer to ‘Alī Salāḥ’s Vienna peace mission in 1899.)


Further bibliographical information can be obtained from S. M. Kabeel, Selected bibliography on Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait 1969.

(R. M. Durell)

KUWWA (pl. Kawa), Arabic term denoting "strength, power".

1. Lexicographical study. Ibn Sida defined the word kuwwa as the opposite of weakness (kiidat al-de'ef), cf. Kur’an XXX, 54: "It is God who has created you from weakness (mi'ad day) and who then, after weakness, has given you strength (kawa)". It is thus the concept of strength and of vigour which is paramount. A man is described as kwaa when he is strong in himself, and as muqit when he owns a robust mount. On the other hand, like the word kauri is paramount. A man is described as kwaa when he is strong in himself, and as muqit when he owns a robust mount. On the other hand, like the word kauri is paramount. A man is described as kwaa when he is strong in himself, and as muqit when he owns a robust mount.

2. kuwwa in the Kur’än. A quite frequent use is that which gives this word the meaning of power in the sense of capacity to act, to fight, to win, and which applies it either to communities or to individuals. Thus in IX, 69, there is reference to "those who before you were stronger than you in power (agaddad minhum kuwwaa) and were richer in goods and offspring". Speaking of man at the Day of Judgment, God says (LXXXVI, 10): "He will then have for himself neither strength nor success". A second use of a more moral nature is to be found in verses where there is the injunction to "take" the Revelation "with strength" (bi-kuwaa) (cf. among other verses, II, 63 and 93; VIII, 145). Al-Zamakhshari explains the word with the expression: "with effort and firmness" (bi-jidda wa-‘azma). Finally and most importantly, kuwwa is attributed to God with the sense of kuwaa; for example in I, 38, where it is said: "God is the Provider of all good things: He is the unshakeable Master of power (gu'a kiwaa wa-tmayin)" and in XII, 15: "God, who has created them, is stronger than them in power (agaddad minhum kuwaa); elsewhere we find "There is no power but through God (la kwuwa ista bih-I"") (XVIII, 39).

3. Kuwaa in theology. In the discussion by the Mu'tazilists concerning the attributes, and with regard to the doctrine of ta'fil which stripped the divine essence of all its attributes, by reducing them to this very essence, or to simple names, it was necessary to stress that the revealed Book speaks of the power (kuwaa; cf. above), as well as of the knowledge (ilm) of God. In the Maktab al-Islamyyin, al-Ash'ari notes that one group of Mu'tazila, on the basis of XLI, 15, "claim that in saying that God has power, we are led to say that He is powerful (kudd). They take kuwaa purely and simply as a synonym of kuwaa. But they maintain this point of view only in regard to kuwaa and 'ilm, being two substantives which occur definitively in the Book of God, and not in regard to the other attributes of the essence such as life (hayat), sight (bayan) and hearing (sam'). This is, according to al-Ash'ari, the doctrine of al-Nazariyin and the majority of the Mu'tazila of Baeca and Beghdad. A second group understands "knowledge" in the sense of the object of knowledge (ma'lid), and "power" in the sense of the object of power (ma'ad). To say that God has a power (kuwaa = kuwaa), therefore signifies, not that there exists in Him such an attribute, but that created beings depend on Him in such a fashion that they could be called ma'adiyin. This is why, when Muslims see rain, they say: "That is the power of God", meaning that it is a ma'adi. These theologians reserve this interpretation, among the attributes of the essence, for knowledge and power, for a purely scriptural reason, as has been seen in the case of the preceding group. A third group asserts that God has a power which is identical to Himself (badra biya kuwaa), and the same applies to His knowledge: but they extend this interpretation to all the other attributes of the essence: this is the thesis of Abu 'l-Husayn and his disciples. A third group comprises the disciples of Abdal B. Sulayman, who is known to have sacrificed the texts to the requirements of reason: it can neither be said that God has knowledge and power, nor that He does not have them. This contradicts the formal declaration of the Kur'an. Ibn Hazm, in addition to the verse XLI, 15, quotes a hadith: When instructing his Companions to go forth to obtain a favour from the Prophet (nabi), the Prophet says: "O my God! I ask You for this favour through Your knowledge: I ask You for it through Your power" (kuwaa = kuwaa). Then Ibn Hazm puts power on the same level as knowledge: kuwaa and kuwaa, like 'ilm, belong to God really and not metaphorically; they are nothing other than He, although it cannot be said that they are God, because if power were God, God would be power, which is false. The same applies to knowledge. These terms play the same role as the word say's (soul) in the verse VI, 17: "It is He Himself (his soul) that ordains mercy", The expression "soul of God" is a "description of Him (abbad anshu)", but indicates nothing at all other than Him.

4. Kuwaa in philosophy. In his Ittihad al-ulam al-islamiyya, al-Tahanawi gives a panoramic
survey of the question. *Kuwa* is the origin of the act (muhba'ah al-f'al), whether or not it is differentiated, and whether or not it is accompanied by awareness (ghasab) and by will (inida). In this general sense, *kuwa* is dependent on the same time on nature (hadi'a), the principle of involuntariness, movement, and on the soul, the principle of voluntary movement.

There is thus a distinction between the power of the spheres (al-*kwawaa al-falsahiyya*) which produces a unique act, and the power of the elements (al-*kwawaa al-basariyya*) which produces acts that are differentiated in terms of the various combinations of elements, and which has also been called al-*kwawaa al-subhaliyya*—executive power of imposed labour, as a way of recalling that all power to act comes from God, taking inspiration from, among others, the verse XXII, 65: "Have you not seen that God has pressed into your service (saharakara falhun) all that is on the earth?" Nevertheless, in the *Kuwa*, this term also applied to the stars, as in XIII, 4, since the Book makes an ontological distinction between the firmament and the sublunary world. After elementary power comes vegetative power, the faculty of the vegetal soul, and animal power, the faculty of the soul of animals. Finally, the term *kuwa* is also applied to the origin of the change that is produced in one thing, transforming it into something else (muhba'ah al-tazkyara; fi *yaw* `abhar min hadhii kuma `abhar).

By origin is understood the cause (saab), whether it is efficient (fita) or not. In effect, the power can be active or passive, engendering qualities or receiving them (hadi'a). As the origin of the change, it can be applied solely to its receptacle (musha'), as is the case with the form (`irah) of the air which demands the production of both terms of the matter which forms it, but which can also be the origin of change in its receptacle first, then in another thing: this is the case with the form of fire which produces heat and dryness in its matter and transmits these features to neighbouring objects. But the power of change can act from the start in something other than a receptacle: this is the case with the rational soul which acts immediately on a thing other than itself in producing a change in the body.

According to Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, some powers have substantial forms (jawara *falkahariyya*), such as the power of fire; others have a basis in accidents which happen to the substance. Consequently, there is no generic notion of *kuwa*, as it is impossible to unite substance and accidents in a single sense.

5. *Kuwa* in medicine. As an extension of its philosophical usage, this term is frequently employed in medicine. Al-Tahawi indicates that the physicians introduced three divisions: natural power; animal power; and psychical power. The natural and animal powers include powers served by others (muhba'ah al-`abhar) and powers which serve them (muhba'ah al-sabhar). The first are, in the realm of the living, those which operate with a view to the preservation of the individual, the faculty of nutrition and the faculty of growth, or with a view to the preservation of the species, generative power (muhba'ah al-subhaliyya) and plasmatic power (muhba'ah al-subhaliyya). The second are four in number: the power of attraction (*falkahariyya*), the power of retention (*falkahariyya*), the power of digestion (*falkahariyya*), and the power of repulsion or of evacuation (*difaa').

These four faculties are served in their turn by heat and cold, dryness and humidity. As for psychical powers, they are divided into two types: the power of perception (muhbaha) and the power of motion (muhbaha). Perception are external (takhrija), in the case of the five senses, or external (takhrija), in the case of the senses of imagination. The power of motion comprises on the one hand the power that incites movement (muhba'ah li l-tahreb) with the faculty of desiring (muhba'ah li l-farid) and on the other hand, the power responsible for the setting in motion (muhba'ah li l-kohab).

6. *Kuwa* in human psychology. This is the faculty of deliberate voluntary action. It operates in accordance with a certain order; first there is a representation of the movement to be executed, then a desire, then a will to achieve the end envisaged, and finally the realisation of the movement and the act. Certain philosophers introduce an intermediary between the faculty of desire and the active power: they call it *fita*, a term which seems to correspond to the *dunuriyya* (consent) of the Stoics. It is the decision (*farka*) which follows after a hesitation (*muhradah*) between action (farka) and non-action (tark), as a result of which one or the other party prevails (yataradah). According to others, there is no intermediary, but a desire which may continue to grow until the decision and the act are put into effect. *Fitah* is nothing more than this desire at its maximum intensity. As for the followers of Ibn Sinâ, they reckon that *fitah* depends on will and that there is a great difference between desire and will.

A position of eminence is given to the power of the intellect (al-*kwawaa al-sabhar*). All theories concerning the intellect, from the end of Antiquity, throughout the Hellenistic period and until the time of the *falshiyaa*, depend on interpretations of the third book of Aristotle's *Treatise on the Soul*, or the *Kuwa*.

7. The name of *kuwa* appears in Greek and Hebrew influences on *falshiyaa*. The numerous meanings applied to the term *kuwa* in philosophy may be examined, with a view to comparison with Greek thought, from two points of view. The concept *dunuriyya* has two opposites in the writings of Aristotle: 1. *dunuriyya* (li *kwawaa or *farka, inability or weakness; 2. *farka* (fark, activity, reality). *Kuwa* in the former sense is dealt with in the *Categories* and *Metaphysics* (v. 12), in the latter mainly in the *Metaphysics*, viii. ix. It may be here observed that inability is to be distinguished from impossibility (dunuriyya = musani* or *mustashh).

A. *Kuwa*, to be more accurate *kwawaa talabiyya* (productive ability), being the second species of the category of quality (modiy [cf. modiyya]) is defined, with Aristotle, as that arrangement by which some one or some thing comes into action quickly and easily, while *li *kwawaa predisposes to undergo something easily and quickly. Activity and passiveness are here to be conceived as opposites, which exclude one another. They cannot be present at the same time in one and the same subject. *Kuwa* in this sense is the positive capability for a definite activity or, as the Stoics expressed it: the qualities of things are active forces, agencies. The orthodox kalâm referred this doctrine only to the activity of God. Muslim theologians said for example—cf. Christian dogmatists—that God's qualities (sifat) are the sources (masfah) of his actions. The philosophers, however, referred it to the first place to the workings of nature. Nature is endowed with many forces and abilities and each ability has a corresponding inability. Inability, however, is nothing positive but a deprivation (sifata', *'adam) or a decay (afla', *fasad). *Li *kwawaa is not an absolute nothing but a non-existing of what according to Aristotle
belongs to a thing from its nature. It is especially emphasised that the transition from ƙwana to ḥarama (or from active to passive) takes place not continuously but without intermediary, i.e. suddenly, timelessly. The Muslim philosophers are, for the rest, usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle. In the Logic (Categories) these are without exception lacking beings health (ability) and sickness (inability), and in the organic world, hardness and softness. In addition, in other branches of knowledge, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness, rest is sometimes defined as deprivation of motion, blindness as a want of ability to see, wickedness, rest is usually content to explain these sometimes very questionable assertions with the examples given by Aristotle as accidents of matter. Hence the practice (at least since Ibn Sinâ cf. Tis' rasâdi, 64) who probably follows a Greek exposition of distinguishing ƙadim as accidental principle from the essential principles: matter and form.

Al- Федерации (Abhandlungen), ed. Dieterici, 87, fr. 21) first discussed the question whether suffering (πάθος), as the term is used under the category of quality, is the same as quality or the highest lot of the categories. Perhaps he was led to this by a passage in Aristotle (De anima, 427b) in which “suffering” is said to have two meanings: 1. It is a kind of decline (πειρασμός) through the opposite (see above); and 2. the preservation (σωτηρία) of the possible through what is active, and in this way that thereby a natural basis is evolved for its own being. Instead of a decline we have here a question not only of a mere survival but also of a higher development, a suffering in bonam partem, an endurance (passive, receptive, contemplative) of higher influences [see ṣanā'i].

B. More important than the contrast between ƙwana and ƙwama for the history of philosophical terminology became the distinction between ƙwana and ƙwani, or, to use the language of the schools, power and action, commonly found in the formula ba ƙwana (daṣa'udu) and ba ƙwani (daṣa'udu). Both expressions are closely connected with the fundamental conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy, matter and form. Power is peculiar to matter, action to form. Power and action are called ƙutumaci (Arab. kutubik, attributes) of matter and form. Aristotle sought in this way to reconcile a static with a dynamic consideration of the world. Matter and form [see sabābi] are names for the constituents of the existing, power and action for the stages of development of the becoming. These fundamental conceptions cannot be defined more exactly. Like Aristotle, the Muslim philosophers endeavour to illustrate them by examples.

The development from power to action presupposes a continuous world of becoming, time and change. According to one principle of Aristotle, which was taken over by the Muslim thinkers, at least with reference to the world, the infinite cannot be real. But in time, especially if it is conceived without beginning and without end, lies the unending possibility of all that possesses its limited reality in any particular moment. Under definite conditions, if there is no obstacle in the way, the possible advances to full realisation by stages. Possibility and realisation are to be regarded as termini of a development taking place within time. This process, the development from power to action, is called by Aristotle motion (ƙutumaci, ḥaresha) which is defined as the realisation (daṣa'udu) of the possible as such.

The end (to be ba jabi) is called in Arabic also ƙadim (perfection) just as Aristotle uses ḥayya and ḥayya synonymous.

The concept of an originally pure (i.e. without quality) possibility which can in course of time become everything, is according to Aristotle a conceivable abstraction. Everything becoming is already more or less formed, realised; deprivation is an accident of matter, not as the neo-Platonists asserted, matter itself. Aristotle himself did not succeed in carrying through logically his distinction between the principle of deprivation (ƙadim) and matter as pure possibility. The Muslim thinkers who were under neo-Platonic influences were naturally still less able to do so. They often identified ƙadim and ƙwana. Usually however, they endeavoured to represent our world of becoming as a hierarchy of positive forces or powers. The process of becoming is then to be conceived as a co-operation, a working into one another of active and passive. With Aristotle, the Stoics, etc., they talk of active and passive, moving and moved, ruling and served forces, which by no means rule one another out. Two aspects of one and the same process are thus described. One and the same cause is understood as both ruling, ruling with respect to what is below it, and the order of stages of being, but passive, receptive, contemplative with respect to those above it. In other words ƙwana and ƙwai are used in the correlative sense exactly like matter and form. A material more or less formed, e.g. clay, is matter for bricks and the formed brick is material for a building. Similarly, in the sperm there is the potentiality to become a boy, in a boy a potentiality to become a man. In other words, the sperm possesses the immediate potentiality for a boy, a remote potentiality for a man.

Amongst the Ismā'īl thinkers, the problem of power is equally put forward in another form, in the shape of the idea of receptiveness (ṣubā'il). Whilst the Primal Intellect receives at a single stroke (daṣa'udu ṣubū'atika) everything which rightfully makes up its being, the "creatures" inferior to it are incapable of this. Hence they receive successively in the course of time the characters and qualities which belong rightfully to their essence and which make up their secondary perfection. This explains why these latter gradually become transformed according to the different kinds of movement. It is through this that the power of generation (kawān) is explicable. But when they have reached their perfection, certain beings tied down to matter are unable to keep it and decline into final corruption (fadāl); in this way, the force of destruction may be explained. The whole theory is closely connected with the dynamic view of the existence of the world. Thus as in Aristotle, in the Muslim philosophers physics, including psychology, are developed into a hierarchical system of natural forces and faculties of the soul. In place of faculty we sometimes find parts of the soul (muṣāra, adhikār; Platonistic terminology, also used by Aristotle). Galenic influences may be traced, in the doctrine of the faculties of the soul especially and their localisation (in al-人生的, Ibn Sinâ and al-Ghazzâlî). Al-人生的 deals with this in his Fudūs (i.e. Abhandlungen, ed. Dieterici, 72 ff.; wrongly ascribed to Ibn Sinâ in Tis' rasâdi, 42 ff.); cf. his "Model State" (ed. Dieterici, 34 ff.). Ibn Sinâ (Kitâb al-Nâfisat, Cairo 1913, 256 ff.; cf. Tghādāli, ed. Forget, 123 ff.) enumerates some 25 ṣubū'î from the highest faculty of the reasoning soul to the powers of the simplest bodies. Al-Ghazzâlî (Tahdīf, ed. Bouyges, index) is acquainted with over 30 ṣubū'î; but some are synonyms.
As briefly explained above, in the world of becoming *huwma* is earlier in time than *jāh*, but *jāh*—so his Muslim successors teach following Aristotle—is always the earlier in the sense of the higher. What is potential cannot of itself devolve into actuality. God who is the perfectly real, according to the Muslim philosophers, brought the world from non-existence (*adīm*) to existence (wūjdāl) or from *huwma* to *jāh* (*thārjāj*). The spirits (wāhiṣ) which act as intermediaries between God and the world are usually called real. It is the activity of the last heavenly spirit, the *wālī falsāl*, which as Ibn Sīnā, following al-Fārābī, expresses it, gives everything earthly its form (*wāhī al-sawār*; cf. for this expression *Enneads*, v. 9, 3), or, as Ibn Rushd prefers to say, brings everything potential here into actuality. This is however not a distinction in principle between the two philosophers: with Aristotle they regard matter and form as substances, potentiality and activity as their attributes (*tamākh*).

C. In the *Theology of Aristotle* (ed. Dieterici, 94) is the following remarkable passage: "In this (sensual) world, action is preferable to potentiality, in the (higher) intelligible world, however, potentiality is preferable to action". This pregnant sentence is not found in the *Enneads* but corresponds completely to the utterances of Plotinus (Enn., v. 1, 6 f.; 3, 15 f.; 4, 1 f.; 5, 13 f.). According to a general principle of Plotinus—not however always logically carried through—the categories and main conceptions of Aristotelian philosophy are only to be referred to the sensual world, if they are applied to the spiritual world, they have another but higher meaning. The higher *huwma* is an intensification of the preceding faculty discussed under A. In addition, there is an exchange of value in the factors potentiality and actuality.

According to Plotinus, the first and only principle of all things (in the *Theology of Aristotle* = God) is raised above the logos of the Stoics (*kalós*, active force) and above the energia of the Peripatetics (*jāh*). It is true that one can say of the *wālī falsāl*, the first created thing, it is *lōgos* kal enérgēs of the First, but the First himself is from his nature *dōmu*, i.e. power, all-power. With the uniqueness of the First (also called, as e.g. by Plato, the absolute good) only one quality, that of omnipotence, is compatible. All activity however, whether it is thinking or acting, presupposes multiplicity and effort, which cannot be ascribed to the absolutely simple Being. On this definition of the First as Dynamis, cf. Plato's utterance (Sákhh., 247 E): "I define the being of the existing in this way, that it is nothing but a Dynamis".

Excluding the Muʿtazila, it may be said that this emphasis on the omnipotence in the being of the Unique (God) must have been much more natural to the Muslim theologians—although traditionally they deal with God's knowledge before his power—than the Aristotelian view that God is pure Energeia, which manifests itself only in thinking.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the sources mentioned in the text, T. Makkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'écou philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, esp. 122 ff. (on the intellect and other faculties of the soul); M. Proust, *Cité de l'abésophie au moyen-âge*, 1907, esp. 250-75; T. de Boer, *E.R.* (art. "Soul (Muslim)"); cf. *De Wytskegrote in des Islam*, 1921, index; S. van den Bergh, *Die Episteme der Metaphysik des Averroes*, 1924, esp. 57 ff., 204.

**KUZAH** [500 KAWS KUZAH]

**KUWAAH** (self-designation—Kuwaiti) has been used by Kuwaitis as a linguistic and cultural marker for Kuwaitis. It is the standard Arabic dialect spoken in Kuwait and is closely related to other Arabic dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf region. Kuwaitis use a variety of KUWAAH in their daily lives, which includes Kuwaiti Arabic, English, and other regional dialects. The use of KUWAAH in the media and government documents is also significant, with the Kuwaiti government using it in its official communications. However, the Arabic language is still the dominant language in Kuwait, and the use of KUWAAH is often associated with the Kuwaiti identity and culture.
they were incorporated in the Mughal empire. The Afghan, or Afghan, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii, Calcutta 1849, states that the Quetta-Pishin region supplied the Emperor Akbar with 2,500 cavalry and 2,500 infantry, plus grain, sheep and 30 bales in money. After 1351/1892 it came under Safavid control again, and Shah 'Abbás I [q.v.] conferred Shāh Mushtāq and Sīdī on the Pathan chief Shāh Khān Tārīn. In the 18th century, the Quetta-Pishin region was disputed by Ghilzay Pathans and the Brahuis of Kalat, but after 1112/1758-9, Ahmad Shāh Durrah [q.v.] left Nāsir Khān of Kalat as ruler in Quetta in return for a contingent of troops, at a time when the Afghan ruler's position in India was being threatened by the Mahrājās. Henceforth, Quetta was controlled by the rulers of Kalat, whose seat was the town of that same name, 103 miles [162 km.] to the south [see KLR]; Pishin and Shorarād, however, remained in Afghan hands till 1879 (see below).

The importance of Quetta in recent times has arisen from its commercial role as an emporium for trade between southern Afghanistan and the lower Indus valley, but above all, from its strategic position. It lies at a point where a north-south route runs from Kandahār and the southern Afghanistan frontier via Quetta and the Bolan Pass to Jacobabad and the Indus at Shāhpur in Sind, and where a transverse route comes from the middle Indus at Dīrā Shāh Khān in the Pashtun (see DERĀGĀT) and runs westwards through Quetta to the Persian border. These factors became especially operative in the 19th century after the annexation by Britain of Sind (1843) and the Punjab (1846). During the First Afghan War (1839-42), when Shāh Shujāʿ al-Mulk was placed on the throne in Kabul [see AFGHANISTAN, v. History], Quetta was occupied by British forces during those years; the town was used as a forward base for operations in the Kandahar region, and a political agent, Capt. Bean, installed there. It was, nevertheless, still only a small place, with a mud wall pierced by two gates and the governor's fort or mīrī on artificial mound; C. Masson in the late 1820s said that "Shāh" possessed "about 300 houses and a fair bazaar" (Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Aghanistan and the Punjab, London 1842, i, 327-30); and W. Hough described it in 1839 as "a most miserable mud town, with a small castle on a mound, on which there was a small gun, on a rickety carriage" (A narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan, London 1849). Three decades later, A. W. Hughes still estimated its population at only ca. 4,000 (The country of Baluchistan, its geography, topography, ethnology and history, London 1877, 67, 73-4).

After 1842, when Quetta reverted to the Khān of Kalat's control, voices in the Government of India, such as that of General Sir John Jacob in 1856, urged its permanent occupation as a vital strategic point and also its being linked with Sind and Kārádī by railway (The views and opinions of General John Jacob, ed. L. Pelly, Bombay 1858, 346). It was, however, feared that such a distant post, so it then was, in the heart of the tribal area of northern Balochistān, would be difficult to hold in times of crisis, and the proponents of "mastery inactivity" carried the day until the 1870s. Fears arising from the Russian advance against the Central Asian khansates and possible pressure on Afghanistan led, however, to the adoption now of a "Forward policy", and in 1876 a decision was made to send troops into Kālāt territory in times of stress and made Kalat into a protected native state. Quetta was occupied, and Major (later Sir) Robert Sandeman became the first Agent there to the Governor-General.

Quetta's military value was soon proved in the Second Afghan War (1878-80), when troops were moved through the Bolān Pass and via Quetta into the Kandahār region. By the Treaty of Gandāmāk of 1879 with the Afghan Amir Ya'qūb b. Shīr 'All, Shīr and Pishin, with the land up to the Khāndān Ajam, the so-called "assigned districts", were ceded to Britain, to form with Quetta in 1877 the nucleus of British Balochistān; in 1883 Quetta was formally leased to the Government of India by the Khan of Kalat in return for an annual payment of 22,000 rupees. It was at this time that the administrative District of Quetta and Pishin was formed. After 1879 a broad-gauge railway was built from a point near Sukkur to Pishin via the Harnai Pass, and Quetta now became linked with the North-West Railway system of India. Later, during the First World War, a lengthy branch (441 miles/709 km.) was constructed through British Balochistān westwards to a railhead in Persian territory at Šahrābād.

Quetta town is situated in lat. 30°10' N. and long. 67°10' E., and lies at an altitude of 5,508 feet/1,700 metres at the northern end of the Šāh-i-valley. Under British rule, it became a very important military centre, the headquarters of the 4th Division of the Western Command, and the seat of the Staff College. In 1885 it became a municipality. Quetta lies in an earthquake zone, and was severely hit by the earthquake of 1953, when tens of thousands of people died; buildings subsequently erected there have had to be earthquake-proof (see R. Jackson, Thirty seconds at Quetta, the story of an earthquake, London 1963). It now possesses a good amount of local industry, and in 1972 had an estimated population of 139,800 (swollen in summer-time by temporary residents), comprising the cantonment and the civil area. The population of Quetta itself is now somewhat mixed, though still largely Pathan. The surrounding areas are, to the north, overwhelmingly Pathan and Pashhto-speaking [Kāšīr, Tārīn and Ačākzāy]; this Pashto is close to that of Kandahār, i.e. of the southwestern group (for specimens of the Pashto of Kandahār and Pishin, see Linguistic survey of India, 2, 105-12). To the south of the town, the Brahui area begins. Quetta accordingly straddles the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Pathans and Brahuis-Balūch.

In the present administrative organisation of Pakistan, Quetta is the centre of Quetta-Pishin District, continuing the former British arrangement here (area 5,314 sq. miles/13,763 km²), and also, since the reorganisation of 1955, when Balochistān was merged into the single western unit of Pakistan, the centre of the Quetta Division, comprising the Districts of Quetta-Pishin plus those of Zhob, Loralai and Sibi to the east, and Chagai to the west (area 53,815 sq. miles/137,509 km²).

LA‘AKAT AL-DAM "liquors of blood", the name given to a group of clans of Kuraysh. According to tradition, Kaṣṣayy [i.e.] had allocated to the different subdivisions of Kuraysh the quarters which they were to occupy in Mecca and had entrusted to the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār various local offices: administration of the water supply and bearing the standard (tajaddud), the furnishing of provisions (rifāda) and drink (ṣubh) to the pilgrims, and custodianship of the Ka‘ba (ṣab‘a jāba [see KAWT]). However, the Banū ‘Abd Manāf thought themselves more worthy of these privileges, and Kuraysh (with the exception of the Ka‘bā), it relates that the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār brought in a vessel filled with blood and dipped their hands in it, swearing, together with the ‘Adī b. Ka‘b, to fight to the death; it was at this time that they became called la‘akat al-dam, but the Sīra does not say whether other clans joined with the ‘Abd al-Dār and the ‘Adī nor anything about the licking of fingers. In any case, it was a member of Mālikīn who advised the two opposing sides to submit to the arbitration of the first person who entered the Ka‘ba by the door of the Banū Shayba, and as is well-known, this was the Prophet. We find exactly the same version as the Sīra’s one in al-Tabari, i, 1138.

A little later, al-Mas‘ūdī (Mūlahū, iii, 115–27 = §§158–201) enumerates the factions making up the Ahlāf and Muţayyabūn, but gives the name of la‘akat al-dam to the ten clans belonging, in his view, to the Kuraysh al-Dātān and made up, apart from two exceptions, of the united body of the two factions involved. It appears clearly from all the pieces of evidence mentioned here and agreeing about the Muţayyabūn and Ahlāf of Mecca, but disagreeing about the episode of the la‘akat al-dam, that we have such a vague tradition that one wonders whether the story of the hands dipped in blood and licked has not been invented in the interests of symmetry by traditionists anxious to find a parallel with the perfume of the Muţayyabūn. It is furthermore the only attestation of a practice involving the taking in of a few drops of blood (see dam in Suppl.) which we possess, and the LA makes no allusion to it when it cites, in regard to the oath called ghanān (s.v. gh. m.), the ashes, perfume and blood in which the oath-takers steeped their hands.

Bibliography: given in the article; see further W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, Cambridge 1885, 48 ff. [CH. PELLAT].

LAB’ [see LAVR].

LABĀB (from Pers. lavāb āb “riverside”), the irrigated region along the banks of Amū Daryā [g.v.] in its middle course. The name, though of Persian origin, became known apparently only in modern times, when this region became one of the main centres of the settlement of the Turkmen. The exact limits of the region have never been defined; it seems that it extended as far as Dargān (the southernmost town of Khwāzān [g.v.]) in the north and as far as Kulīf [g.v.], in the south. In pre-Mongol times a narrow tract of cultivated land stretched along both the left and the right banks of the river, though on the left bank conditions for artificial irrigation were better; the uniformly cultivated tract began to the north of Amū [g.v.].
In the post-Mongol period, the irrigation system fell into decay, and both bases of Amū Daryā were inhabited by nomads, except for several townships with their surroundings. After the middle of the 17th century, a number of Turkmen tribal groups began to move to Labāb from Western Turkmenia through Khiva, and in the 18th century the region was inhabited mainly by Turkmen, who became sedentarised and built a network of irrigation canals. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Labāb belonged to the Khānāte of Būkhārā and was administratively divided between two vilayets, Ğardǰūy (former Ārūn) and Kerḵ. In the 19th century, Labāb was the most densely populated region among all those inhabited by the Turkmens, and lack of irrigated lands brought about considerable emigration to Afghanistan and Eastern Būkhārā. The most numerous among various Turkmen groups of Labāb have been the tribes Salur [q.v.] on the north-west of Ğardǰūy, Sakar to the southeast of Ğardǰūy, and especially Ersarī [q.v. in Suppl.] further to the south, up to Kālīf. Besides them, there have been in Labāb almost 30 other tribal groups of Turkmen interspersed with each other and, in the vicinity of Ğardǰūy, with Uzbek. Now Labāb belongs to the Turkmen Soviet Republic of the U.S.S.R., forming the core of the oblast’ (province) of Ğardǰūy.


LABBAI (Tamil sarāppa, thought by Tamil Ulama [see Labbaik, the pilgrims' cry [see TALBAYA]), a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims residing in or originating from Tamilnadu State, South India. Labbai is a generic term incorporating four subdivisions, the Marakayar, Kayalar, Rawther, and Labbai. All four groups are Sunnis, the first two predominantly of the Shāfi‘ī school, while the latter two are Ḥanafī. The Marakayars and Kayalars predominate in the southern coastal regions of Tamilnadu, while Rawthers and Labbais reside in greater numbers in the state's north and its interior. Urbanisation has led to the geographic mixing of these communities, but in the countryside usually only one group lives in a particular location.

Each subdivision is associated with a distinctive tradition. The Marakayar claim to be the descendants of Arab sea traders and have a reputation as dealers in gems and pearls and as smugglers. Kayalars are said to originate from Kayalpatnam, once an important port on the southern Coromandel coast. These two groups once published books and newspapers written in the Tamil language and using the Arabic script. The Rawthers claim a heritage as cavalrymen and horse-traders, while the subdivision of Labbais are said to be the descendants of Karāffī scholars. In Madurai District, Rawthers refer to the employees of their mosques as Labbais.

The four Labbai subdivisions are effectively endogamous, although they accept no ideology that would dictate this. On the contrary, they are adamantly egalitarian and do not accept any caste distinctions. In several localities, marriage is dictated by caste Hindus. The small amount of intergroup marriage that does occur in the cities substantiates this egalitarianism, since these marriages are considered socially acceptable.

The Labbais are more urban than rural, and consider mercantilism to be their occupational forte. In 1951 approximately 53% of the Muslim population of Tamilnadu was urban compared to 26.7% of the total state population. This latter figure is commensurate with a society based on an agricultural economy. The 55% figure is high and reflects the non-agricultural basis of the Muslims' livelihood. Throughout the state they are recognised as astute businessmen and traders. A few families have achieved wealth, but most operate petty businesses.

In search of a livelihood, Labbais have travelled over much of the Asian world, especially over Southeast Asia. For centuries they were an important economic and political force in Malacca, and they are found in numbers in Malaysia, Thailand, and Singapore. Prior to World War II, some had had business in Japan. Wherever they go, they are primarily merchants.

Despite the Labbais' far-flung wanderings, India remains a homeland for them and ties are maintained with kinmen in India. Often, overseas Labbais maintain households and families in India to which they periodically remit money and return home. It is clear that, despite their wanderings and attachment to Islam, they identify themselves as Tamilians.

The Labbais identify strongly with Tamil culture and society. For most of them, Tamil is the language both within and without the mosque. The Tamil-speaking Muslims are proud of their contributions to Tamil literature, the sine qua non of Tamil culture. The Labbais of the countryside dress in a fashion which is more similar to the Hindu mode than do most of their urban fellows. Their celebration of the 'Abd al-Kadir Dīlīlā Urs commemorating the death of 'Mohaiyadeen Abdul Kadar Andakai Jillān" is in many features similar to the Hindu cart festivals. Saint worship centred around this 'Urs forms an important popular current to the strict orthodoxy of urban religious leaders. Many Labbais do not eat beef because they have been socialised to Hindu custom, but not to Hindu religious ideology.

In the northern part of Tamilnadu and in Madras City, the Labbais have undergone a process of Islamisation with a stress on Sunni orthodoxy. Saint worship is crowned upon as gurkh by religious leaders, and when it occurs is much less flamboyant than the gala events of the countryside and is accompanied by conscious attempts to avoid gurkh. Labbai dress is distinctively Muslim, and many have acquired Urdu as a second language because they consider it the language of Indian Muslims and akin to Arabic, if only in script. Some mosques in this northern part of the state recognise the importance of the Dār al-‘Ulām at Deoband as a centre of religious learning, and hire hāfīzs from there during Ramadan. The impulse towards Islamisation is part of a process of de-parochialisation. As Muslims have become urbanised, their desire to become
recognised as good Muslims as well as good Tamilians has increased.


LABRAYKA [see TALIBAYA].

LABBI, the pen-name of a Persian poet who lived at the end of the 4th/11th and the beginning of the 5th/12th century. His personal name as well as almost any other particulars of his life are unknown. The Tadhjam-al-balagha has preserved an elegy by Labbi on the death of Farrubhi (rav.), which means that the former was probably still alive in 420/1029-8. A kasida attributed to him by 'Awfi is addressed to a manmadh by the name of Abu l-Muzaffar, who in that source is identified with a younger brother of the Ghaznavid Sultan Makhmud. But it is more likely that he was a member of the Abu-Mahfudh, the rulers of Caghaqyan, who was also a patron of Farrubhi's poetry (see C. E. Bosworth, The rulers of Caghaqyan in early Islamic times, in Iran, [JIFS], vix (1981), 11–22). In the Madfma al-fuqaha' (ii, 445) the poem is in fact presented as a work of the latter, but it also occurs in manuscripts of the Divan of Manuchiri and in the works of other poets. The attribution to Labbi was rejected by Rypka and Borecky, but is defended by most modern Iranian scholars. Apart from this poem, the remaining poetry of Labbii consists of fragments only, mostly single lines quoted in evidence by lexicographers. Some of these lines belonged to madnawie-poems, the subject of which can no longer be ascertained.

Though his work fell into oblivion quite soon, Labbii must have been a poet of some distinction in his own age. Bayhaqi, writing about 450/1058, appreciated him as an asalq-i sulhun; and so did Mâfiqal-Sad'd al-Salmanî, who also styled him asalq ':'alâsâ'ar' and imitated one of his kasidas (Dinâra, ed. R. Yâsînî, Tehran 1339/1960, 373). The many quotations contained in the Lughat-i Fars of Asadi prove that his poems were still circulating in the later part of the 5th/11th century.


LABÎB b. RABÎ'Â, ASÎ'D ÂL, Arab poet of the muhâjadun. He belonged to the family of Banu Dâ'far, a branch of the Khattb, who belonged to the Banû 'Amir b. Sa'da' (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Geskel, Tab. 93 and Register, ii, 374–5).

According to Ibn Sa'd, vi, 21, he died in 89/693 in the night on which Mu'awiya arrived in al-Nuhayla to conclude peace with al-Hasan b. 'All. Others, like Ibn Hâjir, iii, 657, whom Nûmeke (Pâshâ Mozaffâli, ii, 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 44 or 45. Others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Sijistânî, K. al-Mu'mâmûr, ed. Goldzâher, § 61). In fact, he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 800 A.D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man, he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abû Râbûs Nu'mân of al-Hîra (ca. 580–602), and when the latter was invited against the Banû 'Amir by his friend Abû Râbû b. Ziyâd al-'Abîs (of the tribe to which Labbî's mother belonged), Labbî succeeded with a satirical ragah poem (Divan, no. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banû 'Amir. A verse from Nu'mân's answer to his courtier, who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him in this ragah poem, became proverbial (cf. Mafâdî, Fûkhrî, i, 87–2; al-'Askarî, Amâdûlî, on the margin of al-Maydâni, ii, 177, 7–18: al-Maydâni, ii, 33; K. al-Ahâlî, xv, 94 f.; xvi, 22 f.; 'Abd al-Kâdir, Khâninat al-adab, ii, 70 f., iv, 171 ff.) In his later poems Labbî often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet, and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-'Ashâ. But the coming of the Prophet Muhammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islam. As early as 244/862–3, the chiefs of the tribe of 'Amir b. Sa'da' (see 'Amir b. 'Ubayd, ed. Baghdad 1301/1922, 90 ff.), Beta men are said to have seen afterwards come to an
Labid's verses were highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābiṣa is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hāwāṣim, on account of his Ma'sālakah. He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imrā al-Kays and Tārāfa. Al-Djurmahī (Tabakāt al-i‘gā’ār), ed. Hell, 29-30 places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābiṣa al-Di‘ādī, Abū Dhū’ayb and al-Shamsīsī. Labid showed himself equally master of the ādīaath, the maṣāfīṣa and the ḥāṣidah. One of his ḥāṣidahs was adopted into the collection of Ma‘alāমahā and is thought by Nöldeke (Fünf Mo‘alāqāt, ii, 31) to be one of the best specimens of Bedouin poetry. Labid uses the traditional pictures from the animal world—wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs—as charmingly as the usual compleancies about drinking bouts. He seems, on the other hand, to have cultivated the nasīb only because it was traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman's love than with the description of the ādīaath, which he likes to compare with artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muhammad's mission. While Zuhayr, for example, still expresses a belief already widely disseminated in Arabia, in him, rather, we find the belief in Al-lth as the master of human life; besides the Kurān, he may of course have been influenced by the Christian preaching in the works of ʿAbd b. Zayd. He also follows older models in this connection when he combines admonition with the avverting of blame from a woman in no. 14, as in Tārāfa’s Mu‘alāmākh, vv. 56 ff., 63-5 (cf. Caskel, Das Schicksal, 9), where this is, however, only an episode in the ḥāṣidah.

Labid's Divān was edited, according to the Rihārī, 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, ʿAbū ʿAmīr al-Safīwī, ʿAbī al-Ḥasan'ī al-Aṣmāwī, al-Mu‘tašim and Ibn al-Saabī. Of these, the only one by which Labid's ḥāṣidah is influenced by the Christian preaching in the works of ʿAbd b. Zayd. He only follows older models in this connection when he combines admonition with the avverting of blame from a woman in no. 14, as in Tārāfa’s Mu‘alāmākh, vv. 56 ff., 63-5 (cf. Caskel, Das Schicksal, 9), where this is, however, only an episode in the ḥāṣidah.

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LABIN or LABIN (coll.; singular latina, lîbna) designates in Arabic the unfired brick whose use in building dates back to the earliest antiquity; to speak only of the present domain of Islam, some traces have survived above-ground on the Iranian plateau, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, where this material was used in the Pharaonic period to build palaces and royal tombs as well as poor hovels; it is certain that it was also in use in the Arabian peninsula and North Africa. The hog-backed bricks of Mesopotamia appear to be no longer used, and the labina generally has a geometric, fairly regular shape, that of a parallelogram or rectangle, whose variable dimensions are at the largest those of a bond-stone and often have the ratio 4 x 3 x 1 (e.g. length 56 cm., width 28, thickness 14, 42 x 21 x 10, 5.
36 x 18 x 9, 32 x 16 x 8; but 43 x 35 x 5 in South Arabia). This unfired, rough and fairly economical brick is composed essentially of dampened, shaped clay, which is then turned into a wooden mould (malab) without a bottom or cover, packed tightly and finally dried in the sun; the clay is lined down, depending on the region, with sand, gravel, chopped straw, and potsherds in fixed proportions to prevent its crumbling and cracking. Once taken out of the mould, the bricks are left for a while longer in the sun and sometimes stockpiled before being used in the construction of buildings which can reach a considerable height; this was notably the case of the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, and it is still that of the houses, several storeys high, which are built in South Arabia (the technique of manufacture and construction is explained by M. Balagh and J. Chelhod, *Notes préliminaires sur l'architecture de Shibam*, in *St. Isl.*, II [1980], 195-6). At Shibam, the foundations to a depth of 3 m. are of stone; however, the trench intended for them, usually wider than the wall, may only be filled up with beaten earth and ballast. In low houses and enclosures, the walls are sometimes supported by wooden posts driven into the ground with regular spaces between them. The building can be strengthened, at least in its lower part, by means of two thicknesses of bricks placed alternately longwise and crosswise; the walls erected are generally thicker at the bottom than at the top, which, on the outside, gives the impression that they are leaning dangerously. Houses of unfired brick have the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer, and there are countries, such as Egypt, where labin is preferred to fired brick. But the large buildings form great masses of thick walls (as long as 10 m. in antiquity), pierced with a few narrow apertures.

This material is in current use, either because of its low cost, or because, in the region, clay is readily exploitable, and stone is rare, hard to extract or too heavy; but rainfall must not be very plentiful, for heavy rains cause severe deterioration of the walls to the point of making them disintegrate, even if they are lined with a coating of earth mixed with lime or plaster. The ancients took some supplementary precautions against erosion, by providing gutters, drains, reed beds, etc.

Unfired bricks are pointed with a mortar made of earth with an admixture of lime or ash (the use of Bitumen, as in ziggurats, does not seem to be current). This mortar, like the coating mentioned above, is called madar (see *LA*, s.v.) in Classical Arabic, but this term (which one hesitates to connect with *matter*) seems clearly to be applied also to construction of earth and labin, to judge at least by the expression *ahl al-madar* which designates the sedentaries as opposed to *ahl al-wabar* "the people of the camel skin" = tents, i.e. the nomads, even though the trench intended for them, usually wider than the wall, may only be filled up with beaten earth and ballast. In low houses and enclosures, the walls are sometimes supported by wooden posts driven into the ground with regular spaces between them. The building can be strengthened, at least in its lower part, by means of two thicknesses of bricks placed alternately longwise and crosswise; the walls erected are generally thicker at the bottom than at the top, which, on the outside, gives the impression that they are leaning dangerously. Houses of unfired brick have the advantage of being warm in winter and cool in summer, and there are countries, such as Egypt, where labin is preferred to fired brick. But the large buildings form great masses of thick walls (as long as 10 m. in antiquity), pierced with a few narrow apertures.

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Another difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the terminology. Although Ibn Manṣūr (*LA*, s.v.) classifies lab in as a synonym of *dā‘īrur* "fired brick" (see below) and this word still has this meaning in Egypt for example, it designates in the Muslim West a lump of earth or an unfired brick, and it is furthermore in this latter sense that it has been adopted and preserved in Spanish in the form labín. But Ibn Khaldūn uses lab in (a synonym of *labīn*) as the *jawāb* is the mason who builds a wall in clay. At first sight, this craft name appears to be derived directly from lab in with the meaning of "clay", but it is quite possible that a telescoping may have taken place with *λαβίν* (see *λάβινον* "clay, mud" which, on the other hand, comes from the Spanish *tapía* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.). This borrowing leads us to think that the clay technique, well-known in antiquity, notably in Mesopotamia, was imported into the Maghrib from Spain. *Tābiya*, which is still in use today in Algeria and Morocco, is used by Ibn Khaldūn, when he speaks (loc. cit.) of *binda* (or *Yurab*) and describes in detail the way a clay wall is built, according to a process which has not changed since then (cf. a description in Berber of E. Lacoste, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 24). The masons, generally specialists belonging to particular tribes, use a frame made of two boards (labin) of variable dimensions, but on average 150 to 250 cm. long by 80 wide, which they place face-to-face at a distance equal to the width of the wall under construction, the frame is held in place by cross-pieces and ropes and closed at both ends. The earth, prepared as for unfired brick, is mixed with lime, gravel etc. and carried in baskets; as soon as it is ready to be turned into the frame, it is beaten with a kind of rammer (*rabbiya*, pl. *marābit*). The workmen generally arrange several frames so as to be able to carry out their work horizontally, then vertically with superimposed coats until the kiln is completed. Which form a really solid concrete, is used for the construction of all kinds of buildings, which can reach a great height and be very long-lasting. This is the case particularly with ramparts and military works; near Fès a bridge was built of very hard clay reinforced with fired bricks on top of the arches.

The kiln-fired brick is designated in Arabic by the collective *dā‘īrur*, but to judge by the multiplicity of forms which this term assumes (*dā‘īrur*, *dā‘īrur*, *yā‘īrur*, *dā‘īrura*, *adīrura*, etc.; noun of unity *dā‘īrura*, *dā‘īrura*, etc.), it is clear that the Arabs did not possess either the term signifying or the object signified; nor is it known in what period there took place the borrowing from Persian *ā‘ur* which Arab lexicographers freely recognised. It is a fact that fired brick, whose use is widespread throughout the Islamic world, was used particularly in Persia and the lands which fell directly under its influence. It will be recalled, for example, that the Muslims who founded Basra first demarcated the mosque by means of a reed enclosure, then built it in labin and rebuilt it in fired brick a few years later. All the same, a Roman and Byzantine influence was felt to an equal extent in the regions situated further west. The word which is used today with the meaning "tile", *karānīd*, is a sing. made from karānīd, of which the L.A asserts (v.r.m.d.) that it designates in Syria the fired bricks (*dā‘īrur*) of the baths and comes from the roman word *isorod* (sic; *isorod*, "brick, tile", rather than *isorod*).

The kiln (*sūf*) is similar to that of the potters, and consists of a furnace with a firing-room on top of it. Of smaller dimensions than the labin, the fired brick is not nearly so thick (3 to 6 cm.). Buildings
In 284/897 occurred another rising, whose suppression the amir of Cordova entrusted to his son Abán. Between this date and 324/937 it must have risen yet again, for on 20 Ramadán 304/17 March 917 the ḥājīs Badr b. Ahmad occupied it when it was in the power of a certain ʿUṯmān b. Ṣayr. At the fall of the caliphate, it became a fī mata principalità, actually set up in 312H/924 when Abu ʿAbd Allāh Ahmad b. Yāḥyā al-Yaṣṣubī, ʿTālī al-Dawla, rose up and was proclaimed ruler, this being recognised by the people of Gibraleón. His brother and successor (in 433/1042-3) had difficulties with al-Muʿtaḍīd of Sevile. For some time, al-Muẓaffar of Badajoz provided the ruler of Labla with help, but in the end the latter had to shelter under the protection of Abu ʿl-Walī b. Ḥayr (see MAHARĪ, 93/712 by Musi b. Nuṣayr or, more feasibly, by his son ʿAbd a-Malz in the next year. Niebla was the seat of the old seat of the san of the province of a certain ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAmir, and these, plus hunting and fishing, were sources of wealth. It was inhabited by some Berbers and the descendants of the Hispano-Musulm, and was a great producer of ginger and raisins. Excellent safflower (ṣaḥra, carthamus tinctoria) was grown which, together with other dyestuffs like cochineal (carmin), was used for dying leather and skins. Boats and horses were reared, and these, plus fishing and hunting, were sources of wealth. It was a lively commercial centre.

Niebla still retains ancient remains and solid walls from its original foundations. There were dependent on the madrasa towns and a fortress, notably for a certain period. Hülas (Ovhab, Chaba or Wamada), Tajada (Talycata) and Gibraleón (Dijbal al-Yūn) on the Odiel.

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(J. Bosen Vila)

**LACCADIVES**, a group of coral islands in the south-eastern, Arabian Sea lying off the Malabar Coast of India between lat. 8° and 12°35’ N., and between long. 71° and 74° E. Under British Indian rule these were formerly the Laccadive Mincoy and Amindivi Islands, but in 1956 the group was brought under a single administration to form the Indian Union Territory of Lakshadweep (Sanskrit: Lakshadweep “the hundred thousand islands”). There are in all 27 islands and islets of which ten—Maliku, Kalpeni, Kavarthi, Androth, Agathi, Amini, Kadmat, Kiltan, Bitra and Chetlat—are inhabited. Maliku, which is separated from the rest of the group by the 114 mile-wide Nine Degree Channel and from the Maldivian Islands by the 71 mile-wide Eight Degree Channel, is attached to Lakshadweep politically, but belongs ethnically and culturally to the Maldives. In this article it is considered separately from the “Laccadives Proper”.

The Laccadives were originally settled (possibly as early as the 2nd century A.D., but certainly by the 1st/7th century) by Hindu groups (Nambudiri, Nayar and Tiyyar) from North Malabar. Little is known of the early history of the islands. They were conquered by the Chola Rajas of South India in the 4th/10th century. By ca. 500 they had passed under the rule of the Kolathiri Rajas of Kollam (North Malabar), by whom they were given in gift (940) to the Ali Rajas of Kannur (950) in the mid-10th/6th century. The Ali Rajas were the leading family of the Malabar Muslim community or Mappilas (960), and under their rule the Laccadives’ soor trade became the monopoly of the Kannur Mappilas.

In 1786 the inhabitants of the northern (Amindivi) islands of Amini, Chetlat and Kiltan rose in protest against the soor monopoly and the harshness of Kannur rule. They appealed for protection to Tipu Sultan of Mysore (960), and as a result were transferred to his rule in 1787; they passed to the East India Company after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. The Southern (Laccadives) group remained under Kannur until they were finally sequestrated by the British in 1857 (though the Bibi of Kannur retained a nominal sovereignty until 1908). Both groups of islands remained under British rule until India attained independence in 1947. Today the capital of the Union Territory of Lakshadweep is Kavarthi Island, and the population (including Maliku) is 31,810 (Census of India, 1971, Series 29 (Laccadive, Mincoy and Amindivi Islands, part 1/A, 5/).

The people of the Laccadives are linked ethnically and culturally with the Malayalam-speaking Dravidian people of Kerala, especially with the Mappilas of North Malabar. There has also been a sustained Arab—particularly Yemeni—influence on the islands which lie in the path of the direct sea route between Arabia, South India and the Far East; certainly the medieval Arab navigators were familiar with the Laccadives, which they knew as the Dimur al-fali, Dimur al-falidi or (collectively with the Maldives) the Diobadji (G. R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, London 1972, 438-56). As a result of this Arab influence, the islanders speak Malayalam with an admixture of Arabic, and write in the Arabic script.

The Laccadives were converted to Islam in the 7th/8th century, according to legend by one "Ubayd Allah, an Arab castaway whose tomb on Androth island is particularly venerated. The islanders are overwhelmingly Sunni Muslims of the Shafi’i madhab, but there are also followers of the Rifa’i and Kuduri tariqas, and of the Wahhabi-oriented Mudjahid movement (which is active in Kerala). The women do not observe purdah and may (as in the neighbouring Maldives) have their own mosques with a female imam (Ellis, A short account of the Laccadive Islands and Mincoy, Madras 1924, 66).

Unusually for an Islamic society, the Laccadives are predominantly matrilineal. The people follow the Malabar system of matrilineal descent (Malayalam: Marumakathayam). The community is organised in exogamous matrilineal groups known as taravads. There is a duolocal residence pattern (i.e. after marriage the wife remains in her maternal home and is “visited” by her husband). Descent is traced through the mother, and family (taravadi) property is passed on through the mother’s line. The self-acquired property of the father is passed on according to the Islamic family law. Monogamy is usual, but divorce is common.

The Laccadive Islanders are divided into three caste-like endogamous groups, in hierarchical order the Koyas (the land-owners); the Melas (from the Arabic marullin, traditionally the sailing class); and the Melacheris (the coconut workers—originally the agricultural serfs of the Koyas). Today both the traditional caste-structure and the marumakathayam system are breaking down under the impact of modernisation.

Maliku (corrupted by Europeans to Mincoy, perhaps from the Arabic Mahli), is an isolated island within the Maldivian cultural sphere which is of the mid-10th/6th century had fallen under the control of the Ali Rajas of Kannur. Maldivian political control has never been re-established. The inhabitants are Indo-European, speak the Maldivian language Dhivehi (though it is known on Maliku as Divihi), is an isolated island within the Maldivian cultural sphere which is of the mid-10th/6th century had fallen under the control of the Ali Rajas of Kannur. Maldivian political control has never been re-established. The inhabitants are Indo-European, speak the Maldivian language Dhivehi (though it is known on Maliku as Divihi), and use the Maldivian script Tama. Originally Theravada Buddhist, the islanders are today Sunni Muslims of the Shafi’i madhab. They were probably converted in the mid-6th/12th century. Descend is patrilineal, but women occupy a respected and powerful position in society. They do not observe purdah, but sometimes wear a head veil called the burqa. As in traditional Maldivian society the people are divided into four hierarchical, caste-like groups; see MALDIVES.

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(A. D. W. Forbes)

LADAKH, a region of the extreme north of
India. It lies between lat. 32° and 36° N. and long.
70° and 80° E, and is bounded on the north and east
by the Chinese territories of Sin-kiang and Tibet,
on the south by the Indian province of HiuiafM
and by Kashmir, of which it now constitutes a
province, covering an area of 30,000 sq. miles.
Its capital is Leh.

Ladakh is known to the Tibetans as Mangyal or
Máuryul. The population may be divided into four
racial groups, Cápado, Ladakhis, Baltis and Dáhrs,
of whom the first three are of Tibetan stock and
the last Aryan. There is a small Muslim community,
but the majority are Buddhist, whence the name Bhottas
traditionally given to the inhabitants of Ladakh by
their neighbours.

The indigenous chronicles furnish little more
than a list of rulers with the nearest sketch for each
reign (see K. Marx, Three documents relating to the
history of Ladakh, in JASE, ix (1891), 97-133;
bxi (1894), 94-107; bxi (1902), 21-34), but from
time to time references in external sources provide a
valuable landmark. In the 8th century A.D., through
the medium of Kashmir, then vassal to the Triang,
Ladakh was briefly drawn into the Chinese sphere of
influence, after which there is a long gap until
around 1300, when Leh received an embassy from the
great Tibetan reformer Tsong-kapa. At this time
there were two main principalities in Ladakh,
but in the mid-9th/10th century we find the country
reaching its greatest extent and united under one
ruler. Its size was temporarily reduced through
successive wars with its neighbour 'All Mir [see BALTISTAN],
and late in the 11th/12th century it was invaded from Tibet by the Dzungarian Mongols
[see KAMU]. This threat Ladakh withstood by
calling in the aid of the Mughal Emperor, who made it a condition that the ruler should become a Muslim.
His successors were again Buddhists, but from this
time dates the penetration of the country by Islam.
In 1834 it was invaded by Zurráwar Singh, the
general of Mahárdája Gálábir Singh of Dijmán,
and was obliged to pay tribute. There ensued a
series of risings and intrigues until 1842, when
Ladakh was at last forced to pay tribute to Dúngárí-Mongol
Empire, and was subsequently captured for the first time by the Turk? before
1119 (Cinnamus, Boon ed., 5), this date saw the
defeat of the Dúngárí in Tibet, but was soon crushed
by a fresh army from Dijmán. It was now defi-
nitively annexed to Diamán [q.v.], thus becoming
in 1846 part of Kashmir. For its subsequent history,
see KASHMIR.

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(P. Jackson)

LADHÍK, the name of several Anatolian
towns, and the Turkish form, phonetically identical,
of the name of Ladoice (Δαδίθα), which, since
the imperial period often appears in inscriptions
with the form Δαδίθα, is attributed to the
second syllable (cf. Robert, Villes d’Asie Mineure, i, Paris
1962, 283); Modern Turkish orthography Ládik.
L. Ládik near Denizlí, Lodoicéa of Lycos,
or Ladoicea of Phrygia. The ruins are located at
a place called Eski Hisar, 8 km. to the north of the
centre of Denizlí, the acropolis standing on a
hill which dominates the valley of the Lycos (Çürük Su), a left-bank affluent of the Great Meander.
Captured for the first time by the Turks before
1193 (Cinnamus, Bonn ed., 3), this date saw the
restoration of the town’s defences by John Comnenus
(Nestor, John Comnenus, Bonn ed., iv, 17), but the
town was abandoned before 1216, at which period
its population was dispersed into the surrounding
countryside (Ivdon, Manuel Comnenus, iii, 163).
It survived, however, for some time, following a
shift in location, transferring to a more remote and
more defensible site close to the foothills of the
Baba Dağ (in pede altissimi montis, Amstert, Historia
de expeditione Frederici imperatoris, in Fontes rerum
Austriae (Scriptores, vi), Vienna 1863, 58),
where the fortified strongholds perhaps survived
until the end of the 13th century. But a parallel
development was the growth in the immediate
neighbourhood of the Turkish urban settlement of
Denizlí, where the first epigraphical datings go back
to the second third of the 13th century. The latter
had no direct connection with Ladoicea, but never-
theless bore the name of Ládikiconcomrantly with
the extremity of the Phazimonitis of antiquity, subsidiary to the vilayet of Samsuu. At an altitude of 207 m., the town is in the subsidiary district of Konya (tr. M. N. P. Norberg, Lund 1938, II, 331), which should be interpreted as Yurikın Ladhik ("Ladhik of the Yurük or nomads", with Persian suffix). The form "Ladhik-el-Tchau", also given by Leake (loc. cit.) appears incomprehensible. The village, which Ewlyia Celebi (Seyyid-namin, ed. Zuhur Dani?man, iv, Istanbul 1976, 87) describes as having suffered ravages on the part of the Djellâ in Suppl., is cited by Kebitz Celebi as a small town which is nevertheless the administrative centre of a subsidiary district of Konya (tr. M. Norberg, Lund 1828, ii, 85-84), with numerous shops, and Leake (loc. cit.) calls it "a large place". Decline must have set in in the 19th century [cf., for a comparison of the population in the 19th and 20th centuries, the figures of W.-D. Hütteroth, Ländliche Siedlungen im südlichen Inneranatolien in den letzten vierhundert Jahren, Göttingen 1968]. It had no more than 1,785 inhabitants in 1941 and had no administrative role of any kind.

3. Ladhik near Amasya, a large village 40 km. north of Amasya, currently centre of a "kaza" (district) subsidiary to the vilayet of Samsuu. At an altitude of 930 metres, it stands on the edge of a plain, at the extremity of the Phamontus of antiquity, the base of which is occupied by a lake (formerly Lake Stefiu, currently "Lake of Ladhik") 9 km. to the east of the town, reduced to a shallow swamp in summer but considerably augmented to the point of overflowing in spring, its waters, at this time, spreading, via the Terekalca Çay, into the Yeşil Irmak. According to Ewlyia Celebi, who has left us a detailed description of the place (iv, 87-91), the urban area comprised, in the 17th/18th centuries, 3,000 houses and 400 shops. Its prosperity was owed in particular to the fact that Bayezid II, when he was governor of Amasya (known to be residence of hereditary Ottoman princes in the 9th/10th and 16th/17th centuries; cf. F. Keppe, Die Osmanischen Provinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Istanbul 1976), chose it as a summer resort, spending six months of the year there, and embellishing it with numerous monuments and gardens. Important meadows were constituted there and the village, in the 17th century, still lived practically independently of provincial authority. Being off the main route, it declined when it lost its status as a princely residence. J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia, London 1842, saw only "a small and miserable place, but called a town because it possesses a royal mosque with two minarets". It had no more than about 1,500 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century, rising to a population of 3,094 in 1950. 4-5. Two other localities, in the same region, currently small villages of a few hundred inhabitants, also bear this name: Ladhik near Çekerek, in the vilayet of Kadi-Sehri, Kaza of Çekerek, 28 km. to the south of Zile, on the southern flank of the Deveci Dağ, and Ladhik near Niskar, 40 km. to the west of this town, to the south of the valley of the Kelkit, on the northern slope of the Kemer Dağ.

All these three localities must correspond to ancient "Laodiceas". Only one is attested in the region: Pontic Laodicea (Asözëkeke Povtviciv), whose existence is, in addition, known only from the coinages of Mithridates Eupator. Although E. Honigmann, in EL, wanted to locate it at Ladhik near Çekerek, it should almost certainly be sought at Ladhik near Amasya, in accordance with the opinion of Rupe, in Panay-Wissowa, Realencyclopdia, on the basis of the text of Strabo (i, 360) which identifies near the lake a ruined fortress (ikizari) and a royal place (cf. J. G. C. Anderson, A journey of exploration in Pontus, Brussels 1903 (Studia Pontica, i) 28). 6. Finally, "The Blind Ladhik". (Kor Ladhik) is known exclusively from the works of Ewlyia Celebi (loc. cit., 87), who mentions it as a saugat of the province of Van. This locality is cited in no source and it may be an error on the part of Ewlyia.

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AL-LADHIKIYYA (European transcriptions: Latquié, Latakia), a major Syrian port, was known by the Greek name of Λαοδίκια ή ἐπὶ θάλασσαν and later by the Latin name of Laodicea ad Mare, whilst the Crusaders called it La Lice. In the second millennium, the settlement bore the name of Ramilith the Phoenicians and was dependent, before taking its place, on Ugarit, a powerful metropolis lying 8 miles/12 km. to the north. It was in 297 B.C., or six years after the death of Alexander that Seleucus Nikator (310-286 B.C.) founded on this site
Abd al-Aziz organized the restoration of the buildings and the fortifications and ransomed the prisoners. After the death of the Unayyad caliph, his successor and cousin Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Malik completed the reconstruction of the city, improved its fortifications and reinforced the garrison.

In the golden age of the 'Abbasid caliphate, Ladhikiyya did not seem to have played a particularly distinctive role. In 357/968, Niepoivre observed how the Byzantines appeared in northern Syria; two years later the city, which was the port of Apamea, was taken over from the Hamdanids and became Byzantine. According to Yahiya b. Sa'id (d. 458/1066), the emperor Basil II appointed as governor of Ladhikiyya in 980 a certain Karmarik, who distinguished himself in an expedition against the Fatimid province of Ṭabarūs. When the city was attacked by Nasir, governor of Ṭabarūs, Karmarik was taken prisoner in the course of a sortie and later beheaded in Cairo. In 374/985, Ladhikiyya belonged to the ḍiyyad of Hims (q.v.). Ibn Butlān gave a description of the Byzantine city in 440/1049.

In 479/1086 it belonged to the Banū Munṣīd (π) of Shāyār, who then ceded it to the Sa’dīl al-Jund al-Andalus. On 8 Ramadan 490/19 August 1097 a fleet of twenty-two ships from Cyprus penetrated the harbour and sacked the town. In 491/1098, Raymond de Saint-Gilles in the course of his journey to Jerusalem left a garrison at Ladhikiyya and returned to establish his base there following the success of the First Crusade. In spring 1100, Raymond set out on the Antiochan crusade; returning to the coast in 1101, Raymond was obliged to renounce his claims to the city, then occupied by the Byzantines. Tancred took control of the city in 1105, after a siege lasting eighteen months, with the aid of a Genoese fleet of forty ships. Ladhikiyya was integrated into the principality of Antioch and at that time was one of the most active ports of the eastern Mediterranean. This port, called by the Crusaders La Liche, used to export the commodities brought by the caravans from the Far East. For a number of years the city was the object of rivalry between the Franks and the Byzantines. In 1104, a fleet commanded by the admiral Cantacuzenus succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded in forcing the Franks to capitulate. Tancred succeeded four years later, after Bohemond had promised it to Alexis Comnenus, in recapturing Ladhikiyya with the aid of the Pisans; the latter, like the Genoese before them, were granted an enclave in the city, as well as freedom of trade in the ports and markets of the Principality.

In 1134, the princess Alice donated a house to the Knights of the Order of the Hospital [see DAWĪYĪN and ISHANĀNĪYĪN, in Suppl.], which made it their headquarters in Ladhikiyya. In Radjab 350/April 1136, the amir Sāwār who governed Aleppo on the authority of Zanjī, mounted a raid against Ladhikiyya and devastated it. In 555/1164, Nūr al-Dīn (q.v.), in his turn, invaded the region and attacked the port.

On 25 Dhumād I 584/22 July 1188, after a rigorous siege, Salādīn captured Ladhikiyya; the most beautiful city of the coast, according to Ibn al-Muqaffal al-Sa‘āhib, was pillaged, and the marble façades of the houses were ripped off and carried away. The Ayyūbī prince appointed the amir Sānurf al-Khrāṣīf as governor of the city, which was given a strong Muslim garrison. This was the end of the Frankish occupation. In 1190, at the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, Salādīn had the ports of the
Syrian coast dismantled. In October 1191, Bohemond III tried in vain to recapture Lādishīyya. He renewed the attempt in 1197, but al-Malik al-Zahir Ghāzī had given the order to make the port unusable; seeing the damage, the prince of Antioch withdrew and shortly after, al-Malik al-Zahir of Aleppo restored the citadel.

Under the Ayyūbids, the district of Lādishīyya was part of the province of Aleppo. In 601/1204-5, the Franks of Tripoli and the Hospitallers attacked the town, which was also an embarkation base for expeditions against Cyprus. In 1207 the Venetians, with the support of the Hospitallers, took possession of the town with the help of the Ayyūbids, to whom he awarded half of the city and of the surrounding area. The Genoese re-established themselves there at the expense of the Venetians. In 633/1237 there was an exchange of correspondence between Baybars [q.v.] and King Hugo III of Antioch-Lusignan on the subject of Lādishīyya. On 4 July 1275 the Franks obtained from the Sultan the direction of the city in return for an annual tribute of 20,000 dinars, and continued to exercise authority, but the town was in a state of constant decline to the benefit of Tripoli, Alexandretta and Payas, which was diverted following the fall of the Principality of Antioch. In 1287, a severe earthquake caused damage to the fortifications and a number of towers, including the Pigeon Tower, the Fier and the lighthouse collapsed; without delay, the sultan Kalawwān [q.v.] sent the amir Turmātay, one of his lieutenants, to attack Lādishīyya. The siege machinery completed the destruction of the fortifications; to capture a massive tower built by Bohemond III in the centre of the city, Turmātay was obliged to enlarge the embankment linking the city to dry land. On 5 Rabī‘ I 666/20 April 1287, the city fell, putting an end to the presence of the Franks in northern Syria. Lādishīyya soon became the centre of one of the māzābas of the new province of Tarībūlūs, its naẓīb being an amir of ten with military responsibilities. When Ibn Battūta visited the city in 1355 he was impressed by its size and by the number of its inhabitants, as well as by its fine anchorage. But the city was not slow to decline. In 1366, arriving from Cyprus, Pierre de Lusignan attacked Lādishīyya, pillaged and razed it. In 1370, the sultan Barsbāy [q.v.] expelled the Venetian merchants from the town, and in the middle of the 15th century it was less populated than before it and Tripoli, and much of it was in ruins. It exported cotton and luxury fabrics (saffis) as well as Arabian manus to Europe, and in 1491 was importing its sugar from Cyprus. Until 1516, Lādishīyya was apparently subject to the viceregu of Hamāt.

Ancient and mediaeval monuments. Arab historians and geographers mention a large number of ancient buildings in Lādishīyya. Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shama praise the 'high and beautiful houses and the perfectly straight streets paved with slabs of marble'. The baths, the amphitheatre, the hippodrome and the sanctuaries built by Septimius Severus existed at the start of the 5th/6th century only in the memory of the inhabitants. However, thirteen monolithic columns still mark the location of commercial streets covered in by porticoes of the Roman period. A number of cisterns in use at the beginning of this century and the remains of an aqueduct to the east of the city bear witness to the ancient hydraulic system. The city's ramparts have finally disappeared as a result of earthquakes, innumerable sieges and successive demolitions. The anchorage was designed according to the relief plan which is unconnected with the external shape of the built surface. The gates of the city were situated at the ends of the main arteries, each one flanked by two crenellated towers, if we are to judge by the mural crown worn on Roman coinage by Tyche, the tutelary goddess of the city. There were two gates, that in the east which was the starting point of the road to Aṣāmiyya [q.v.] and which passed by way of the pass between the hills dominating the town, and the north gate which stood at the end of the colonnaded avenue which passed by the foot of the citadel and continued beyond the walls as the road towards Antīkiyya [q.v.]. Among the best-known towers are the Tower of the Pigeons that provided the postal service, and the Pier which, in the Middle Ages, protected the narrows of the harbour on the site of an ancient lighthouse, probably the new tower constructed by Bohemond in 666/1266. On the northern causeway, at the site of the modern lighthouse, the Fārus marked the entry to the port. This was, judging by the evidence of numismatic iconography, a round or polygonal tower built on a base of two levels with a second smaller tower bearing a tall, draped statue at its summit. This monument existed in the reign of Domitian (1st century A.D.). The Fārus gave its name to a famous convent, the Dayr Fārus, which was held to be the most beautiful in Syria; situated outside the town according to Ibn Battūta, it was much visited by Christians and also attracted large number of Muslims.

At the perimeter of the ancient town there stands an important monumental arch, the Tetrapyle, with its four fully-rounded arches placed between four strong pillars, but its construction stopped when it reached the boundary of the town in 1287. At a distance of 500 m. from the Tetrapyle there remain four Corinthian columns of a peristyle—doubtless the remains of a temple dedicated to Bacchus which was converted into a church (Kanisat al-mu'allaqa).

All the authors speak of two twin castles linked together and built on a hill overlooking the town to the north-east. Röhricht (in ZDPV, x, 330) has prepared a list of the buildings that are known to us from the Frankish sources.

The Ottoman period. In the middle of the 15th century, the port of Lādishīyya was part of the district of Ḥablā; cotton and olives were cultivated in the region; walnuts and mandarin trees were of high quality, while vine-growing retained its ancient reputation. In the first half of the 18th century, Lādishīyya was subject to Tarībūlūs, and was governed by Yāsīn Bey, son of Ibrāhīm Pasha al-Atmī. In Rabī‘ I 1345/September 1726, there was a major uprising; the rebels were joined by the troops sent to rescue Yāsīn Bey, and when a few months later fresh troubles broke out, the ‘Āms were removed from all their positions of authority in Syria.

The modern period. In 1914, Lādishīyya, with a population of 7,000, was nothing more than a small town belonging to the vilāyet of Beirut and administered, according to the Ottoman law of...
ifciyya is the most important port of Syria. Originally, the harbour was undertaken; the north and south
ikiyya was roused from its lethargy. A restoration of
and 570 sail boats.

ships were visiting it annually. At the end of the
ships anchored out at sea. Nevertheless, the port was
up. In the 18th century it could contain no more than
one of the most spacious, always full of great ships”.

value remained; the battles fought by Byzantines.
which had already lost its prominence. Its economic
ancient port. The conquering Arabs found a port
by shifting soil, whose outline marked those of the
port that has created that of the town, but
from the south winds. Immediately behind rises a
inferior consistency, but the inlet is well protected
it was a bay open to the south-west, with no protec¬
ition from the prevailing winds. The sea-bed is of
important works of infrastructure; thus it was that
was already handling no less than 52% of overseas trade.
The ten-year plan of 1958-68 foresaw important
works of infrastructure; thus it was that by 1968 there was a breakwater 1423 m. in length,
ensuring the protection in all seasons of a dock of
44 ha. a principal quay 600 m. long by 9.50 m. high
capable of accommodating five ships at once, a quay
250 m. long beside the old dock, the total length of the quays amounting to 1160 m., and with modern
equipment permitting the rapid handling of mer¬
chandise. The construction of a railway and of the
port equipment permitting the rapid handling of mer¬
chandise. The construction of a railway and of the

If the activity of the port was modest until 1958,
it was already handling no less than 52% of overseas trade.
The ten-year plan of 1958-68 foresaw important
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LADJ (literally "refuge") is the largest, geologically-recent lava-field in the south of Syria, comprising a plain of ca. 900 square km. It has roughly the form of a triangle, the base of which is formed in the south by the line Izza-Shahba (ca. 45 km.) and the apex of which lies ca. 48 km. to the north near Burra (ca. 50 km. south-east of Damascus). In the north, the area is limited by the Wadi al-`Ajam, in the east by the Arq al-Bathaniyya [see Al-Bathaniyya], in the south-east by the Djabal al-Durqa, in the south by the Nukra of Damascus, in the south-east by the Nukra of Sanamayn, see Dussaud, Topographie, 331). The area has borne its contemporary name since the 13th century. The Islamic geographers emphasise its location on the population to the east of Syria. There is no northern Palestine.

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Bibliography: given in the article.

(L. GAUBE)
When the Mamluks, after the expulsion of the Frankish Crusaders from Bīlād al-Shām (Greater Syria), reorganised the country into a number of manlikūs or provinces, the old Ḍūnūd al-Urdum was incorporated into the new province of Śafād. Al-Ladidjun and Dūnaš constituted the seventh āmāl or district in this province. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣād al-Ramūnī, better known as al-ʿUthmān (d. 789/1389), states that Ladidjun's inhabitants and those of the Eṣraelān plain belonged to the Yamānī faction (see kays ʿaylān). Kays and Yaman in the Ottoman period) and are most likely the descendants of the B. Ḍūdām (p. 92) mentioned in earlier sources as living in that neighbourhood. During the late Mamlūk period and during the 16th and 17th centuries, an indigenous Bedouin clan by the name of the Āl Tarābāy, sometimes called Āl Ḥārītā, emerged in that area. The Mamluks, as well as the Ottomans, entrusted this family with administrative and fiscal duties.

Ladidjun owed its prominence to its excellent location in a fertile plain with abundant water supply, to the influence of the Al Tarābāy and to the sanctity of a shrine, attributed to Abraham, which attracted pious people and on the site of which a domed shrine was set up in northern Palestine, where the Mamluks, as well as the Ottomans, entrusted the third family with administrative and fiscal duties.

In 1425/1525 the town of Ladidjun, mentioned as a karya or village in a tapa defter, had a population of 23 Muslim households. One-fourth of its revenue amounted to 4,670 ağače and formed part of the sancāfī of Tarābāy. From the list of revenues, it appears that wheat, barley and sesame were grown there, and it had its own two-stone water mill paying a tax of 1,000 ağače. The protection-money tax (bālīd qáfirāt) yielded 20,000 ağače, collected annually at the above-mentioned kāhin. As late as 1696, when the English traveller Henry Maundrell was passing on his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem, he paid a local Bedouin chieftain “two caphars, tapu defter, or village in a kūṭiya, or umayqah, or caravansaray to accommodate travellers and merchants, referred to by Ewliya Celebi.

In the second half of the 18th century, a new sandag consisting of four nāḥiyās, that of Ladidjun, was set up in northern Palestine, where the village of Ladidjun formed part of the Ḍūlāsī Pādīqārī. The number of its inhabitants had now risen to 42 Muslim households and one-fourth of its revenue amounted to 13,500 ağače yearly. The extant imperial firmāns addressed to the various officials in both Baghdād and Laylatān (the Province of Damasīq), exhibit the sultan's interest in maintaining law and order and in restoring fortifications in the area.

The decline of Ladidjun is associated with the eclipse of the Al Tarābāy in 1577, and the rising importance of the Syrian constabulary, following the creation of the new province of Sidōn in 1660 and the benefits arising there from the growing trade with Europe. This fact was recognised by the Bedouin clan of the Āl Zaydānī, who replaced the Al Tarābāy and made Acre their principal town. Ladidjun remained a centre of the sandag and had its own mutasāfin (provincial governor), but nevertheless it continued to lose importance to the coastal villages of Ḥaṭl and Acre. In 1940, the village had 1,103 souls; nine years later, after the establishment of the state of Israel, a Jewish settlement was established in its environs reviving the old name of Megiddo.

Ladidjun is further a name of a place to the east of modern al-Qarāq (q.v.) in Trans-Jordan, described by several geographers as a halting-place on the route to Mecca.

remained of Kâlidân’s reign made him one of the most powerful magnates in the realm at the accession of al-Malk al-Âshráf Khâill in 699/1299 and the two regarded each other with mistrust. Lâdîn headed the Damascene contingent at the siege of Acre, during which he was arrested and sent to Safad (Dubnic 14 May 1291). He was restored to favour, but in Shawwâd 699/September 1292 he fled, fearing arrest, was captured by Arabs, and sent a prisoner to Cairo. Again released, he conspired with the viceregent (nâthîh al-salâmâ) Bayyâr al-Mansûrî and other malcontent amirs against the sultan, who was murdered during a hunting expedition (Muharram 699/December 1293). The conspirators failed, however, in their further aim of placing Bayyân on the throne; he was killed, and Lâdîn absconded.

Khilî’s infant brother, al-Malk al-Nâsr Muhammad, was installed as sultan with the viceregent Kübbâhî al-Mansûrî as de facto ruler. In Ramadan/August, Lâdîn emerged from hiding. Under his inspiration, Kebâbghâ instigated the amirât (Muharram 699/December 1293) and Lâdîn himself was invested as viceregent. Kebâbghâ’s short reign was marked by death and famine in Egypt, and by the settlement in Palestine of numerous Oraít warriors with their families, fugitives from the Khân Gâhân after his overthrow of Bayyân [C]. Since Kebâbghâ was himself a Mongol, the Turkish and Circassian amirs may have seen this immigration as a threat to their ascendancy. A faction headed by Lâdîn deposed Kebâbghâ and installed Lâdîn as sultan in Muharram 699/November 1296.

Recurrent crises of the Mâmûk sultanate arose from the invertebrate hostility between the mamlûk of the reigning sultan and those of his predecessor, who was in many instances seeking to displace in order to reward his own household and to secure his own position. In an attempt to safeguard themselves, Lâdîn’s co-conspirators made an accession compact with him by which he undertook to renounce the absolute discretion, the essence of the royal autocracy, and not to give his own manâlîks power over them. The absence of institutional sanctions for this compact soon rendered it null. In Dhû’l-Khâdî 699/September 1297, the sultan removed his fellow-conspirator, Kârâî Sünkîr al-Mansûrî, from the viceregency, which he bestowed on his own manâlîk, Mânkûtâmûr. The tactless exercise of plenary powers by the new viceregent antagonised the amirs, who had still more reason to be alarmed by the sultan’s fiscal reforms. A cadastral survey and redistribution of jîfâ’s in Egypt (al-nakîk al-husâmi) was carried out in Dhu’l-Qa’dâ 697/March-April 1298, the first measure of this kind since Salâdìn’s time (572/1176). The survey retained the previous categories of beneficiaries, i.e. the privy purge (al-hâlîs), the amirs and the fâlka [q.v.], but whereas the allocation to the privy purge was unchanged, the other two categories were combined and given a smaller total assignment. The sultan was thus left with a surplus, free of the charges on the privy purge, on which he could maintain a new military force—an obvious threat to the power of the amirs. In the following months their resentment led to a conspiracy, and on the night of 31 Rabî’ II 699/15 January 1299 Lâdîn was murdered and Mânkûtâmûr put to death. After some days of uncertainty, al-Malk al-Nâsr Muhammad was restored as titular sultan.

Zbān and the Biskra, to the south towards the Mzāb (Hādj territory), then towards the oilfields (Hākj Mas'ūd) on the one hand, and towards the main highway for penetration of the African continent, the "Trans-Sahara", on the other. Laghouat is at the centre of a considerable network of communications.

History. In the 4th/10th century, there already existed on the banks of the Wādi Māsri a locality whose inhabitants, after acknowledging the authority of the Fātimids, took part in the revolt of Abi Yazīd al-Nukhkārī [g.v.]. The neighbouring region was overrun by Berber tribes belonging to the family of the Maghrāwa [g.v.] (cf. Ibn Khālid, Kutāb al-'Ya'zī, Algiers 1851, i, 64, Beirut 1956-9, vii, 95; Baron M. G. de Sane, Histoire des Berbères, ..., iii, 273).

The Hilālii invasion brought into the region other tribes of the same race, notably the Ṭṣel, fugitives from the Zāb, who founded a village called Ben Ḫija (the nisba "al-Dīlī") in use in Laghouat. Several other ṣaṣūr (Bu Mardala, Nādīal, Shīl Mīnūn, Badla, Kaṣbat Fītūb) were built by other emigrants, some of Arab origin (Dawāda, Awlād Bār Ḫayyān), others from the Mzāb. This collection of urban centres was known by the name Lagḥuṭ/ Lāḥūṭ, the latter orthography being the only one which corresponds in reality to the current pronunciation in the Laghouat dialect. The modern form al-Ǧāḥwāt indicates a concern for conformity with the paradigms of Classical Arabic (cf. the model ḥālī). Now the classical form Ǧaḥwāgu, plur. Ǧāḥwāt, is totally foreign to the linguistic usage of Laghouat and its surrounding neighbourhood. In spite of the feeling of Arabism which is a feature of the collective consciousness, there is still evidence of an ancient Berber stock, in various forms: personal names: numerous patronyms cited by Ibn Khālidūn (cf. above) are still borne in Laghouat and its surroundings; toponymy: place-names of Berber connotation in the Laghouat region are too numerous to be mentioned (see the detailed maps); agricultural sphere: the technical vocabulary of palm cultivation includes terms of Berber pedigree, particularly to denote fine varieties of dates (ṣaddat, ḥajarat, ṣawāt, tālīdqa, etc.); social sphere: the tribe (Berber ḥaqqi) has for a long time been a form of ritualised collective mutual aid (domestic tasks, weaving of wool, seasonal work in the oasis or the fields); and folklore: the old antagonism between sedentary Berbers and Arab tribesmen is still expressed in the form of a satirical folklore which perpetuates a more or less caricature image of "Arabs" (meaning Bedouins).

Little is known of the social and political history of Laghouat until the 18th century. At the end of the 18th century, it paid tribute to the king of Morocco. In 1698, a holy man, a native of Tlemcen, Sidi Yāḥībi, took up residence in Ben Ḫija and sought to reconcile the rival factions. His moral authority extended to the people of three other ṣaṣūr as well as to the neighbouring tribe of the Larbāʿ. Under his leadership, the people of Laghouat defeated the inhabitants of the ṣaṣūr al-'Asafiyya, but found themselves obliged to pay tribute to the sultan of Morocco, Mawāli Ismāʿīl (1672-1727 [q.v.]), who came and camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of al-Ǧāḥdī, the patron of the town (1712/1783), the history of Laghouat was reduced to that of confrontations between two parties who competed for political and religious superiority: the Awlād Serkīn, inhabitants of the south-west quarter, allied to the Tijāniyya [q.v.] and the Ablāf, the majority of them affiliated to the Ḫāriyya [q.v.]. In the course of these interminable struggles which periodically brought bloodshed to the oasis, the Turks succeeded in having their supremacy recognised. From 1727, the Bey of Titri had, in effect, imposed an annual rent on the people of the ṣaṣūr. On the other hand, the Mzābīs, expelled from the oasis where they had acquired a share of the plantations, formed a confederation with the nomads of the south, over which the Laghouatīs triumphed thanks to the support of the Larbāʿ (1758). This inconsiderable episode seems to have put an end to a prolonged religious war, through the definitive elimination of Ḫabīdiyya from an oasis whole-heartedly attached to Ǧāḥiī orthodoxy, over and above its ancestral discord. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Turks made an effort to reassert their supremacy, from which the Laghouatīs had been gradually freeing themselves. Military expeditions were undertaken for the annual collection of taxes, with varying degrees of success, by the Bey of Medea, then by the Bey of Ora (1784 to 1802). In turn, the Ablāf and the Awlād Serkīn were the object of favours or reprisals on the part of the Beys.

The two parties were not slow to re-align themselves with their respective allies, and the confrontations resumed with even greater severity, until the day when the chieftain of the Ablāf, Ahmad b. Sālim, having allied himself through marriage with one of the leading Serkīn families, became master of Laghouat and of the neighbouring ṣaṣūr (1828). After a period of tranquillity, Laghouat became involved in the struggle of the amir ʿAbd al-Kādis against the French. The chieftain of the Awlād Serkīn, al-Ǧāḥdī al-ʿArbi (descendant of the patron saint of the town) was appointed Ǧāḥiī by the amir. But he was unable to maintain his position and was obliged to flee to the Mzāb. His successor, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, was no more fortunate, although he had a force of 700 regular soldiers and a piece of artillery. His policies met opposition from the civic leaders who summoned a riot; he was forced to leave Laghouat (1839). Al-Ǧāḥdī al-ʿArbi was appointed Ǧāḥiī for the second time. The same year, when the amir was forced to raise the siege of ʿAyn Māḏī (after eight months) to regain control of the Tell, Ahmad b. Sālim and his partisans took the opportunity to rally their troops. The Ǧāḥiī al-Ǧāḥdī al-ʿArbi was overthrown and then captured, at Ḫsar al-Bārān, where he was killed (1839). Thus restored to power in Laghouat, Ahmad b. Sālim entered into negotiations with the French (Col. Marcey-Monge) to ask for recognition of his authority over southern Algeria (March 1844). This protectorate constitutes the first stage in the process of annexation of Laghouat, a process too long to be described (cf. R. Le Touzou, Occupations de Laghouat par les Français 1844-1859, in Études Maghrébines. Mélanges Ch. A. Julixen, Paris 1964, 111-39). Following several expeditions (1844, 1847, 1852), the town was taken by storm on 4 December 1852, at the cost of heavy losses on both sides (more than 2,500 dead). The taking of Laghouat (on the orders of General Pelissier) was one of the bloodiest episodes in the conquest of Algeria. On the Algerian side, the memory of the martyrs never ceased to be honoured, in the guise of a semi-folkloristic, semi-religious ritual, until the time of independence. After its conquest and fortifications, Laghouat received a permanent garrison and became the operational base of the French in the south.
In its various phases, from the beginnings (4th/5th century) to the eve of the contemporary period, the dramatic history of Laghouat has been a microcosm of the general history: (a) of the Central Maghrib, as depicted by the historian Ibn Khaldun: chronic anarchy, with no respite for the population, exhausted by a perpetual struggle for survival independent of any aspiration for national unity or progress; (b) of the population, suffering from famine, pestilence, and warfare; (c) of the town of Laghouat, which was conquered by the Turks in the 11th century and then by the Berbers in the 12th century, who built a fortress there and allegedly renamed the city Mahriya, in memory of Ahmad ibn Mahri, son of Rama, and the forms Lohawar (cf. Peshawar) and Lohawara have both been hypothesised by scholars, Cunningham (Ancient Geo. of India, i, 197-8) identifying it with the place Labokla (L. Labalika) mentioned by Ptolemy. Yet another possibility, Laghouat, may have been preserved in the spelling Lahanur which appears in the 7th/8th century Kiran al-sa'afan of Abul Khusraw. It has also been identified with the anonymous flourishing city which the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Ts'ang came upon around A.D. 650 on his way to Dhamadhar.

At one time confused with Lohara in Kashmir (see Sir M. Aurel Stein, Kulhara's Rajatarangini, Westminster 1900, ii, 293, 296, 363-4), Laghouat is actually first mentioned in 372/982 in the Suhd al-'IYAM (The annals), where it is described as a city populated exclusively by Hindus, to the Ku-shahite forces in 613/1217, although al-Dln Iltutmish (see Kalhami's Rajatarangini) found a son of Iltutmish in revolt against his father at Lahawr in 452/1063-4. Lahouat was subjected to a long and unsuccessful siege by an oncidary of Hindu princes. But it remained firmly in Ghaznavid hands, serving, after the loss of Ghazna itself in 356/966, as the capital until its capture by the Ghiyrids (q.v.) in 583/1187 as a result of a conflict between the two dinasties.

On the murder of the Ghiyrid Mu'tiz al-Din Muhammad b. Samd in 822/1226, Lahouat became temporarily the capital of the Indo-Muslim realm ruled by his slave Kuth al-Din Aybak (q.v.), but after his death it was disputed for some time among the other former Ghiyrid officers Kubiya, Vildiz, and Shams al-Din Bittin (q.v.). Afterward, it was included in the republic of Pakistan, of which Lahouat was the capital in 1947, in the course of the partition of India. Lahouat, the principal city of the Pandjab (q.v.), which was invaded by the Mongols a few years later, found a son of Kubiya in revolt against his father at Lahouat (Nasawi, ed. Hodous, text 90), and it probably fell definitively to Ilutmish shortly before Kubiya's overthrow in 653/1258.

Under Ilutmish's weak successors (see Mni Sultani), the governors of Lahouat were frequently in rebellion, and Kuli Khan Ayaz was virtually independent there in 639/1241, when Lahouat was taken and sacked by the Mongols. They did not follow up their victory, abandoning the city immediately, but around 651/1253, in the course of another invasion, they installed at Lahouat the renegade prince Bittin al-Din Mas'ud b. Itutmish. Sub-
sequently, however, it appears again as part of the Dūhl Sultanate under its governor Shāh Khān, who is credited by the historian Barānā Tārh-i Firdaw-"sānī, ed. S. A. Khān, Calcutta 1860-2, Bibl. Indica, 65) with numerous military successes against the Mongols. The city was restored by the Sultan Chiyāvī al-Dīn Balbān [q.v. in Suppl.] soon after his accession in 694/1296, but Lāhawr was to remain, for some decades a frontier region subject to regular Mongol attacks and seems to have been replaced as an administrative centre by Dēdālpārī. It attained to a temporary prominence once more early in the 8th/14th century under the governorship of Ghāzī Malik, who in 720/1320 as Chiyāvī al-Dīn Tughluq [q.v.], in the reign of his son Muhammad [q.v.], however, the district was ravaged by the Caghatay Khān Ṭarfār in around 729/1329, and a few years later Lāhawr was occupied by a Mongol chief named Hūlūlī [see hūlūlī], in alliance with the Khokhars [q.v.]; the brutal reprisals against the populace by Muhammad's forces are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta (li, 333). After this, its history is again obscure until the turn of the century, when Shāh Khurshāh Khokhar, who had been appointed governor of Lāhawr by Mughni Shāh Tughluq, made a timely submission to Timūr (683/1285), but on showing signs of disaffection was suppressed by an army under the conqueror's grandson Fīrūz Mūhammad b. Dāhāngir.

Lāhawr was included in the territory ceded by Timūr upon Khīd Khān, who in 817/1414 seized power in Dūhlī and established the Sayyid dynasty. Under his successor Mubārak Shāh, the city was twice attacked by the Khokhars, now led by Shāh Khokhara son Dījasrat, while at the same time the Afghan Lodīs [q.v.] were beginning to encroach upon the Pandjāb. In 833/1427 Muhammad Sayyīdī, in an effort to curb the power of the Khokhars, granted Lāhawr to Bahūl Lodi, who repaired the Sayyīd's garrison by supplanting them at Dūhlī ten years later. During the Lodi era, the province continued to enjoy a quasi-independence. It was the sultan's kinsman Dāwūd Khān Lodī, governor of the Pandjāb, who encouraged the designs of Bābur [q.v.] on Hindūstān, leading to the occupation of Lāhawr by the Mughals in 930/1524. On the outbreak of the rebellion of Shāh Shāh Tūr, Bābūr's son and successor Humāyūn fled to Lāhawr, which he had been compelled to relinquish. The two Mughal princes were unable to hold the Pandjāb, and abandoned it to Shāh Shāh (947/1540), with the result that Lāhawr once again enjoyed a period of Afghan rule. Shāh Shāh is said to have regretted his decision before he could achieve his object. The struggle for the succession between Dījasrat Shāh and 'Abī al-Samad Khān and his son and successor Zakariyā Khān, the activities of the latter winning Lāhawr the nickname of Shāhīgān, Zakariyā's submitted to Nādir Shāh [q.v.] in Shāhwāl 1501/January-February 1773, but recovered his independence once the Persian monarch had withdrawn from India. After the governor's death in 1165/1754, however, his sons engaged in a struggle for power, as a result of which the Afghans Ahmad Shāh Durrāk [q.v.] was able to launch his first invasion of the Pandjāb and occupy the city in Mubarram 1164/January 1748. On his departure, the court of Dūhlī entrusted Lāhawr to Muḥī al-Mulk, named Mīr Mānān, son of the ważīr Kāmur al-Din, but he was shortly obliged to submit to the Afghans; and following a further invasion by Ahmad Shāh in the winter of 1165/1752-3, the Mughal emperor signed a treaty whereby Lāhawr passed into the Afghān sphere of influence. This did not prevent the Dūhlī ważīr Shāhī al-Dīn 'Inād al-Mulk from invading the Pandjāb in 1169/1756, seizing Lāhawr from Mīr Mānān's widow, who had endeavoured to secure recognition from both Dūhlī and Kabul, and installing as governor Adīna Bāg. Ahmad Shāh was thereby compelled to recognise the city in the following winter and establishing there his son Timūr Shāh. During this time, the Sikhs are found assisting Adīna Bāg and his allies the Marāthās against the Afghans. Together they expelled Timūr in 1171/1758 and repulsed another Aīgān attempt on the city in 1172/1759. When Ahmad Shāh decisively crushed the Marāthās at Pandāpat [q.v.] in 1174/1761 and again took Lāhawr, it was the Sikhs who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the victory. On his withdrawal, they simply reoccupied the city, and did so again after each of two further Afghan invasions, finally securing it in 1181/1767. For the next thirty years Lāhawr was governed by a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains, whose rule was disturbed
only by two temporary Afghan occupations under Ahmad's grandson Zaman Shah in 1311/1776 and 1320/1785. During the second of these invasions, the Sikh chief Ranjit Singh negotiated with the Afghans for the office of mubāhār of Lahawr, but it was not until Safar 1244/July 1829 that he was able to wrest it from its three Sikh lords, who had meanwhile taken it in the wake of Zaman Shah's retreat.

Under the rule of Ranjit Singh, proclaimed mubāhārād of the Panjāb in 1801, Lahawr, as his capital, recovered something of its lost prestige. He repaired its walls, and embarked upon a programme of construction works which did much to reha -

Facing page: The Kalāl Gate which still dominates the city

spects of medieval Indian history, New Delhi 1987; 2.95; K. Jahn, "Zum Problem der mongolischen Expansion in Indien (1211-1290)."=

im, in Abert des XVI., Internationale Orientalisten-

(P. Jackson)
carved surfaces of Mathurā stone; the 7amādūdī brackets with their profusion of elephants, lions and peacocks owe much to Hindu timber-work. The architect responsible for this complex, Abū l-Karim Mafrūr Khān, appears also to have carried out the remarkable and unorthodox cladding of panels in mosaics of cut glazed tiles, on the north, and later on the west walls, with the semi-octagonal Shāh Būrj, between 1034/1624-5 and 1041/1632-3. Their brilliant colours, which extend the range previously used in the Fandābād from dark blue, azure and white to include yellows, brown and green, depict courtyards, scenes of hunting, elephant fights, battle and myth.

The Divān-i Amīr of fort was ordered by Shāhji Khân in 1037/1628 follows the pattern of its contemporaneous at Āgrā; its present form was reconstructed by the British in 1819, but fragments of two ceremonial ratings survive. Shāhji Khân, dissatisfied with the existing scheme, raised the level of the earlier work, and built a new group of private apartments inside the Shāh Būrj, including the Shāh Māshāl of white marble set off with pīdnot dura inlay of floral motifs, opening onto the court through five bays with paired columns supporting engraved arches in the fully-developed marble style: its rises to double height, with a ceiling of conves glass set in gypsum plaster (āįjīnā-ḳūt), the walls now being of solid stone. To its west is a marble pavilion, the Bāŋgī (Nawālkhā), that reproduces a Bengali but with its gridwork walls and arching roof, again inset with semi-precious stones (pārīīītā-ḳūt). In 1043/1633 he had the Diwān Khās and Khūbābādī replaced, the former with a marble hall five bays by five, anticipating that at Dīlī (p. 137) in layout, with open arcades surrounding an inner hall, and a parapet infill to simulate merlons. The Motī Masjīd (ca. 1645) makes finely restrained use of marble as the first of the three Pearl Mosques (cf. Āgrā 1648-54, Dīlī ca. 1660); its pīdnot dūrā frames a four-centred arch that contrasts with the cusped ones on either side, and the three domes rise from strong cavoetto mouldings in a round-shell frame. It is even crowned with a small pointed lotus. The round tower of Awti Khand (1083/1673-4) rises vigorously from a swelling lotus-petal base in broad gadroons to leaf-like merlons, and each is capped with a light chātri to counter the upthrust.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī, built for Shāhjāhān's mother in 1023/1614, follows the established scheme of a five-arched prayer hall, with a tall semi-domed pīdnot dūrā, and five domes supported on massive brickwork piers. Square towers at the angles carry domed lanterns. The utilised central dome, less overpowering than that at Pathpur Sīkri, has an inner shell of stone; extensive use is made of squinch nets and honeycomb squinches, and the interior has the finest floral painting in Pakistan on incised plaster. The prayer hall of the Masjīd-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1635) is of the same type, with four-centred arches, double-shelled Lōdī domes—albeit of an improved shape—and deep piers separating the façade from the domes. The courtyard is much longer and arcaded with stout octagonal minarets, capped with chātris and set on squared bases: the first use of such towers, it seems, for a Mughal mosque. The main gate is enlarged to house the domed, octagonal central chamber of a bazaar street. The brickwork is extensively panelled, and its grid floors flat panels of cut mosaic tile (see fig.) on the surfaces of the gates, prayer-hall and minarets, with flowers, trees, tendris and inscriptions in an inventive but strongly Iranian display. The building achieves great distinction in contrasting this vivacious decoration with the robust composition of the structure. Inside, the mosaic is replaced by paint. A šamānā of the same date, and Islamic in type, still exists near the Dīlī Gate. These elements are redrafted in the much smaller mosque of Dāṣī Angā (1045/1635), where the three frontal arches are engraved, the domes articulated with cavoetto mouldings well above the parapet, and the hall is limited at either end by the massive square bases for minarets with lanterns that have been rebuilt this century; exceptionally, the mosaic is used inside as well as the usual revetment of the walls of the mosque and its counter-image flanking the Tāqī Māshāl (ca. 1632-47). The mosque of Mubārak Sālīh (p. 1647), built for the historian and calligrapher Abūl Kalamān (1070/1660) is also tiled, and remarkable for its inscriptions. The Bādšhāhī Masjīd (1084/1673), Awti Khand's finest building, combines local tradition with experience from the Dīlīsī Masjīd at Dīlī (1095/1689) (see p. 138). From the former come the octagonal minarets at the courtyard corners, the smaller ones at the angles of the prayer hall, and the recessed paneling; from the latter are drawn the plan, the raised plinth with steps and gateway, the bulbous domes, and the handling of the façade. The brick structure is faced throughout in red sandstone, and white marble for the domes. The interior is decorated with floral reliefs in line plaster (mustahbat-ḳūt), and painted, with almost Rococo delicacy.

Tomb. The tomb of Shāykh Mūsā Āḥangār (ca. 1560?) whose squat dome on a cylindrical drum rests on a square, panelled cell, provides unique evidence of earlier tilework in the city: the dome is tiled in green horizontal courses, and the upper part of the walls in square tiles set diagonally, with floral motifs in blue and white. The squared mass of Shāhjāhān's Tomb at Shāhjāhān (completed ca. 1049/1639) is derived from the base of Akbar's tomb (see p. 137), with the same number of arches and projecting angles. In the octagon the red stone façades are inlaid with white and black marble in magpie elegance within the usual grid, and the tall octagonal corner towers are patterned in chevrons of white and yellow between four balconies. The absence of a central pavilion on the roof destroys the composition: the original arrangement is uncertain. A finely inscribed cenotaph lies in an octagonal central chamber with floor and walls all in superb pīdnot dura. This single-storey form is repeated at half-size in the tomb of his empress Nūrjāhān (d. 1053/1643) nearby, built by herself; no vestige of its original surface remains on the brickwork core. Shaikh 'Alī Angā's Tomb (1082/1672-3) in the Gulābī Bagh is also square, with gridwork walls and a square chātri on each corner; the plan however incorporates a cross-shaped tomb chamber, with calligraphy by Muhammad Sālīh in the coving, and an ambulatory with octagonal corner cells. A central dome shaped like those of Wazīr Khān's Mosque is patterned in chevrons of white and dark blue tiles, and its tall drum with floral motifs. A series of octagonal tombs begins with that of Anārkālī (1042/1635), built by Shāhjāhān for a former love. It has octagonal, panelled corner towers with chātris at roof level, arched walls rising through two stories, and a dome of this same profile. It suffered various alterations when adapted for a church in 1851. Entrances formerly alternated with octagonal corner cells around a central octagon,
with the cenotaph, carved in bold relief, at the middle. The tomb of Ayat Khan (d. 1051/1642 [f.v.]) at Shahdara has a single octagonal chamber, and a semi-domed arched recess on each external face around it. The reveals once had dados of square painted tiles, unique in this reign, and the squinch arches are bracketed with flat capitals. The dome, now stripped of its white marble, was contemporaneous with that of the Tadj Mahal. The cenotaph is modelled on that of Djahangir, below a muskab-bârâi vault. AlI Mardân Khan’s tomb (ca. 1650), built for his mother, is similar in plan, but is crowned with a dome of the earlier type on a tall drum, balanced, Sîrâ-al-styie, by a châlîni set above every angle of the octagon. Once more the veneers have been stripped by the Sikhs, but there are traces of a floral marble inlay on the dome. The mausoleum of Shâhâl al-Nisâ Begam (d. 1158/1745), called Saw-wâlil Maqbara, is a low tower, square in plan, whose walls are relieved by a frieze of cypress trees (sara) 2.2 m high in glazed tilework around a tomb chamber at the upper level, surmounted by a bâdghâl and a stepped square come. That of Sir Muhammad Iâlîkâl, designed by Nawwâb Zayn Yârdjaug Bahâdur in 1557, is a severe orthogonal cell with battered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and châlîni, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluk building yet somewhat Germanic; the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his Zabir-i Âcpiy.

The gardens associated with these buildings, all but obliterated and requiring extensive restoration on Lord Curzon’s initiative, have lost their original planting, but still display the bâdghâl layout, with causeways patterned in local brickwork set between regularly-spaced cypresses. The first, planted by Mirâz Kâmârân on the banks of the Râvi (ca. 1530-40) has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a bâdârâ, survives in midstream. Nûrgâhân’s Bâg-i Dilkâsh, adapted for her husband’s tomb at the centre, has each of the four quarters subdivided into four square plots, with canals and tanks at the intersections, within a huge walled enclosure. The Bû'îî Shâlîmâr (see a.v. X); completed in 1622/4, and like its namesake at Dîlîdî inspired by the eponym in Kâzghur (va.d.) was originally entered at the lowest terrace, allowing movement, as in the palace, through successively more private areas, past cascades backed by lamp-niches, a bâdghâl set in a tank, and 450 fountains. The Bâdârî Bâgh, formerly a sândî built by Avârangêh, is apparently Sikh work.

Three gateways and in mosaic tile have survived, each terminating at which they once led. The Cawburghi (1056/1646), with four corner towers like those of Wazîr Khân’s mosque, but more attenuated and missing their bâdghâls, has cleanly-cut archways set in a gridded surface. The Gulâbî Bâgh Gate (1066/1655) follows a similar scheme, but with angle-shafts in place of the towers, and with capping of the upper arches. The unadorned gate at Nawânlâc (ca. 1560) has the panelled corners left unbroken as support for its twelve-pillared châlîni, remarkable for their graduated, green-tiled domes.

Bibliography: See缸nd for general works including references to Lahaur; of these R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Five thousand years of Pakistan, London 1950, 75-91, is the most comprehensive. For works on the city in particular, see T. H. Thornton and J. L. Kipling, Lahore, Lahore 1876; S. M. Latif, Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities, Lahore 1892; H. R. Goulding and T. H. Thornton, Old Lahore, Lahore 1924. A more recent guide incorporating the latest information then available is by Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, Lahore and its important monuments, Lahore, Dept. of Archaeology, 1967. Works in Urdu include a translation of Dîlîdî Shikh Mîrza Kamran on the bank of the Kiwâr (1530-40) by A. H. Mehdi, formerly a dârâl, has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a bâdâr, designed by Nawwâb Zayn Yârdjaug Bahâdur in 1557, is a severe orthogonal cell with battered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and châlîni, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluk building yet somewhat Germanic; the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his Zabir-i Âcpiy.

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Fig. 2. Plan of the Masjid-i Wazir Khan. (From M.A. Chaghatai, *The Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore*)
al-Hawta, lies between the two tributaries of the Wādī Toban, al-Wādī al-Kabir and al-Wādī al-Saghīr, about 25 miles northwest of Aden. The town is surrounded by a fertile area which is cultivated by means of an elaborate system of irrigation using the water of the wadis and also of wells, date-palms abound, as well as cereal crops and vegetables. In fairly recent years too, cotton has become an important addition to the local agricultural economy.

Definition. In early Islamic, medieval and later times, Labdij comprised a whole area to the north and north-west of Aden and formed a joint city with Abyan which at that time must have extended much further westwards to the north and north-east of Aden than the present-day area of the same name. Perhaps Labdij and Abyan in those times might have been divided by a line drawn due north from Aden, with the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern. It seems that the area of Labdij remained as described above until the late 10th century, when the then sultan of Labdij occupied the territories of the Subayha, the tribal group inhabiting the territory between Labdij proper and Bab al-Mandab. Thus the Labdij sultanate was composed of historic Labdij and Subayha territory.


After the Yemen had been won for Islam, Labdij shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Labdij thus passed with the Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the 'Abbāsids, though in early times governors in Sunnī and Hadramawt must have had little control in the area. In 203/818-19 the caliph al-Mu'tamīn appointed Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Ziyad as governor of the Yemen. He was the founder of the Ziyādī dynasty and the city of Ziyādī al-Himyar, which was to be his capital until 402/1011-12. Labdij, with Abyan, Abyan and al-Shībī, passed into the hands of the Banā' Mān in the time of the Abys- Bian slaves who ruled Ziyādī and the Subayha territory. Thus the dynasty came to an end. In 454/1062-3, Aden came under the control of the Band Ma'ān and the time of the Abys- Bian, Hadramawt and al-Subayha. passed into the hands of the Ismā'īliists and the latter was ceded to the Government of Bombay. As already mentioned, the vast area of the Subayha fell under their sway in the late 10th century. By the time of the formal signing of the agreement with the British Government to inaugurate the Federation of the Amirates of the South in 1959, the Labdij sultan Fadl b. ʿAll, as ruler of the senior state in the Western Aden Protectorate, held the key portfolio of Federal Minister of Defence and continued in that post until the collapse of the Federation and declaration of the new Republic in 1967.


LAHIDJAN, r. A town in the Caspian coastal province of Gilan [q.n.] in north-western Persia, in long. 50° 30′ E. and lat. 37° 32′ N. It is situated on the plain to the east of the lower reaches of the Safid-Rud and to the north of the Dulk Elk mountain, and on the small river Con-iheja or Purdeh, some 14 miles/20 km. from the Caspian Sea shore.

Lāhibdijan does not seem to have been known as such to the earliest Arabic geographers, though legend was to attribute its foundation to Lāhibdij b. Sām b. Nābī. It does, however, appear in the Persian Ḥudud al-Samn (372/982) as Lāhibdij, one of seven "large districts" (i.e. it was not yet a town) of the Subayha cause in the Yemen on behalf of the Subayha. The Zaydīs remained in power until the entry of the Ayyubids from Egypt into the Yemen in 509/1173. Labdij, with Abyan and indeed the rest of the Yemen, thus came under the control of the Ayyubids (569-629/1173-1228) and their successors, the Rasīlīds (626-958/1228-1454), who were followed by the Tāhirīs (958-1454).

The expeditionary force led by Husayn al-Mushrif the Mamlūk Sultan Kānsāw b. al-Gawālī sent at the request of the Tāhirī Sultan Sāmīr b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea, and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 943/1536 the Turkish governor of Kulzum, Sulaymān Pāsha, set out with a fleet and took Aden, which thus belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1543 the Turks had to leave the Yemen to the Zaydī Imāms. In 1720-1725, however, the ʿAbbādī tribal leader, Fadl b. ʿAll b. Fadl b. Sālī ib. Sālīm, made himself independent of the Zaydīs and made Labdij the capital of his territory. Thus the area remained under the ʿAbbādī house down to the evacuation of southwestern Arabia by the British in 1967. With the arrival of the British under Captain S. B. Haines in 1839, when the Labdij sultan also controlled Aden, the latter was ceded to the Government of Bombay.

During the middle years of the 3rd/6th century, Lāhibdijan district formed part of the dominions, straddling Gilān and the mountainous hinterland of Daylam [q.n.], of the Dīstānīd or Dūstānīd Wāhsūdān b. Dīṣṭān (still alive in 259/873, according to al-Tabarī, iii, 1880; see also Sayyid Ahmad Kasrāvī, Shukhrūyārī gum-nīm, Tehran 1335/1956, i, 29; the rulers of Bīya-pahl were generally able to extend...
their power up from the plain into the mountains, and even at times over them to the south of the Elburz (as was to be the case with the Kar-Kiyāʾ Sayyids, see below).

There then arose in Biya-pāsh a family ruling from Kātūm or Hūtam in the Rānī Khan district, whose centre is Langarān to the east of Lāhīdān. This line was founded by the ʿArīḍ Māṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-ʿArrāsh (d. 730/1330) (see above), who introduced Zaydī Shiʿism into the Caspian region: the eastern part of Gīlān, sc. Biya-pāsh, thus became strongly affected by Shiʿism, whereas Sunni doctrines, including Ḥanbalism, remained dominant in Biya-pāsh. The wider political authority of al-ʿArrāsh's family shrank during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, and became concentrated more on Tābārtisān or Māzandārān to the east, but the Nāṣīrī Sayyids remained influential in the Caspian region because of their religious prestige. The history of Lāhīdān in the succeeding period is obscure; but it is probable that the Diastandīks re-asserted their authority there after the highland region of Daylam had passed into the hands of the Muslihīds or Saʿīdīs and Lāhīdānīs (the latter form better than "Kangarids") of Tārūm (see above), and that it was the Diastandīk "king of Daylam" who submitted to Kāzvin in the incoming Sādīqī Ṭoghrī Beg in 544/1147-8 (Ibn al-ʿĀthrī, 140, 314).

Subsequently, we find a family of local origin called the Nāṣīrīwands ruling Biya-pāsh from Lāhīdān. The story of their origin from Mahmūd of Ghazna's brother Nāṣīr al-Dawla b. ʿAbd Allāh Ṭafsīrī, retailed by Abū ʿl-ʿAlāʾ Abī Allāh b. Abī Kāṣānī in his Taʿrīkh-i Qadīyānī, is wholly fanciful, and the name Nāṣīrīwand obviously relates to a connection, real or supposed, with Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-ʿArrāsh's tenure of power there. In the time of the Mongol Ulugh Beg, the Nāṣīrīwand Sālāḥ al-Dīn Sālāḥ b. Ṣālāḥ was ruler in Lāhīdān; some decades later, in ʿOḍīyūtī's reign, the family was divided into two branches, that of Ṣālāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh in Kātūm, and that of Naw-Ḥāfīdī b. Ṣāḥīb in Lāhīdān. The latter submitted to the ʿOḍīyūtī that when he appeared in Gīlān and at Lāhīdān specifically in 706/1306-7, receiving in marriage the daughter of a Mongol commander and being granted suzerainty over the other local princes of Gīlān; Rashīd al-Dīn also testifies to Naw-Ḥāfīdī's riches and prestige at this time. Lāhīdān itself flourished, and Ṣāhīb Allāh Mustawfī describes Lāhīdān and Fīrūzābād as the two chief towns of Gīlān; in the vicinity of Lāhīdān silk cultivation and weaving were actively pursued, and corn, rice, oranges and other sub-tropical fruits were grown (Nisāṃ al-ḥaṣāb, ed. Le Strange, 162-3; tr. 158-9; R. B. Serjeant, Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest, Beirut 1972, 71).

Biya-pāsh was racked by warfare between the various local chiefs during the course of the 8th/14th century, and by 709/1309 the rule of the Nāṣīrīwands, already once interrupted in Lāhīdān, foundered completely, and Sayyid Ḥādī Kīyā became master of Biya-pāsh. The Kar-Kiyāʾ Sāvyds ruled there from 709/1309-8 (with a brief respite shortly after this by the last Nāṣīrīwand) till 1000/1592, the first of the family to make himself completely independent being Sayyid Amir Kīyā (for a genealogical table of the family, see H. L. Rabino, in J.A., ccxxxi [1949], at pp. 352-3). His son Sayyid ʿAll Kīyā, with the help of the Marāḡānī Sāvyds of Māzandārān, made himself master of all Biya-pāsh, and extended as far as Kāzvin, Tārūm and Shārnārān; and Sayyid Rādī Kīyā (d. 829/1429) chased out of the mountains south of Lāhīdān the local family of Ḥazārāspīds and the Ismāʿīlīs. Likewise, Mīrzā ʿAll b. Sulṭān Muḥammad Kīyā (883-914/1478-906) at the zenith of his power controlled Kāzvin, Tārūm, Suḵāniyā, Shāwa, Zandānān, Fīrūzābād, Tehran, Rayv and Waḥūmān.

From the end of the 9th/15th century, the information of the local Caspian chroniclers like Šāhīr al-Dīn Marāḡānī may be supplemented by that of the Safawī historians, the interest of the latter being focussed on the region because of the crucial role played by Mīrzā ʿAll Kīyā in sheltering the young Safawī Ismāʿīl b. Ṣaydār (see Ismāʿīlī i). The future ruling family of Persia already had close links with the Lāhīdānī district, for in the village of Shaykh-Ibrāhīm (d. 714/1314) the pīr and mujtādī of Shaykh Sālī ʿAllī Sāfawī (see Sylvia A. Matheson, Persia: an archaeological guide, London 1972, 71). When Ismāʿīl was a fugitive from the Ak Koyunlu in 895/1491, he fled eventually from Ardabīl to Lāhīdān (K. Hammer, Provinzen und Zentralgebiete Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1968, 19, 44, 83, 87, 93, 105, 221). Since then, Lāhīdān's history has been told only sporadically enough. Under Shāh Sulaymān I there took place in South Russia the Cossack revolt of...
Stepan Razin (1668-71), with raids expected against Persian territory along the Caspian coasts; hence troops were mustered in Biya-pish, the Qa[h-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i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prior to his master's death; a pilgrimage to Mecca in 882/1477; and a short sojourn in Yemen, where, in the course of his way back home from Mecca, he made an investiture of Nūr al-Dīn Māhānī to a couple of disciples—a father and son—in Zabīl, for whom he also wrote a concise ījāfīn in Arabic, with traditional Sūfī instructions. His death, according to an oft-cited chronogram (= Madda al-tārīkh), occurred in 912/1506. Other dates, including 890/1482 (cf. Firisch, Persische Handschriften, 830) and 892/1486 (H. Corbin, Trilogie ismaïlienne, Tehran-Paris 1961, index) are definitely incorrect.

Lāhīdī's literary output, including his Dīwān, with Aṣāfī as his pen-name, and a dedicated mathnawī called awārū al-ghawdād, contains a theological prose work called Ma[fātifi al-ta'wil (an extensive commentary on the well-known Gulūg-i rāz of Mahmūd-i Shabābūrī, J. W. Z.)], together with a number of shorter tracts with comments on the difficult verses of some old poets. His own poetry, although of considerable theosophical value, is of rather mediocre literary quality. His son Fīdā'yī Lāhīdī (d. 927/1521), better known as Shavkhūshdī, was also a poet and reportedly a Nārubakhshī.


2. Ḥabīb Lāhīdī, Lāhīdī, theologian, philosopher and poet of the late Safavīd period and a leading master of the so-called philosophical school of Isfahan. Although a favourite pupil and a son-in-law of Mulā Sādrī Shīrāzī, he did not share his master's philosophical teachings over several topics. Among these one may mention Mullā Sādrī's belief in the movement of substances (al-barakat al-dawwahīyya) and his opinion on the basic tenets of belief (āṣāfī al-walādī). Lāhīdī spent the latter part of his life in Kumm, where he died in 1072/1661, leaving behind him a considerable literary output. His own philosophy was of a rather eclectic character, owing much to Ibn Sīnā's and Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī's thought. His works include the Ma[fātih-yī Ki[tāb-i Idrāk, being1488/1932a hich is an extended commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī's Ta[dīrī al-ṣulūk. He wrote also a commentary on al-Sha[fārī-yī al-tābrīzī, a concise but original commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī's Ta[dīrī al-ṣulūk. He wrote also a commentary on Shībī al-Dīn Yahyā Suhrawārdī's Hayāḥīl al-nūr, along with other theological works. Among these are two Persian books discussing the elements of Sūfī theology: the Gardar-i mutāla, which he dedicated to Rūhānī, and the Shabābūrī, which he composed in 1358/1938 at the request of a friend. Lāhīdī's poetical pen-name was Fāyūdī, under which he composed a divān of no less than 5,000 verses. He is said to have had personal connections with contemporary poets, such as Ḥabīb-i Tabībī and others. His own poetry contains gnostic ideas, though Lāhīdī had no sympathy for the Sūfī shaykhī of his time. Although equally critiqued by some fanatical ījāfī of his epoch, Lāhīdī has been considered as in general more acceptable to orthodox Shīhī than his teacher Mullā Sādrī was. Lāhīdī's sons Mīrāż Ibrāhīmī and Mīrāž Ḥasanī were also theologians of some repute. The latter who died in 1121/1709, left behind not less than twelve books on theological problems.

Bibliography: later authors have sometimes confused Shams al-Dīn Lāhīdī and Abd al-Razzāq Lāhīdī, so that they have called the commentator of the Gulūg-i rāz Abd al-Razzāq (see e.g. E. G. Browne, LHP, iv, 148), or Muhammad Abd al-Razzāq, which is but a forged name (see Corbin, Histoire de la philosophie iranienne, Paris 1964, 36). Concerning the philosophical school of Isfahan, see Corbin, En Iran, Paris-Teheran 1972, 9 ff.; A. Bazarnāz, La Perse religieuse, Milan 1959, 386 ff.; S. H. Nāṣr, in M. Sharī's A History of Muslim Philosophy, 1966, ii, 904 ff. For an analysis of the philosophical teachings of 'Abd al-Razzāq Lāhīdī, see S. Dja†ī's Anthologie des philosophies iraniennes, textes persans et arabes, Introduction analytique par H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1972, i, index. For his life and works, see Brockelmann, ii, 55; C. Rich, Cat. of Persian manuscripts, Suppl., 205-6; Browne, LHP, iv, 408-9, 435; Mudariss-i Khayyābī, op. cit., iv, 361-3.

LAHN AL-ÅMMA, "errors of language made by the common people", is an expression which characterizes a brand of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists. The treatises which could be classed under this heading, correspond, broadly speaking, to our "do not say..." the incorrect form generally being introduced by "you say" or "they say..." or "one says..." (labād, yahbād), and the correct form by wa 'l-sālihīnd;... whereas the norm is..."; they are most often entitled Kitāb Lahīn al-Åmma or Kitāb ma tābalghāwhi ûfhū 'l-Åmma, but may also be Kitāb ma tagallāf ûfhū 'l-Åmma, Kitāb ḡalāthū 'l-Åmma, Kitāb Taḥāshī al-adān, etc., although this range of titles does not necessarily imply a significant difference in the manner of presentation of linguistic facts or a particular method of choosing the material to be considered. These works give evidence of the development of current usage and can, to a certain extent, serve as a means of tracing the history of the language, especially from the time that a standardization of the 'arabiyya [see] came into operation through the efforts of the philologists.

Under the heading al-Åmma wa 'l-Åmma, reference has been made to the Åmma of the grammarians, without any attempt to define it and determine its limits. 'Abd al-Aʿzīz al-Ahwālī, who has considered this point (in RIMA, iii, 133 ff.), relies quite rightly on a passage of al-Dāhirī (Bayān, i, 137) who writes: "When you hear me speak of the Åmma, I do not refer to the peasants, the lower orders, the artisans and the tradesmen, nor the Kurds of the mountains or those who dwell on the islands in the sea... the Åmma, who belong to our nation and our religious community and who imbue our language and moral culture with a class endowed with intelligence and qualities superior to those categories cited above, without however attaining the level of our ḥāṣaṣa. It should be noted, in addition, that the ḥāṣaṣa is also divided into hierarchical strata." It will be seen from this passage that al-Dāhirī, without making a decisive contribu-
often substituted, in the titles of treatises, for
shall attempt a fully inventory in due course
In reality, all the treatises of which we
of the Shitiyya who merit the qualifying adjective
or, which is more to the point, arabophoncs of
fAfdha, which is the time-honoured term. This technical
“errors, faults, lapses”—are
is one of the few authors who has the courage to
usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and
and one gains the distinct impression that this last
people... and concentrating on those which one
expression has been the object of a vigorous semantic
in this precise sense had become so widespread that
interchangeable, adapted by the grammarians to take on
of the language employed in our time and in our land
ii [1957], 6-7): “I have examined the language employed in our time and in our land (Muslim Spain) and here I have found phrases which are cited neither by Abû Hâmîn (al-Sîdjîstânî; see below) nor by other lexicographers: it is a question of alterations, owed to our ‘dmm, which has modified the pronunciation (of certain words) or adapted the
inaccuracies which I have observed... while leaving aside those that are committed by the mass of the people... and concentrating on those which one may expect to find in the language of the khâsîa.”
and one gains the distinct impression that this last
term, or its singular ‘dmm, in the titles considered in
a medium social class which, at a tin when literary Arabic and dialectal Arabic, as we
call them, had not been irretrievably divorced,
usages have infiltrated into the works of poets, and
In the course of the last hundred years, more or
less detailed inventories of these works have been
compiled, completed, and corrected by both Eastern
and Western scholars who have taken a particular
interest in this branch of philological study. The
earliest is that of H. Thorbecke who, in his introduction
to the Durrat al-ghawâsîd of al-Harîrî (Leipzig 1821, 7-12) supplied a preliminary list which was
to be enlarged by I. Goldsche (in ZDMG, xxvi [1873], 153-6); a few years later, the latter
devoted an article to the question, Zur Literaturgeschichte des Chaîa al-dmm (in ZDMG, 6 [1853], 447-56). In publishing his dictionary of the
Arabic language, of Berlin (vi, 1840, 319), Abrahâm was to put a considerable store of useful information at the disposal of Arabist scholars. Although two books on the lahn al-dmm were written, lapses
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The following year, 'Izz al-Dîn al-Ta'amîjî was to put forward, in the introduction to his edition of Tolkien's Dâr edit al-Mu'addîlî (in MAI A, xix, 1935), xvi, 226-28 a brief list, later to be completed by Salîb al-Dîn al-Munajjîdî (in MAI A, xvi, 1944), 287-97.

concerned with the genre being studied here; this work, with its object of establishing the norm, has given rise to a series of commentaries and supplements such as the Fad'il al-Fath of Ghulam Thahab (d. 343/957 [q.v.]), the Tathkif al-Adhram of Ibn Fadlan (d. 395/1004 [q.v.] ed. by A. J. Arberry, London 1951), the Fadhilat al-Fath of al-Sharif al-Dhahab (d. 442/1050), the Sharh al-Fad'il of H. ibn Makki (d. d. 377/987 [q.v. in Suppl.]), the Fadhih al-Fadli Thahab of Abul-lafit al-Baghdadi (d. 629/1231 [q.v.] ed. with the Tarikh al-Fadil of al-Harawi, etc. (see Brockelmann, S. I, 181).

Abu l-Hasayn (d. after 300/913) is likewise credited with a K. al-talham fihi "I-sama" (Ibn al-Nadim, 122; Irshid, vi, 209 = Udab, xvii, 21; Bughya, 382; Haddli Khalla, v, 357; Rizzitano, no. 3). Ibn Durayd (d. 527/1034 [q.v.]) wrote a Tashih al-lsma, composed in imitation of Ibn Kutayba and left incomplete (Irshid, vi, 89 = Udab, viii, 136), but his K. al-Malikin (Brockelmann, I, 172, S. I, 173; Rizzitano, no. 19) is not to be taken into account in this context, since it deals with words of double meaning and not with errors (cf. Krotkoff, I, a. 13).

As Krotkoff (14) quite correctly points out, reference to mistakes is made in a vast number of works, so that it is difficult to select those which belong to the category of I-sama without bearing this specific title or one of the equivalents so far encountered. As far as it is possible to judge, the preceding treatises are concerned essentially with oral usage and its more or less accidental repercussion as they affect the written language, but it is legitimate to include in the present inventory works which draw attention to faults of orthography and errors of transmission or reading which threaten to be repeated on a lasting basis and to damage the integrity of the text. Reference to errors in which the object is undoubtedly to correct what they call the I-sama do not neglect to devote a chapter to Tashih and to Tashih fihi [q.v.], and it will be noted that even Ibn Makki puts the hab al-tashih at the head of his book. It will therefore be appropriate to mention here al-Tabiib al-dhahab al-tashih (ed. A. Talas, Damascus 1968) of Hamza al-Ishafani (d. after 350/963 [q.v.]), which deals largely with erroneous transmitted verses (cf. Brockelmann, I, 145, S. I, 221; Rizzitano, no. 20) and al-Tashhid al-sakik al-ajnali al-ruwat of Abu l-Kasim al-Basri (d. 375/985), which deals with errors and inaccuracies of one stratum of the intellectual Bhsya (see the notes, see Brockelmann, S. I, 176.7). Also belonging to the same category are the K. al-Tashih al-Tashih wa l-Tashih fi al-Darqatin (d. 352/962 [q.v.], mentioned by Krotkoff (14), and the Sharh ma yaala fihi 'l-tashih wa l-tashih fihi [ed. Abul-Aziz Ahmad (Cairo 1905)] of Abul Ahmad al-Asfari (d. 352/962), see al-Akbari, under which there are studies of words whose similar diction leads to errors of reading and pronunciation among the Bhsya as well as among the I-sama. Also deserving mention perhaps is the Istidhr al-ghalfah al-lzubadi (d. 375/985 [q.v.]) which corrects the errors of the K. al-Izayn of al-Khali (ed. Gudin, in Mem. Acc. Lineae, vi (1890), 417-547).

We return to the subject as such with the K. al-Lim al-Istafthaw bi-khazin al-Fadil or K. al-Tawdhib al-Azadi al-lzubadi, which treat al-Azadi of the same Zubaidy; this work has been analysed by G. Krotkoff (op. laud.) before being published successively by R. Abul Al-Tawdhib (Cairo 1931) and Abul-Aziz Malar (Cairo 1966, with the Festschrift Fleischer, Leipzig 1875, 176-66, under the title K. Khdth al-sam 'I-sama), then by Isaa al-Din al-Tanukhi (in MM., 1896, 163-226, under the title Talhimat ulm al-ma'tad fihi [I-sama]); this is a supplement to the Durrat al-zubadi of al-Hariri (see introd. of Tanukhi, 166-72) which al-Suyuti (Bughya, 402; ed. Rizzitano, no. 25) entitles in fact Festschrift Fleischer, Leipzig 1875, 167-66, under the title K. Khdth al-sam 'I-sama), which must be the same work. Besides the commentaries and supplements to which reference has been made above, the treatise of al-Hariri gave rise to several retumations, among which that of Ibn al-Madrid (d. 507/1717), the Radil al-Durrat al-zubadi (Bughya, 376-7) is preserved in the Dir al-Kutub (Madrid, 1898). Al-Djawali (Tanukhi (Tanukhi, ed. O. M. S. M. al-Mayd, 1898), mentions the lah. al-lzada of Abu l-Husayn B. Ahmad al-Halabi (d. 572/1272) also noted by al-Suyuti (Bughya, 406; ed. Rizzitano, no. 13).

Ibn Higham al-Laihimi (d. 572/1272 [q.v. in Supp.]) revises the Lajh al-izhada al-zubadi and the Tashih al-lzada of Ibn Makki in searching out the ancient attestations of terms rejected by these authors and also corrects faults current in Spain in a work in two parts intitled al-Radd al-Durrat al-zubadi fi lala al-izhada al-lzada, which deals with the lala al-lzada of Ibn al-Djawali and the Tashih al-lzada of Ibn Makki (see below); for the first time, we encounter
treatise and the successive summaries which have been made of it, see below and Ibn Hisham in the Suppl.; in addition, al-Suyuti (Bugaysi, 20) cites a Sharh al-Faqih (of Tha‘lab) by the same author, considered to be of high quality.

Ibn Barri (d. 582/1187 [g.e.]) takes issue in his turn, with the juz‘ah, but not without taking precautions. He refers to the editor of the Rihla

... 

Abd al-Wahhab’s... al-Qawma fi-ta‘lab is a revision of the... by H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1953/153). Cairo, ix, 1953). PIFAO... Hespfris, xii (1931), 1-32). Another abridgment has been further edited, anonymously, of the work done by Ibn Hanan al-Lakhmi on the... to a summary, in the... Tafl al-A‘lma ‘an al-‘amn (of which one manuscript excerpt in Istanbul (Rizzitano, no. 3) and his... of the text of the text has been published by R. S. al-‘Ubaydi, in al-Mawrid, li/x (1941), 557-58.

Rafiq al-Din al-Hanbali (d. 975/1569) seems to a certain extent to take the opposite viewpoint from that of previous authors in his... al-‘awdma fi-nahd halam al-hanbal (of which one manuscript excerpt in Istanbul (Rizzitano, no. 3) and his... as tisdn (ms. in Istanbul) by Matar... Giessen 1900, ...Orient. Studien... Th. Saldt. K. Qhalatdt al-Sakin). The attitude of the authors cited above is by no means homogeneous. Some of them show an excessive purism and lay down the law without reservation, whereas others take a more liberal line, accept variations and are content to define the form which they consider the most correct in terms of the... numerous examples of commonly-committed errors.

Rizzitano further mentions (nos. 45-51) some anonymous Saḥaba al-ac‘wam, equally anonymous... Aḥlāt al-ac‘awdma (ms. in Istanbul) and... al-‘awdma fi-nahd halam al-‘Arab min al-da‘b, numerous examples of commonly-committed errors.

The study of those treatises of other authors who have... In the first place, as has been stressed above, the philologists are not concerned with purely dialectal usage, which they regard as an adaptation of the... and there remains in Istanbul (see Rizzitano, no. 34) a ms. of his... al-ac‘awdma is the same title which was given to the Turkish translation (Terdeng-i Chalat-tat al-ac‘wam) of al-Tanbih al-ta‘lma al-‘awdma (or al-didhil) by Ibn Kamal Pasha (d. 945/1533), seeRENAL-FAZAEDE), which was revised in Arabic and there remained in Istanbul (see also CHALAT-TAT MEHMET); the Arabic text of the text has been published by R. S. al-‘Ubaydi, in al-Mawrid, li/x (1941), 557-58.

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to which one refers is not intangible and that sense, L. may be quite properly be distinguished linguistically for a group of dialects. In the latter into “Outer” and “Central” groups to find much had come to overlay territory formerly occupied by xvi [1978J, 43-63)*

To judge by the way that the language has been degraded, works of lahndá, whether ancient or modern, do not seem to have been fruit, and the efforts of the purists continue to be vain in confrontation with the development of the written and oral usage of so-called “literary” Arabic, which hardly allows interested parties the time to polish oral usage of so-called “literary” Arabic, which
draws attention to deviations from Arabic caused by the Turkish domination.

To the north of Sir., in and above the Salt Range, including Multán and Baháwalpur, also the districts of Dérá Ismâtí Khán and Dérá Ghání Khán. Apparently as the result of earlier Balú migrations from the latter areas, it is also widely spoken in eastern Balúkhtán and upper Sind.

The main group is that which covers the southwestern Pandjáb on either bank of the Indus below the Salt Range, including Multán and Baháwalpur, also the districts of Dérá Ismâtí Khán and Dérá Ghání Khán. Apparently as the result of earlier Balú migrations from the latter areas, it is also widely spoken in eastern Balúkhtán and upper Sind.

In Sind it is called Sirákí (< Sindhi sîr “up-river, north”), and this term has recently come to be generally current in the Pandjáb also, replacing such local terms as “Múlthán”, etc. The absence of corporate enumeration in the censuses and the settlement of large numbers of P.-speaking Muslim refugees from India since 1947 in the area makes the number of Sirákí-speakers impossible to estimate accurately, though a figure of 15-20 million is often suggested. Both the number of speakers and the fact that Sirákí (Sir.) is the only variety of L. to have been seriously cultivated as a vehicle for literature (see § 2. below) go some way to support its claim to be considered a separate language.

Linguistically, Sir. is the variety of L. most distinct from L., but become implosive in Sir., as in Sindhi, and are in phonemic contrast with the corresponding explosives (often as a result of Perso-Arabic loans, which are very extensive). historical aspiration, whether as or in the voiced aspirate series, is retained as such in Sir., where it has been reduced to tonal realisation of the adjacent syllables in P.; and, while L. is collectively distinguished from P. by the retention of ir- as an initial cluster (L. trull, írir- “break”, P. tult, lâhil), Sir. is further distinguished by retention finally also, without anaptyxis, so Sir. puts “son” (< fustān), but northern L. putsr, Pl. putur. Three main dialects of Sir. may be distinguished, although the differences are not particularly marked: these are the northern Thál, the central Multán, and the southwestern Baháwalpur.

To the north of Sir., in and above the Salt Range, a number of related dialects are spoken, which only Ayálákår has been properly described. This group of dialects is distinguished phonetically by the retention of historical aspiration, or its realiza-
tion as a high-falling tone, but normally without the low-rising tone of P., and morphologically by the use of extension in -e to mark the singular oblique of unextended masculine nouns. Immediately to the east of this "northern L." group (of which the Hindko of Peshawar may be regarded as a member having many innovating features) is found Pathnihat, the speech of the Rawalpindi area, which appears to have the intermediate discourse between it and P. Finally, to the south of this, in the Shahpuri area, a complex group, containing features of P., northern L., and Sir. is encountered. This is clearly a linguistic frontier area, and it is unfortunate that Grierson should have chosen it as his standard for the description of L. The number of all speakers of varieties of L. other than Sir. is impossible to estimate accurately, but may amount to about 7 million.

a. Muslim literature. While the L.-speaking region was one of the first in the sub-continent to fall under Muslim political dominance, and the area has long had a large majority of Muslims in its population (now almost total, since 1947), the predominant literary language was naturally always Persian until its replacement by Urdu in the last century. Sir. has, however, also been cultivated for some types of writing, leading to the creation of an important Muslim local literature.

The earliest record of Muslim poetry in the Pandjab is in the shahih and hymns attributed to Farid in the Sikh Adi Granth (1604). While their traditional ascription to Farid al-Din Gandji Shakar (571/1175-1256 [a.v.]) is exceedingly doubtful, their language does suggest that a composite idiom, based on the Sir. of Multan, long important as the seat of influential Sufi dynasties, and the P. of the political capital of Lahore, which was already well established as a local Muslim literary language by the 16th century. This is confirmed by the more reliably transmitted works of such slightly later writers as Mawlawi 'Abd al-Malik 'Abd al-Halim (d. 1095/1684), author of many versified treatises on Islamic law and dogma.

Only in the 18th century, with the collapse of centralised Mughal authority, does a linguistically distinctive tradition of Sir., as opposed to P., Muslim literature begin to form. The language is nearly in all verse, and most of its genres and themes are naturally very similar to the contemporary local literatures being cultivated both in P. and in Sindhi. The largest single category of writing was probably the versified teaching material produced in the form of short treatises on the tenets of Islam, or rhyming Persian-Sir. vocabularies, of little intrinsic literary interest. Adaptations of popular Persian manzils-themes were also made, the best-known of these poems (locally termed ʿagāya) being the Sayyid al-Matūk by Lutf 'All of Bahawalpur (1129/1718 and the Sayyid Zulaykha by 'Abd al-Hakim of Uz (1128/1816). Local legends were also treated in this form, the best early example being from Sind, in the Sassī Pandūān by Nabi Bahgāsh Lāghāri (1254/1838).

The chief glory of the literature is, however, its Sufī lyrical poetry, whether in the form of ḍhikr, cultivated by 'All Haydar of Multan (d. 1201/1785), or the longer ḍhikr, a sung lyric with a refrain repeated after each verse, first brought to perfection by Saṭṭāl Sarmāst (1152-1243/1739-1827) of Khayyārār in Upper Sind, who wrote with equal fluency and immediacy in Sindhi also. The finest example of the Sir. ḍhikr are to be found in the ḍhikr of Khwāja Qulām Farid (1205-1910), the head of an important Sufi dynasty, who lived at Ĉāfrān in Bahawalpur State. With their subtle blend of a sensitive handling of local desert scenery, and the most profound Islamic learning, these poems mark both the end and the culmination of Muslim writing in the local languages of the Indus valley.

mention should be made of the Sirī elegies (marrōyah [ga.]) produced in great numbers from Multan since the mid-19th century. These represent a fascinating interweaving of the Sufī mystic and the secular: they are the most significant material found in the popular Persian sources, and are notable stylistically as being typically written in alternating sections of verse and prose (taṣqīl), thus directly reflecting the usual style of performance of the professional ḍhakārī at the local maṣājid-i mutāmān.

Traditional genres continue to be cultivated, while in recent years a modern prose literature has begun to be created. The problem of a uniform adaptation of the Perso-Urdu maṣādī script (see khatī) in Sir. to record the many additional phonemes of Sir. has yet to be fully resolved. In Sir. there is no longer a centre for the production of original Sir. literature. Older Sir. texts are published in the Sindhi maṣādī script, with its many additional letters.

There is a much smaller Muslim literature in the northern L. Hindko. Writings produced in the areas of Fāshārār and Shahpuri are hardly to be distinguished from the main stream of Muslim Pandjabī literature (p.C.).


LAHORE [see lahawr].

LAHOT and NĀṢŪT (A.), two terms meaning divinity (or deity) and humanity, and forming a pair which plays an important role in the theology of certain Muslim mystics and in the theosophical conceptions of the extremist Înâkî. 
1. Philological considerations. The termina-
tion -nt of these two words may be traced to an
Arabic origin. It is also present in the words
mal'ah (which in the text of Nasib, p. 52), and
jadaburah which appears in the haddith: "Give
to the One to whom belongs Ruling Power
djaburah and Kingship (malakht)." So malakht was
already Arabised in the time of the Prophet. It is a
direct borrowing from Syriac (malakht), or Ethiop-
ic (malakht), where this word means divinity,
the Semitic root מ (God) being lost and replaced by
the composite noun מ malakht is a difficult question
to settle. Muhammad's known relations with
Abyssinians seems to suppose a Coptic influence.
Whatever may be the case, Ibn Manzur, in L.A.,
states, without posing the problem, that "al-malakht
comes from malk (kingdom), just as malkat (terrify-
ing nature) comes from malka (terror)." As for
djaburah, he says that it is the falsaf form of ġabbār.
Consequently, he seems to give these words in -nt a
right to be cited as Arabic. He is more precise
with regard to šabīh: "Šabīhah thinks that šanh
is the original form (aslı) of the name of God (Allah),
and that šanah follows by supposing a Coptic influence.
Congratulations. Whatever may be the case, Ibn Manzur, in L.A.,
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with regard to šabīh: "šabīhah thinks that šanh
is the original form (aslı) of the name of God (Allah),
and that šanah follows by supposing a Coptic influence.
In any case, a Syriac text of Aphraatus
is the equivalent of šanah. Thus there
may be the equivalent of šanh, although Syriac preserved the
šanah, in the name of God, šanāh - šanāh, and which forms
part of the root (cf. the discussions of the grammarians
on the formation of the name Allah). Finally,
the last group of words, al-šanah designates
the essence or nature of God (ayn).

The origin of nāsūt, by contrast, is not
information available. Al-Tahānawi in his
Dictionary of technical terms has not devoted any article to it. Ibn Manzur does not cite this word under the root
mās or under the root mās from which come mās and its pl. wds, as well as łašḥ. Here, it is well-
certified, according to Abu 'I-Ḫayyam, that the łašḥ is radical (asfīya); this grammarians
are also ingenious in showing how mās ("men") could have come from mās, by adding the article al-
lašḥ > allašūs > assalūs (al-nās), and, after the dropping of the article, mās. This laborious
process shows that if the form mās raises difficulties, a
fortiori the form nāsūt. But Syriac has a word (lašūs)
(?)nogābāt with an accunting stroke (šušābāna) under the łašḥ, indicating that its letter must not be pronounced. There is the form nogābāt without łašḥ, which means "man". This can be compared, in
Sermon xvi of the Liber graduum (P.S., xiii, 379), with a passage in which human nature
(šušamīn) դ-ծառrwāt "from the hypothesis of the son of man.") So the Syriac origin of the word
nāsūt does not seem to be in doubt; it designates
human nature. Doubtless it was also chosen because
of its assonance with šanah.

2. łašḥ and nāsūt in Christian literature.

Al-Bākhīlānī in the Tawāhid (Cairo 1360/1947) speaks of
the Word of the Christians who claim that the union of the
Word with the nāsūt is a mixture and mingling
(šušābānāt nāsūt) like that of water with wine
(thes Jabcīn) or with milk. He states, on the contrary,
that the Christians mean by it the manifestation of
the Word with humanity (nāsūt) which is the body,
which consists in its taking it as a tempele (haykal)
and dwelling place (mahalla) (56). Further on, al-Bākhīlānī
reports that for the Christians, the name Mesīā has two meanings:
lašḥ, God (šanah) and nāsūt, created man (salān mākūhāt) : the prayers of Christ
come from the man, his miracles come from God and not from the Word. He demands the Muslim
theologian, could the same not be said of Moses?
The production of his miracles comes from the
divinity, to the exclusion of his humanity (mīn al-
lašḥ, dīn nāsūt) (54). For his part, al-Dījavānī,
in his Kislāh al-Šāhīnī fi 浪潮l-dīn (ed. al-Nāṣibr, Alexandria 1969, 582), writes with regard to
the Christian doctrines concerning the union (albašt),
that the Christians mean by it the manifestation of
divinity in humanity (nāsūt) (al-bašt). But in both cases, which they conceive of this
manifestation, they are divided into three groups. Some
say that an object placed in front of a polished
body appears there and can be seen without being
transferred there and without dwelling there (wa-lam yušābā);
It is in this sense that divinity appears
in humanity, thus without lašḥ. Others take
the example of the impression of a seal in wax;
it is the seal itself which appears there, although there is no
part of it which comes to dwell there. The last group
say that the manifestation of divinity in Christ
means the same thing as, for Muslims, God's sitting
on the throne, all of them agreeing that contact is
impossible. Furthermore, they express union with
the image of an act of clothing oneself (nāsūt) as
if they believe that it is possible and true that
the divinity had taken the body of Christ as clothing
(dīr). Reference may be made to what H. Corbin
wrote (En Islam tr. en, iii, 285, n. 102), on al-
Nasīrī (d. 1336): So it may be reasonable to
suppose that the terms lašḥ and nāsūt were
borrowed from the Christians who wrote in Arabic
using Syriac sources and originals, particularly
the Nestorians who had had, as we learn from al-Tawhīd,
numerous relations with Muslim thinkers, especially
in Bādhad. It is conceivable that the problem of the
union of the divinity and humanity in Christ
had been able to interest the mystics of Islam,
who were faced with an analogous problem, mālakat
mulūk. On this subject, the idea of assuming a
garment, indwelling and temple are present in the
writings of St. John and St. Paul, and these images
were applied not only to Christ, but also to the
saints in whom: God, Christ and the Spirit are said
to reside. An echo is to be found in Syriac literature.
Thus one can read in the Liber graduant (Sermon iii,
P.S., ii, 74): "And Christ dwells in them" (w-thar
b-hun Maškii); they are "filled with God" (mādīwān
al-ḥadā). One should note the translation of the
passage (transl.: You are the temple of God"
(1 Cor., iii, 16): Haykal a(an) dīn al-ḥadā. The
Arabic language has the word haykal whose
significance, according to the lexicographers, is that of
an adjective which has the meaning of "corpulent",
"large", "long or high". This qualification is applied
to animals and plants, especially the horse when it is
"high on its hooves" (kasīd). A building is called
haykal, when it is raised like a horse on its hooves
(L.A); Ibn Manzur (ibid.) informs us that the haykal

...
"is stated as being, among the Christians, a temple (haykal) in which there is an idol in the likeness of Mary. This idol is called al-ghalid by the Nestorians, but al-halladi by the al-Halladjites. I am as likely to have come from the Christians, as was formerly believed: "for him, as for the Ghulat, nasiit, nis shaghfahin (resplendent light) and am (command) are synonyms, which is in no way Christian". But the argument does not stand up, for the question is that of the origin of the words and not of the origin of their significance; if, even by the confession of Massigmon, al-Halladj modified the significance of expressions which he took from the Imams, why would he not have accommodated to his own thought some terms which he had taken from the Christians? 'Afidi, in his book al-Tasawwuf: al-thauro al-rakityya fi l'Islam (Alexandria 1563, 82-3), followed by Kamil Mustafa al-Shibli in his Sharh Divan al-Halladj, has upheld the thesis of the Christian origin. But which Christians are concerned? If it is the Nestorians, it seems that, even going beyond words, similarities in ideas may be detected, allowing for the fact that in al-Halladz there is no Christian orichollt. In fact, the Halladjian name could be considered the equivalent of the prosopon of union in which the will of God and the will of man are united, which justifies L. Massigmon's important remark (ibid., iii, 52): "The only aspect through which divine action takes part in transforming man is not nasiit, the creative omnipotence ..., but this essential, intelligible word which is at the basis of every command of the Divine ...". Nasiit, like mark, is actually the place where the will of the one who commands and the one who obeys are united. As in Nestorianism, there is never any confusion between the divine essence, nasiit, or as L. Gardet says (Dien et la destine de l'homme, 442), "the sealed world of the divine essence" and the human substance. To mark this irreducible distinction of the two natures, al-Halladz uses the terms nasiitita and nasrossita: "My observation of what is properly Yours differs from Your observation of what is properly mine: in fact, Your observation of what is properly mine is divinity (nasiitita) and my observation of what is properly Yours is humanity (nasrossita), and even while my humanity (nasrossita) is lost in Your divinity (fi Idhulliyatika) without being confused with it, at the same time Your divinity takes possession of my humanity without having any contact with it." (Ahbab al-Halladj, no. 1, Arabic text, 8). He who supposes that nasiitita mingle with humanity (basharyya), or the basharyya mingle with divinity (nasiitita) is an infidel (ibid., no. 25). The synonymous bashanyyam nasiitita and basharyyam nasossita allow us an accurate understanding of the meaning of the two terms constructed from nasiit and nasossit. Let us note that Ibn al-Fardi (Tha'yya, 455) uses nasiit in the sense of nasiitita and nasossit in the sense of nasiitita: "I am not diverted by nasiit from the condition of the place of my appearance, and I do not forget, through nasiit, the place of my wisdom's appearance." If, as for the Nestorians, there is no mugging of the one by the other, but confusing, when al-Halladj uses the image of clothing, it is to say "my temporality is beneath the clothing of Your eternity" (baddad nasiit na'us hitbidi). (Ahbab, no. 1). "O All of my all and The all of Your all is a clothing worn by my inner significance" (Deshun, 7, v. 5): "na khalda makhra bi-ma'mur'i). The act of wearing this All (ma'mur), that Massigmon explains by "the deformity of the sanctified man" (Passion, iii, 350, n. 7), results in the all of the man containing the all of God with which he is clothed: "I contain in my all the All of Your all, O You, my sanctity. You are invited to me to the point where it is as though You were within me" (Deshun, 44, v. 1). Indeed, in the order of the stations of mystical ascension, tabs comes immediately after hasat. Finally, there is also to be found in al-Halladj the image of the haykal which is the corporeal form: "The haykal remains on earth, putrefied" (Deshun, 63, v. 2). So it is not simply a question of the divine dwelling within him; but must also be transfigured. Al-Halladj asked for "the destruction of the Ka'ba,
then its rebuilding with wisdom." The Ka'ba to be destroyed is the "temple of the human body", the haykal "whose transfiguration is to be hastened" (Passion, i, 1885). As for myself, He does not veil Himself from me for a single moment, until my nafsyya is lost in His lbhittyya and my body disappears in the lights of His essence! (Aghbar, 10, cf. Passion, iii, 523). Nafsyya rust then, in so far as it is purely human, be assumed by the nafs, the aspect of God in which union is realised: "Glory be to Him whose nafs manifested the secret of His dazzling lbhat, in the form of a man who eats and drinks" (Divina, 9, v. 2).

The origin of the idea of nafs conceived by al-Hallāj must be looked for in the word that, in eternity before all creation, God addresses man, the Word which is contained in the uncreated Kur'an. To this idea of a pre-eternal conversation between God and man is linked all the Hallājīan dialectic of Ma', You and Him, which underlies the relations between lbhat and nafs, lbhittyya and nafsyya as in the following example, "The Yourself which is a His has borne witness to Ma'" (nafsyya qab il-habāfi 'I-huwa') i.e. that the dialogue between the divine You and the human me, on the level of the nafs, manifests the essence of God (lbhat) in its identity (an-nafsyya).

The light pair lbhitt-ndsut in the thought of Ibn 'Arabī. For Ibn 'Arabī, the lbhitt is the divine aspect in the prophet and saint, as supposed to the nafs which is the human aspect. In a poem concerning knowledge of Jesus (Futūbat, ed. 'Uthman Yabya, iii, 41, 89-90). one can read: "This lbhat, which was in the world of the Invisible, was his union (with God: yāhir), was a spirit in whose image (rab mūmalhthal) God made the secret appear."

The term yāhir (relationship through wounds) is given in the article. According to 'Uthman Yabya, iv, 41, 68-9), one can read: "His lbhitt, which was in the world of the Invisible, was his union (with God: yāhir), was a spirit in whose image (rab mūmalhthal) God made the secret appear."

The lbhitt is the radiant aspect of the theophanic conception of the Imam. It is the divine image of clothing (cf. H. Corbin, "Lbahāt and Nabsūt — Lbahāt") thought. According to the Imamī conception, different planes of the universe exist (cf. H. Corbin, En Islam iranien, i, 35): lbhitt, giobarī mašallī, nabsūt, [see TAHKI]. Lbahāt is the world of secrets (fīlam al-māšru) and the Ushūd is the realm of the otherworldly relations between lbhitt and nabsūt expresses the different aspects of the theophanic conception of the Imam. Al-Tahānawi, who discusses lbhitt in his article giobarī, refers essentially to Persian texts. It is thus finally in Iranian thought that the two terms lbhitt and nabsūt received the widest reception, following what al-Hallāj and Ibn 'Arabī had written on this subject. It comparisons can be made with the Christological doctrines of Christianity, particularly with regard to the image of clothing (cf. H. Corbin, op. cit., iii, 174-5), it must be stated that these two terms were henceforth perfectly integrated in Shī'ī theosophy.

We shall mention in conclusion a curious etymology given by al-Tahānawi; lbhitt originally derives from the formula: lb hawad iddā haw. It is the custom of the Arabs when they use a complex formula in speaking to add something to it (ūzd riyāda hamad, i.e. the final letter tā', and to cut something off it (hadiyum amand: here iddā haw). The result is that lbhitt is the radiance of the essence (la'dafli 'lddā).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(R. ARNADDEZ)
and used non-traditional metres, which were apparently inspired by Russian literary models. He also composed songs, and wrote the libretto of Kawa-ahanger ("Kawa the Blacksmith"), which was the first original opera to be performed in Tajikistan. His literary endeavours extended to the field of translations, which he rendered from the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Pushkin, Goethe, and Hugo. His diction was simple and uncomplicated, and he used a language which almost verged on ordinary speech.


LA'IB (La'b), the Arabic word for "play" (also used variously in Persian, against Turkish oyun), in the Muslim world as fundamental a concept of vast sociological and psychological implications as in other civilizations. Only a few of its aspects can be briefly discussed here. The "play" culture of many important human activities (dance, theatre, music, etc.) does not come under our purview, nor do ritual games as survivals of pre-Islamic religiously-motivated customs. We find them occasionally mentioned, as, for instance, in references to New Year practices, cf. al-Birunl, 'Ajār, 66; Sachau, 276, who also mentions the enactment of a Persian religious ceremonial played on seesaws; for a modern example from southern Morocco, see M.-R. Khabat, in Chanaug, L'histoire des francophones 14, 1930, 298. The presence here is on children's games, but it is in Islam as elsewhere, no clear dividing line separates the games of children from those of adults; there is no typological distinction, the only difference sometimes encountered being certain material factors. Al-Dhahabi, Rayhulain, Cairo 1323-5, iii, 79, may have been aware of this circumstance when he singled out playing with pigeons as best representing the easy potential transition in games from playfulness to seriousness. The beginning of the love for playing in Islam was cultivated in the Muslim world. The constant use in literature of metaphors built upon combinations with the root "to play" attest to the concept's living strength.

The large role of "play" in Muslim life is all the more remarkable as it ran counter to firm religious objections. These objections have indeed greatly coloured the expressed Muslim attitude toward play. They were no doubt effective in curtailting the factual information on games available to us. The Qur'an refers to play (and lahke "amusement") as a particularly malicious expression of human unconcern with man's true task in this world, which is working toward salvation in the other world. Much ingenuity was spent by Muslim intellectuals on condemning it, as attested in innumerable statements such as, for instance, many verses in the subhiyyat of Abu l-Abbiyya or 'Ali's indignant rejection of being called a hasib or làmra (al-Baladhuri, Ansab ii, ed. M.D. al-Mahmool, Beirut 1390/1974, 741). Not dissimilar to the thought expressed by Anacharsis (Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1176 b 33), that playing should be tolerated only when it enhances a man's ability for serious occupations, is the idea that all work and no play dulls the sensitivity of even the greatest and most dedicated minds, and light relaxation, therefore, is to be tolerated (e.g. P. Rosenthal, Humor in early Islam, Leiden 1956, 5, and see al-quin wa l-ka'az, but the authors who quote statements to this effect would hardly have found so far as to include simple games in what was meant by relaxation. Worldly wisdom required that rulers be warned against excess in playful activity. As a matter of fact, "play" in Islam came to be considered the exclusive prerogative of children, bracketed at times with women also in this respect. In the Greek tradition as represented by Bryson (ed. M. Flessner, Heidelberg 1928, 201; cf. also al-Qushu, 'abba, riyyd-d al-nafa, Cairo 1352/1934, ii, 63) and used by such influential thinkers as Maqdisi, Ibn Khurdad. Education should be permitted moderate playing as relaxation only to be better able to tolerate the hardships of education, or (according to al-Su'udi wa 'isibd, ed. M. Ninovi, Wiesbaden 1925-5, 360) to acquire serious skills. Sometimes, we find statements to the effect that future greatness is foreshadowed in childhood by a disdain shown for playing. References to children are often routinely associated with play. It was quite natural to have the youth killed in the story in Kur'an, XVIII, 74/75, described as having been found playing with a false (al-Bukhart, Fath al-basti, Cairo 1302/1925, ii, 233) and described as having been mentioned in ancient poetry (Amr b. Kul&Qin, Aula, as having played with two small wooden boards, one twice as long as the other and the one being hit with the other (or with a mikhel), this being in an anecdote intended to show al-'AbbAs's innate decency (Ibn Zafar, 'Abba, d. 54).

The most influential reference to child's play goes back to the biography of 'Abiba, reported in

LAHUTI — LA'IB
many traditions with only slight variations (for instance, Concordance, iv, 198-200; Ibn Sa'd, 40-5; al-Balādhuri, Anṣāb, i, ed. M. Hamidullāh, Cairo 1937, i, 245-6). It happened when the Prophet sūrah playing on a seesaw (urdūq, marḍūq) that she first caught his attention, and he once, or on different occasions, came upon her playing with dolls. "Dolls" (bandāt "girls"); or lūḥa, pl. lūḥāt, the typical "playing") came thus to be discussed intensively in the legal literature. The gist of the Sunnī jurists' discussion and the problems of detail they chose to face can best be captured from Ibn Ḥādīṣ, Fādīb, xxiii, 143 ff. In sum, dolls were usually given very reluctant approval as having educational value for training little girls to become good mothers. The obvious conflict between the prohibition of figurative representations [see El art. 58A] and the permissibility of dolls, although often they were not realistic representations of living beings, proved impossible to solve to everybody's satisfaction. The connection with idol worship was only hesitantly mentioned. The hadīth also informs us that dolls were made of wool ("mot, Concordance, iv, 409a, 16 f.) to save the child who has no time to fast. In order to divert them (as other toys, such as polo sticks, might be promised to children as incentives for studying, see Ibn Ṭabībun, jāhīd al-muṣāfūn, ms. Bodl. or Hunt. 518, 70b). Some of ʿAšṣa's toys had, or were seen by the child's imagination to have, the shape of (winged) horses, with the wings made of rags. In this connection, al-Ghazzālī, Ḥayy[42], ḏāḏ al-zain[43], ii, 245 speaks of the "imperfect forms" (of toys) fashioned by children from clay and rags as something tolerated by Shāhīzād, as he also mentions elsewhere (Ḥayy[44], ḏāḏ al-ka'am, ii, 60) animal toys made of clay given to children on festivals.

Numerous names of games were mentioned as being of philological interest and listed because of their special form or because of literary connections (e.g. al-ʿAskārī, al-Tālqīfi maʿrīẕ asmaʿ al-qalāy̱īn, Damasuscus 1369-90, 918-24, see F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, Lekten 1975, 65). We also find references to such things as ḏaʿīn, ḏukal, ḏaʿīn[45] (a running, and ? catching, game, al-Kall, Amāli, Cairo 1373, i, 315; Līṣīn al-ʿArab, iii, 97), or the putting of ḏi̲j̱ībīn into ṭākīb (al-ʿArab, ii, 41 f.) Games are given at times names in the form of noun combinations or sentences, such as al-muṣālim wa-l-waṭṭir māsīr "master and hired hand." (T. Hyde, De Indis orientibus, ii, Oxford 1864, 234-6; ḏi̲ṭ̱ūrub al-Muḥāsibī "I have come to you, seize me" (Hyde, ii, 240 f.), ḏaʿīn wa-ṣ̱aḥīb for even-and-odd. (Turkish) bālala "catch Laylā" (H. Ritter, Knabenblogs aus Astrakhan, in Jel. xvi [1942], 46-57), etc. Characteristically, the names of games change greatly in the course of time so that those found in Hyde from the 17th century and even more so those from modern times (e.g. K. L. Tallekvist, Arabische Sprichwörter und Spiele, Helsingfors 1897, or Ritter) are nearly all different from those known from the mediaeval literature, quite apart from local differences.

The philologists no doubt had often no personal experience of the games they sought to describe. Descriptions are often non-existent, or they are so brief as to indicate hardly more than the general type of a given game and to be practically useless; this is nothing peculiar to Muslim philologists but something worldwide, since the play instinct required to be satisfied by intricate and volatile rules hard to describe fully. Ambiguities of interpretation are always present. Similarities between modern and mediaeval names, in the rare cases in which they exist, do not necessarily indicate that the games are the same. Thus, the ḏaʿīn al-dūḥāmaya mentioned by Ibn Kūsain (E. García Gómez, Todas Ben Qusma, Madrid 1972, i, 349, 35-6) is hardly the dūḥāmaya described by A. Robert from Algeria, in Revue Africaine, xxii (1942), 59. The ring (ḥātim) game of predistributaries is no doubt the guessing game described by Robert, but hardly represents all the games thus designated (cf. Rosenthal, Gambling, 62; al-Simāwī, ʿuyūn al-ṣāḥiba, ch. 11). The modern game called ʿiblī may be related to ancient ʿulūs as suggested by Ritter, but we have no way of knowing how far this relationship, if it in fact exists, extends to details.

Of the more important types of games, we may mention here (1) guessing games such as ʿāḥāri; (2) board games of the chess [see shatranj] and backgammon [see haneb] types and of the manakha type which were, but not always, played on boards, involving the placing of chips into holes, as, for instance, the game of "fourteen" (ʿaḥāra laqāna), the throwing of dice and, of greater antiquity, a kind of knuckle bones (ṣāḥīb, pl. ṣāḥīḥīn), also in a way the walnut (ḏaʿīn ḏaʿīn[46]), etc. (3) skill and sports games, such as ball playing, the great favourite of children, often mentioned as done in the streets, also played with balls and (polo) sticks, see al-Ghazzālī, Ḥayy[47], ḏād ṣ̱al-nafs, iii, 53, further jumping games, catching games, the seesaw, imitation fighting games, the egg game, also tos (ḏuwuʿa, ḏaʿārīf); dancing with a hobby-horse (ḥarradī) was apparently not practiced as a children's game, cf. M. Gaudufray's Demônymes, in Mé. Wm. Marquis, Paris 1950, 155-60; and (4) "playing" with animals such as small birds, pigeons, dogs (add al-Dżāhī, ʿayṣīvān, ii, 28, to Rosenthal, Gambling, 58 n 2420), or reptiles, either as an innocent pastime or as a gambling, racing, and fighting sport.

Most children's games contain an element of gambling, inasmuch as they entail rewards for the winners and penalties for the losers [see gīmār]. This added to the scruples raised by the play concept in general and the ʿulūs problem of dolls, and cast doubt in the eyes of jurists upon the legality of commercial transactions involving toys. In conjunction with prevailing economic conditions, it probably contributed to keeping toys used by children mostly simple and makeshift.


LAK 1. The most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zayn al-ʿĀhbatī, their name (Lak, often Lāk) is explained by the Persian word lak (100,000), which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance in that the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in northern Luristan [p. 49] are sometimes confused with the Lur (Zayn al-ʿĀhbatī), whose they resemble in the somatic and ethnic point of view. The facts of history, however, show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lākā language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Luri dialects [cf. lūr]. Cirkov, Futeoci sharud, St. Petersburg 1875, 227, says that "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects, and hate one another."

The Lak appear in the Snau-nams, i, 323, along-
side the Zand, among the secondary Raud tribes, and as subjects of Persia. According to Rabino, the Lak were settled in Luristan by order of Shih-Abbas. According to O. Mann, they were settled in this way to create some support for the new vassals of Luristan, Hassan Khan, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shih-Abbas Attabeg (Tabriz-i Shami-rid, 369). Of these tribes, the SiSla had formerly lived at Muhdasht (to the south-west of Kirmanshah); the Dillan take their name from Abul Dulaf [see at Jasin n. 46], whose feuds in the 13th/14th century led in the north of Luristan [see LAK], or the Bajdan of Zebah as well as Luristan say they come from al-Mawil and are evidently one tribe. The Luristan branch seem to have exchanged its Kurmanji dialect for Laki during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shih-Abbas. After Shih-Abbas there were several Lak tribes outside of Luristan. Zayn al-Abidin (opening of the 15th century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Mafi, the Bajdan and the Zand-i-yi kala (7). To the last tribe according to Heottum-Schindler: Bogezand, Hakand and Karimpin from Zand (born in Pariya, the modern Part, about 20 miles from Dastam at the south-east of Kirmanshah). When at Shiraz, Karim Khan sent for the Lak tribe of Barayand. In 1323/1707 the Bayrivanband and the Bajdan actively supported Muhammad Khan Zand in his attempt to seize power from the Moghars (Sir Harford Jones Brydges, A history of Persia, London 1835, 46, 58; R. G. Watson, A history of Persia, London 1866, 116). Under the Kadjars, several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared; in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bajdan of Khaisdu (Kherbi described by Siyeh-nay-yi budid, Russ. tr. 112, 221); there are still a few Zand families in the Doci-Faraman district to the south-east of Kirmanshah (RM, xxviii, 39); a section of the 'Amanla of Paqtal-Kain claims to be descended from the Karim Khan tribe. At the present day, there are Mafi at Waramin, Tehran and Kazvin.

According to a good list compiled by Roussseau at Kirmanshah in 1807 (cf. Fremidency des Orient, Vienna 1813, ill. 85-98), there were considered as the Lak the following tribes: Kalinf, Mafi, Nakanif, Djallia, Parywanand, KaliATH, Safwan, Bahravanand, Karki, Tawall, Zoburanand, Kawkunand, Namiwan, Amiwanand, Bohrani, Zalaya, Harshid and Shajwand. According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Luristan are as follows: SiSla (9,000 families), Dillan (7,470), TXhian-Amra' (1,582 families), the Bayranband (6,000 families) and Dallwand (1,000 families) forming part of the Bak-Sirvan group, a total of about 15,000 tents. The Bayranband and Dillan live to the east of Khurramabd around the sources of the river which flows through this town; the SiSla and the Dillan occupy the beautiful plains of Alqhatar and Khawa respectively, while the TXhian (perhaps equal to Tabrjan, i.e. "exemption from taxes") live between the left-bank of the Sayyuna and the lower course of its left-bank tributary from Khurramabd. The territory occupied by the Lak, and including northern and north-western Luristan is sometimes called Laki.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the SiSla, Dillan and TXhian were united under the authority of Nazer-i TXhian Khan of the Amri clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion, for all the Dillan and many of the Amra of Tiiran belong to the extremist Shi'ite sect of the Ahi-i Talib [9].


The name given to themselves by the Ghasi-Kumulak, a people living on the eastern Koy-su in central Daghestan (see the next article and varuos), also Eckert, Der Kaukasus und seine Völker, Leipzig 1887, 248-57, and Dirr, Die heutigen Namens der kaukassischen Völker, in Petermanns Mitteil. (1908), 204-12.

On the other hand, the term Lak in Armenian and Lek'i (plural Lek'-eb) in Georgian means the Lezhgi/Legzi of Daghestan, where the e may certainly designate the value of ala: Legzi. This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kura, living around and among the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Daghestan, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezhgi/Legzi. Marquart, Beiträge zur Geschichts- and Sage von Eran, in ZDMG, xi6 (1865), has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lake by the addition of the Persian suffix -an to the name Lak or (or Lek), cf. Sag-i, "inhabitant of Sistan". (V. Minorsky)

LAK (self-designation: Lak, Lakuin; Russian variants: Lek'ts, Kazikumukh (ts)); Avaz, Tuma, pl. Tumal; Lezgi: Yakhshulju, Dargin; Valuguni, Vuleunai; other: Kazikumukh [from Arabic Ghazi, warrior for the faith, and Kumukh, the political and cultural centre of the Lak territory, see varuos], a Muslim people of the Caucasus.

The Lak language belongs with Dargiu, Kaytak and Kubachi [920] to the Dargizko-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) group of the Northeast-Caucasian language family. There are five dialects of the Lak language, Aushi Kul, Bakhar, Vitski, Vlkh and Kumukh. The Kumukh dialect forms the base of the Lak literary language, as Kumukh was, and is, the cultural and economic centre of the Lak territory. Lak was originally (since the late 19th century) written in the Arabic script; this was changed to the Latin script in 1926, since 1938 it has been written in the Cyrillic. Prior to the establishment of Lak as a written language, Arabic served as the literary language of the Lak people. Lak is at present one of the nine official literary languages of the Daghestan ASSR, although it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in the schools (Lak served as a medium of education among the Lak until the fifth year, between the late 1920s and the late 1960s; virtually all education since then has been conducted only in Russian).

The Lak are inhabitants of the mountainous central region of the Daghestan ASSR. They live primarily in the basins of the upper Kazikumukh, Tleseraghi, and Kharar Koy-su rivers located in Lak and Kull districts, and in separate settlements in the districts of Tсудайкар, Akugha, Rutul, Kurakhi, Caroch, and Dakhadzau. In 1844 many Lak were resettled in the steppe and foothills north of the Andi Ridge in what is now "Novo Lakolki" ("New Lak") district of the Daghestan ASSR. According
played only a minor role in the Lak economy, and
tainous regions of the Lak territory, agriculture
nomies. Due to the lack of fertile land in the moun¬
activities still play a large role in the village eco¬
weaving, gold and metal smithing, etc.). These
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Although exogamy was not

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DAghKtSni feudal lords, staged a revolt against

the Russian empire.

Avaristftn had come under the control of Sham*

and became an integral part of the

oblast',

Daghistin

such they received laud and tribute as payment.

With the death of the last Kazikumukh khan,

Legend has it that the Shah-Baala was the first

Muslim ruler of all DaghstAn and founder of the

Shamghal dynasty, which reigned at Kumiught until

the 17th century. At this time Kumught, which had

been established by AbA Muslim as the seat of the

ruler of DaghstAn, was renamed Kazikumukt.

In the 14th century, the rulers of Kazikumukt adopted the title "Shamghel" (supposed etymology from Shim - Shem, suggesting descent from the former Arab governors). During the 14th and 15th centuries, at the time when the Shamghals ruled a large part of central and coastal DaghstAn, a second capital, which also served as a winter residence, was established at Tarku in the Kumukt territory. In 1640 the Laks broke away from the rule of the Shamghals, replacing it with appointed Makhshuf (from Arabic Khale 'people', and Lak iarai 'su¬preme'). Although appointed administrators, their chief function was that of military leaders, and as such they received land and tribute as payment.

The first written documents of the Lak people appear in the 15th century. A rich religious and didactic literature appears in the 16th and 17th centuries (Umar of Balkar, Ghazi Sadi\'i Husayn, Hajiq\'i Mushi Haij\'i, etc.), lyrical literature in the late 19th century (Yusuf \'Ali Murghunkin), as well as dramatic and didactic literature (Ndspi, Nitsorkinskii).

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Ifcabit. etc. (see further, expressing 'aid a'dd'ihim), given to sons which would augur well against their future for the recipient or else at averting harm. It is not difficult to discern why such titles became eagerly sought after; the desire to stand out in the Islamic world—more particularly, in those parts of lying between Egypt and India, though these honorifics were also to a more limited extent in Muslim Spain and North Africa, see below, 3—right up to the 19th and early 20th centuries, when floridity and hyperbole went out of Islamic literature just as they did from literature and other aspects of culture.

It is not difficult to discern why such titles became eagerly sought after; the desire to stand out among the rest of mankind is a universal one. Indeed, al-Kalâmah, in his Šubh ai-a'šâgh, v. 448, following the line of traditional Islamic wasf literature writers, traces what he calls the al-šâb al-madâr wa-l-iṣm al-ašrâf in the name of Kubra al-šâb (q.v.) (Ταξîr ṣa'dat) and must have been white and fragrant, whereas Ṣâbîr was a black eunuch, proverbially noisome and malodorous (see Miskei. i. In the Central Islamic lands). In these connections, there is an interesting passage in Ibn Durayd's K. al-Tâhîb, ed. Wustenfeld, 4:5, in which he quotes al-šîb as having once been asked, "How is it that the Arabs give their names which are considered unpleasant (mustaqâ'ban), yet give their slaves names considered pleasant?" Al-šîb replied that the Arabs gave their sons names with their enemies in mind, whereas they gave their slaves any names they wanted (i.e. without any ulterior motive). Ibn Durayd then goes on to give examples of names given to sons which would anger well against their enemies (kaftârîn 'alâ 'alâkîhîm), expressing violence, harshness, bellicosity and endurance, e.g. Gâllîb, Zâlim, Mâbkîl, Tâbîb, etc. (see further, M. P. Kister, Call yourself by graceful names..., in Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Proustier, Jerusalem 1976). We are here perhaps straying into the realm of the ism proper rather than the lakab, although the names given to slaves and slavegirls may be considered as al-šâb replacing those persons' first given names.

The fondness of the Arabs, and of Kusayr in particular, for giving satirical and opprobrious nicknames is condemned in Kur'an, XLIX, 11, where there is a warning against the practice of groups of both men and women mocking at each other, "Do not scoff at each other or give each other derogatory nicknames (wa-lâ talûn wa-lâ tanzûh bi 'l-šâb)". This inner is accounted late Medinan, from a year or two before Muhammad's death, by Nüdeke (Gescl. des Qoru'd, i, 221) and Montgomery Watt (Companion to the Qur'an, London 1882, 237); it may be that the Prophet was feeling particularly aggrieved by nicknames given to him in the past by his opponents and by the Hypocrites, like that of al-Abtar "the childless one", even though the lakab al-šuqul was, according to the commentators, the women's insults to Muhammad's wife Ṣâfîyya bint Ḥuyayy because of her origin from the Jewish tribe in Medina of al-Nâfî (see Salk-Wheery, A compendious commentary on the Qur'an, London 1896, iv, 70-1). Yet whilst retaining for some time to come its derogatory and insulting aspects, the lakab tended to be transmogrified into higher roles within Islamic society. In one direction, it evolved into the non-de-plume of authors and artists, the many of ta'abbata, and for a useful list of such persons of little importance might be given of Lakab al-mašrîf to the al-šâb of prominent literary and political figures, quotes this verse in reference to the philologist al-Mubâraq (g.v.), and makes the curious observation that the people of Baghdâd and Nishâpur were celebrated for their facility in coining appropriate nicknames; he gives numerous examples from each town, some quite grotesque, but unfortunately omitting to explain—i.e. he ever knew—the origins of the names (ed. i. Abyâbi and H. K. al-Sayyaf, Cairo 1960, 49, 534, ed. C. E. Bosworth, The book of curious and entertaining information, Edinburgh 1965, 63, 66-7).

Some nicknames were clearly given as nomina hon augurii, aimed either at attracting a favourable future for the recipient or else at averting harm. Thus arose the practice of giving antiphrastic and apparently unpleasant names and nicknames in order to avoid attracting the evil eye (see Gân) which might otherwise fix itself on something wholesome and perfect; whilst slaves and other persons of little importance might be given euphuistic and euphemistic names, such as those of flowers, jewels, perfumes, etc. This the caliph al-Mu'tahâkî called one of his slave concubines, the mother of al-Mu'taţâz, Ṣâbi'a the "hideous one" because she was famed for her beauty. Euphuism is seen in such names as Yaḥût (lit. "jacinth, ruby") and Ḫijâr (< Arabic Ḫârîr "flower", the slave mother of the caliph al-Muktafl), and a good example of antiphrasis in the name of Kâfûr al-šâb (q.v.) (kâfûr for emphatic, whereas Ṣâbi'a was a black eunuch, proverbially noisome and malodorous (see Miskei. i. In the Central Islamic lands).
the earlier Near Eastern civilisations, the Roman-Byzantine and the Persian ones, to provide an element of continuity with the past.

The early Arabs knew from their contacts with the Byzantines on the Syro-Palestinian borders that a complicated system of honorific titles and modes of address existed for Byzantine civil and military dignitaries. All the Greeks, such as chiefs of the Chassanids [see CHASAN] like al-Harith b. Qubala and his son al-Mundhir, were honoured by having the honorary title of patricius bestowed on them; this term found its way into general Arabic usage as hikma [see ACHEMENID, PERSIA, the characteristic expression of pomp and magnificence [μεγαλοτερα] through grandiloquent titles was familiar to Herodotus (i, 139), who further mentions (vii, 85) that meritorious servants of the state were enrolled in the list of “the king’s benefactors” (βορροογγηγη). Under the Sasanids, the great men of state were likewise honoured by the award of a wide range of honorifics, e.g. the title bursar prinnitar “chief executive” for the emperor’s chief minister and messenger; ḥākim “the greatest [for the ruler’s servants?” Hazāmland “with the strength of 1,000 men” for military commanders; and various compounds including the sovereign’s name, e.g. Zhayyedhān Khusraw “eternal Kh.”, Hormuzd Varāz “wild boar of H.”, and many with takin “strong” like Tahm Sfcpflr or Tallin Yazdigird.

These honours were usually completed by the grant of robes of honour, the later Islamic hikma [see as-bursh-printr] or Tallin Yazdigird.

It is notable that the ‘Abbāsid honorifics up to the 4th/10th century and the period of Bayçid control in Baghdad are formed essentially with participles or adjectives of a passive or reflexive character, thereby emphasising the supremacy of God’s controlling power and the vital securing of His favour for the business of ruling in conformity with the Sharia, the ideal, if not always the practice, of the ‘Abbāsids. A. Abel has noted that the ‘Abbāsids’ great rivals in North Africa and Egypt, the Fatimids, had, in order to press their superior claim, as they saw it, to the caliphate and imamate, to adopt a more aggressive and active form of titulature (Le bkalife, présence sacrée, in Stud. Isl., vii [1952], 36 ff.). This new type of titulature reflected the role assigned in Ismā‘īlī cosmogony to the Iʿlāms in the literarily of intelligences emanating from the godhead, and it actively associated the holders of these titles with God’s controlling power in the world. Thus we have al-Kāfīn bi-‘amr Allāh “he who takes charge of the execution of God’s command” for the Mahdi ‘Ubayd Allāh’s successor Abu ʿī-Kāsim Muhammad; and from the time of al-Muʿāz’s accession onwards (341/953), the honorifics of the Fatimids are all active participles or adjectives emphasizing the ruler’s decisive part in the implementation of God’s will in this world, e.g. al-Ḥākim, al-Amir, al-Zāhir, etc., usually with a complement like... il-din Allāh or... bi-amr Allāh. Not surprisingly, the ‘Abbāsids strove from the latter years of the 4th/10th century onwards to emulate these activist forms of titulature, in order to emphasise their own position as upholders of the Sunna; whence titles like al-Kāfīn bi-‘amr Allāh appear in the middle years of the 5th/11th century and ones like al-Nāṣir il-din Allāh and al-Zāhir bi-‘amr Allāh in the early 7th/13th one. In all these cases, the lakab might be adopted as a new regnal title on the death of the holder, but increasingly, the title ‘l-Sāḥib or heir to the throne was given to a lakab as soon as he was invested formally as heir to the reigning monarch, with his own hikma and/or honorifics thereafter appearing on the coinage side-by-side with those of the actual caliph. This lakab usually remained with the heir once he acceded to the caliphate proper; but occasionally, the lakab adopted by such an heir-apparent was exchanged...
for a different, often more grandiloquent one on his obtaining the throne. Thus al-Mutawakkil's original *labab*, during the period when he was his brother's heir, was al-Muntasir, but this was changed on the second day of his succession to the caliphate (232/847) by the chief *sādi* Abu Dul'ad to al-Mutawakkil (al-Mas'udi, *Murūj al-Dāliba*, vi, 86) — ed. Pellat, § 2849; cf. Yemen, *op. cit.*, 326, 486).

If the caliphs could assume splendid and sonorous honorifics themselves, it lay also within their power to confer titles on their servants and supporters, and to their military commanders. The process dates from the early 3rd/9th century, and at least until the following century it was practised comparatively sparingly by the *Abbāsids*. The Persian secretary al-Fadl b. Sahl (†.), former protegé of the Barmakids and eventually visier to the caliph al-Ma'mūn, exercised the functions both of crown prince and prime minister, and by 234/847-8, he is found with the honorific *Dhu 'l-Riyāḍatayn* "possessor of the two executive functions", i.e. of civil administration and military leadership. Around the same time, the Persian general Tahir b. al-Husayn (†.), founder of the line of Tahirids, was entitled *Dhu 'l-Yaminayn* "possessor of two right hands, the ambidextrous". The phrase is quoted with various explanations: it is interpreted as "liberally, open-handed", e.g. by the great poetess al-Khānāz (†.) when elegising her brother Sahlī; al-Fadl b. Sahl's cousin All b. Abī Sa'dī received that of *Dhu 'l-Kalāmāyin* "possessor of the two pens" (either alluding to the two principal government departments of finance and the army, or else to "the two modes of writing", i.e. Arabic and Persian); whilst later in the century, in 269/885, the visier Sa'd b. Muhallad was granted by al-Mu'wafakah the title *Dhu 'l-Wāridatayn* "possessor of the two visières" (referring either to the two spheres of power, civil and military, or recognising Sa'dī's role as servitor both of al-Mu'wafakah and the titular caliph al-Mu'tamid) (see D. Soudel, *Le titres* *Abbāsid*, i, 201-3, 519-20, ii, 628, 651).

This type of *labab* containing a dual expression was, however, one known before this time, as is attested by the name of Dhu 'l-Nayyār for the caliph Ulūmah and Dhu 'l-Šāhidsītayn, applied to some of the caliphs, e.g. al-Khūzayma b. Ḥādīt al-Anṣārī because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr's reward, see Ibn Ḥudayr, *Ihikat al-lajdratayn* "confidant of the two courts", ed. M. Rosen-Ayona, Jerusalem 1977, 61-8. The type was, indeed, to enjoy a long life during the following centuries, especially under the *Abbāsids*, and to their military commanders. It seems that a particular formula like those just mentioned remained with an official or governor throughout his career, unless he was awarded a fresh invocation of higher prestige. Such *ʿadāya* (sing. *ʿadā*?) may accordingly be approximated to *Allah* as expressions of particular honour awarded by the ruler to a faithful servant, and in the manuals of secretaryship from the *Athārīt* and *Mamlak* periods (see below, section IV), the two types of honorific are often treated together.


Characteristic of the 4th/10th century was the appearance and then the growing popularity of compound honorifics including as their second elements the terms *du* "faith" and *yakta* or *yakh* "secular power", or less commonly, compounded with *nuʿma* "religious community" and nuʿma "religion". These titles have been studied in detail by M. van Berchem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Oxforderlande mit historischen Erklärungen*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 84-105; Caetani and Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, i, 199 ff. J. H. Kramers, *Les noms nuʿmulmans compoués* *Dhu*, in *JO*, v (1927), 53-67, and A. Dietrich, *Zu den mit adīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Persönennamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1960), 43-54. The last three of these compounded lists of these types of *labab*, for they were to enjoy a popularity which ran for almost a millennium, and Dietrich puts the total of *du* titles enumerated by Kramers and himself at 185. The *du* titles were the earliest to appear, but in the first place, were titles of great honour granted only exceptionally by the caliphs. Thus when al-Muktāṣir honoured his vizier al-ʿRūmī b. *ʿAbayd Allāh* the *Būna Wādḥ* (vizier 285-91/992-4) by giving to him one of his daughters in marriage, he also added to him the title *Wālī al-Dawla* "ruler of the state" as a special mark of intimacy (Soudel, *Visirat*, i, 356). In 330/941-2 the ʿHamīdī of Mawsī Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan received from al-Muqtāṣir, whilst his brother Abu ʿAll the *Huṣn al-Muṣalab* "All of Aleppo" obtained that of Sayf al-Dawla. Shortly afterwards, in 334/945, the Daylāmī Būyids entered Bahgdād and took over the office there of *muṭtār* al-umn̄, and the three Būyid brothers Ḥādī and Ḥasan b. Būyā received the honorifics of Mu'tāz.
al-Dawla, 'Imad al-Dawla and Rukan al-Dawla respectively. All the subsequent Buyids used obtained from the caliph's titles of this type, sometimes with a greater degree of elaboration, e.g. the 'Adud al-Dawla wa-Taqi al-Milla of Fanā'-Khusraw, the Sharaf al-Dawla wa-Zayn al-Milla of Abu 'Abd al-Malik by the caliph in 1796/952, and the Baha' al-Dawla al-Diyā' al-Milla wa-Ghiyād al-Unma of Abu Naṣir Fīrus b. 'Adud al-Dawla seen in 'Abd al-Hamīd wa-Muqadimah, vol. v [1895], 133, L. Klebert-Bernburg, Amir wasil-shahābād: 'Adud al-Dawla's titulature re-examined, in Iran, Jomal. of the RIPS, xviii [1980]; and BAH3 AL-DAWLA in Suppl.

It may be noted, in connection with the mention of Muhammad b. Rāzik [see also anīn], that it is in the first half of this century that we have the formal constitution of the office of amīr al-umārā' [q.v.] as the concomitant of caliphal decadence. In fact, this title, or a similar form like ḥāfiz al-umārā', appears in the later years of the 3rd/9th century in reference to the commander-in-chief of the caliphal armies; but only with the caliphate of al-Raḍī (322-334/934-40) did the holder of the ma'rat al-umārā' achieve a commanding grip on affairs, so that it seemed natural for the Buyids to step into the office a few years later (see 'Ayn, op. cit., 531-41).

Especially interesting, in the light of the significance of the Buyids and the dawat al-Dawla or 'realm of the Daylamids' for an attempted reconstruction, see H. F. Amedro, The assumption of the title Shahanshah by the Buyids and the importance of the Bā'yarids*. seizure of power in western Persia (322-334/934-40), but it seems possible that use of the title goes back to the very beginnings of the Buyids, and the title was introduced publicly into the Buyids' titulature and protocol, and indeed the title became more respect to the "caliphal fiction" by seeking not only the caliphal act of delegation; but after al-Birūnī's title was introduced publicly into the Buyids, the epiphany of the three law schools, the Hanafis, the Hanballs and the approval of the title of Buyids for the first time, a near-riot ensured, Baghdad and the Shafts, had to be sought before this ostensibly independence of any Buyids. As we have seen above in regard to dual titles, the Buyids likewise secured imposing honories for the great vikirs and secretaries who served them. Notable here is the use of the element kalab 'capable of belligerency', and al-Biruni singles out such akabs of Buyid officials as Kāa' al-Kufāt, al-Kāa' al-Awlad and Asad al-Kufāt as "nothing but one great lie" (al-'Aṣbāb al-bayyānī, 134, tr. Schacht, The chronology of ancient nations, 131).

The Šamānids [q.v.] in distant Transoxania and then Kūrāšān were abounding in the use of honories, and al-Birūnī, op. cit., praises them for this, comparing them favourably with the Buyids. The epiphany of the Šamānids and the Bā'yarids*. seizure of power in western Persia and Afghanistan, the Ghaznavids [q.e.], departed, on the other hand, from the path of Šamānidi simplicity, and from the time of the line's founder, Šabdūtšīn, onwards, regularly sought from the caliphs numerous honories. Those of Šabdūtšīn were Mu'in al-Dawla and Naṣir al-Dawla or Naṣir al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla, perhaps commonly abbreviated to Naṣir al-Dīn (cf. S. M. Sera, in Paintings from Islamic lands, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford 1969, 14-16: the question of the exact form of the kalāb is of some importance for the first appearance of this type of title. The sultans bore a dazzling array of honorifics, among which the great viziers and secretaries who served them. As we have seen above in regard to dual titles, the Buyids likewise secured imposing honories for the great vikirs and secretaries who served them. Notable here is the use of the element kalab 'capable of belligerency', and al-Biruni singles out such akabs of Buyid officials as Kāa' al-Kufāt, al-Kāa' al-Awlad and Asad al-Kufāt as "nothing but one great lie" (al-'Aṣbāb al-bayyānī, 134, tr. Schacht, The chronology of ancient nations, 131).

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in which these two strands of human existence were regarded as interdependent and their fortunes intricately interwoven; he also thought that the combination of ideas came "incontestably" from Persia, see Les vues musulmanes composées avec Din, 61.)

In the 5th/6th century, usage of the two types of labab, in dawla and in din, fluctuates, but the lakab, din, of dawla, fluctuates, but the lakab, din, of dawla, 

Khalifat Amir al-Mu'izz, to which were later added al-Nasir li'l-Din, Ghurgh, al-Mustansir, the vizier of the Fatimids' viziers, e.g. Amin al-Milla for Abu Nasr Kenderi [q.v.] and Nusair al-Mulk [q.v.] for Abu 'Ali Tusi; and the 'Abbasids themselves came to imitate the Fatimids in the bestowal of titles, as Kramers suggested—a preference for those in din stemming from the strongly orthodox religious atmosphere of the Sunni reaction against political Shiism. As in the Sunni world, the awarding of honorifics was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption, by the Fatimids. As in the Sunni world, the awarding of honorifics was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption, by the Fatimids.

But in general, Futimid procedure over the grant of honorifics was on similar lines to that of the 'Abbasids, as is attested by the texts of such awards (called technically hadis al-tawilat "documents conferring eulogy") quoted by al-Kalkashandi from the Manasik al-bay'ah of the Futimid author Ali b. 'Abdal (a work which was long believed lost, but which has recently turned up in Istanbul, see A. H. Safa, in Arabic, xx [1973], 192-200, and in Suppl.). Here a stereotyped formula is set forth, in which the grant of titles is accompanied by other favours such as the gift of a standard, a sword and a fine mount (Suhb al-tawilat, viii, 341f. As in the Sunni world, the awarding of honorifics was on similar lines to that of the 'Abbasids, as is attested by the texts of such awards (called technically hadis al-tawilat "documents conferring eulogy") quoted by al-Kalkashandi from the Manasik al-bay'ah of the Futimid author Ali b. 'Abdal (a work which was long believed lost, but which has recently turned up in Istanbul, see A. H. Safa, in Arabic, xx [1973], 192-200, and in Suppl.). Here a stereotyped formula is set forth, in which the grant of titles is accompanied by other favours such as the gift of a standard, a sword and a fine mount (Suhb al-tawilat, viii, 341f.)

After the Fatimid period, sec. the 6th/7th century, the dominance of din titles was firmly established, not only for rulers and their servants, but also, by what must have been unilateral adoption or else by the general consensus among religious groups, for outstanding spiritual leaders, 'Abbasi shaykhs, etc., e.g. Nusair al-Din Kulla, Muhyi 'l-Din Ibn al-Muqaddam, Zayd al-Din al-Kamil and Muhammad al-Din al-Ghaffar [q.v.]. In any case, by this time all pretence at the caliph's being the sole dispenser of these honours had been abandoned. A consequence of this was that honorifics began to be adopted according to a method of rough conformity with a person's original isma. Al-Kalkashandi has a passage on this custom in Subh al-tawilat, viii, 458-60, under the heading of Fi 'l-hadis al-muqaddam's sayd 'asl-ma'lah, and the practice clearly dates back to early Mamluk times, if not before. Thus among the Turkish mamelukes, 'Amr b. Khalaf went with the name Sangar, Izzuddin al-Din with Ak Kush, Husam ad-Din with Hasun or Husayn, 'Ali ad-Din with 'Ali, Taqi ad-Din with Hrahim, etc. Even eunuchs had their characteristic combinations of labab and isma, e.g. Shagri al-Din with 'Anbar, as had the Coptic officials of the administration in Egypt, e.g. Taqi ad-Din with Wahla (cf. a similar list in al-Suyuti's
Risāla fi ma'rūjat al-khul wa 'l-māgh wa 'l-'aswād wa 'l-'albāb, ed. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Muḥādīqī, Une importante Risāla de Suyyūṭī, in MTOB, lviii (1973-4), 332-4, and also Ṣahān al-Ṭabā'ī, op. cit., 120 (1950). This type of usage was carried over into the Ottoman empire, especially amongst the 'iswād and fāhād, e.g. Būḍr al-Dīn with Mābrūẓ, and the already-mentioned couplings with Ṭāṣan and Ṣuṣayn, Ṣall and Ibrāhīm; the alliterative effect often achieved was obviously a factor favoring the adoption of several of these [cf. F. Bābinger, in It., xi (1923), 20 no. 3].

While the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was still a living organism (i.e. till the Mongol sack of Baġdād in 636/1239), the granting of honorific titles remained, at least in theory, a jealously-guarded privilege of the caliphs. Local rulers or provincial governors who maintained the "caglišal fiction" of Sunni constitutional theory, that all executive authority derived ultimately from the caliph, sedulously sought a grant of honorifics at the outset of their reign of governorships, and titles expressing personal closeness or a special relationship to the caliph, such as Kawālī Amīr al-Muluq, were especially sought after (early examples of the designation mawṣūd amīr al-nawwāsīn, say before the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, probably simply expressed a relationship of subordination and dependence, clientship or wādī, between the caliph and its bearer, rather than being the grant of an official title; O. Grabar thinks that the attribution of this phrase to the governor of Egypt Ahmad b. Tīlūn [v. 3] in 265/878-9 still expressed dependence rather than a title of honour, cf. his The sōmawī of the Tāhūmites, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs no. 239, New York 1957, 39-40).

Recognition by the caliph, involving an investiture charter ('abd, mušāfi), plus the other insignia of power such as honorifics, a richly-caparisoned charger and banners, might give a contender for power in a disputed succession the edge over his opponent. In 421/1030 the Ghaznawīd prince Mas'ud b. Bādir hurried eastwards from western Persia to Afghanistan in order to confront his brother Muhammad, who had been proclaimed sultan by the army in Ghazna. At Nalīfīr he received from the caliph al-Kādir an investiture diploma for the Ghaznawī empire plus a strong of honorifics, muṣāfi sulṭānī as Bayhākī calls them, Nayr Dīn Allāh, Hādi 'Tabad (or 'Uṣbād) Allāh, al-Muttahādīn min Aḍā' Allāh and Zahir Khalīfāt Allāh Amīr al-Mu'īnīn. Mas'ud ordered that details of the award should be proclaimed and publicised in the towns of Khorāsān, and it proved to be a valuable propaganda weapon in his successful wresting of the sultanate from Muḥammad later that year (Bayhākī, cited in Bosworth, The tītūlāt of the early Ghaznawīs, 224-5, and idem, The Ghaznawīs, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 944-1240, Edinburgh 1953, 54).

Not surprisingly, the 'Abbāsīds held on to their privilege of granting these titles in the Sunnī world for as long as possible. The caliph personally was the fount of honorifics, and the precise form in which they were granted had to be rigorously observed; the Muḥāfīl author Iḥāṣ Fadl Allāh al-'Umrānī [see FADL ALLĀH] states, concerning the correct form of address used by kings for governors and lesser rulers, that there was an inflexible rule in ancient times "that no king was ever addressed except by the precise honorific granted to him from the caliphal dādin, with no addition or omissions", bi tann māgh shyā yuṣūd yābī nābī (al-'Tarīf bi 'l-mawṣūb al-ṭarīf, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 86-7). Conversely, the unconditional and unauthorised assumption of alābād by a person was an act of insubordination, a declaration of rebellion against the caliph or sovereign, as happened in Khorāsān during the late 4th/10th century; the ambitious military commander of the Ṣahānīd, Allāh Allāh Sījīrī, in 381/991 rose against his master Nābī b. Māṣūr, appropriated all the revenues of Khorāsān and styled himself (talakādī) Amīr al-'Umrān, al-Mu'āyyan min al-Sanā, "the heavenly-guided supreme commander" (Ṭanāsūṣ al-Sharīf, al-Ta'rif bi al-Yamnī, Cairo 1286/1869, i, 125).

Since the granting of such titles and honours created status and prestige for the recipients, it was natural that the 'Abbāsīds, in the period of penury into which they had fallen by the early 4th/10th century, should expect a return for this service; during the Būyid period in particular, when the caliphs were reduced to subsisting in straitened circumstances as pensioners of the Būyids, this sale of investiture diplomas, barely in return for presents, became all the more vital for them. The grants seem to have become in time regulated by something like a fixed tariff. In Bayhākī's Ta'īrī-ī Mas'ūdī, 293, there is an account of the detailed discussion at Mas'ūdī of (jussma's court in 422/1031 about the presents to be sent to the new caliph al-Kārīm, from whom the sultan expected confirmation of his territories plus a grant of fresh alābād and other insignia of royalty; much of this discussion revolved round what was the usual rate or practice here, with the adding of precedents from the Salāfīd period.

Inevitably, voices were raised against the overlavish granting of honours and titles, with a consequent cheapening in their value. Already the poet and litterateur Ṣabīk Bākūr Muḥammad b. al-'Abbāsīd al-Khīrānī [d. 383/993 or 393/1003 (p. xiv)] had complained in a satire.

What do I care that the 'Abbāsīds have thrown open the gates of alābād and alābād? They have conferred honorifics on a man whose ancestors would not have made doorkeeper of their privy.

This caliph of ours has few dirhams in his hands, so he lavishes honorifics on people.

(al-'Ṭālibī, Yatīnī al-aḥār, Cairo 1375/1956-8, iv, 239; cf. Mez., Die Renaissance des Islam, 72-9, Eng. tr. 86-9). Hīlāl al-Sābī [d. 448/1056] has a long passage in his Kāfīl bāl-Wanābīd, ed. 'Abbād al-Sattār Faraqī, Cairo 1958, 166 ff., lamenting the changes between the time of the viziers Ibn al-Furātī and Allāh b. 'Īsā (the latter of whom had refused to increase the designation of a certain governor above the simple wish "May God exalt him!", although threatened for his obduracy), and even between the time of the viziers of 'Adūd al-Dawla and Sāmān al-Dawla, and the position at the end of his own lifetime. His main gravamen is that social and functional differentiation becomes impossible when titles lose their real meaning, and his conclusion is that "fundamentally, official positions have declined in status where they have been reduced to one level [in tītūlāt], and have become cheapened when they have all been made equal. They no longer possess any glory which one can admire, nor any splendour to be prized. Indeed, I have heard our master the caliph al-Kārīm bi-āmm Allāh—may God prolong his reign!—says that there is no designation
left for a deserving person". Hilal's contemporary al-Dinari likewise morosely observes that when the Muslim rulers of the Maghrib neglected to use these honorifics in addressing them (see Godschich, *Muhammad and 'Umar, and of insisting on the use of matises as "devilish," bid like Shams al-Din and Zayn al-Din, which he stigmatized in the title of his work) of taking honorifics (written in 916/15:0, see Brockelmann, *I*, 152, S II, 215-27) and if he is given less than seven or ten titles", perhaps from that of his co-prypt Muhammad Magribi.

3. The Muslim West. Most of what has been said so far relates primarily to the central and eastern lands of Islam, sc. Egypt and the lands further east. The vogue for honorifics followed a rather different course in the Muslim West. In general, their use was less developed in the more puritanical West, where there was a tendency to regard elaborate and fancy names and titles as "crown of the faith or Muhammad al-Din "succourer of the faith". He places the time when the floodgates were opened in the Saldjuk empire to the indiscriminate granting of honorifics as being the years after Abu Arslan's death (sc. after 465/1072 and the accession of Malik Shah; these strictures on the trends of the latter sultan's reign must be reserved as from a later hand than Nizam al-Mulk's, from that of his copyist Muhammad Magribi).

5. 'Abbasid moral and constitutional position (see above). In matters of titles which attracted the satirical or ironic comment of contemporaries. Thus Ibn Khaldun in *The Book of government or rules for kings*, London 1960, 152-63 that "There has arisen an abundance of titles, and whatever becomes abundant loses value and dignity", and that "in those days, the most official gets sassy and indignant if he is given less than seven or ten titles". In particular, Nizam al-Mulk denounces the confounding of *dawla* titles, formerly reserved for military commanders and the Turks, with the *mulk* and other titles used by viziers, governors and other civilian and religious officials and dignitaries, so that there results the absurdity of a Turkish general, iliterate, tyrannical and totally ignorant of the *Sharif*, being given titles like Tadj al-Din "crown of the faith or Mu' amin al-Din "saviour of the faith". He places the time when the floodgates were opened in the Saldjuk empire to the indiscriminate and incongruous granting of honorifics as being the years after Abu Arslan's death (sc. after 465/1072 and the accession of Malik Shah; these strictures on the trends of the latter sultan's reign must be reserved as from a later hand than Nizam al-Mulk's, from that of his copyist Muhammad Magribi.

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Celebrate companion and partisan, Shaykh Abd al-Mu'min, styled al-Muzaffar (380-95/994-1009) onwards, the Almohad imam bi-amr Allah; from the reign of Abu YGusuf Ya'kub al-Ma'mun (r. 365-79/977-981) onwards, the Almohad sultans proudly termed themselves ibn al-Mu'ayyad at-umar al-mutawakkil (see Lévi-Provençal, *HIST. EGF. MUS.,* ii, 194, 213, 215-16, 228-9).

North Africa remained faithful for a longer period to the puritanical ideals of an equilibrating, earlier form of Islam, in its disapproval of pompous titles, once the inferiority of the rise of the 'Isma'ili Fatimids was over and the domination of MalikI orthodoxy was re-established under the Almoravids. The Almoravids originally recognised 'Abbasid authority, but to mark the reality of their own power in North-West Africa adopted—whether of their own accord or with the approval of Baghdad is unclear—the title of Amir al-Muslimin. Thus there was created, from the constitutional point of view, what van Berchem conveniently called a "sub-caliphate", whose rulers recognised an authority higher than their own and did not therefore adopt a titulature proper to an independent and non-recognition of any superior power. The Almohads, however, came to power in the middle years of the 13th century on a wave of messianic enthusiasm and under a charismatic leader, the Mahdi Muhammad b. Tumart [see *ix x.* TUMART), and took up again in some measure the pattern of titulature instituted in the Maghrib two centuries before by the Fatimids. During Ibn Tumart's lifetime, his lieutenant 'Abd al-Mu'min was styled the Mahdi's khalif and Amir al-Mu'min, sc. of the Almohad faithful, and on Ibn Tumart's death, he became the imam of the community, with the title of al-Kadh bi-anu Allah; from the reign of Abu Yusuf Ya'kub al-Mansur (585-95/1190-99) onwards, the Almohad sultans are found with honorifics of the familiar theocratic pattern (see *van Berchem, Titres calificus d'occident,* 283-91; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbere orientale sous les Hafizides des origines à la fin du XVI siècle,* Paris 1940-7, i, 49, ii, 7-17).

The Marinids for long accepted the supremacy of the already-established Hafizids, hence they (and also their neighbours of Tlemcen, the 'Abd al-Wadids or Zayydnids) normally used the lesser title of Amir al-Mu'min rather than the fully caliphal one of Amir al-Mu'min; many of the Marinid sultans also bore theocratic-type al-kalib like the Hafizids. But there were episodes when certain sultans did assume the higher title. For a short period of 9 months in 708/1308-9, Abu 'l-Rab! Sujaynan adopted it on the coins which he issued conjointly with his Nafrid allies Muhammad al-Muwahhidun, Almohad titles par excellence (see *Al-Mu'ayyad at-umar al-mutawakkil* 729-91/1330-99); he seems to have employed the title as a lever to secure the deposition of his father, who had so styled himself in his official documents Amir al-Mu'min and Kadh al-Muwahhidun. Almohad titles par excellence (also Abu Bakr ibn al-Safa'i al-Kairini in allusion to the Berber Marinid's pretensions to an Arab genealogy). The reference to themselves the term al-Muwahhidun "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the sultans of the Hafizids in Cairo, who used the titles Za'im al-Muwahhidun "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Kudwat al-Muwahhidun "exemplar of those...") that the vassals of these domains and officials,...

Yet although the trends of the 'Abbasid filtered through, the Almohads employed the term al-Muwahhidun "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the sultans of the Hafizids in Cairo, who used the titles Za'im al-Muwahhidun "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Kudwat al-Muwahhidun "exemplar of those...") and the greater use of the title Amir al-Mu'minin rather than the fully caliphal one of Amir al-Mu'min; many of the Marinid sultans also bore theocratic-type al-kalib like the Hafizids. But there were episodes when certain sultans did assume the higher title. For a short period of 9 months in 708/1308-9, Abu 'l-Rab! Sujaynan adopted it on the coins which he issued conjointly with his Nafrid allies Muhammad al-Muwahhidun, Almohad titles par excellence (see *Al-Mu'ayyad at-umar al-mutawakkil* 729-91/1330-99); he seems to have employed the title as a lever to secure the deposition of his father, who had so styled himself in his official documents Amir al-Mu'min and Kadh al-Muwahhidun. Almohad titles par excellence (also Abu Bakr ibn al-Safa'i al-Kairini in allusion to the Berber Marinid's pretensions to an Arab genealogy). The references to themselves the term al-Muwahhidun "those who proclaim God's unity" (an assumption admitted by the secretaries of the sultans of the Hafizids in Cairo, who used the titles Za'im al-Muwahhidun "chief of those proclaiming God's unity" and Kudwat al-Muwahhidun "exemplar of those...").
sultans reverted to the lesser title Amir al-Muslihim.

The whole question of this alternation of titles was examined in great detail by van Berchem in his *Titres califiques d'Occident*, 425-335.

With the decline of the Marinids and their kinship the Waqtisids, the Sa'di Sharifs from southern Morocco rose to power in the early decades of the 10th/16th century on a wave of Moroccan enthusiasm for the expulsion of Turkish Algerian influence and of renewed Islamic maraboutic fervour for *dilkhah* against the Portuguese encroachers on the Moroccan coastline in an atmosphere which was thus fed on religious enthusiasm and popular aspirations. In the expectations of a new defender of the Muslims, it is not surprising that the first of these Sharifs of the Sos, Muhammad (d. 924/1517-13) assumed the chivalric titles of al-Malidh and al-Kadhin bi-amr Allah, reminiscent of Fadlul's and then Ahnodh usage. Similarly religiously-motivated honorifics were adopted by several of his successors, e.g. Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, Ahmad al-Mansur, etc. One should also note the central and eastern locus of Islam less used by both al-Sad and used by their *Alawi* successors, those of Mawlay/Mulay "my master" and Sayyidi still "my lord", also as other high dignitaries, princely and religious, in the Maghrib. The form Mawli "our master" had been used by the Naqids during the 8th/14th century, and the Christians of Spain in the 9th/15th century often referred to the ruler of Granada as Mulay (Aré, *L'Espagne musulmannes en temps des Nazrides*, 187), whilst both Mawlay and Sayyidin had been early used by the Naqids in their official documents. The form with the first person singular pronoun affix, mulayiyy > mulayy apparently appeared amongst the Hafsids in the course of the 8th/14th century, but is only first attested in Christian sources, e.g. the "Muley Babes" = Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn al-Mustainir of a Latin document of 1291 (cf. Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, II, 13-16).

4. The post-cadilphic period. With the strengthening of the grip of Turkish and Kurdish dynasties over the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/nth century onwards, regal, military and religious-motivated honorifics were adopted by the Fatimid and the establishment by the Mamluks of a puppet line only of 'Abbids in Cairo, the correct ordering and recounting of all the various components of the titles of rulers and dignitaries had always been vital in epistolary and other official usages. The various manuals for secretaries and officials, stretching back to Fadlul times but reaching their full florescence in a great document-producing civilization like that of the Mamluks, devote much space to forms of address and titulature. In the most monumental of these manuals, al-Kalakshandi's *Subh al-dafil*, the first *bab* of the third *makala* (v, 425-506, vi, 1-188, cf. W. Böhrnhen, *Beitragze zur Geschichte der Staatskunde*, 438), is devoted to the topic of names of all kinds, but with special reference to *albah*, which are traced from the origins of Islam to the author's own time, the 9th/15th century. Al-Kalakshandi has several lists of titles, e.g. of which he calls "honorifics of more recent times", *albah mukhtafla*, such as *mab*, *nab*, *muhfr*, *wda*, *nasiid al-din, bandukdar, damukdar, amir al-din*, etc.—this last class of titles being descriptive of offices rather than *albah* in the true sense of honorifics as we have been discussing them.

Of greater interest for our present purpose are al-Kalakshandi's numerous pages on the protocol of correct address, when addressing the caliphs or sultans downwards. Many distinctive and subtle distinctions are stressed here: thus al-muhafs al-*mufr*-saniyy (with *y* instead of *i*), a higher designation than al-muhafs al-*sani* (with single *y*); al-muhafs al-*sani* is higher than al-muhafs al-*sani*; and al-muhafs al-*sani* is higher still (*Sabi* al-*futu* al-*alb*), a pattern—continuing here Saljetn practice—of the still-pagan Turkish and Mongol rulers of Inner Asia. As an example, we might cite the titles used in addressing the Doge of Venice (Dük al-Bundufiyya): "al-Dük al-Jall, al-Mukarram, al-Mubadiyya, al-Muwakkar, al-Batal, al-Hum*m, al-Mu'min, which he calls "honorifics of more recent times", a rtpoque des Mamekmks d'aprls les auteurs arabes, Paris 1923, Introd. LXXIII ff.). Even heathen rulers and notables were not to be denied their honorifics, though these were naturally on a lower level than those accorded to Muslim equivalents; the Mamluk chancery had, of course, a sphere of diplomatic contacts embracing many non-Muslim powers, from the Christian empire of Byzantium and the Latin states of the Western Mediterranean to the still-pagan Turkish and Kurdish dynasties of Inner Asia. As an example, we might cite the titles used in addressing the Doge of Venice (Dük al-Bundufiyya): "al-Dük al-Jall, al-Mukarram, al-Mubadiyya, al-Muwakkar, al-Batal, al-Hum*m, al-Mu'min, Mamlakat wa l-Salatin N.". The whole question of this alternation of titles was examined in great detail by van Berchem in his study, based in the first place on coin legends, *Al-Kund al-bahah 'ud nukud al-Mamlak al-Mawrid, al-Bahiryya wa l-Buriiyya wa l-Shdmi wa l-Shdmin*, (1975), 55-104.

All the Ayyubid sultans, and following them the Mamluk ones, bore honorifics of the al-Dunyul wa l-Din pattern—continuing here Saljetn practice—and these appear in inscriptions and official documents, although for less formal usage a shorter form in al-Din only seems to have been current. Especially characteristic of the Ayyubids was the use of an honorific composed of al-Malik plus a laudatory epithet (e.g. al-Malik al-Kamil, al-Malik al-Mu'aqzam) beginning with Salah al-Din's title of al-Malik al-Nasir bestowed on him by the Fatimid caliph al-'Adid when he appointed Salah al-Din as his vizier in succession to Shirkuh in 354/1166. Titles like these had been known in the Fatimid caliphate for some time, and al-Halid's vizier Ridwan b. Wadifeghi had already in 311/1123 borne the titles of al-Sayyid al-Adjal al-Malik al-A'dal. The inscription on the stele of 'Ali b. al-Malik al-'Adil states that al-'Adil is a descendant of Lake Tiberias by its founder, *Haz al-Din Aybak*, describes him as al-Malik al-Mu'aqzam "connected with al-Malik al-Mu'aqzam", sc. with Sharaf al-Din *Ts b. al-Malik al-Adil Sayf al-Din*, at that time (60/1213-14) governor of Damascus for his father and not yet an autonomous Ayyubid prince; these titles were therefore not confined under the Ayyubids to reigning princes only (van Berchem, *Eine ara-
The characterisic Ayyubid type compounded Mamluk ones. Each of the sultans bore honorifics was particularly complex. Tlic all had honorifics of this type (see al-Basha, 498 ff.).

The titulature of the Mamluk rulers and of their amirs was particularly complex. The title Sultan [q.v.], though certainly known in the Ayyubid period, had not been widely used by the Ayyubid monarchs, but was now extensively adopted by the Mamluk ones. Each of the sultans bore honorifics of the characteristic Ayyubid type compounded with al-Malik, as discussed above, after the titles in al-Din wa l-Kin (see also above). But because of their military slave origin, the Mamluk sultans and amirs usually further bore special nisbas relating to their ethnic or local origins, their early professional training or their affiliation to the households of their masters. Thus sultan Barkuk [q.v.] had the nisba of al-Yalbugha because he had been the manlik of the general Yalbugha al-Umar, and Baybars [q.v.] that of al-Safih from his original master, the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Mutjaddid. In the Ayyubid period the general Husain al-Din Ozdemir was called al-Mujir from the slave dealer who had sold him; and both the sultan Saladin [q.v.] and the amir Shams al-Din Sunkur were called al-Abi because they had been bought for 1,000 (al-) dinars. Although these names are in form technically nisbas, they were not regarded as in any way derogatory, but were, rather, a source of pride to the holders and may in this wise be regarded as honorific titles.

One class of lakab borne by some early Mamluk sultans may be characterised as "quasi-territorial" or "quasi-ethnic", i.e. those titles in which the ruler claims lordship over particular regions and/or peoples. Already at al-Malik al-Safih Nasir al-Din Ayyub had grandiloquently styled himself Shahriyar al-Sham Sultan al-Arab wa l-Adjam Suhayl al-Haramayn al-Shafiyin, Malik al-Barayn wa l-Bahrayn Malik al-Hind wa l-Sind wa l-Yaman Malik Shanafwa-za-Obaid wa-Adan Sayyid Malik al-Arab wa l-Adjam Sultan al-Mahasir wa l-Maghrib (REA, vi, no. 4108), and in certain inscriptions of the Mamluks Baysarks and Kalawun we find headship over al-Arab wa l-Adjam extending to al-Turk and even al-Daylam (= the Mongols here?) (ibid., xiii, no. 487, etc.).

A notable feature of the Mamluk age was the strongly orthodox Sunni atmosphere, now that the very seat of the Ayyubid caliphate had been transferred to Cairo and the Mamluk rulers had become the principal defenders of Islam. This stress on orthodoxy appears naturally in the Mamluks' external and internal policy. At the same time of the Dif al-Islam as the Mongols and the Christian Franks and Armenians, and in their internal policy as repressions of Muslim sectaries like the Nusayris and Isma'ilis. Under the stimulus of an increased religiosity, both in official theological circles and in the sphere of popular religion and mysticism, the duty of ajihad was exalted. Whence the frequency in Mamluk titulature of designations like al-Mujaddid, al-Muhasibir, al-Murabiib, al-Chidri, al-Mughazi, etc., though these had already appeared under the Safiids of Transoxiana and they were in reaction to the landings of the Frankish Crusaders (cf. al-Mujaddid as a title of the Baward Atabeg Tughfitin in a Damascene inscription of 524/1130, RCEA, viii, no. 3034, and also as a title of细化 al-Din Ayyub in the RCEA, vi, no. 102-3). The proximity now of the seat of the caliphate and this atmosphere of religious exaltation and bellicosity probably gave an impetus to the increased popularity and utility of a type of jihab already well-known, that compounded with one of the titles of the caliph or sultan, and expressing close dependence on the supreme ruler, the enjoyment of his favour or support for him and the furtherance of the faith. Thus salji al-Din, at the time of his recognition as ruler by the 'Abbásid caliph, adopted the title of Khátami al-Muráin, and others of this type include Thikat al-Muráin, 'Umaid al-Malik wa l-Salihin, Nasrat al-Islam, 'U'L-Mu'minin, etc. These titles, which included as one of their elements the personal quality of excellence, Amir al-Muráin, were naturally the highest-regarded, and al-Kalkashandi arranges the different forms which this class of title took in a hierarchy of status. Kásim Amir al-Muráin is the highest, and may only be borne by the sultan's sons or used in correspondence with certain neighbouring Muslim princes; 'Ahd al-Muráin al-Muráin is the highest title which can be used for the sultan's provincial governors; Wali Amir al-Muráin can be used by high civil officials and by religious scholars, and ranks above Sai/Salatw Amir al-Muráin; and so forth (sbi at-al-sabt, vi, 108-9).

The type of honorifics classified by al-Basha, op. cit., 83 ff., as "those indicating place and status", al-lakab makumiyin, were used as indications of reverence and humility in addressing or referring to the great. They had already been used in the heyday of the 'Abbásid, for as the vizierate of Ibn al-Furat there had arisen the practice of addressing the caliph indirectly as al-hadda, in effect, "the one to whom service is due", and Husain al-Sabi' states that what had originally been just a formula of kurba, ingratitude, soon became a sunna, compulsory practice (cf. Tyan, Institutions du droit public musulman, i. Le califat, 488). By the time of the later 'Abbásid, we find the caliphs regularly referred to in epithetory style (e.g. in such sources as Abu Sa'id and the Kadi al-Fadhil) by such circumlocutions as al-Dhak al-Shafar, al-Masikhi, al-Sharita, Ma'mar al-Rahma, etc. The Búyid and Saljuk usage of al-Hadra (see above) is clearly a precursor of these expressions, although by the Mamluk period, al-Hadra had declined from being a form of address suitable for caliphs, as in al-Hadra al-Ša'iywa, into being used in addressing civil officials, infidel foreign rulers and the Coptic Patriarch in Egypt, according to al-Kalkashandi, suh at-al-sabt, v, 498. These "honorifics indicating place or status" enjoyed a great expansion in Ayyubid and Mamluk times. That of al-Mujaddid spread under the 'Abbasids, but was also adopted by the sovereign to the great men of state, so that by al-Kalkashandi's time it was regarded as essentially a title for the "men of the sword and the pen", but somewhat below al-Djahan. Hence towards the end of the Ayyubid period, the ruler tended to adopt instead the forms al-Ma'mar al-'Ali or al-Ma'mar al-Aghraf. This usage was followed by the Mamluks, so that Ibn Sibt, for instance, says in
his Ma'dîm al-kitîbî that al-Mukâm and al-Makarr are the highest alâb and are exclusively royal (ibid., 629); so also it is stated that the reference in such titles is to the seat of the ruler's power or his capital.

Van Berchem's opinion was that the study of mediaeval Islamic honorifics was only of value for the study of administrative institutions, and that these titles only had historical significance in so far as they were linked with specific offices—but Ehren- tittel habe so gut wie keinen Wert" (op. cit., 196). As already noted above, Kramers contested this negative view, suggesting that the nature of these honorifics reflected the religious and cultural atmosphere of their time, e.g. that the later predominance of din titles over da‘wa ones coincided with the Sunni reaction against political Shi‘ism and against external Christian pressure. Whether certain din honorifics did owe their popularity in the Iranian world to the fact that they resembled traditional names, e.g. Farîd al-Dîn and Farîdîn Khâchîn, Bâhî al-Dîn and Behîn, and Kîyân al-Dîn and Kâmidîn (Les noms musulmans composes de Din, 63-93), seems impossible to prove or disprove.

5. The period of the great empires. The use of honorifics continued in the great empires of later medieval Islam, e.g. those of the Indo-Muslim sultans, the Safawids and the Ottomans, almost down to modern times.

The title of the first Muslim dynasty to be permanently established in the northern Indian plain, the Slave Kings of Dîhil and their successors, inevitably followed grosso modo the pattern set by their original master, the Afghan Ghurids (v.g.), who had in their turn continued in the ways established by the power which they had overthrown in the later 6th/12th century, the Ghurawids (for Ghurawid literature, see above, 3, and for that of the Ghurids, the information given in the Tabâbât-i Nâsurî of Mînâbî ‘Alî Khudîgâhî (v.g.), who is always careful to detail the titles of his Ghurid forebears, as also those of the Dîhil sultans contemporary with him).

The Slave Kings, essentially the Turkish military commanders of the Ghurîd sultan Shâhî al-Dîn or Mîrâz al-Dîn Muhammad (d. 602/1206 [see 951/1206]), followed their own masters in favouring on the whole alâb in din, whence Kuth al-Dîn Aybâk, Shams al-Dîn Iltutmîsh (v.g.), etc. However, as both Dîjdîâ’s information and the contemporaneous imperial inscriptions show, there were many variants and elaborations. Thus Aybâk appears in an inscription of the Kuwâwet al-Islâm mosque in Dîhil as Kuth al-Lawla wa ‘l-Dîn, Amir al-Umarî, whilst Dîjdîâ gives Iltutmîsh’s lakab in full as Shams al-Dunyâ wa ‘l-Dîn. Basking in the glory of their extensive military conquests, various sovereigns of this period conceived of themselves as following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great.

Already the Ghurîd Mîrâz al-Dîn Muhammad is described on the Kuth Minâr (v.g.) as Iskandar al-Dîn, the title imitated e.g. by Âlî al-Dîn Muhîm-mad Shâh Khâqânî of Dîhil (665-721/1266-1316) on his coins, with such variants as Iskandar al-Zamân ‘the Alexander of the age’. The geographical and ethnic extent of the empire ruled by these Turkish commanders is indicated by Iltutmîsh’s adopting later in his reign (in an inscription of the Hansî mosque) the title Mawilî Mîlîc al-Turk wa ‘l-Ajam, whereas previously he had styled himself (on the Kuth Minâr) by the conventional, but by then obsolete title for an eastern Islamic potentate of Mawilî Mîlîc al-Arâb wa ‘l-Ajam. Like other Turkish ruling dynasties of the East being newcomers into the Islamic society and political scene yet uncertain of their place within this last, the Indo-Muslim rulers sought to validate their rule by expressing their loyalty to the ‘Abbâsid caliphs (who were of course after 659/1261 puppets under the control of the Egyptian Mamlûks). Iltutmîsh, in the last decades of the independent ‘Abbâsid of Baghdad, usually styled himself Nâsur or Nâsur Gâhîr al-Mu’umâd al-Farîdâbî, Amir al-Mu’umâd, the title favoured by the Ghurids to demonstrate their fidelity to Baghdad.


The Turco-Mongol successors of these first Turkish and Afghan Indo-Muslim rulers, the Mughals, brought to India Timurid traditions in using the grant of titles as a mark of respect for the loyalty of their own Turkish commanders and to win over other groups, such as the great Afghan chiefs. Bâdur mentions that, in India, permanent designations (mukarrarî khâchîn) were given to highly-favoured amirs, such as Azâm Humâyûn, Khânâ Qâhânî and Khânâ Kîhânâ (Bâdur-nâmâ, tr. Beveridge, 537). Bâdur’s son Humâyûn followed a careful policy in the award of titles appropriate to services rendered or expected; thus the supreme distinction of Amîr al-’Umârî was bestowed on Bâdur as his commander, who had fought at Panipât (v.g.) in 952/1546 and who was, moreover, allowed the signal honour of sitting with the emperor in formal court sessions. Under Bâdur’s immediate predecessors in India, the Lôdî, the titles of nobility had been (in ascending order) Malik, Amîr and Khân. In the course of the 16th/17th century, the title of Malik fell out of fashion and that of Beg, one of prestige under the first two Mughals, subsequently declined in favour of Khân, so that under Akbar, Beglar Begi was a lower title than that of Khânî-i Khânân. This last was the highest title of all, held e.g. by the young Akbar’s alîkî or guardian Bayram Khân (d. 988/1578 [v.g.]), together with that of Amîr al-’Umârî. Other titles tended to be associated with specific offices or functions; thus that of Aṣâf Khân was mostly conferred on civil officials acting as amir or as wâli of the royal household, hence mainly on Persians; whilst Akbar conferred the Hindu title of edâd not only on the hereditary successors to princely power but also on faithful Indian servants like the master-gunner Sabbâhan. See Radhy Shaym, Honours, marks and titles under the Great Mughals (Bâdur and Humâyûn), in IC, xlii (1972), 101-17, and idem, Honours, ranks and titles under the Great Mughals (Akbar), in ibid., xvii (1973), 335-341.

As the political and military power of the Mughals shrank in the post-Awrangzîb period, the conferring of titles became more and more widespread by the
emperors and by provincial Muslim dynasties, so that today, old titles like Mirza, Khan and Beg have in the modern subcontinent become nothing more than the equivalents of western surnames.

In Safavid Persia, one notes first of all, in connection with the strongly Shi'ite basis of the state and the theocratic nature of the early Shah's authority, a fondness for names and titles expressing devotion to or dependence upon either some venerated figure of Shi'ism, such as Ali or his sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn, or upon the sovereign himself, as the viceroy on earth of God or the Imams. In pre-Safavid times, there had occasionally been used by rulers in Persia names compounded with the Persian word baba 'slave, devotee', e.g. the Mongol H-Ikhkhan Muhammad Khudabanda Ordesti (the Isfahani being assumed when Ordesti became a Muslim; his pre-Shi'i sympathies should perhaps be noted here). Under the Turkmen Safawids, the equivalent Turkish word sák was commonly used, as in 'Ali-kull, Imam-kull, Tahmasp-kull, Sa'd-kull, etc., especially in regard to military command and governors, although the Shah's themselves normally obtained simple regnal names. The usage of the titles in Jut were modified in Muslim India by certain of the South Indian sultans who were Sht in faith and strongly under Safavid cultural influence, e.g. the ruler of the Kutb-Shahi [q.v.] in Golconda, Muhammad-kull b. Ibrahim (988-1020/1580-1612).

Whilst the Shahs themselves remained modest over the use of personal al-šah, these subordinates enjoyed a rich titulature. It is under the early Safawids, apparently toward the end of Shah Tahmasp I's reign ca. 970/1560-68, that the characteristic Safavid title for the statesman, that of Táhmid al-Dawla (q.v.) 'trustoy support of the state' appears; this title is much distorted in the travel accounts of contemporary western visitors to Persia, e.g. the 'Athenaumedok' of Du Mans and the 'Etnowdewit or prince minister' of John Bell. The late Safavid administrative manual Tadhkirat al-mamlık (ca. 1177/1765) gives detailed information on this latter official and on the other important figure of the Kuhur (q.v.) who were given considerable administrative and diplomatic powers, before the establishment of a regular, standing army, virtually the commander-in-chief, with the title of Amr al-Umrāt, here called the Rukn al-Saltana al-Khānūn, and on a host of lesser officials. The top fourteen officials of the administration held the title of šah-šah 'exalted in rank', and there were groups of officials with the title of mukarrab al-shahān 'confidant of the supreme ruler' because of their special closeness to the throne, and with that of mukarrab al-hādr 'confidant of the royal presence'. The first group included the head of the palace eunuchs, the royal physician (bahlīn-baḫī), the court astrologer (muddaffār-baḵš), the controller of essay (mušayyir al-mamlīk), the state secretary, who drew the royal jughrāf (some [q.v.] mawṣūf-l-mamlīk), the keeper of the seal (muhr-dār) and the keeper of the ink-holder (dawrī-dawrī). The second group, somewhat lower in status, included minor hemp attendants, aides-de-camp (yuqash), the heads of various state agencies, the keepers of the storehouses (baydaḵā, including the master of the mint ( darākh-mah), etc. (Tadhkirat al-mulqāh, ii, 88, 122, 300-553, tr. Minorsky, 44, 46, 55-60).

Under the Shahs, the title of Tāhmid al-Dawla for the vizier declined in currency, being replaced by that familiar in Ottoman usage also (see below), Şâde-i Âzām. There was also a great expansion of honories in dawla, mamlaka, saltana, etc. for the numerous princes of the Kādir family and for other great officials, a process which the Amir Kabir [q.v. in Suppl] endeavored in the mid-19th century years to check, but one which continued with little abatement till the end of the Kādiras in 1925. This rich array of titles and honorifics which had been sold for the personal enrichment of the Shah and court officials, even though this act had been an infringement of the monarch's prerogative. On 2 August 1935 there was issued a decree on the abolition of titles and on the terminology of social intercourse. The royal family was to receive new titles, with the Shah himself to be Âlā-yi Hadrat-i Humāyûn Shāhshānkhān; high officials were to be addressed just as ġândī, and the old titles of amīr, beg, Îákhan, mirzâ, etc, were to be abolished. In fact, although these reforms were honoured in the press and in public announcements, the old titles continued very much in common and spoken usage (see P. Avery, Modern Iran, London 1965, 267, 273; D. N. Wilber, Kādī Shāh Pahlâv: the reconstruction of Iran, Hicksville 1975, 167, 171).

When western-type surnames were introduced, some people turned the old šahī which went back to Kādir days into family names, e.g. in the cases of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, Prime Minister 1951-2, formerly Mu'addik al-Saltana, and his contemporary Prime Minister, formerly Prime Minister in 1921, Ahmad Kawâm, formerly Kâwûm al-Saltana. A centralised and bureaucratic institution like the Ottoman empire, with from the late 8th/14th century onwards extensive diplomatic contacts, firstly with the Muslim beyliks of Anatolia and the Turkmen powers of the East, and then with the Christian states of the West, increasingly affected by Ottoman expansionism, involved a complex and elaborate chancery procedure in which the careful consideration of the use and context of honorific titles played a vital role. The immense bulk of surviving Ottoman diplomatic and administrative documents would make feasible a highly detailed study of this titulature, a task which remains however to be done. For the moment, it may be noted that Feridun Beg devotes the opening pages of his great collection of correspondence to an exposition of the alâb of the various classes of address, from the sultan at the top down to civil and military officials and members of the religious institution within the empire, and also of the alâb to be used in communicating with dependent rulers such as those of the Trans-Danubian principalities and with foreign potentates like the Dogen of Venice (Muḥammad al-celif, Istanbul 1274/1857, i, 2-13). Also, L. Fekte devoted a section of his Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatik der Türkischen Botschaft in Ungarn, Budapest 1926, pp. XXXI-XXXVI, to an exposition of honorifics as found in the diplomatic and administrative documents of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries concerning relations between the Porte and local officials in Hungary or between the sultans and the Christian monarchs in adjoining lands. The luxuriance of the titulature of, for instance, Suleyman the Magnificent is seen in a letter of this sultan from 972/1565, where in the initiatias of the document
Suleyman describes himself as Sultan-i Sahlâni-Sherb wa Sharb, Sâhib-Kirân: Mamâlik-i Rûm wa 'Aqîm wa 'Arâb, Kahramân-i Kawn wa Muallâm, Nârîmân-i Mevli'd-i Zanûn wa Zanûn, 'Abd Denîî 
wa Sâhib-i Kâfî wa 'Aqîm-i Mûrîmân. Rûm-i Mu'adda-yi Mu'awwârânîn wa Kûnî-i Sherbîî 
wa Tahtî-i Misr Nâdînâ-yî 'Aryan wa Wilâyêt-yî Yaman wa 'Aadan wa San'âtîî wa Dûr al-Árâb Baghîdâd 
wa Baṣr wa Lâsbânî wa Mâdâ'î andân-în-Rawûlîn wa Dîyân-Dîyanîn wa Ahsâfîyânîn wa Dâhtî 
Kîkâl wa Dîyân-Dîyanîn wa Kirtân wa Lûsîtânîn wa Killûyî. Kûm îlî, wi Amînî wa Kâramân 
wa Affîk wa Bûghîlîn wa Ama'ûrîn menemîkînînîn wa Nûbîtî, wa 'Aqîm-i Sâhib-i Mu'âqîb 
wa ûlûm-i Mu'adda-yî Mu'awwârânîn, 'Aqîm-i Sâhib-i Mu'âqîb wa Sultân Sultânî Suleyman Khan 
b. Sultan Selim Khan (ibid., p. XXII).

The honories of the sultan's subordinates were naturally less florid, but considerable rare was taken to 
differentiate nicipes of rank, so that a bâgi with a stipend of less than 150 akçes was addressed as Kudvat al-Kudwî al-Islâm [sic], Omâdat Wa'lit al-Álam, whereas a bâgi of 150 akçes or more could 
add to the above titles that of Mûnâaârî wa Mu'âqîb, al-Álamân wa al-Árâbên wa al-Misrân, wa 'Aqîm-i 
Harâmân (ibid., p. XXXV). The grand vizier was from the time of Suleyman onwards awarded the 
designation of Sadî' i 'Aザm "most illustrious of the high dignitaries", and this title remained 
use all through the Ottoman sultanate's existence, surviving the reforms in the bureaucracy of the 
Tansümlâ (s.v.), the last Sadî' i 'Aザm being Dâmmâ Pâshâ (s.v.) ( till October 1920) and his 
successor Ahmed Tewfîk Pâshâ (till November 1922) who 
served Mehemmed VI abî-Dîln. The vizier had 
several other epithets of distinction, such as sa'mî, 
dârf, and fiî, and he was entitled to the same form 
of address as the Khedives of Egypt in the 19th 
century, devetelî feknâmî (see further sadî' i 
'azzam).

It was during the Tansümlâ period of the mid-19th 
century that some attempt was first made at rationalis-
ising and restricting the unchecked growth of titula-
ture, as part of the institutionalisation on western 
lines of the old Ottoman bureaucracy. It seems that 
the traditional titles were now bureaucratised. 
Thus Redhouse in his 
[Bibliography: given in the article.](C. E. Bosworth)
LAHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty of "Irak that made al-Hira [g.v.] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from ca. 399 A.D. to ca. 632 A.D. Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Najds after their eponym, Naṣr, Lakhm [g.v.] being the tribe to which they belonged. As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sasanids, the Lakhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam.

1. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose full name was Djudham, had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement. In the 1st century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the Djudham. The name "Lakhim" becomes rare in comparison with "Djudham." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmuk, at Siffin, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazid I against the sacred cities of the Hijaz, the two tribes fought under the same chief and under the same banner. "Lakhim" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glamour of its history which it recalled of the pharaohs of "Irak, was socially impressive, but the tribe of Lakhim no longer had a separate existence from the Djudham. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudham, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

A last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Lakhim" is seen in the claim of the Abbaddids [g.v.] to the "throne of Lakhim" in al-Andalus during the 5th-7th century, to be of Lakhmid stock.

against Queen Zenobia of Palmyra. He appears as the protector of Manichaeism after it was outlawed in Persia. He was succeeded by his son, Imru’ul-Kays, described in the famous al-Namira inscription as “king of all the Arabs.” He, too, was a warrior king who after conquests in Arabia went over to the Romans, died in A.D. 352, and was buried at al-Namira in the province of Arabia. The death of Imru’ul-Kays to the Romans resulted in the first interregnum in the history of the Lakhmid. The sources speak of a certain Aws b. Kallum in the sixties of the 4th century, and he is given various tribal affiliations, but it is almost certain that the interregnum began long before the sixties and that the Ghassinids played an important role in the affairs of al-Hira, now that more light has been shed on their early history. Certainty cannot be predicated of the names and reigns of the Lakhmid kings assigned by the Arabic tradition to this obscure period in their history, sec. the 4th century.

The 5th century is much better documented in the Greek and Syrian sources as well as the Arabic ones, which yield important data on three Lakhmid kings. The first is al-Nu’mān, nicknamed al-A’war (“the one-eyed”) and also al-Sāhib (“the wanderer”); according to the Arabic tradition he earned the latter for his having renounced the world. This is not improbable, since he is known to have visited the Syrian saint, Simeon, between 413 and 420. His name is associated with the building of the famous palace, al-Khawwarīn [q.v.], and with the two divisions in the Lakhmid army known as al-Shahba’ and al-Dawar. He was succeeded by his son al-Mundhir, who is said to have reigned forty-four years, possibly 418-32. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of 421-2 and played an even more important role in the internal affairs of Persia by his support of Bahram Gur for the throne. Little is known about the Lakhmid kings that followed him, al-Aswad and al-Mundhir II, but much is known about the warrior-king al-Nu’mān II. He took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of the period. In 498 he was beaten by the Byzantine commander Eugenius at Bithopos; in 509 he advanced against Harrān, where he was first beaten by the Romans and then triumphed over them, but shortly after died of a battle-wound in the vicinity of Ctesiphon. A second short interregnum takes place in this period, ca. 509, associated with a certain Abu Yafir.

Of the three centuries of Lakhmid rule in al-Hira, the last is the best documented and the most important. It is dominated by al-Mundhir III, who reigned for a half-century, 533-54. Firstly, during his reign the Arabian Peninsula witnessed a reassessment of Persian power and al-Mundhir made his presence felt in it, both as an Arab king and as the vassal of the Byzantine emperor Justinian. In 531 he conceived and in part executed the Persian campaign which ended in a great victory against Byzantium at Callinicum on the Euphrates; in 539 he engaged in a dispute with the Ghassinids al-Hārith, which was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Byzantine-Persian war of 539-44; in the forties he continued to war with the Ghassanids, but in 534 he was killed in an engagement with al-Hārith near Ma’man, probably the Yawm al-Biyrā of the Arabic tradition.

He was succeeded by his son Amr (354-69) whose mother was Hind, the Khuldi princess and daughter of the same al-Hārith who ruled al-Hira during the Kinda interregnum in the twenties, and it is by his maternal son, Hind, that Amr, the son of the most famous of all the Lakhmid kings, is known to the Arabic sources. The Lakhmids and their adversaries, the Ghassanids, are mentioned in the treaty of 539 between Persia and Byzantium; according to one of its clauses, both were expressly forbidden from waging wars against each other which would involve the two world powers, and yet Amr continued to make raids against the Byzantine frontier in the sixties as did his brother Kābās, who appears associated with him as his general. In 569 Amr died a violent death, killed by the poet Amr b. Kallum [q.v.] and was succeeded by his brother Kābās, who reigned for some four years (569-73). It was during his reign that the Ghassinids al-Mundhir scored, ca. 570, a victory in Lakhmid territory not far from al-Hira itself, probably the battle of Tāyμ Ubāb, but it was also in the same reign that the Persian occupation of South Arabia took place in 574; this turned the tide against Byzantium, and resolved in favour of Persia what might be termed the struggle for Arabia.

The short period that intervened between the death of Kābās in 573 and the accession of the last Lakhmid king in 580 was punctuated by two interregna; that of the Persian Suhra may be assigned to 573-4, while the other, during which most probably ruled Kābās, an Arab from the tribe of Tāyμ, lasted for a few months in 580, before the accession of al-Nu’mān. Between the two interregna there ruled the unpopular al-Mundhir IV, during whose reign his namesake, the Ghassinid al-Mundhir, scored a decisive victory over the Lakhmid, this time capturing al-Hira itself, ca. 578, and setting it afire.

The last Lakhmid king was al-Nu’mān, the son of al-Mundhir IV, who ruled for some twenty years (580-602). He is the Lakhmid best known to the Islamic Arabs and the post-Islamic Arabic sources through the panegyrics of al-Nasibah al-Dhahabī [q.v.] and through his relations with Amr b. Zayd [q.v.]. Unlike the reign of al-Mundhir III, his is not memorable for its international relations but for those with the Arabs of the Peninsular and with his Sāsānīd overlords. In his Peninsular wars he was unfortunate in a battle (the Yawm Tīkhāra or Takhīra) with Djarbī, a subdivision of Taimīl. His relations with the Sāsānīds varied. Hormuzd gave him a splendid crown, while Khusrav Parviz fell out with him, possibly because he was intolerant of Lakhmid pretensions to independence. After wandering among the Arab tribes seeking refuge, he surrendered himself to Parviz, who had him killed in 602, and with his death the Lakhmid rule over
al-Hira came to an end. In so doing, Parviz destroyed the shield that protected Persia's flank against the Arabs of the peninsula. Some two years after the death of al-Numán, the battle of Dhū Kār [70/6] was fought, in which the Arab troops of Khālid scored a victory over the Persians, a foretaste of more dramatic victories in the thirties by the Muslim Arabs. Dhū Kār foreshadowed al-Kādīsīyya [74/7], both of which were splendid justification of Lakhmīd al-Hira as a bulwark for Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula.

After the death of al-Numán, al-Hira was ruled by an Arab from Taysīl, 'Iyās b. Kāliba, assisted by a Persian, al-Nahlīraghji, for some nine years, 602-11. After the Persian possession directly ruled by the Persians until it fell to Khalid b. al-Walid in 633. The last Lakhmīd prince known to the sources in this period is al-Numān, nicknamed al-Gharīr ("the deceiver"), who took part in the ridda war in Bahrain and was defeated by al-ʿAlī b. al-Hadramī in 633.

2. Culture. The geographical location of their capital al-Hira and their special relationship to Sasanīd Persia determined for the Lakhmīds the direction of their historical fragment. In spite of a Near East independence which they enjoyed, they were vassals of the Sasanīds, for whom they performed the following important functions: (a) they were their shield against the inroads of the nomads from the Arabian Peninsula; (b) they watched over their sphere of influence in Arabia, especially the Arabian hinterland of the Persian Gulf, including Bahrain and Oman, which they ruled for them; (c) they were their spear against Byzantium and the latter's client-kings, the Ghassānīds; and (d) they protected their trade interests in the Peninsula, especially the caravan-route that connected al-Hira with South Arabia.

Their fruitful association with Persia is reflected in the various forms of their military, political, and social life, and in their material culture: (a) the sources speak of five units in their army—al-ʿAlā, al-Dawwar, al-Waṣīṭ, al-Ṣamāl, and al-Rahāl. In the first of which are said to have consisted of Persian troops; besides, there was the Khādir Shahr, lit. "Shahīr's Ditch," rebuilt by Khusraw Anūširvān, a time of some sort protecting al-Hira and extending down to where al-Baṣra was to be in Islamic times; (b) the crowns of the Lakhmīds have been bestowd on them by the Persian kings and with the crown came the word itself for crown, tāqī, as a loanword from Arabic in Persian; and (c) the various aspects of their material culture must also have been dominated by the Persians in such areas as architecture, dress, food, drink, and music.

Zoroastrian Persia was also the determining factor in the attitude of the Lakhmīds towards Christianity. The Sasanīds understandably frowned on their adoption of a missionary religion with universalist claims, especially after the conversion of their secular enemy, Rome, to that religion. The second Lakhmīd ruler, Imrū' al-Rays, adopted Christianity, which fact must at least partly explain his defection to the Romans. Only the last Lakhmīd king, al-Numān, adopted it openly; but the Nestorian form of it, in opposition to the Chalcedonian one adopted by Byzantium, it was acceptable to the Sasanīds. And yet their capital, al-Hira, became the great centre of Arab Christianity and of its transmission to the Arabs of the Peninsula. The city was adorned with churches and monasteries, was the seat of a bishopric, and the refuge for many a persecuted ecclesiastic.

Important as their role was in the political and military history of the Arabs and of the Near East, it was their development of al-Hira itself as the great Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times that must be considered the major and enduring contribution of the Lakhmīds. In the 3rd century A.D., the Arab cities of Hatra, Edessa, and Palmyra fell in rapid succession, and the rise of al-Hira as the capital of the Lakhmīds, almost immediately after the fall of Palmyra, ensured a certain continuity in Arab urban life in the Periptle Crescent.

For almost three centuries, al-Hira stood almost alone as a metropolis radiating higher forms of culture to the Arabs of the Peninsula, and of all the elements which were to contribute to the rise of Islam, the most important was undoubtedly the development of the Arabic script and of written Arabic, called for by the demands of an organised and stable urban life in al-Hira [see SABAHYA. A. The Arabic language (iii)]

Bibliography: the main sources for the history of the Lakhmīds is Tabarl's Tahrīr, magisterially translated and commented upon by Th. Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, Leiden 1870, repr. 1971; (see on this now, I. Shu'ib, in IFJES, viii [1977], 177-22; the standard work on the Lakhmīds is still G. Rothstein, Die Dynastie der Lakhmīden in al-Hira, Berlin 1899. In both these two works the scattered references to the Lakhmīds in the Syriac and classical sources are discussed. Other important Arabic sources are: Mas'ūdī, Muṣūdī, iii 281-284; ibid. 291-297; 'Abd al-ʿAlī, Taʾrīkh, ed. Beirut 1897-1901, i 400-5, 401-11, 414-25, 431-8, 483-91, 540-7. For the monasteries of the Lakhmīds and of al-Hira, see Yaḥya, Muṣ<footer>
themselves being the oldest epigraphic monument of the city. During the Dihlí Sultanate (861-1526) period, Lakhnau figured prominently in connection with the revolt of A’In al-Mulk, son of Māhrū, governor of Awadh, against Sultān Muhammad b. Tughluk. Between 1349 and 1476, Lakhnau became part of the Šāhī kingdom of Dījanpur (870-1488). After changing hands several times between different occupant[s] of the Šāhī dynasty, the city was added to the Mogul dominion after Humāyūn’s defeat during frequent Afghān incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of Lakhnau formed part of the sarkar of that name in the zaba of Awadh, had a special fascination for Lakhnau, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu b-Fadl. During Dihlī’s reign, Lakhnau blossomed into a magnus emporium. Awrangzīb’s visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lakhnai Tīb, the oldest site of the city.

As the fortunes of the Great Mughal’s dwindled, those of Lakhnau rose, until a new and independent kingdom sprang up as an offshoot from the decaying tree of the Empire. The governors henceforth paid only nominal allegiance to the titular Dihlí king. Safādat Khān, who was appointed šāhādī by the Emperor Muhammad Šāh in 1724-1726, became the founder of the dynasty of the Nawwabs of Awadh, with whose régime most of Lakhnaw’s glorious past is intimately connected. The period of the fourth ruler, Nawwab Šāfī al-Dawla, marks the greatest height of Lakhnaw’s prosperity. The extravagance and munificence of his court passed into a byword, and could be rivalled only by the Imperial court of Dihtí. Along with the Rūūl Darwāza and the adjacent mosque, the great Inamábāra, whose central hall is one of the largest vaulted rooms in the world, forms the apotheosis of his building achievements. Lakhnaw was raised to the rank of a royal city in 1819 when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh the oldest site of the city. 

The first two Nawwabs of the Awadh, against Sultān Muhammad b. Tughluk. Between 1349 and 1476, Lakhnau became part of the Šāhī kingdom of Dījanpur (870-1488). After changing hands several times between different occupant[s] of the Šāhī dynasty, the city was added to the Mogul dominion after Humāyūn’s defeat during frequent Afghān incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of Lakhnau formed part of the sarkar of that name in the zaba of Awadh, had a special fascination for Lakhnau, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu b-Fadl. During Dihlī’s reign, Lakhnau blossomed into a magnus emporium. Awrangzīb’s visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lakhnai Tīb, the oldest site of the city. 

To the Englishmen, however, Lakhnaw is best known as the city where a regiment of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence, joined by the local English inhabitants, put up a gallant defence of the city. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the territory was annexed to the East India Company territories and Wādíd ‘All Šāhī, the last king, was exiled to Calcutta, where he lived a pensioner’s life under British superintendence, this city was declared a garrison town. 

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Lakhnaw Residency for twelve weeks against heavy-
2. Monuments. The most noteworthy of the older sites is the tomb of Shaykh Muhammad, known as Khwaja Shams, dated 870/1465-6. The tomb of Shaykh Ibrahim Chisti, near the Aysh-bagh, dated 961/1553, is a square limestone cell surmounted by blind merlons and a hemispherical dome set on an octagonal drum; the plain doorway arch, flanked by two small superimposed niches on each side, resembles Sultunate work at Delhi. Two Mughal mausolea in the same area are close to work at Fatehpur Sikri [pl. vi] in character, but undated. One, the Nadir Mahal, apparently the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahim Khan, was built as a twelve-pillared open pavilion, but this was converted to a square cell with qalit lattices, and surrounded with a verandah of twenty pillars whose elaborate brackets, including elephant and birds, support a chajrija pent. The parapets of this verandah, the cell, and the base of the dome carry brilliant tile mosaic ornament in dark blue, turquoise and yellow set in red plaster; a confirmation of detail to be seen on some contemporary book paintings (e.g. Akbar-namah, V & A, IS 2-1896 113). The maqampadma finial base is extended by a petal-like network of tilework lines. The red sandstone Sula Khana preserves the open form, here rectangular, with sixteen columns surrounding a line of five cenotaphs, and supporting a florally carved ceiling above a finely panelled plinth. The details indicate the transition from the Akbari to the Jahangiri style.

The Mosque of Shah Jahan with three frontal arches to its prayer hall, and three domes, is flanked by massive octagonal minarets engaged to the front corners like the larger Dami Masjid at Delhi, and lanterns at the rear; its pishtak however incorporates new Darbaki curvatures at each end marked off by domed octagonal pavilions in two storeys. The arches and domes of the parapet are reiterated in a second range above, set back with two more pavilions on the flat roof. The hall within, ca. 49 m by 16 m by 15 m high has a solid concrete vault carried on successive covings of converging groins, and the founder's tomb lies in the middle. The architect was Sikandar Allah. The third building of the complex, the Rum I Darwaza, possibly so-named after its triple gateway, shares the rapid change of rhythm and the recession in levels, but the river elevation unexpectedly reveals a giant iwan framed within an arch with radiating guldastas, and capped by a chajrija. The Husaynabad Imambara of Muhammad 'Ali Shah again contrasts arches of different sizes with parapet arcades and guldastas, though in a light, lacy manner culminating in a gilded dome. The Hazratganj Imambara of Amir Salal 'Ali Shah (1842-47) is comparatively plain, but its interior, like the other two, was once

Plan of the Bara Imambara, Lakhnaw (after J. Ferguson).
splendid with crystal chandeliers and precious shrines. Besides the amarnāthi burials, the tradition of mausolea continued with those of Sa'dat 'Ali Khan (1796-1814) and his wife Khadrijah, built by his successor Ghazal al-Din (1814-27). Both follow the organisation of Saidar Hajjam's monument with corner turrets capped by chhatris around the main dome, but the pichhak and minā are absent, replaced in the former by a tetrastyle portico on each face (R. Smith, Journal 1832, V & A, lit 15/58-1913, pp. 281-5). Both have domes of a strongly European profile, with prominent finials and salient angles around a tall drum suggesting a derivation from Levant domes (1693-706); the accumulation of lesser domes and haftgūn vaults around the Queen's tomb also recalls Hindu massing. Ghazal al-Din built his own tomb, the Shah Najaf (Najaf ashraf) dominated by a white, stupa-like dome and finial within an arced precinct. The garden at Husaynābād contains two supposed replicas of the Tādī Mahal for a daughter of Muhammad Shah and her husband, which however demonstrate complete lack of its classical core.

The origin of European influences is apparent in domestic buildings. Initially Sa'dat 'Ali Khan had taken over the Fāḥ Mahall built by the Shāhīyāzaddās in the Fort; the buildings were improved on a grand scale by Shudās al-Dawla (1754-75), but by 1775 they still lacked unity (Modave, op. cit. 183). Both palace and fortifications were destroyed in 1857 and after. Ayāf al-Dawla transferred the court to a new Dawaīt Khāna including the Anṣāf Kothi, probably commissioned from Claude Martin, in 1785. Asfāl Khan, who had arrived in Lakhnāw in 1776, rose to become advisor to the Nawwāb; his taste for European influences, creating fine buildings for them and obtaining furniture from Europe. These included Mānā Bīgh (Barovien) (1780-84), a classical house with a bow front to the river, and a landward court sunk for courns, and Dilbīyāpur Kothi, a much plainer building. His own town house, Farhat-bakhsh (1784) shows the same combination of climatic ingenuity, strong defences, and wit; it was built in 1800 by Sa'dat 'Ali Khan, who used it as his residence at the centre of a new palace complex. Constancia (La Martinière 1795-800) though influential was, as Martin's tomb, unsuitable for adoption, and continues in his endowment as a school. Dil-kūgh (no. 1805, built by Sir Gore Osbourne as a reinterpretation of Seaton Delaval back home in Northumberland (1799) became a favourite hunting lodge of Sa'dat 'Ali, and provided the portico model for his tomb. By 1805 the Nawwāb had bought all the English houses but three, and himself constructed a fine new street of such houses, radically different from the Indian model, in Hādhrat-ganj. The building of palaces continued with his domed Motā Mahall and Lāl Bāradari (Kār al-Sūltān), a throne room with spires as fine as the Sultan), a throne room with spires as fine as the


LAKHNAWTI (shortened form of Lakhyanawati, "home of Lakhnāw", which is a derivation from Lakhyanāwād, son of Dapara and half-brother of Rana Candrá, and was, meaning "home" or "habitation", the name of an ancient city which served as the principal seat of government in Bengal under Muslim rule for nearly four centuries. Its ruins are still found spread over a narrow and deserted channel of the River Ganges in lat. 24° 52' N. and long. 88° 10' E., in the distance, 10 miles/16 km. south-west of the modern Malda district in the State of West Bengal, India), from which it is reached by a macadamised road.

Though the date of the foundation of the city is shrouded in obscurity, tradition has it that it was built by one Sangallob of the Cooch Behar area of north Bengal, who had become unchallenged master of Bengal and Bihar after defeating Raja Kesar Brahman of the same region. But the recorded
The greatest of these revolts took place during the August the central imperial authority, the distance in which Bengal was divided for administrative its conquest by the Muslims. Under the Emperor within fifty years of visited Lakhnawtl in 821/1418. The surprised and defeated Lallan Sen, the ruling in a coin of Sul (Ana Ratfiyya dated 634/1236. The subsequent occurred there ever since the inception of the city was known in his time both as Lakhnawyl. Akbar, Lakhnawyl was one of the nineteen sorifirs that the city was known by various names at different times, such as Fathabad, Husaynabad, Nusratabad and Dinanabad, the last name, meaning "paradise", being given to it by the Emperor Humayun when he stayed there for three months in 1536. The earliest numismatic mention of Lakhnawyl as a mint town occurs in the most ancient name of the city was Lakhnawyl was respected even beyond the frontiers of the Muslim rule. The Khilji oligarchical rule, the Lakhnawyl kingdom passed under slave governors, during which it acquired so much influence and status that its governors used to be called Malik al-Sharaf. But soon the palace intrigues and political squabbles of the Dhihl Sultanate embroiled the viceroys of Lakhnawyl to revolt against the central imperial authority, the distance from Dhihl being a greatly-contributing factor here. The greatest of these revolts took place during the reign of the strong-willed Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Balban (see in Suppl.), who personally led a large army to Bengal to crush the rebel governor Sultan Mughal al-Din Tughil, who was mercilessly put to death. The Dhihl Sultanate, became a vassal of Lakhnawyl in 637/1240. Barani, the author of the Tuhfa al-Din Aybak of Dhihl, who was to call Lakhnawyl a city around 1640, describes the castle as "not less than fifteen miles in length, and well-fortified, and containing 1,200,000 inhabitants in its walls, the passage of the time for another century. The few people that survived the epidemic left the deserted city, which never regained its old glory. The city was hurriedly shifted to Tanda, from where it was later changed to Rajeenahal in 1589 by Raja Man Singh, and then to Daicca in 1608 by Islam Khan, and finally to Murshidabad in 1704 by Murshid Kuli Khan. Though Lakhnawyl was finally deserted towards the end of the 18th century, its magnificent buildings withstood the ravages of time for another century, for as late as 1853 when William Hodges, the governor of the East India Company visited the place, the architectural remains of the historic city were fairly intact. But systematic human spoliation caused irreparable damage to the monuments, whose bricks and stones were carried away to adorn the palaces and houses of distant Rajeenahal and Murshidabad. According to Grant (Fifth report), the murshidaba safe of Murshidabad received Rs. 8000/- per annum from the local admirers of Lakhnawyl as fees for the privilege of demolishing the ruins and stripping from them their highly-priced enamelled bricks and basalt stones. Early in the 19th century, many carved stones, found in the ruined city, are said to have become prey of the Calcutta undertakers and others for ornamenting graves in Calcutta. Some of the important relics which are still extant are as follows: The Soora Masjid or Great Golden mosque, massive rectangular mosque, built by Sultan Nasir Shah in 918/1513, is the largest as well as the finest of all the monuments of Lakhnawyl. It is called golden because its domes were actually gilded, and Baridari (meaning "audience hall") because it has a spacious court-yard resembling an audience hall. The Chota Masjid built during the reign of Ala al-Din Husayn Shah (860-915/1454-1510) is situated in that portion of Lakhnawyl which now forms part of the Rajeenahal district of Bangladesh. Of the historic Fort of Lakhnawyl, which lay on the
banks of the Ganges and extended for about a mile from north to south, only the Main Gate, called the Dakhil Durbar, and the Royal Entrance, commonly called Luka Curt, are in existence today. The Fiza or Piroz Shâh Minâr is a sort of a victory tower, 84 ft. high and 62 ft. in circumference, popularly supposed to have been built by Sayîf al-Dîn Firuz Shâh (1488-90). The Radim Rasûl is a single-domed square building, constructed by Sultan Nusrat Shâh in 937/1531 and situated within the enclosure of the Fort. The actual relic, which comprises a small carved pedestal of black marble containing a stone representation of the footprint of the Prophet, is said to be in private residence nearby for reasons of security. Of the remaining important mosques, there are the Tântîpârâ Masjid, erected around 1480, the Lottan Masjid, built in 1475, and the Camkatî Masjid constructed by Sultan Yûsuf Shâh in 896/1490. In a spot known as Bangali Kote there existed the tomb of Sultan Husayn Shâh (d. 928/1520), but it was destroyed in about 1480. The tomb of Shâykh Aghât Shâdî al-Dîn Qâdinân, the famous saint who visited Lakhnawt in the early 8th/14th century, is located in the north-west corner of the Sâgârârâg, the enormous cistern, nearly 7 miles/10 km. south-west of Malda town.


It is a collective duty (*wâ'îjîb*) to pick up an abandoned or exposed child. A person finding such a child may not, having taken it up, repel it in the place where found. If two persons are taken to take up the child, preference is given to the one finding it first; if they have both found the child together, it should go to the one best fitted to rear it, but if both are equally qualified, then lots may be drawn for it. The child's finder must swear in the presence of witnesses that he has found it, so that he may not subsequently claim that it is his own son or slave. The child's paternity must be established by regular means. A slave, even if liberated through *mukâ'amba* or *mukâ'at*, a married woman, may not pick up a child unless with the master's or husband's consent. A person who has picked up a child must be free, a Muslim, sui iuris (*râ'isîd*), and of good character.

The foundling is presumed to be of free status until proved otherwise, and is presumed to be a Muslim if found by a Muslim in a place populated by Muslims. If the local people are, however, all infidels, the child is presumed to be non-Muslim.

Looking after the foundling is the responsibility of the finder; the collective obligation (*fard bi'âya*), is converted for him into a personal obligation (*fard *sayîn*). Nevertheless, certain authorities set the child's upbringing as a charge to the public treasury (the revenue derived from the *fiya*) or to special endowed foundations (*al-râ'îsî, *Hisârî* ii, 171). The finder administers the child's possessions, represents him in civil law and is responsible for the expenses of his upbringing, but he may have a remedy against the child's father for the cost of these expenses if it can be proved that the father voluntarily exposed the child and not through necessity. The child's upkeep is due until the end of puberty if it is a boy and until marriage if a girl. The inheritable estate belongs to the public treasury as representative of the Muslim community, but the *imân* may nevertheless make over the inheritance to the child's finder.

**Bibliography:** Khâtîb b. Isâbî, *Abrege de la loi musulmane selon le rite de l'Imâm Malî*, tr. G.-H. Bousquet, iii, § 270, *Bu-'Emir, Sharî'î: Muhîjîn Khâtîb*, vii, 121; *Sharî'î: Darîr, *Sharî'î: Mas'îd* Khâtîb*, *Mâ'ârir, Al-Abâ'î, ibid.*, i, 371; *D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano Malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sconferita*, i, 306. (A.-M. Deleambre) **Lâkhî al-‘Âdâyî**, pre-Islamic Arab poet. The name Lâkhî does not necessarily mean that the person bearing it was a foundling; but in the present instance, whilst the genealogists know all the poets' ancestors (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, *Dabhârâr*, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 377), the descus of his father's name has given rise to divergent readings; *maˁâm* (Ibn al-Kâli, loc. cit.; al-Dîbârî, Bayân, i, 42, 43, 52; Ibn Durayhîd, Igtîhâdî, 104; ‘Abd ‘Ammâd, *Mu传奇里面*, 175); *maˁâm* (Ibn Kataybâ, *Shâh*, 152-4; *L. A.*, s. v. *l-âd*); and *maˁâm*/*va-mu* (al-Shâhîm, apud al-Mubârâk, Kamîl, 829; Ibn al-Shâdîjî, *Mabâhuṭ bîrâd‘ al-‘Ârâb*, 17; al-Bakrî, *Maˁâm wa siyâqâm*, 71-3; *Alâ‘î, xx, 235; *K. S.*, x, 364-8; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 965; Yâ‘kûb, *Bdûlâ*, ii, 127). This last reading seems to be the most correct; it even appears in the mas. of the *Dâhâm* whose recension is attributed to Ibn al-Kâli, for whom, in his *Dabhârâr*, the poet was Maˁâd’s son (see above). Such variation is easily explicable, but one nevertheless wonders whether two distinct persons have not been confused (see Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, Register, ii, 377; amongst Khînîn, there was moreover a Lâkhî b. Yâ‘mâr, cited by Ibn al-Kâli, Tab. 56).

Ibn Kataybâ, *loc. cit.*, says that the ‘Âdâyî [q.] established in ‘Irâk had to flee for refuge in al-Djâzîrâ under pressure from the troops of A‘bâd bin Jâ‘far (‘Irâq, 79-80 A.D.). who wanted to put a stop to their depredations. These last continued, and Lâkhî, who happened to be in al-Hira (or, according to Ibn al-Shâdîjî and al-Bakrî, *loc. cit.*), was allegedly secretary for Arab affairs in the Sassanid king's chancellery, placed his fellow tribesmen on guard against an expedition which the Persians were preparing, in a poem in *-âd* but the *-âd* remained deaf to this warning, persisted in their ways, and were scattered; it was then that Lâkhî wrote a long poem in *-âd* exhorting them to take seriously the new threats against them and to choose a valiant chief to oppose their enemies.

*The Abîdârî* (*loc. cit.*) places these events in the same sovereign's reign, after the battle of Dayr al-Damâdîjîn, during which the ‘Âdâyî repelled the Persian cavalry sent against them (see Vâlîdî, *Bulhâd*, ss. v. Dayr al-Damâdîjîn; naturally, this was not the famous battle of 85/702 [g.]), and makes the poem in *-âd* the prelude of the poem in *-âl*. Al-Bakrî (*loc. cit.*) also speaks of Dayr al-Damâdîjîn, whilst for Ibn ‘Abîl Rabbîh, the incidents in question were contemporaneous with Dhu ‘Kâr [g.], hence later, which seems very unlikely.

Al-Masîdî (*Murtûdî*, ii, 176-7 = § 601-2) tells palpably the same story, but places it much further
In the course of the first battle, which took place in (310-79 A.D.), thanks to his two poems, Dharb al-'Adab was only a small number of verses, and set to music, and the passage in which the ideal war commander is described was especially famous (see al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 479, 1166; Ibn Nubata, Samh al-'Adab, 1231). Lakīt is placed on the same level as Kuss b. Sādīqa [q.v.] in some verses of Zayd b. Dhuabd al-'Adab in praise of his tribe (al-

Not worth the prisoners which, according to this tradition, gave Sādīq the sobriquet of Ibn T-Akātīf.

From all these pieces of information, the personality of Lakīt remains highly confused, and it is hardly possibly exactly to fix the period when he was living, though it was probably during the second half of the 6th century A.D. Thanks to his two poems, the poet passed into posterity in the 6th/7th century indeed, Ibn al-Shadjarā (d. 342/1x48) thought highly enough of the poem in -52 to place it at the beginning of his Mughalard, where it has 53 verses. It was set to music, and the passage in which the ideal war commander is described was especially famous (see al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 479, 1166; Ibn Nubata, Samh al-'Adab, 1231). Lakīt is placed on the same level as Kuss b. Sādīqa [q.v.] in some verses of Zayd b. Dhuabd al-'Adab in praise of his tribe (al-

and Meyer, 65-71) that he is most often mentioned, although it is generally admitted that Sādīq had forbidden his sons to go beyond that number so as not to incite their enemies to obtain large ransoms. Despite the prisoners' supplications, in which he offered 1,000 camels from his own herds, Lakīt remained unmovable and left Maḥbad to die of hunger and thirst in captivity (Nakābd, 227; al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 454; Ibn 'Abd Ribbī, Šīd, ed. idem, 1346/1928, iii, 391, etc.). As said above, Lakīt decided to avenge the death of his brother, and assembled a force of warriors from Tamlān (with the exception of the Banū Sād b. Zayd Manāt, according to Ibn Hābīb, Mubābah, 247, who accounts him one of the war leaders worthy of the title dijarā), from Dhubayrā and Asad, as well as a contingent said to have been sent by al-Nūmān b. Mūnīh, against the coalition of the 'Amīr b. Sā'īn and the 'Abs. Exactly a year after the 'day' of Rahbarān, ca. 530 according to Meyer, loc. cit., the 'day' of Shīb Dhubala took place; during the clash, accompanied by the usual exchange of verses, Lakīt, who was mounted, for the first time among the Arabs, on a horse capricious with brocade provided for him by the king of Persia, was killed by the blows of an opponent variously named in the sources (see e.g. al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 134; Yākāt, Būdān, ii, 24) but who must have been Shurayb b. al-Āwās (Nakābd, 665-6; Yākāt, Būdān, xi, 137-9). He died the next day, not without having uttered once more some verses, and the leadership passed to his brother Hādibh [q.v.]. Since his enemies had yet again struck him after his death, this gratuitous action inspired some verses of his daughter (or his sister, according to Šīd, iii, 390) Dughātana, wife of his cousin 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. 'Udud (Nakābd, 665; Yākāt, Būdān, xi, 137-9; Yākāt, Būdān, ii, 24).

Although al-Dhūbāl, in a rather obscure passage (Bayādūn, ii, 93), seems to consider Lakīt as a tyrant, the sources cite an anecdote in which one has his widow (a daughter of Hābūl b. Khaṣba according to al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, 493), and al-Mu'ayyān, Amtīl, ii, 231-2, or else a certain Mukārlābāfa bint Kays b. Hāfūl according to Yākāt, Būdān, iii, 372-3), who had remarried, eulogising Lakīt and telling her new husband that he was certainly as (sweet as) water, though not however as sweet as that of the famous spring of Sādāth—maḍ āxwā di-Saddāth, an expression which became proverbial.

Al-Dhūbāl (op. cit., iv, 37) considers that all the sons of Sādāth (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 60, cit. ten of them) were poets, but their output hardly appears profuse, and only a small number of verses attributed to Lakīt survive; these are brought together by Abūlāyūs in Bayādūn aṭ-ḥudab, 239-9.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Sallām, Tāhār, 138; Dāhir, Bayān, ii, 170, iii, 210; Ibn Ṭayyabā, Šīd, 662; idem, Ṭāhār, iv, 17; Abūlāyūs, Abīlāyūs, 175; Rothstein, Lāmadān, index; Dāhir, Šīd, ii, 237 and index; Sezgin, Šīd, ii, 154. See also Dibālā and Hādibh b. Zūrāra [q.v.].

[LALE MEHMED PASA: grand vizier under Ahmed I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Mehmed Soksulal Pasja. The year of his birth is not given. After having had higher education]
in the palace, he was mir-i-khatir, and became in 1009/1595 aga of the Janissaries. In the next year he took part in the Austrian wars as beylerbeği of Rûm-
ili and was commander of Esztergom (Gran, Turkish: Uzungilan) in this town during the Austri-
an army in Mahmut 1004/September 1595.

During the following years, Lala Mehemet was several times serASKER in Hungary and when, in
Salâr 1013/July 1604, the grand vizier Yawûz Ali had died in Belgrade on his way to the Hungarian
theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal of office to Lala Mehmeth. Although peace negotiations
were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year the offensive against
Venice in Esztergom. During next year's campaign, Esztergom was taken by Lala Mehemet (24 September
1605), and in November he crowned the Hungarian
brockay as king of Hungary (excepting the regions
occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania.

In that same year, the Turkish eastern army under
Cihâna Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the
soldiers went to subdue the revolt in Amol and
were routed at Bolwadin. After his return, it was
decided that the grand vizier should remain next
year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts
and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-
drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young
sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with
the wishes of the Kapudan Pasha Derbisch who was
intriguing against Lala Mehmeth. Accordingly, the
latter was ordered to take command of the army
against Persia. He had already put up his tent in
Uskudâr, when overcome by sorrow because of the
frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apo-
piey and died three days afterwards (23 May 1606).

He was buried near the Turbe of Sokollu Pasha.

Bibliography: The ta'ri-i Sevâli who, as scribe, had served Lala Mehemet on several
occasions (cf. Babinger, GOW, 191), Nafti and
Hawam Beyzade; "Othemân-zâde Tanbîh, Hadâbi
d'ar-wurâr", 52 fl., Nigâli-i 'ohtemî, iv, 240;
von Hammer, GOW, iv. (J. H. KRAMERS)

LALE DEVRI. "The Tulip Period", the name
which over three centuries has been applied to the
lands of the Ottoman Empire, corresponding to the
second half of the reign of Ahmed III 1703-30
(1013-40) more precisely to the thirteen years of the
vizierate of Nevçhehirî Ibrahim Pasha (1014-27).
The tulip which gave its name to this era has been ex-
ported from Turkey to Austria by Ogier Chalalsa de
Busbecq, the ambassador of Ferdinando I of Habsburg
(1593-64) at the court of the Sultan, but it was in
Holland that its cultivation was developed, through
the efforts of the botanist Charles de l'Ecluse (C. Clu-
sius) (Arras 1526-Lcidcn 1609), who occupied the
chair of Botany at the University of Leiden. The
promotion for tulips spread rapidly throughout
Europe, but the mania for this plant adopted its
most extravagant forms in Turkey. In fact, imported
back to Turkey from Holland in the 17th century by
the Austrian ambassador Schmilz zum Schwarzen-
burg, the tulip which gave its name to this era had be-
nen known to the West. For the first time in the history of
the Ottoman Empire, attempts were made to benefit
from the political, economic and cultural structures
of Europe. Diplomatic relations were fostered, es-
specially with France: an ambassador, Virmesiâde
Cebelizade Mehmeth Evendi, was accredited to the
court of Louis XV, and was instructed to study those
French institutions which might be adapted to the
requirements of Ottoman lands (1719). Commercial
relations with France were developed: each year, five
hundred trading ships operated between France and
Turkey.

Overtures to the West. The Grand Vizier was
a man of enlightened sympathies, and the years of
his vizierate were marked by a series of approaches
to the West. For the first time in the history of
the Ottoman Empire, attempts were made to benefit
from the political, economic and cultural structures
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relations with France were developed: each year, five
hundred trading ships operated between France and
Turkey.

Policies of progress, construction and inno-
vation. In 1724, the first printing-press was in-
stalled in Istanbul, through the good offices of
Birinci Mehmed (1716-26), a Hungarian convert to
Islam, who sent the son of the Sultan's ambassador
to the court of Louis XV, who had accompanied his
father to Paris. A French officer of engineers, de
Rochefort, was invited to prepare plans for reforming
the army on the Western model, while another
French convert to Islam, Khubranadî Ibrahim Pasha
[see AHMED PASHA DHONNAV], organized a
corps of artillery. Yet another French convert to
Islam, Gerecî Davud Ağha, was responsible for the
foundation of the first team of fire-fighters. A lover
of arts and literature, the Grand Vizier surrounded
himself with poets, musicians and artists. He pro-
hibited the export of rare manuscripts and founded
a society for the translation of Arabic and Persian
texts. He established five libraries, in addition to
that of the Sultan, of which the poet Neçim [see]
being the prototype here.

The promoter of this fashion was the Grand
Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of Nevçhehir, son-in-law of the
Sultan. Coming to power at the beginning of 1718,
he showed great diplomatic skill in the negotiations
over the Treaty of Passarowitz (21 July 1716), put-
ning an end to a state of continual war which had
disrupted the economic structure of the Empire and
devastated its rural areas. After Passarowitz, the
Grand Vizier applied himself to pursuing the objec-
tive of peace, and his vizierate was to be marked
by an initial period of absolute peace, followed by
a period of euphoria induced by victorious cam-
paigns in Iran, which was then in a state of anarchy
as a result of the Afghan invasion. Agreeable and
peace-loving by temperament, Ahmed III had a
strong horticultural streak. He was a cultured man,
both a poet and calligrapher, but also a man of exceptional
generosity. He was seen by himself as a patron of
the arts, a characteristic feature of 18th-century
France, to which he was a constant admirer, and
established a society for the translation of Arabic
and Persian texts. He established five libraries, in
addition to that of the Sultan, of which the poet Neçim
was curator. He gave a fresh impetus to the manufacture
of porcelain and earthenware, restoring the work-
shops of İzmid and Küçükyay and founding a new one
in Istanbul, that of Tefkîr Sârî. He founded a
textile-mill.

In the context of municipal engineering, the
projects that he instituted include the construc-
tion of a dam to bring water from the Forest of
Belgrad to the capital and the building of roads and
Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
of harbour installations; he supervised the markets personally, regulating the sale of bread and the importation of coffee. Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador to the court of the Sultan, states in her Letters that certain maladies were better treated in Turkey than elsewhere and, in particular, she mentions the existence of a vaccine against small-pox. The Sultan was an enthusiastic promoter of construction projects: fountains, mosques and mausoleums sprang up in every corner of Istanbul; palaces, pavilions (köşki [kivans]) gardens and pleasure gardens were established; the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The end of the festivities. The unbridled expenditure by the court, the relaxation of morals, the taxes levied by the Grand Vizier to pay for ever more costly entertainments, caused discontent among the people, in particular the fanatical and reactionary class of the kösemi. The people felt that they had been let down. Although the Grand Vizier had made great efforts in the interests of cultural growth, had done nothing to combat the fanaticism of the kösemi and the ignorance of the masses. The Janissaries, ignorant and fanatical, whose income depended on pillage in time of war, felt themselves threatened by the military reforms advocated by the Grand Vizier. The latter had imposed new taxes on commerce, taxes which caused discontent among the artisans and among the Janissaries, who engaged in smallscale trading during their leisure time. The kösemi took it upon themselves to fan these grievances. However, the revolt was caused by political factors. The foreign policy of Ibrahim Pasha consisted in the avoidance of war; however, the Tulip Period saw a temporary extension of Ottoman sovereignty, on account of the Afghan invasion of Iran. In the
anarchic conditions which prevailed, a new rivalry brought the Turks and the Russians into confrontation in the Caucasian provinces. Thanks to the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, this tension was resolved in an amicable fashion and a Russo-Turkish treaty, signed 23 June 1724, divided the Iranian spoils between the two powers: the Turks occupied Tiflis, Erivan, Tabriz, and the territories to the west of a line from Ardabil to Hamadan, while the Russians took possession of Erzurum, Derbend, Bakú, and Daghastán. This treaty was the occasion for fresh festivities, with exchanges of gifts between Turks, Russians and French, then control of affairs was delegated into the hands of the wālihs of the frontier regions, and the festivities continued. However, in Iran, the situation was soon reversed: Nādir Shāh succeeded in seizing power having overthrown the Afghān dynasty and, in 1730, he compiled the Turks to restore the Iranian territory that they had occupied. There was news of the capture of Hamadān and the massacre of its Turkish garrison. The Grand Vizier tried to keep the defeat a secret and to settle matters peaceably through diplomacy, but Nādir Shāh refused to negotiate. In order to stifle public unrest, it was necessary to prepare a campaign. On 17 July, the Ottoman army paraded at Ṣūkrūdār, where until 3 August it awaited the arrival of the uncommunicative Sultan. The latter finally joined his troops to conduct a grandiose procession which was nothing more than a show-off, all the more so that it ended in the procession to the end of the parade. But on 12 August, it was heard that the Iranians had taken Tabriz and brutally massacred the Turks who had been stationed there. Again, İbrahim Paşa tried to suppress the news, but Janissaries returning from the frontier regions spread the news of Iranian atrocities through the hamāmātās. Discontent mounted, and the Grand Vizier was held responsible for the setbacks. Janissaries and "event" fanned the fanaticism of the artisans. In his report dated 17 September 1730, the ambassador of the levant, the French ambassador, speaks of hesitation to act on the part of the Sultan's court. This indecision was to prove crucial to the success of the revolt, which broke out on the morning of 28 September. The leading officials of the State were on holiday at the time: the Sultan and the Grand Vizier at Ṣūkrūdār, the governor of Istanbul, Kaymak Mustafā Paşa, son-in-law of İbrahim Paşa, was busy tending his garden beside the Bosphorus, as was the Kapudan Paşa, another son-in-law of the Grand Vizier. The insurgents were able to act with total freedom. Their leader was Patrona Khalil, an Albanian, formerly a levant [i.e.v.] on the Sultan's flag-ship Païroma, of whom we have a portrait painted by the artist of the Tulip Period, the Dutchman Vannou (1656-1738); he was a man between thirty-five and forty years old, already an active veteran of numerous rebellions, a skilled demagogue and inciter of crowds, who made a precarious living, sometimes as an itinerant trader, sometimes as a town-crier or masseur. The crowds assembled at the Hippodrome Square under the direction of the latter. Demand was being raised that the Grand Vizier and his two sons-in-law, the Kehālātās Kaymak Mustafā Paşa and the Kapudan Paşa, be handed over to them. The Sultan tried in vain to rescue his favourite; in the night of 29 September, fearing for his own life, he ordered the strangling of İbrahim Paşa and his two sons-in-law, and at dawn their bodies were surrendered to the rebels, on three ox-drawn hearses. The insurgents, who had pillaged and sacked the palaces of the viziers, now insisted on the abdication of the Sultan. Zülkāl Ḥasan Efendi and lefżisāzde, acting in the name of the rebels, communicated the decision to Ahmed III. In the night of 2 October, having received the guarantee that his own life and those of his sons would be spared, he abdicated in favour of his nephew Maḥmūd who was immediately enthroned. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd I had the ringleaders of the revolt assassinated.

The age of festivity had come to an end: the tulip gardens, the palaces and the places of remembrance had been destroyed. The tulips had gone: they left behind a sumptuous but tragic memory.

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normally from the two corners of the mouth, l bilateral; it can be made from one side only, with
an unarticulated result, l unilateral (M. Grammont, 77 penult. This last was probably the case with
the /a/ (a lateralised consonant [see Din]), called
al-Jahfa, which was made from the right or left side
of the mouth (Sibawayh, ed. Paris, ii, 452, lii 17-18).
J. Caniteneau has placed l amongst those "consonants
outside the classification scheme" (Esquisse, 172, and
Cantineau, ed. Paris, ii, 452, lii 17-18). According to Arabic tradi-
ction, it is banyisa, dhanbasiya, madhjuna, and also
called nunbara "incorrupt" (see Fleisch, op. cit.,
§ 47 q. a, § 48, c. l, § 49, l, and Caniteneau, Cours; 50).
The articulation described above is for the
phone; for the phonological oppositions which define
the phoneme l, see Caniteneau, Esquisse, 172, and for the
incompatibilities, ibid., 206.
Lâm is emphatic 
and in the word Alâk when it is preceded
by the vowels a or u, so that one says in'da
Alâk, but ilâk (see references in Caniteneau, Cours,
51 n. 71 for a study of its articulation, references in
Fleisch, op. cit., 224 n. 1). The treatises on tagrijel
set forth the rules according to which l may be found
in other words (Caniteneau, Cours, 51).
Lâm seems to continue an articulation which was
similar to it in common Semitic (Caniteneau, Esquisse,
172 n. 1): indeed, one may go further and add that
"La liquide latérale se trouve en correspondance
régulière en semitique, berbère et conchilique" (M.
Wiesbaden 1969), see A. Martinet's observations
in BSL, 317 (1953), 77. According to Arabic tradi-
tion, it is banyisa, dhanbasiya, madhjuna, and also
called nunbara "incorrupt" (see Fleisch, op. cit.,
§ 47 q. a, § 48, c. l, § 49, l, and Caniteneau, Cours; 50).
Alternation: (a) Exchange of phonemes: l > n in a fairly numerous groups of doublets. In
several of these, the phenomenon does not seem to be
conditioned, e.g. kuñiia and bunuñi "mountain peak", and
l > r in yad mutabbâfî and mutabbâfî "a piece of split wood" (Fleisch, op. cit., § 49, 8).
(b) Assimilation. The l of the definite article
is assimilated when in contact with the "sun" conso-
nants, c. the dentsals to the prepalatals (except for
gh). For -l when it is final in a word, assimilation of the
initial following consonant is especially notable in the
case of the interrogative particle hal and of hal "nay,
on the contrary" (ibid., § 42 k); for the variations of the
Kurdn readers, see loc. cit. For the position in the
dialects, see Caniteneau, Cours, 53 4, to be completed
for Egypt by the material in N. Tomiche,
Le parler arabe du Caire, Paris 1963, 34.
In some cases, Caniteneau noted that some might add
h > m "well", qadha > qardana "has been for us", and
hâ > anna "for us" (Fleisch, Études, 398), and for Aleppo (A. Barthelemy, Diet.-
arc.-fr., 1953-54, and 1960), assimilation at a
distance, as in lakîbâ (750) and rakûb, rakîb and
also rakîbû and rikhîbû (373) "other" or another).
(c) Dissimilation. For this see Caniteneau,
Cours, 51, and for the dialects, ibid., 53. To the noun
there cited there one might add for Lebanon karâbû
> karbain and karbain "policemen stations" (Fleisch,
Études, 362 and 188 l. 3, and the examples of J.
Grand'Henry in his Le parler arabe de Cherchell,
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Damascus 1385/1966, has gathered together all the
uses of lâm as a particle l, la- and lâ. (H. Fleisch)
or with the will of Dawizâ, who was also a leader of the Banû Rabû. Mâte is then said to have taken control of the land between Shâykh Sa’d and 'Amârâ which had previously belonged to the Banû Rabû, and to have become the founder of the Banû Lâm (S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 8, and H. Field, *The anthropology of Iraq. The Lower Euphrates-Tigris region*, Chicago 1949, *Anthropological Series of the Field Museum of Natural History*, **XXX** no. 2, 329-30). A putative date for these events would be about the end of the 10th/11th century (von Oppenheim, iii. 460 states that the Banû Lâm were already living on the east bank of the Euphrates in 757).

The Banû Lâm were reluctant to accept Ottoman control, and the Pagha of Baghâdâd, 'Umar (who was in office 1688-91/1697-81) ordered the first of many Turkish campaigns which tried to compel their submission. All Pagha (in office 1707/1695-6) personally led a punitive raid against them, and Hasan Pasha (in office 1128-9/1714-23) also mounted a series of expeditions against them beginning in 1127/1714 (Longrigg, op. cit., 124, 125). The Banû Lâm sometimes cooperated with other tribal groups in rebelling against Ottoman rule; for example, in 1138/1726 they joined with various groups of Lurs to attack Baghâdâd.

The rise to power of Tâhmasp Kûlî Khân (later Nâdîr Shâh [q.v.]) provided further opportunities for insurgency on the part of the Banû Lâm. In 1145/1733 Tâhmasp Kûlî Khân laid siege to Baghâdâd, and the leader of the Banû Lâm, 'Abd âl-Ali, joined forces with the Persians. He apparently agreed to cooperate with the Arab will of Dawizâ in launching an attack on Baghâdâd, but the decision was not implemented (L. Lockhart, *Nâdîr Shâh*, London 1936, 63). After the defeat of the Persian army by Ottoman forces under Topal I'qâmân Pasha [q.v.] in Safar 1146/July 1733, the Banû Lâm helped many of the survivors to return to their native country; for this, a Turkish force led by Ahmad Pasha later inflicted punishment on the tribe.

The destruction and chaos brought about by the Persian invasion and retreat provided conditions in which tribal rebellion could flourish. The rise of the Banû Lâm was not slow to take advantage of them; "Les Moustefîlles et les Banû Lames avoient donnâ plus de peine que les autres aux Paschae" (M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748, quoted in Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, 25). The Banû Lâm sometimes co-operated with other tribal groups in rebelling against Ottoman rule; for example, in 1138/1726 they joined with various groups of Lurs to attack Baghâdâd.

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conduct the negotiations, but this exchange is effected in Sha'ban 283/September-October 896, in the reigns of al-Wathik and of Khakkan. (caliph named Abu Sulayman; the exchange lasted 7 days and allowed the liberation of 2,842 prisoners of both sexes and 1,155 Muslims of both sexes. The seventh took place in Shawwal 295/July 908, and 2,842 prisoners of both sexes were released; it bears the name fidd al-lamām ("the ransom of completion") because it supplemented the preceding. The ninth (fidd al-Mu'tasim) was negotiated in Rabii II 305/September-October 917 in the reigns of al-Muktafird and of Constantine II; it lasted 8 days, and 3,336 Muslims of both sexes were the beneficiaries of it. The tenth (fidd al-Mu'tikii) was affected under the same sovereigns, in Rajab 312/September-October 925; it lasted 7 days, and nearly 4,000 Muslims of both sexes were freed. The eleventh took place in Dhul 'Hijjah 326/September-October 928, in the reigns of al-Rāfi and the same emperor, was negotiated by Ibn Warka; it lasted 16 days and 6,300 Muslims of both sexes regained their freedom, but 800 prisoners remained in the hands of the Byzantines and were subsequently freed in small groups. The twelfth was effected in Rabii I/October 916, under al-Mu'ta'i and the same emperor, by Nār al-Thamālī, but in the name of Sayf al-Dawla (it also bears the name of fidd Ibn Hamādān); 2,482 Muslims of both sexes were released; it bears the name al-'Asīzī (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2; printed Bologna 1304/1886) al-Sidjīlmāsī on 4 Muharram 1165/23 November 1156/4 July 1745, who belonged to the Shidljīlīyya order [f.v.]; his fame he had helped spread by devoting a work given to the doyen of the professors. He was buried back to his female relatives, Ahmad b. al-Mubarak, he had numerous pupils, including Abu 'l-Abbās al-Hilīfī [see al-Hilīfī in Suppl.] and his cousin through his female relatives, Ahmad b. al-Mubarak (see below). He died in the odour of sanctity at Sidjīlmās on 4 Muharram 1165/23 November 1171.


2. Abu 'l-Ārā'Īs AHMAD b. AL-MUBARAK b. AL-MU'TAMĪS b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Dabbagh (1093-1193/1684-1719; see Lévi-Provençal, Chofra, 309), with whom he had been connected and whose name he had helped spread by devoting a work called al-Šuhaâ' al-dīn fi maḥdī al-Shuhaâ' Abī 'l-'Azīz (lli. Cairo 1329/1662-3; printed Bologna 1329/1667, Cairo 1391/1875) to his mandāhī. He was furthermore the author of several treatises, commentaries and glosses of a religious, grammatical, etc. nature (see ms. detailed in Lalhdar), of an 'udīsā containing some of his epistles and of a short work called Dīnaqı llamman bī-bīla-idhīm ḥīfīn: hal yāquf lahan al-chtānī muḥn fiṣfur an la? (ms. Rabat D 1348).


1. AL-MALĀTI, an ethnic designation stemming from Lams, a quarter of the Moroccan town of Sidjīlmāsī, born in particular by two mystics: 1. ABU 'l-HABĪB b. MUHAMMAD AL-GHURMĀNI b. 'Abd al-Sunduk (since he traced his genealogy back to 'Abd al-Rahām b. Abī Bakr) al-Signe, a renegade of the Shidljīlīyya order [f.v.]; his fame he had helped spread by devoting a work given to the doyen of the professors. He was buried back to his female relatives, Ahmad b. al-Mubarak, he had numerous pupils, including Abu 'l-Abbās al-Hilīfī [see al-Hilīfī in Suppl.] and his cousin through his female relatives, Ahmad b. al-Mubarak (see below). He died in the odour of sanctity at Sidjīlmās on 4 Muharram 1165/23 November 1171.

LAMBABIS, a name of unknown origin designating in general a group of tribal peoples, ancient nomads, who were active in western and southern India as salt carriers, cattle herders and porters of general merchandise. They are known by different names in different parts of southern India: Lambani, Brinjari, Boipar, Sugali and Sukali, as well as Lambadi.

The origins of the Lambadis are obscure, but appear to be similar to those of groups like the Koravar and Yerukula. All are ancient nomadic tribal groups, who maintained their freedom of movement by securing a place in the economic structure of pre-modern India as carriers, herdsmen and porters in an age when modern modes of transport and adequate roads were non-existent. Apart from their occupation as carriers, members of such groups were often in the fringes of villages as hunters and distillers of toddy.

Edgar Thurston (see Bibl.) indicates that the Lambadis were mainly Hindus, and clung to their tribal rituals and mixed Hindu-animistic religious practices. However, some Lambadis, in the Telugu coastlands and the Mysore highlands, claimed to be Muslims and aspired to the title of Shaykh. Their numbers were very small, but nevertheless they represented a very basic level of Hindu-Muslim interaction within the Indian subcontinent. At one end of the spectrum were the orthodox Urdu-speaking Muslims of northern India; at the other end odd groups caught in the transition from tribal identity to something more distinctly Muslim. Some groups of Lambadis fell into this category, as did the Ahir cowherds of the Andhra highlands and the Dudekula and Panjuvetti cotton cleaners of coastal Andhra and Tamil Nadu.

Such groups were generally despised by the main body of Muslims, and possessed few overt signs of being followers of Islam. The Muslim Lambadis spoke a dialect of Telugu strongly interlaced with Tamil and Kannarese words, followed no Muslim marriage rites and practiced circumcision. In dress, daily life-style, names and casual worship, however, they retained many tribal and Hindu rituals. Like the more numerous Dudekula, who were also of Telugu origin, the Lambadis were endogamous and rarely mixed with other Muslim groups, who regarded them with scorn.

The only settled groups of Muslim Lambadis found in southern India were located in the Anantapur district of the old Madras Presidency and in the region of Mysore. There are three recorded groups, all Telugu-speaking, with bards or priests known as Tamberian (or Thamburi), who appear to be the equivalent of the Hindu Lambadi priests or bhat. Most of these Lambadi Muslims claimed to have been forcibly converted by the Mysore Muslim prince Tipu Sultan (q.v.) in the late 18th century, who found the nomadic Lambadi ideal espionage agents, who wares against the British in Mysore. However, some in Anantapur also claimed descent from carriers who had accompanied Mogul generals in their invasions of southern India.

By the middle of the 20th century, the Muslim Lambadis appeared to have all but vanished. They were no doubt absorbed into the surrounding body of Muslims, and probably can still be traced amongst the non-Muslims, assimilated and assimilating Muslims in remote areas of Andhra Pradesh in India.

LAMCHANAT. a district of eastern Al-

Like the Lambadis had a distinct function in the economic life of India; but with the evolution of modern modes of transport their status and fortunes declined. The Hindu Lambadis (and Kararvars and Tumkurans) were looked down upon more than their Muslim counterparts, as the fair system made the transition to alternative occupations very difficult. Many in fact took to brigandage and petty crime, and were officially classified as problem groups and habitual criminals. The Muslim Lambadis were far fewer in number, and appear to have made the transition to sedentary occupations, though generally they were ones of low social and economic status.

The Dudekulas, a similar Muslim marginal group, were in a similar position, but were fortunate in that their traditional occupation—cotton cleaning—facilitated their absorption into the economy of modern India. By the early 20th century, they were merging into the mainstream of Islam in the subcontinent, with overtly Muslim practices and names replacing those of their pre-Islamic past.

In official publications and in Thurston's Castes and tribes of Southern India, the Dudekulas and Panjuvettis are far more prominent than the Muslim Lambadis, and references to them can be found in the following District Gazetteers: W. Francis, Anantapura, Madras 1905; idem, South Arcot, Madras 1906; F. R. Hemingway, Godavari, Madras 1907; C. F. Broughenbury, Cuddapah, Madras 1914; Guntur (statistical appendix), Madras 1915; A. F. Cox and H. A. Stuart, North Arcot, Madras 1905; W. Francis, Bellary, Madras 1914; F. R. Hemingway, Trichinopoly, Madras 1907; W. Francis, Vizagapatam, Madras 1907. See also references in Census of India, 1901, xv, 1911, xii, 1921, xil. Brief references occur in T. W. Arnold, The preaching of Islam, repr. Lahore 1901, I. H. Qureshi, The Muslim community in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, The Hague 1962, and Murray's handbook of the Madras Presidency, London 1879.
lower Kifiristán valleys, including the easterly one and two anecdotes in Nizami’s Arudi Samarkand (q.v. in Suppl.). Ethnically the region includes Pathans and Tadjiks, and also a considerable proportion of Dardic-speaking Pashás (see DARDIC AND KAFIR LANGUAGES) who are probably descended from the ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of pre-Islamic Kafíds and Nangráhars; the ancient Persian Pará language also lingers on in a few villages of the region (see AFGHANISTAN, ii. Ethnography, and iii. Languages).

The town of Langmán was already a flourishing one in the 10th/16th century. The Huddúd-áld-lám (379/989) describes it as being situated on the middle stretch of the Kabul River (which the anonymous author in fact calls “the river of Langmán” [sic], regarding this, plus “the river of Dundry”, Bâbur’s Adinápur, as constituting the modern Kabul River), and as a residence of merchants and an emporium for the products of India (tr. Minorkey, 75, 92 = § 6, 10, comm. 209, 252). Until the advent of the Turkish adventurer Sebíktigín and the Ghaznawids (q.v.) towards the end of that century, Langmán was still part of the Indian cultural and religious world, and the Huddúd-áld-lám specifically mentions the presence of idol temples there. It lay on the western marches of the extensive kingdom of the Hindusháhs ([9.1*]), which we find the name given as Lamgíhanát, and the area described as containing administratively five districts or “the river of Dunpur”, Babur’s Adínápur, as fact calls “the river of Lamkan” [sic], regarding this, plus “the river of Lampan” (372/982). The ancient Hindu and Buddhist population of pre-Islamic Kafíds and Nangráhars, thus designated in the Islamic sources, had settled in Baghdad during the 6th/12th century, so that the vizier Ahmad b. Hasan Mavnmandl had to remit some of his taxes (ed. Kullnín, 18-19, revised tr. London 1922, 206 ff., 222, 424, 494, 510-11; cf. also G. Scarpa, Ilfí-hámí-yi Dírúrá Muhammad Hâmidí, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafírì di Langmán nell’anno 1352, Rome 1965, introd. pp. CXXVIII-CXL). Langmán was doubtless the base for many expeditions of ghíshád against the Kafíds, and as such is frequently mentioned in the Kábúli Persian account of the crusade led by the Mugháil Emperor Akbar’s younger brother Muhammad Hâmidí, governor of Kábúl, in 990/1582, cf. Scarpa, op. cit., index to text, s.v.

The district of Langmán is today an important food-producing area, supplying Kábúl, Djalábalbád and other centres with rice, cereals, fruit, etc., and it further produces textiles (J. Humlum et alii, La géographie de l’Afghanistan, étude d’un pays aride, Copenhagen 1959, 172-3, 327-8). Since the administrative reorganisation of 1964, a province specifically called Langmán has come into being, and this comprises essentially the central part of Núristán, with its centre at Meh Tarlam.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

LáMDH, Abu l-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Isá, Persian court poet, born about 492/1051, died some time after 460/1067, who left a diwán of hadiyáts, some 1,100 bayts of which have survived.

Although LáMDH was a contemporary of, and panegyrist to, such major historical figures as Tughríl Beg, Alp Arslán and Náízám al-Mulk, very little reliable information about his life and work has come to light. From his Diwán we learn only that he was a native of Gurgán and that he went to Baghdad in the train of Tughríl Beg in 447/1055. The tabbíhar of Dáwát-Síyáh, Ardârîbíddín and Rídú Kull Hídáyat states that he was a student of Muhammad al-Gházálí and a disciple of the poet Súzání, but Nádfíí has shown that these statements are fabrications (cf. LáMDH-náma-yi Dídâghúl, s.v.).

Stylistically, LáMDH was an enthusiastic but unexceptional imitator of the great Ghaznávid court poets, Unáíri, Fárúrí and Maúdúlí, particularly the latter, and his poetic career was preoccupied with political innovations that may be seen in the works of his contemporaries Arajíl and Abu l-Farají Rání [q.v. in Suppl.].

Bibliography: LáMDH’s Diwán has been published twice, by Sa’dí Nádifíí in 1395/1941 and by Muhammad Dábír-Síyáqí in 1353/1974, both times in Tehran. The only studies of his life and work are to be found in the introductions to these editions, the substance of which is repeated in the article on LáMDH in the Lughát-náma-yi Dídâghúl already cited. There is a brief chapter on LáMDH’s use of metaphor and simile in Muhammad Rídú-Sháffí-Kadkání’s Suwarí khayli dar gharí Faríy, Tehran 1356/1971. (J. W. Clinton)

LáMDH, Sháykh Múmín b. ‘Oqtaqí b. ‘Alí al-Náríaqí b. Ílyás, a celebrated Ottoman Síjí writer and poet of the first half of the 18th/18th century. He was born in 877/1472-3 at Bursa, where he spent all his life. His grandfather, Nágáqí SÀl̬ Páshá, teacher of Feríq (q.v.) and one of the great painters-carvers (nakbáld) of his time, had in his youth been taken by Timúr to Samarkand, where he perfeceted his art; after his return, he contributed masterly decorations to the Yeğhíl Díjání and the Yeğhíl Turbé in Bursa.

As the son of ‘Oqtaqí Céheli, the defterdar of Sultan Bayázid II’s treasury, LáMDH learnt Arabic and Persian, and received an excellent módarás
650

LAMI*I

education from the melius Akhawaynand Muhammad
b. H&djdjl Hasan-zAde. He aspired to the career of
a jurist and theologian, but his father's death created
difficulties (preface to Far hid-tulma, see A. S. Levend,
Lamit'nin Frrhad u $irin’i, in TDAY BcllcUn 1964,
Ankara 1965, 87). He seems to have written worldly
poetry and prose, until he became aware of his
preference for the mystic path, larika. and took as his
spiritual guide the Naksjjbandl §hay&b Amir
Ahmad al-Bu]sJiflrf, who exerted a decisive influence
on his life.
L5micfs success as a writer began when two of his
works attracted the attention of Sultan Selim I, who
awarded him a pension of 35 a£&s a day, and be¬
stowed on him the revenues from a village. Sultan
StlleymSn, whose accession he celebrated in a chrono¬
gram, kept up this patronage; to his Grand Vizier
Ibrahim Pasha [9.0.], who showed him the greatest
favour, LAmi*! dedicated several of his mathnaxois as
a mark of gratitude. Already in 9x8/1512 Lami*! was
able to found a wakf of 4.000
Occasional complaints over lack of money did not
go unanswered: IbrAhlm Pasha awarded him a sti¬
pend of 20 akces daily which Lami*l needed for the
education of his children. He had married early and
had three sons and one daughter; among his descen¬
dants, his son Perwlsfa Mebmed Cetebi, known as
Lem*!, a ffudtrris and author of a work on prosody,
and a grandson known as LAmFl-riide, are mentioned.
In his private life, L4mi*I was described as outspoken,
persistent in his opinions, witty and fond of literary
jests. He died in 938/153**2.
vas buried in the
graveyard of the (no longer extant) mosque built by
his grandfather on the Citadel of Bursa.
The fact that LfimicI, who never went to court,
owed his livelihood to Ottoman sultans and one
Grand Vizier, allows us to surmise that he conformed
to the expectations of his patrons. Their declared
aim was to blend the refinement of Persian poetry
with the vigour of the Turkish style cultivated in
Anatolia, while welcoming the best of Eastern
Turkish poetry.
Significantly, L&mPI took as his models two great
near-contemporary poets of TlmOrid Herat, the
Persian £]amT fa.y.] and his Turkish friend, the
minister Mir *AI1 Shir NawA*I [$.&.), both Nak&bandls like himself.
In a literary age which restricted any poet. Turkish
or Persian, to conventional forms {allegory being the
prevailing fashion). LAmi1! was encouraged by his
Ottoman patrons to turn his efforts at originality in
the direction of the themes. Passing by such wellworn stories as Laylfi and MftgUnfln [q.v.] or Yusuf and
Zulayfehi, LSmiT concentrated his talent in intro¬
ducing into Turkish literature fresh themes such as
Shamc u parwana, Salantdn u A bsdl and Haft payhar,
Incidentally preserving two themes that had virtually
sunk into oblivion in Persian literature: IPfs u
Ramin, for which one of the rare GurgSnl
manuscripts could only be found after a long search,
and W6m\k u MdAnP, of which the Persian original
by *Un$ur!
Is now lost.
Lftmi*I developed the muttdf/ira genre and experi¬
mented, as had become customary for poets, with
Caghatay Turkish. It was LflmW’s diversity and
originality, and not only his renderings of works by
DjAmT, which earned him the honorific epithet “the
Djilml of Rum".
L&mi'Ts “reasons for writing", sabab i laylif, and
additions to his translations, are worth a special
study (cf. Babinger, 264'); this would reveal the
independent and lively inte’Ject of this writer, whose

originality was achieved not by breaking out along
new lines but by fusing new themes with the tra¬
ditional conventions. About thirty of his works are
known. He wrote eight matknawis and a great deal
of other poetry, but is better known for his prose
works. Viewed chronologically, his major works are
as follows: (1) The LatdHJ-ndma, a collection of
facetious and partly scandalous stories in prose,
probably written from the time of his youth and
continued over the years; the unfinished book,
which contains valuable information such as that
on the old poet Shavvad Hamza (see S. Bulup in lA,
s.v.), was completed in 988/1580-x by his son Lem1!
(P. N. Boratav in Ph T Futtdamenla, ii, 55); — (2)
Shark-i dibadja-yi Gulistan (according to the Farhadn&tna, Lami*! commented on the whole Gulistan,
A. S. Levend, op. cit.), a commentary on the preface
to Sa'di’s fa.v.] “Rose garden", completed in 910/
'504; — (3) ljuzn u dil, (“Beauty and the heart"),
a translation in prose of Fattabl’s [?.v.] allegorical
work, dedicated to Sultan ScHm I, studied by
R. Dvorak, Husn u dil, persische Allegoric von
Falldhi tin5 NtSApfir, Vienna 1889; — (4) Shawikid
al-nubumva (“Distinctive signs of prophecy"), an
expanded and commented prose translation of the
treatise of Djaml. completed in 915/1509*10, printed
1293/1876 Istanbul, ed. 1958 Muzaffer Ozak;— (5)
Guy u favghan, ("Ball and bat”), LAmiS’s first
mathnaui, for which, inspired by a religious dream,
he made use of cArifi’s (d. 853/1449) allegorical
poem, studied by N. Tezcan, LdmiH'nin Guy u
Ceirgan mtstevisi, in Otntr A am Aksoy arma§am,
Ankara 1978, cox-25; —(6) Farhad tt&tna or Farhad
u Shir In: interestingly enough, LSmi*! used for his
second mathnaui, written in honour of Selim I, the
Eastern Turkish version by Mir 'All Shir Nawa*!,
who had introduced radical changes in the old theme,
especially by replacing Khusraw as hero by Farhad
[see farhad wa-shIrIh]. Larni'i, who undertook the
work on the request of FenSrI fq.v.] ]>iamA) aJ-Dln
Mebmed Shah, who had just acquired a fChamsa by
NawaT, claimed only to have altered the style
(w,'/t&). but he made also alterations in the story
(A. S. Levend, op. cit., 88, nof.), tr. von Hammer,
Stuttgart 1812;—(7) Absdl u Salamdn, his third
mathnawi, dedicated to Selim I, is the first Turkish
treatment of Djaml's allegorical work with consider¬
able additions;—(8) Futuk al-mudfdhidin li-Uirwlk
kulub al-mushahidin (“Conquests of the champions of
Islam giving rest to the hearts of the spectators”!,
better known as Tardiama-yi N of ah At a!-uni ("Trans¬
lation of the Breath of divine intimacy"), a transla¬
tion of DjamVs Sufi biographies with important
additions on more than thirty Anatolian $Qfis, in
prose, begun in 9x7/15x2 and finished in Ra&ab
927/April 152X, on the eve of SiileymSn's Belgrade
campaign; tho book was printed in Istanbul 1270/
1853-4 and 1289/1872; — (9) Shamc u pancina (“The
taper and the moth"), his fourth mathnawi, written
in honour ol Suleyman after the conquest of Rhodes
929/1522. but sent to him later; it seems that L&mi(I
used for this allegorical poem not the accepted
Persian version of Ah!I-yi ShlrAzI, composed in 894/
1488-9, but that of a certain Nfyftzl (*Abd Allah
Shabustari; G. K. Alpay, LdmiH Chelebi and his
Tforbr, [see BiW.], 88 ff), a second-rate author whom
he need not mention in his preface; — (10) Wdmih u
*AdhrP, his fifth mathnarri, translated at the request
of Sultan Siileyman from the no-longer-extant
Persian version of c\JnsurI; parts were very freely
tr. by J. von Hammer, Wamih und Asra, das ist dtr
Glilktnde und die BlUhende, Vienna 1833; — (11)


Mehdi-i Imam Husayn ("Martyrdom of the Imam Husayn"), his sixth mali'mu, for which no specific source is named; Lamiʿ reacted here against the warnings of some whom he also considered to be cannibals, living to the south of the Sudanese zone; other versions are Dahdam, Damdam, Iamiam, Limiyya, Namnam and Temiam.

Al-Masʿudi (before 356/957) places the Dahdam upstream from Gao and says of them "They fight amongst themselves. They eat people. They have a paramount king who has other kings under his authority. In his land there is an important fortress in which there is an image in the shape of a woman which they venerate and to whom they make pilgrimages" (tr. in Cooley, Recueil, 61). This passage is repeated by al-Bakrī (469/1078), who speaks of the Damdam, and by al-Dīrīṣī (548/1154), who speaks of the Lamia who are raided by the slave merchants of Takrīr and Ghana. Ibn Saʿīd (before 685/1286) speaks of, as well as the Lamia of the west, the Damdam to the south of Ethiopia and Nubia, and his information is repeated by Abuʾl-Fida (722/1322). Al-Dīnājī (before 722/1322) mentions the lakes of the Tamīn and the Damdam, a name also borne by a river emptying into the Indian Ocean, and equally speaks of the Lamia to the south of Ghana. According to al-Ūmarī (before 749/1349), the Damdam are a people employing horses and hostile to Mānasīs (Nīzām) 

Bibliography: W. D. Cooley, The Negroland of the Arabs... London 1841, 1847, 1866, 111-116; J. Coqu, Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIII° au XIV° siècle, Paris 1975; R. Mauny, LAMT, a word of obscure origin which denotes the oryx of the Sahara [see MAḤR]. Now the word is obsolete and occurs only in a proverbial expression inspired by the speed with which it runs: "the runs Mānasīs a Nīzām?" [K. M. Hadiṣ, Ιάθες, 352]. According to al-Makrīzī (864/1459) repeat the information of Ibn Saʿīd about the Damdam invading Ethiopia and Nubia. Leo Africanus takes over from al-Makrīzī the name of Tamīn in order to make up a kingdom of Temiān, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1578 (lamia).

The 19th century explorers speak of them mainly in the form Verniem or Niamnam (see Cooley, loc. cit., below).

Bibliography: On Lamiʿ's life, Sehi, Husayn, Ibn Saʿīd, Thabit, another Thabit, Ismaʿili, the Ottoman, the material, the language, the connection with the tribe of the Larata to the north of the Lamia. For daries see al-Idrīsī (548/1154), who speaks of the Tamim and the Damdam, a name also borne by the Tamim in order to make up a kingdom of Temiān, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1578 (lamia). For the connection with the tribe of the Larata to the north of the Lamia. For daries see al-Idrīsī (548/1154), who speaks of the Tamim and the Damdam, a name also borne by the Tamim in order to make up a kingdom of Temiān, and it is under this form that knowledge of it came to European writers of the 16th century, such as Marmol 1573, Belleforest 1575 and Anania 1578 (lamia).
records that lamfiyya shields were offered to the kings of the Maghrib and al-Andalus. It is in this last country that E. Lévi-Provençal ([Hist. Esp. mus., iii, 93]) says that "the most desirable shields were those made of tanned leather". The name of the animal was certainly well-known, especially in Portuguese; it was called lant, lan, etc. Another point is made by al-Bakri (Description de l'Afrique septentrionale, ed.-tr. de S.lana, 1965, 177-213), who says that the best (and most expensive) shields were made from the hides of old females. The place where they were made is said by al-Idris (Opus geographicum, Naples-Rome iii, 224, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 37) to have been at Nūl (see Vglüf, i.e., a place of the same name in the present Sahara), he says that "the Maghrībīs use them in battle because they are light yet solid". More information is provided by the Egyptian Ibn Zumbul al-Mabālī (20th/16th century), who also describes the lant (Tufaf al-malāt, tr. E. Fagnan, Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb, Algiers 1944, 179-80) and says that these shields "are special, because holes made by arrows or spears close up again by themselves and so they never lose their value as defensive weapons". Leo Africanus (Inscriptiones Afrae, ed.-tr. R. Bissnel, Les Touaregs de l'Est, Paris 1951, 73-82; see also 452-5) has a paragraph devoted to the lant, and says that in the summer it is easier to catch the animal because the heat of the sand affects its hooves. As far as the targas (lamfiyya) are concerned, he provides more up-to-date information additional to the earlier accounts and says: "Nothing except bullets from fire-arms can pierce them, but they are very costly."

These defensive arms are probably no longer made except for tourists, but until recently the Touareg (at least, the Touareg nobility who had the sole right to carry them) still used them and they were "escutcheon-like in shape and significance; the decorative motifs have magical qualities associated with them." (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs de Hoggar, Paris 1944, 323-6, with illustrations; see also H. Bissnel, Les Touaregs de l'Ouest, Algiers 1889, 93.) When P. de Foucauld was writing, the targas of Ahaggar had the same name as the animal, the hide of which was used to make them, tarn, pl. shemnān (Dict. ii, 602-5).


**LAMTA**

A large Berber tribe of the Sahara. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Sanhadja, Hashkara and Gazāla; others give them a Himyarite origin, like the Hawwarā and the Lawāṭa (g.w.).

The Lamta were one of the nomadic tribes who wore a veil (mulaththāmān). One section lived on the south of the Misr, between the Hashdā and the Misrī; others gave them a Himyarite origin, like the Hawwarā and the Lawāṭa (g.w.).

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In the territory of the Lamta of al-Sūs at the mouth of the Wadd Nīl (now Wad Nūn) they lay the commercial town of Nūl or Nīl of the Lamta, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Uggaw b. Zallī of Sigīlimāsa, a pupil of Abū 'Umāmah al-Fasī (d. in Sūnūb), was a member of the tribe of Lamta; one of his pupils was 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsān al-Gazālī, founder of the Almoravid empire (see al-Murābiyyūn).

The country of the Lamta was noted for the shields made of Nūl with the skin of the lamb antelope (g.w.).


(G. S. Coste *)

**LANTUNA (in Leo Africanus: Lamtona or Lamtna, a great Berber tribe belonging to the branch of the Sanhājā who led a nomadic life, and like other tribes of this branch forming part of the Mulaththāmān or "wearers of the veil" (see LAMTA).**

The Lamtna nomadised over the western Sahara, where between the 2nd/8th and 5th/11th centuries they played a considerable political role. According to al-Bakri (459/1067), the region covered by them stretched from the lands of Islam (i.e. the Maghrib) to those of the blacks. This is what this geographer says of the Lamtna's way of life: "They are strangers to any manual work, to agriculture and even to bread. Their riches consist wholly of their herds. They live entirely off meat and milk". According to Ibn Khālidūn (d. 880/1476), the Lamtna already formed a considerable kingdom at the time of the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dakhīlī, founder of the amirate of Cordova (1258-77/1853-62). This author plus Ibn Abī Zūr (d. between 720-720/1320-20) give the names of several kings of the Lamtna from that time onwards.

The first of these was a certain Tallākākīn; the period of his power is unknown, but it is very probable that he lived towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century. His successor was Talītān or Taayywa-\ldash takān b. Tikīn b. Tallākākīn, who died aged 80 in 222/935-7. He was a great ruler, and if Ibn Abī Zūr is to be believed, he reigned over all the desert (i.e. all the western Sahara), and the territory under his control stretched for three months' journey in both length and breadth, as far as the borders of the land of the blacks, of whom more than twenty of their kings were subject to him. Talītān's successor was his nephew al-Āthr b. Bātīn (also called Yalātīn) who died aged 65 in 327/935-6, or according to another source, in 287/999. The fourth king of the Lamtna was Tāflūn (or Ramīn) b. al-Āthr who reigned over the tribe until 300912-13; he was killed by the Sanhājā nobles in a rebellion. His death heralded a time of troubles which lasted 120 years, i.e. until ca. 400/1000.

It seems that the state (or rather, the confederation of Berber tribes) created by the Lamtna and which endured down to 3069/18-19, was actually the state or rather confederation called Ablīya by the mediæval Arabic writers. This existed already in the time of the astronomer al-Fāzārī (b. 172/288), who locates it as between the kingdom of Sigīlimāsa (in the western
Magribi) and that of Ghana in the western Sudan. We also owe a few details about the Anbiya to Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadhanî (ca. 390/993), whose information on Africa goes back to the middle of the 3rd/9th century. He relates that "the land of Anbiya is part of the Sûn al-Ashâ (in the extreme south of present-day Morocco) and extends over seventy nights' march across the plains and deserts". One may further add that the historian and geographer al-Ya'qubi (d. 378/988) says as follows about the people of Anbiya: "It is by setting off from off from Sûn into the south that one arrives in the land of the blacks ... It is reached via empty regions and deserts stretching for about fifty days' march. En route one meets a people called Anbiya, a part of the Sanhâja (who live) in the desert; they have no fixed abodes. They veil their faces, according to one of their customs. They do not wear a tunic, but cover themselves with pieces of cloth. Their food comes from dates, and they have no cereals or corn".

On al-Ya'qubi's evidence, the Anbiya confederation was not, in the 3rd/9th century, the only great Berber power in the western Sahara. Indeed, he mentions al-Ya'qubi himself the existence of this desert and on the fringes of the Massufa (see Al-Murabitûn).

It seems that the king of Awdaghast contributed to the fall of the confederation of the Lamtûna (or of Anbiya), and it may be in reference to him that Ibn Abî Zarî speaks when he mentions the revolt of the Sanhâja notables against the fourth king of the Lamtûna in 306/918-19. Hence the king Thaïzarâ b. Wângshîk b. Ûsar and Baraïn b. Wângshîk b. Ûsar, who ruled, according to Ibn Khaldûn, over the Lamtûna and all the Sahara in the 4th/10th century, in the times of 'Abd al-Rahmân III al-Nâšir (300-50/912-61) and his son al-Hakam II (350-60/961-76), belonged to the dynasty of Awdaghast and not to that of the Lamtûna. This name Baraïn b. Wângshîk b. Ûsar appears merely to be a deformation of that of Ibn Yûsuf b. Wâsiîn b. Nâšir attributed to the king of Awdaghast (who reigned between 340/951 and 350/961) by the geographer al-Bakrî. It is the same person who is mentioned by Ibn Hawkâl (d. ca. 378/988) under the name of Tanbûtân b. Isâfîghâr and who, as his contemporary, says of him: "Tanbûtân b. Isâfîghâr ... was at that time king of all the Sanhâja ... He governed these last forty years ... Power belonged to this man's family in that tribe from time immemorial".

It appears that towards the end of the 4th/10th century, or at the beginning of the next one, the kingdom of Awdaghast was destroyed by the king of Ghana, who incorporated its capital (now the ruins of Tegdaoust) in his own kingdom, whilst leaving the tribe of Lamtûna their freedom. It was at this time, at the end of a period of 120 years during which "power was divided up amongst the Lamtûna", as Ibn Abî Zarî says, that there appeared amongst the Lamtûna a new king called 'Abd Allâh (or Abû 'Ubâydh Allâh) b. Thîfîwî, who brought about a union of all the Lamtûna. According to Ibn Abî Zarî, he was a man of religion and piety who made the pilgrimage. He was killed, at the end of three years' reign, during a raid; al-Bakrî calls him Muhammad Taïrèha and says that he carried on the holy war, in the course of which he was killed at a place called Kankaara (Gangara, the Mandingo) in the land of the blacks. Târesna (or Nareshâ) al-Lairîîûn seems to have reigned between 426 and 450/1034-5, at the head of a confederation of Sanhâjâ tribes whose members included, as well as the Lamtûna, the Djûdâla and perhaps the Massufa too.

At the outset, the Lamtûna were pagans, and according to Ibn Khaldûn, only became Muslim during the 3rd/9th century. But most of the tribe's members were only nominally Muslim, apart from the amirs and probably a section of the notables. Because of this fact, Yahîyâ b. İbrâhîm al-Djûdîlî, the successor of Nâresht (Târesna) as head of the Lamtûna confederation, decided in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca, to bring from the Magribi into the Sahara a pious and learned Muslim gasyâh called 'Abd Allâh b. Yâsûn, who was to work at the conversion of the Djûdâla and Lamtûna to a genuine form of Islam. 'Abd Allâh b. Yâsûn soon discovered that most of the people he was working amongst lived in ignorance; hence he quickly surrounded himself with true believers and declared holy war against the infidels of the two tribes, which he managed to convert to Islam after several raids. In this way came about the origin of the kingdom of the Murabitûn or Almoravids (see Al-Murabitûn).

After the death of Yahîyâ b. İbrâhîm al-Djûdîlî (ca. 434/1042-3), 'Abd Allâh b. Yâsûn, by now the spiritual head of the new community, appointed as his successor the amir Yahîyâ b. 'Umar b. Tâlîkânî, who reigned until 449/1056-7. Then the latter's brother, Abû Bakr b. 'Umar, also appointed by 'Abd Allâh b. Yâsûn, reigned over the western Sahara. Abû Bakr b. 'Umar was content to rule over the desert and to leave Morocco, whose conquest he undertook, to his nephew Abû Tâshîfîn. However, he kept the title of amir of the Almoravids till his death. Apparently, after Abû Bakr's death (he was killed in 480/1087 during one of his raids against the blacks in the western Sudan) the Lamtûna still retained, for some time, their supremacy over the people of the western Sahara. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century al-Zuhîîî speaks of a Yahîyâ b. Abû Bakr, amir of the Massufa (*Lamtûna) who lived towards the year 498/1102-3 and who seems to have been the son of the amir Abû Bakr b. 'Umar al-Lamtûnî. During this time there took place the conquest of Ghana by the Lamtûna and the conversion of that city to Islam. Later, the power of the Lamtûna grew less, but nevertheless, we know, thanks to the anonymous author of the.Conquest of Ghana (ca. 588/1192), that the Lamtûna always possessed, at this period, an independent king as well as their own gasyâh. Subsequently, like the Massufa and other Berber tribes of the southwestern Sahara, the Lamtûna were compelled to recognize the supremacy of the Sudanese kings of Mâhîf. If al-Umarî (243-50/342-9) is to be believed, the Lamtûna came under their control in the first half of the 8th/14th century; however, they still had their own gasyâh. The later Arabic sources are silent about this people, whose importance became at that time almost nil.

A word should finally be said about the boundaries of the Lamtûna territories in the period from the 3rd/8th to the 8th/14th centuries. Originally, they extended, according to al-Bakrî, to the south of the mountain of Ayzal (Kedvet Eî Jell or Fort Gouraud on our maps), occupying all the eastern part of what is now Mauritania, as far as the fringes of the Sudan. They were separated from the Atlantic by the lands nomadized over by the Djûdâla, who occupied western Mauritania and the south-western part of
that country (al-Bakr, Ibn Sa'd) to the north of the lower Senegal and as far as the fringes of the Bi' al-al-Lamtna [modern Cap Blanc]. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtona occupied the Mauritanian Adrar previously inhabited by a non-Muslim Berber tribe. They built there a fortress called Azukki or Azukki (Azougui near Atar on modern maps), which then became their capital and a very important stage along the commercial route connecting Sigilimassa with Ghana. From the Mauritanian Adrar, the lands traversed by the Lamtona stretched as far as the Sudan, more exactly to Tagant. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Lamtona occupied the district of Nāl al-'Aṣbā in the south-west of modern Morocco and that of Tāzargāg (Sagheet al Hamra) as far as the Sudan, more exactly to Tagant, connecting Sijsilmassa with Ghana. From the Kamūd, a very important stage along the commercial route called Azukki or Azukšl (Azougui near Atar on the Muslim Berber tribe. They built there a fortress that the powerful movement which culminated in the establishment of the Berber Almoravid dynasty was launched.

In 448/1056 Yahyā b. 'Umar was killed fighting the buldons in the western Sudan, and the imām 'Abd Allah immediately replaced him, as head of the army. With his brother Abū Bakr, who was celebrated for his courage, religious enthusiasm and experience. The new amr had his position legitimised by the people of Sigilimassa and struck coins of his own, and was then charged with the task of conquering, by word and by sword, the region of the Moroccan Atlas. In 449/1057-8 his successful campaign ended in the capture of the town of Aghmāt [q.v.], the Maqsūdā capital. With the support behind him of this urban centre, at the time one enjoying considerable prestige, the imām 'Abd Allah directed his troops against the Bargawwāta [q.v.], the Berber Almoravid Atlantic coast region; but having incautiously rushed into the battle, he was killed in 451/1059. Abū Bakr now became the sole head of the Almoravids; he buried 'Abd Allah b. Yāsīn on the spot, went on to crush the Bargawwāta and returned, laden with booty, to Aghmāt. There he established his centre of power and married the rich widow of the former governor of the town, the Tunisian lady Zaynab bint Ṭālūsh al-Nahshūyti, whose beauty was only equalled by her political astuteness.

Being probably now largely occupied with the administering of his native land and of his conquests, Abū Bakr at this point gave command of the army to his nephew and cousin, Yūsuf b. Tājīhīn [fl.v.J, who was celebrated for his courage, religious enthusiasm and experience. The new amr, prudently installed himself at Aghmāt. He had his position legitimised by the presence of the unpolished conquerors, and these latter, as Saharan nomads, felt little at ease within the walls which they had conquered but which were suffocating them. In the end, Abū Bakr was persuaded to found a new town, one better situated in all regards than the double city of Aghmāt. Following the advice of the rich widow, the new ruler decided to establish the new centre on the actual site of Marrakesh. The process of transfer took place, according to the Moroccan historian Ibn al-'Udhārī in his Bayān, on 23 Rajab 468/1070 and not in 1062 as indicated by Ibn Abī Zarqā [q.v.], the Moroccan historian. As Kašr al-bādār “stone fortress”, where the ruler’s harem, treasury and armoury were deposited in safety over the following three months.

Soon afterwards, on a date which the Bayān fixes within Rabi I 462/January 1071, Abū Bakr received some alarming news from the desert. In order to fly to the aid of his tribe, he left to Yūsuf b. Tāshīfīn the administration of the Almoravid conquests, the town in course of construction, a large part of the army and even his wife, who had herself urged him to divorce her so that she might, at the end of the waiting period required by Muslim law, legally marry Yūsuf and give him the benefit of her great experience of the Moroccan situation. The great role played by women in Almoravid society is of course well-known.

After having restored order within the desert, Abū Bakr did not return to Morocco till 464/1072-3. Well aware of what was happening at Marrakesh, he prudently installed himself at Aghmāt. He had
quickly learnt and realised that Yusuf, strongly backed by Zaynab, would not give back to him the command entrusted to him earlier nor the town of Marrakesh, now expanding rapidly. After a pathetic interview between the two men, seated together on a burnoose in the open countryside, Abu Bakr had the sense to accept the very impressive presents offered to him, and with his face thus saved, returned to the land of his people in order to resume the holy wars. But Yusuf left him no choice (see Yusuf ibn Abd Allah Djamai al-Layl, the word Hespiria-Tamuda, ii (1960); idem, Un fragmento inédito de Ibn 'Abbâs sobre los Almoravidas, in ibid., ii (1961). (G. DEVERDUN))

Lamu, a town, island and archipelago, in lat. 2° S. off the Kenya coast, together with Pate and Manda islands [see Kumr and Pate] and some smaller islands, probably to be identified with the Pyralase Islands mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea of ca. A.D. 106 as an established resort of Arab and Egyptian sea traders. Nevertheless, the first archaeological evidence found on Lamu does not antedate the 8th or 9th century A.D., nor on Lamu before the 13th century. The first reliable literary evidence is that of Ibn Taghrîbirdî (later 9th/14th century), but the Swahili traditional history Khabar Lamu, and likewise the Swahili traditional histories of Pate, assert that it was founded in 770/95 by Syrians sent thither by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân, and reinforced by a further contingent sent by Hârîm al-Kašîjî in 770/956. Although not in themselves improbable, there is no contemporary literary or archaeological evidence to sustain these 10th century traditions. Syrian traders are not known to have penetrated farther south than the Ethiopian ports, and such late traditions are to be regarded with the greatest caution, if not scepticism. At the end of the 9th/15th century the island and the adjoining landfall are mentioned briefly by the celebrated pilot, Ahmad b. Maâjî.

Ibn Taghrîbirdî, quoting al-Makrî, makes only the curtest mention. The king is entitled to a burnoose in the open countryside, the land is occupied by a kind of honey made, and various preserves. The town is almost buried under trees, from which a kind of honey is made, and where stone alone is used for this purpose, was not built until 1151-12. The 12th century saw the construction of four mosques, in 1753, 1755, 1760 and 1797. In this interval, from c. 1556 to 1658, the town was under nominal Portuguese control, and the first tribute of 600 mithqâl of gold was paid to Venetian merceniers. In 1585 the town acknowledged Turkish suzerainty in the person of the Amir 'Ali Bey, for which the Portuguese deposed the sultan in 1587, hanging him in Goa on Christmas Day, 1589. Lamu supported the Mombasa rising of 1632, but the town was punished in 1634. Following another rising in 1678, the sultan of Lamu and four other neighbouring sultans lost their heads.

Lamu came under the nominal control of 'Umân after the 'Umân capture of Mombasa in 1698, but this was not effectively exercised until 1824-13, in which year an inscription dates the building of the fort as a residence for the Bu Safîd governor, always a member of the royal family until about 1901 (see Al. n.d.). Under them the town grew considerably because of its expansionist tribal poets and literary Sa'îd of 'Umân and Zanzibar and his successors. Lamu was an important centre for trade in ivory, mangrove wood (used universally at this epoch throughout southern Arabia for roofing) and, for a period, slaves. New mosques were dedicated in 1823, 1824 (two), 1815, 1819, 1865, 1876, 1877 and 1880-1. To the same period we may ascribe the pleasant two- and occasionally three-storied houses with their verandahs (Sw. sandahà), which form the greatest part of the old town, but with a distinctive architecture which may be called "Zanzibari". Particularly attractive are their doors of carved teak. These and the so-called Lamu chests (Sw. sandahà), camphorwood clothes chests, used because that wood is resistant to the omnipresent white ant, were important local manufactures. Elaborate beds and chairs, of ebony inlaid with ivory, give some indication of the luxury of the merchant notables. This is echoed in poetry, and especially during the 19th century Lamu was celebrated for its expansionist tribal poets and literary men (see SWAHILILiterature). These included poetsesses, of whom Mwana Kupena was the most famous. The poetry is written in the local dialect of Swahili, ki-AMU. During the 1960s J. W. T. Allen identified no less than 20,000 pages of Swahili poetry in private hands in Lamu town, all in manuscript. Of these 10,000 pages have been photographed and the record deposited in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. It is estimated that as many pages were found of Arabic manuscripts, but at the present these have neither been photographed nor catalogued: they remain a challenge to the present generation of scholars.

With the growth of Mombasa as a deep-water port, the diminution in importance of the mangrove and ivory trades, and the disappearance of the slave trade, Lamu receded in importance, although recently it has achieved a certain popularity as a tourist centre. But more than anything it has been saved by emerging as the most important Islamic religious centre in eastern Africa. The Bîbî al-Riyyâdî, or Madrasat al-Riyyâd, also commonly called the Mosque College of Lamu, was founded in 1310/1901-2 by Habîb Sâîhî b. Habîb "Atâwî b. Habîb "Atâwî Djamâl al-Layî, the word Habîb being used as an alternative to Sayyid. Of a well-known Hadrami family of sayyids, an ancestor had settled at Sin town on the neighbouring Pate island: from there another ancestor migrated to the Comoro Islands (see KEM AND PARE). There Habîb Sâîhî was
born and brought up as a Swahili speaker; although his was a learned family, Arabic was not spoken in the home. There are few family connections he became involved in the religious sciences and in traditional Arab medicine, although he never left eastern Africa. Migrating from the Comoros to Lamu, he began to teach, and soon acquired a band of followers. Following quarrels with the more conservative Muslims, in the town, and especially because of the use of the tambourine to accompany the reading of the Barzaqi mauslidi to celebrate the birth of the Prophet, Habib Sahib first built a hut for use as a madrasa, and subsequently the present mosque. This became a centre for the dissemination of the 'Alawiyya, which soon attracted students from throughout Kenya and Tanzania, even as far as Mozambique. Apart from the Ribat al-Riyada, attracting visitors from throughout Africa, all Sunni mosques hold numerous small Qur'anic schools. In eastern Africa, Tanzania, and its pupils could be found teaching in the eastern littoral of Kenya and the present influence of the mosque had made itself felt throughout the eastern littoral of Kenya and the present Muslim population of Lamu is that of the Ribat al-Riyada, attracting visitors from throughout Africa.

The Mosque College of Lamu and the influence of the Hadramawt has chiefly percolated into eastern Africa. Migrating from the Comoros to Lamu, he began to teach, and soon acquired a band of students. The mosque is a learned family, Arabic was not spoken in the home. There are few family connections.


LANBASAR (thus in Rasfald al-Dln and Mustawliya). Its still-extensive ruins lie on a site sloping at 30°, whose surface resembles in shape a truncated cone and which measures some 1,200 ft. by 600 ft. 150 m. with easily defensible slopes, in the Rostd district of the upper Shah-Rud, tributary of the Safid-Rud [q.v.] in what was the mediaeval region of Daylam [q.v.], now in the central satin of modern Iran. Its precise location is 32 miles/43 km. north-east of Razvin and 2 miles/3 km. north of the village of Shahreli-Shah-Bal, on the Nashir-Rud valley, in lat. 37°20' N. and long. 54°15' E. The fortress's position guarded the approaches to Alamin from the Shah-Rud valley, and it was accordingly an important unit in the network of Ismai'ili castles in Daylam. In recent times, the site and ruins have been visited and described by Freya Stark (1917), W. Ivanow (1958) and P. E. Willey (1960).

Lambasar was besieged in vain in 514/1121 by the forces of the U-Khan Hulegu overrunning northern Persia, the last Ismai'ili Grand Master Rukn al-Din Khyr-Shah submitted to the Mongols, and some forty Ismai'ili strongholds passed into the invaders' hands. Lambasar, however, held out against Hulegu's general Dayir-Ruka for a year after the beginning of 655/1257, and another fortress, Girdkh, for considerably later; it was presumably after its capture that Lambasar was abandoned as a military centre.

Bibliography: Le Strange, Lands, 222; F. Stark, The valleis of the Assassins, The Hague 1955, index; W. Ivanow, Alamin and Lambasar, two mediaeval Ismai'ili strongholds in Iran. An archaeological study, Tehran 1960, 81-91 (with plan); P. E. Willey, The castles of the Assassins, London 1963, 207-29 (with plans); B. Lewis, The Assassins, a radical sect in Islam, London 1967, index, s.v. Lambasar; J. F. Rawlinson, Iran, das Reiche des Islam, in: Atl. d. Altertumswissensch., Wienabien 1958, 276-7, with references to the sources (Rashid al-Din, Mustawliya), to which should be added the important one of Ebnusyawa, see index. (C. E. Bosworth)

LANGA (see LAS BELA, 2 Ethnography).

LANKORAN (LENKORAN), the chief town of the district of the same name in the region of Bakü. Lankoran is the Persian pronunciation of the name, which was at one time written Lankarán ("anchorages"), or perhaps Langan-kanán ("place which pulls out the anchors"), which is pronounced Lánharán in Persia and Lankovan in Täliš. The ships of the Bakú-Enzetz [q.v.] line used formerly to call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead, but at 5 miles north-east of the town is the island of Sar, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazandaran (?) fernak, but they were not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. Takirbi-i 'Alam-diri under the year 940/1533 in Dorn, Aassims, iv, 223: and Shaikh 'Ali Hazin [about 1725 A.D.], Takirbi-i Ahdal, ed. Balfour, 157) suggest that the capital of Täliş was originally at Astarâ, towards the end of the 18th century, Lankoran be-
came the capital of this khânameh. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1773 with Tabrîz, 1774 with the Afgãn, 1779 with the Persian, and 1795 with the Ottoman), but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1795. Retaken by Count Zubov in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1825 by the Persians who fortified it. On 9 Muharram (Yâghardi) 1288/1 January 1813, Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kotliarovsky after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event initiated the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistan (1813), by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tâlib, to the north of the river Astârâ. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the Adharbâyjân S.S.R. in Soviet Transcaucasia.

The population of the town, which was 3,070 in 1865, had reached 12,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,300 inhabitants and in 1861 99,085. Later, the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles; in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895, of whom 43.5% were Azeri Turks, Iranian Tâlib 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (in the north) and Armenians 0.2%.

The district is composed of three zones: to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Moghân; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation; whilst to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,300 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier, forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardbâl. The district is rich in forests and had good fishing.

The figures for the 1920 and 1931 censuses showed little change from the above figures, but by 1973 the town alone had a population of 42,200. The town has a number of schools and colleges, libraries and clubs, as well as a museum of local lore. During the 1930s, a newspaper was published in Adtur, and clubs, as well as a museum of local lore. During the 1930s, a newspaper was published in Adtur, and a local college was founded.

At a first glance, Lankoran resembles a typical mountainous town with its narrow streets, houses built on stone, and its fortress. However, upon closer inspection, one can observe the influence of Persian and Iranian culture on the town's architecture. The town is located on a hill, surrounded by mountains, which provide a natural barrier against invaders. The town is situated at an altitude of 2,130 m. above sea-level, with an average temperature of 5.8°C. At the eastern extremity of the valley, at Pulur (see Lârdjân, below), situated at 2,130 m., average temperature over the year is 5.8°C, rainfall is 547.7 mm. (Adle, chart, 569 mm. according to de Planhol, 23, n. 52, after Pégu).

Near the confluence of the Sefîd Ab and the Lâr, a wall of dry rock blocks the entire valley. Situated, close by the so-called caravanserai of Shâh 'Abbâs, at a crossroads of caravan routes between Tehran and the north, in a locality dominated by the ruins of Ka'fa-yi Dukhtar, according to oral tradition this wall separates two villages (Hourcade, 42 and map). Indications of the existence of permanent settlements in the valley of the Lâr are quite numerous; besides the numerous sites observed by certain travellers (Wells, 2; Von Call-Roseburg, 127; Stabl, 10), there is the oral tradition current among the Ghukara villagers of the valley of Irâ (Hourcade, 42, n. 6) and most notably the tradition attested at Lâstân as in the villages close to the valley of the Lâr, according to which, under a king of ancient Iran, the villagers of the Lâr, until 1848 to endure the rigours of the winter, were supposed to have emigrated to Lâr of the Fars (Fasâ', ii, 281 ff.; Rotscha, 51). This popular tradition should not be regarded as “quite fantastic” (de Planhol, 21) since numerous toponyms (Lâr, Lârak, Elburz, Bastak etc.), are current in the north as in the south.
settlers. Since the decade of the 1830s, the encampments of the nomads and semi-nomads of the Lār have been amply described by travellers, diplomats, soldiers etc. These accounts describe to us the stability of these tribes (itineraries of migration, places of summer pasturing, etc.) of which the majority were transferred to the region of Tehran from the 18th century onward, for political reasons (Hourcade, 39). For at least a century, and until quite recently (1976), approximately 200,000 head of small livestock (sheep and goats) belonging to the nomads of the south slope of the Elburz have summered at the Lār. But the terms "tribes" and "nomads" are quite inappropriate to designate populations whose origins
remain obscure. Briefly, one encounters Hedâvand (who speak the Luri language [having arrived in the 18th century]); Kûtû Arabic speakers (originally from Khuzistân?); the 'Arabs, poor and Persian speaking; the Kalmûr or Kûthûr, Gilak speakers, whose chiefs lived in Tehran (descended from the Kalmûr Mongols?); the Persian speaking Pâzûkû ('Turks of Khûrâşân', Kurds?); other small tribes or diverse groups: Turks (Sâyî Sûrûp, 'Ar Manûs, Kûl, âli of the Kûh, Puts, etc.); the Turkish of (Rûmîân, Khûrâshân, Kurds; 'great nomads' ('All Kûlî, Gilak speakers; Hasûndû, Turkish speakers; Sângûsad, who speak an Iranian dialect from the North-West); numerous details on these tribes (number of tents, migrations, summer pasturing etc.) in Hourcade, 40 ff.; de Planhol, 33 ff.; Hourcade and Tual, 23.

The use of Turco-Mongol terminology in nomadism reflects the acceleration of the process of bedouinisation in the region following the Mongol invasion. The term yûrî refers to the tent as well as to encampments (Styî, 195) or pastures and summer settlements (Rabino, 175). The summer pasturing (yâyaşî) of the Lûr was frequented by the Il-Khûjandî, the Timûrid, the Siwash and the Kûdjâr. Under Nâšir al-Dîn Shah (1848-96), the pastures were grazed in summer by horses from the Shah's stables (de Planhol, 21). He often set up his summer camp there, to be followed by all the dignitaries and their families, military men, ambassadors (numerous references to the camp of Lûr in the diplomatic archives, e.g. Lârowd, where it is told by travellers, soldiers, sportsmen, etc.). Under the Pahlavîs (1925-79), the pastures to the west and south of Damâvand remained for the most part the property of the crown or of public services (national education, army, agriculture, etc.), who leased them to the nomads.

While profitting from the decline of sedentary mountain life, nomadism has recently suffered the impact of the expansion of the Tehran conurbation. Semi-nomadic groups adapted with varying degrees of success to the re-organisation of the milk and meat markets, becoming the salaried shepherds of large societies, "city-dwelling" nomads or villagers. But the trend towards sedentary living, utilisation of the motor-car, etc. have modified migratory practices. In some cases, nomadism has been replaced by pastoral migrations of the Alpine type (Hourcade, 44-5). Other factors have contributed to the decline of nomadism. The development of tourism and of sporting activities (mountaineering, trout fishing, etc.) practised by the nomads, sport facilities and sporting activities in neighbouring areas has led to the creation of cottage-industries and of construction projects; inevitable measures for the protection of the environment have brought about the extension of natural reserves to the detriment of the pasture-lands. But it is the construction of the dam of the Lûr, designed to improve the water-resources of Tehran, which has had the profoundest impact on nomadism. With its foundations laid in 1975, this huge dam (105 m. in height; 1,000 m. long; reservoir of 40 million cubic m. of water) was due to become operational in 1980. Ecological constraints—particularly the erosion of the banks and terraces as a result of over-grazing—brought about the expulsion of the nomads from 1976 onwards (ibid., 43 ff.). The abandonment of large industrialisation projects should in principle favour the renewal of the traditional economy and of nomadism which had been tending towards modernisation and self-destruction (ibid., 47 ff.)

Rivalries between the nomads, the villagers and the state over the appropriation of pasture-lands are reflected on the administrative level. Originally belonging to the Ustân-i Markaft (bakhsh of Afshâr, šahâristân of Tûrân; DC, i, 195), the Lûr has seen its southern area attached to the villages of the southern slope (Ustân-i Markaft) and the rest shared between the šahâristân of Nûr and Lûrdjian (Ustân-i Sâmâd, 196), the properties of the crown and the state lying between these two spheres of ownership (de Planhol, 26 ff.; see below). The construction of the dam has led to the creation of cottage-industries and of tourism and of sporting activities (mountaineering, ski-ing activities in neighbouring areas) (ibid., 42 ff.), in places where it crosses inhabited territory, the latter is called Ghârsânây (from the Turkish "river which bores", according to de Planhol, 17, n. 13; perhaps also in memory of the Il-Khûn Ghârsân; see below).

Constituted of volcanic rocks thrown up in the Pliocene and Quaternary periods (clear trachytes and coloured andesites), the cone of Mt. Damâvand (400 km²) offers on its eastern slope—dissected by the Haraz and its tributaries and a multiplicity of deep valleys—conditions more favourable to human settlement than exist on its western slope, which is made up of a compact and inhospitable mass of andesites. The high valley of the Lûr does not fall below a level of 2,500 m., although the more deeply excavated valleys descend towards a level of 1,500 m., the furthest limit of permanent settlement currently being in the region of 2,300-2,400 m. On the eastern periphery, the soil produced by the decomposition of volcanic deposits engenders a stretch of fertile and well-watered ground. These natural conditions explain the human dissymmetry of this volcanic massif, which gives to Lûrdjian its life and its individuality (de Planhol, 27 ff.; on the morphology and physical geography of the Damâvand, see P. Boute, M. Derruau, J. Dresch and Ch. P. Péguy, in Mémoires et documents, viii, CNRS, Paris 1961, 39-51; see also CHI, i, 44 ff., 189, 413).

Socio-economic outline. A remnant of one of the most ancient provincial models of northern Iran, Lûrdjian is characterised by an exceptional density of villages, in contrast to the remarkable void existing upstream of the Lûr towards Pulûr as well as in the down-stream valley, on the Caspian side. Life in the settled areas, in the main valley, is closely linked to that of the high pasturages of the Lûr and of Lûrdjian. The traditional equilibrium is based on a minute system of balance between intensive agricultural exploitation of tiny plots, the pastoral life and complementary resources supplied by the winter emigration (on land use and irrigated and pluvial cultivation—corn, barley, lucerne, vegetables etc.—the agrarian structure and rustic landscape, the pastoral life and exploitation of the mountains—raking of small and large live-stock—see de Planhol, 22-8; also Hourcade and Tual, 34 ff.). The rigours of the climate and the lack of winter resources are the cause of the significant migrations. In winter, only the peasantry and the stock-breeders remain on the mountain. Some farmers possess arable land on the Caspian plains. Traders and artisans (manufacturers of felt) traditionally
emigrated towards the Caspian. Conversely, the people of the plain of Amul used to spend the winter on the Lâr. Some important resources were drawn from the transit of Surchina (183 ft.), from mountain traffic along the traditional highway axes: the Harâz valley route (Tehran-Amul by way of the col of Imam-zâda Hâshân); the route of Nîr and Kudjûr through Aïdjû, via the valley of the Lâr (Hourcade and Tual, 25 f.).

Having witnessed an expansion at the beginning of the century, sedentary rustic life has experienced a constant decline as a result of this migration towards the Caspian and towards Tehran, a new economic focus of the region. In the 19th century, new migratory patterns are seen to emerge; in every increasing numbers, the nomads establish themselves in the high altitude cultivated lands abandoned by the villagers (de Planhol, 32 f.). The improvement of roads, the reorganisation of the production and marketing of dairy and meat products, have transformed the pastoral life and nomadism (see above).

The most important resources were drawn partly from the Lâr region (see Hourcade and Tual, 29 ff.). The uneven settlement of the land and the social contrasts are reflected in the appearance of dwellings (large houses belonging to farmers/stock-breeders; the small houses of the emigrants; more recently, summer resort chalets). Cave-dwelling is an ancient practice; caverns excavated in the calcareous rock are currently used for sheltering live-stock and fodder (de Planhol, 26, nn. 35, 56). Study of the system of ownership reveals a predominance of small properties.

Quite complex contrasts exist between small-holders and exploitative farmers/stock-breeders. Although the standard of living is fairly low, it is possible to regard Lâridjân as a "rural democracy, with a hierarchy, but without glaring inequalities" (de Planhol, 29 f.). Lâridjân is the point of departure for the ascent of Damâwand [p. 95] (Dumâwand/Dumhâwand/Duhâwand, etc.), a mountain which plays a significant role in the myths and legends of Iran [Ibn Isfandîrî, tr. Batrun; indelibly connected with local folklore (Muâhersî, Lâr, in E4)], Nadîr Khusraw (8th/11th century) relates that sulphur extracted from the crater was wrapped in the skins of cattle which were then rolled down the slopes (Sajân-kâna, ed. Dâbîr-Siyâyî, Tehran 1344/1965, 7). Ibn Isfandîrî (writing in 613/1216) describes the Firewaids al-dhibhât—so the ascent could be made in two days, starting from the village of Ask (6, 92-5; tr. 35-6). In the 19th century, two scientific ascents were made within a few days of each other in September 1857 (W. Taylour Thomson and E. d'Arcy Todd); subsequently, it became fashionable for Europeans (travellers, diplomatic agents, explorers, mountaineers, etc.) to make expeditions to Mt. Damâwand (de Planhol, 19 ff.). Ascent by the north face being something of an exercise for experienced climbers, it is more easily accomplished by the south face starting from the village of Rayna/Reine (tr. the south-east, 2,200 m. in altitude) with the aid of multilayered vehicles well equipped with the mountain (see De Planhol, in Iran, Nagel's Guide, Cengene 1973, 125-6). As warriors of repute, the Lâridjâns have had occasion to defend their territory or to support the claims of local chieftains. After having fought against the Kâjârs, they supplied them with appreciable help in the maintenance of order in the north as well as in the south of Iran (see below).
remains uncertain. (Its origin is lost in the myths and legends of ancient Iran which cannot easily be traced with any certainty in any particular source. Indeed, “Lârdijân is the most ancient region of Tabaristan.” Firdûsî (i.e. Thrasea/Frâston) was born in the “village” (dîkâ, which can have a broader sense) of War which is the principal town (kasâbâ) of this region (nâshiyâr) and where the cathedral mosque (dârâmî) and the oratory (muqâllâ) are situated”) (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 57). Waraka for War is an incorrect reading by Browne (tr. of Ibn Isfandiyâr, 25), followed by Râhânî, 40; Minorsky, art. “Ask” in Encyclopædia Iranica (who identifies Warakâ/Warâkî/Varama with the village of Wâma in Lârdijân; de Planhol, 20, etc. According to Anâmil (31), the birth-place of Firdûsî is Lârdijân, kasabâ of the region of the same name. According to Marâṣîfî (T, 4), Gurgîn Miâfâ, the “founder” of Gurgân, possessed the region of Ray: “in winter, his hîdâd (âfû) was at Karâfī Rûd, in summer his hîdâd was at Lâr (T, 4; on Lâr Karâfân, see below). More easily identifiable is Dâhîbî/Calâhî/Câlamî, at Dîlîr-durgâk, at the mountain of 95 in the Dunbâwân/Damwân, an area of rich pastures where Firdûsî was brought up, went hunting mounted on a cow and devoted himself to training oxen as saddle-animals, and whence he set out to conquer Ūrâk (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 57 ff.; according to de Planhol, 20, n. 34), there is in this myth an echo of the ancient mountain practice of riding oxen. The fact that Lârdijân designates sometimes an urban settlement, sometimes a district, nothing to do with the contemporary sense of the term, seems to indicate that Lârdijân is the mountainous frontier zone where the Harhaz flows (Hûdûd, 77). Probably because of the fairly late Islamisation of the region (by the âhâds), Lârdijân is rarely mentioned by geographers who wrote in Arabic in addition, their works contain ambiguities. Thus Lârî (supposedly the ancient form of Lârdijân), named as a village or a district of Tabaristan (Mar­quart, 127, 351) is not the present day Lârdijân (on Lârî and Marquart’s interpretation, cf. below, 31). According to Yâhût (iv, 140) “Lârdijân is a small town (hûlâyda) between Ray an­d Amûl Tabaristan; it lies at a distance of 25 farâšâns from each of these two towns; it is protected by a fortress often mentioned in the chronicles of the Buyâyids and of Daylamî. Villages, fortified points, places allegedly situated in Lârdijân are mentioned by various sources. The village of Trâ is mentioned under the name of Bârâ/Yârâ [al-îstâkîhî, 210; Ibn Hawkâl, 271, quoted by Schwartz, 789] which refers to Trâ near Ask, or to an ancient permanent village to the south of the valley of the Lâr (see above): Ask (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 83; Fulîlî, Fulîmî Lârdijân, Kâfî-yî Fûlî (Marâṣîfî, TT, 116; TG, 284; Kâfî-yî Lavandar (near Raynâ) (Marâṣîfî, TT, 213-24); the šâfâ or the urban settlement of Khorûd/Khûrûd/Kârûd (Amûlî, 135; Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 78, 99; Marâṣîfî, TT, 54, 213). This or the šâfâ of Lâr, without further definition, are also mentioned (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 297-9; Anâmil, 209; Marâṣîfî, TT, 224). In the Sâsânid period, Lârdijân must have belonged to the Pers. Lâr, of which the sovereign was Mâh gunûsp (or Djjâhnaššâh) at the end of the Arsacid period. Subsequently, this region belonged to the Sâsânid Kawâd, then to his son Kâwâs. Later it came under the control of the Sâsânid family of the Kârâkâs (Marquart, 330 ff.; Kârâanî, Kârâan, ii, 632). In a broad sense, Kâhî Kârîn or Dîhîbî Kârîn designated the eastern Elburz. According to Rabînî (1), it included present-day Lârdijân, the Sawâd Kôh and the Hâzdâr-îrnih. But according to the Djjâha-nâmâ, the Dîhîbî Kârîn is also called Djjâhnaššâh and Bulaydâ (Râhânî, 20). Raynâ and the Dunwân/Damwân does not form a part of this mountain (Muhammad b. Nâjidî Hârîn, Djjâha-nâmâ, ed. Tehran 1342/1963, 58). At the time of the Arab invasion, the situation in the region is unclear, especially as regards the Lâr (valley of the Lâr), the southern limit of Lârdijân, where ancient occupation is attested most notably by the presence of remains of sanctuaries dedicated, it is said, to Nihâl/Anâbîthâ (Karâmânî, op. cit., 389, 392). The mountainous region to the north of the Ray was called Kârîn (Kâhârân), and was divided into Kârân-dâkîh (for Kârân-dârân) and Kârân-bûrûn (Karâmânî, op. cit., 3 ff, with reference to al-îstâkîhî, Ibn Hawkâl, al-Mukaddâsî, Zahârî-yî Kâzâwînî, Yûkît, etc.). The Lâr presumably belonged to the Kârân-dâkîh. Lâr-i Kârân is found in various sources (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 56; Marâṣîfî, TT, 122, 124; Anâmil, 182 f., etc.). But reference to Lâr â Kârân (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 217 f; Ibn al-îstâkîhî, 232) is also found, which gives grounds for supposing that one part of the Lâr belonged to Kârân and the other part to Lârdijân. Furthermore, the mountains to the north-west of the Lâr whose waterways flow towards the north, form part of the Râd-bârâ Kârân (Karâmânî, op. cit., 201). It also appears that the Lâr, endowed with at least one fortress, at times exercised a certain independence between Lârdijân, Lawâsîn and Kârân. It may also be noted that—at least on the geographical level—the mountain range of Kûrân formed a frontier with the mountains of Ray (Ibn al-îstâkîhî, 304, and Ibn Hawkâl, Şrrâd al-arûd, 320, quoted by Karâmânî, op. cit., 18). At the time of the conquest of Ray (which al­Tabârî locates in 24/643), the Masûmûghân (Mas­î-Mûghân, Grand Master of the Magâl) who exercised jurisdiction over Dunwân/Damwân, Khwârî, Lârî and Shîrîz, agreed conditionally to the payment of the giyârâ and īfârâf (Karâmânî, KB, ii, 487, after al-Tabârî and Ibn al-îstâkîhî). According to H. Karâmânî (Karâmânî, KB, ii, 487), the Masûmûghân, a frontier with the mountains of Ray (Ibn al-îstâkîhî, 304, and Ibn Hawkâl, Şrrâd al-arûd, 320, quoted by Karâmânî, op. cit., 18). In the absence of indications in the sources which would permit an appraisal of the economic worth of the region, it may be said that, in medieaval Iran, Lârdijân exercised—as a result of its geographical position—control over a military, commercial and pastoral route, i.e. the Ray-âmûl axis towards the Caspian Sea and the transversal routes towards Kûnîn and Khûrâsân via Frâsû-kât to the east, towards Kâzâwîn and Adhâr-yâxânîdân to the west. A highway also connects Arîm, in the Hâzdâr-îrnih, to Lârdijân (Râbînî, 113). Other transversal routes were added later (see below). This function would pre-suppose the existence of a stable local power. The latter was exercised by governors usually bearing the title of marâšîn (the term Lârdijân seems to have had a patronymic connotation). Ibn Isfandiyâr suggests to us with this list of these marâšîs beginning with Fâji b. al-Marzûbhîn in 235/866 (the list has been partially reconstructed by Rabînî, 147, up to the 7th/15th century). In the final third of the 3rd/9th century, Sahî b. al-Marzûbhîn constructed across Lârdijân the route which, in earlier times, had been impracticable both in winter and in summer, and he took steps to ensure its security (Ibn Isfandiyâr, i, 122).
Like other chieftains of Tabaristan, the governors of Lārījān acceded a warm welcome to the ʿAlīṣ. The chieftains of Lārījān and of Kašān rallied to the support of the brother of Ḫusain b. Zayd, known as al-ʿAlīṣ al-Saghīr (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 233; Marāṣīḥ, TT, 77, 134). In 741/1339–40, the ʿAlīṣ Muhammad b. Zayd, brother of Ḫasān b. Zayd, attempted to take possession of Ray; on being defeated, he sought refuge in Lārījān (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 255; Iṣn al-Aʿlā, vi, 59). In the Saddīḫ period, the phase of disorder which followed the deaths of ʿAlīṣ al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlīṣī (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 39). In the Salsjūk period, the phase of refuge in Lārisliʿn (ʿIbn Isfandiyār, i, 333; Ibn al-Qalʿa, 662). Ildegiz [see ildegiz] al-Dawla in carrying off “the consternation among the Bihwāndī ispahbāds” (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 112). Unquestionably, the power of Lārisliʿn, which had always been a part of “Irāq” (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 112). Nevertheless, Lārījān benefited — as did other regions of Iran before the Mongol raids — from the turmoil and anarchy that followed the defeat of the Seljuq state. After a period of conflict with the Ismaʿilis of Ray, ʿAlīṣ Rustam I (534/1140–65) (see Iṣn al-Aʿlā, iii, 77; Amūlī, 126). Mandalūr, marāṣīḥ of Lārījān, turned Kāla Kuhruʿī (in the downstream area, later known by various names, including Kārl/Kārūd) into a place so prosperous that people of all professions, natives of India, of Egypt and of Syria, came and settled there (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 77 ff., 99); this kāla was destroyed in 765/1362–2 and later rebuilt (Marāṣīḥ, TT, 83, 77). Other fortified places in the Lārījān region include: the kāla of Lārījān (without further definition) is named in connection with various events (Ibn Isfandiyār, i, 297, 299; Amūlī, 120); Marāṣīḥ mentions the kāla of Fuhīl (TT, 19). Mandalūr allied himself with the other chieftains of Tabaristan, to ʿAlīṣ Ḥusain Rustam Bawānī; his troops formed part of the army which conquered Bistam/Basam and Dschīgān (Ibn Isfandiyār, iii, 94; Marāṣīḥ, TT, 77, 19; Amūlī, 120). At his death in 598/1202, Mandalūr was a violent and irreligious man. He killed his father and his brothers (through trickery), renewed the alliance with Kublai Khan, and, especially after the conclusion of the Treaty of Sarjūk, that this conversion took place at Fīrūz Kāh (approved by the Il-Khans). Argān Khan “had caused a fine palace (kāhlī-ābād) to be built at the summer resort of Lār, at the foot of Mount Damwand; this place is now known by the name of Kāhlī-ābād” (Rāshīd al-Dīn, iii, 229). This was no doubt the place where Ghazī Khan solemnly adopted the Muslim faith in Şīa'ban 694/June 1295 (at least, this is the version given by some authors: d’Ossen, Histoire des Mongols, Amsterdam 1882, iv, 331–2; ʿAbd al-Majid, Tehmār, 255/1927, 256; J. A. Boyle, in CHF, v, 278). But details as to the site, the date, the number of Mongols converted on this occasion, etc., remain poorly defined in the sources. According to the leading chroniclers, it was at Fīrūz Kāh that, following the advice of his māsīr Nawrūz, Ghazī Khan was converted to Islam at the beginning of Şīa'ban 694/mid-June 1295 in the presence of the ghulāt Sādeh al-Dīn Isrāʾīlī (Rāshīd al-Dīn, Dīnī, al-tabawārīh, ed. Alkāde, Dama 1937, iii, 294 ff.; Westph., Taʾrīḫī, Tehran 1338/1959, 316–17, Rū ṣād al-ʿAmūlī, Ḥabīb al-tabawārīh, Tehran 1333/1954, iii, 144; ʿMir Khān, Ṛawżāt al-sawād, Tehran 1339/1960, v, 380). According to local tradition, it was in the valley of the Lār, at Kūshī Kāh-ārgān, that this conversion took place (Paevrier, 259). It may also be noted that on numerous occasions Ghazī Khan frequented the “Yaylíkh Damwand” (see Rāshīd al-Dīn, Taʾrīḫī, Rāshīdī, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, London 1940, index).

The Timurids also thought highly of the pasturages of the Lār. It was in the region of the Lār that the Spanish ambassador Clavijo came, in June–July 1404, to visit the son-in-law of Timūr, Suleyman Mirzā, whom he found in the middle of his encampment of some three thousand tents (cf. Le Strange, London 1928, 169). Some days previously, on his way from Ardabil, Timūr had broken his journey at the wālīyāt-i Lār, in Kūshī Kāh-ārgān, which he

As elsewhere in Iran, and especially in Mazandaran, Lārīdān was affected in the 8th/14th-15th century by the increasing power of socio-religious movements and of the sayyids. In 734/1333-4, Amir Mas'ud Sarbadār forced the ʿīn-Shāh Tūshī Tūrūn, governor of the Kārān-dāvlū, to take refuge in the summer resort of Lārī-ḵᵛān (ʿAnnī, 182-3). In the protectorate of his son, Malik Sūlṭān Sayyid, the power of Lārīdān was weakened. In the years 783-8/1381-2, Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn, brother of Sayyid Kānūn al-Dīn, took possession of Kālān-ī Nayr; in two years, he took all the ʾāyān from Tāškhūn to Lāwāsān, including the ʾāyān of the Lār and of Lārīdān (Lāwāsān, near Rayyān; Kārūn). Lārīdān was then in the hands of Kiyā Ḵᵛān Ḵᵛānī Rāizontādūn; Naʿmōrūstāk, Dayrūstāk, Tarīta Rūstāk and Kārūn were under the control of Mazandaran (Fābdī, TT, 213-14). In 795, Fakhr al-Dīn put an end to his brother with his brothers and his sons. After his death, Shāḥruḵ allowed them to return to Mazandaran (Ḵᵛānd-Aмир, Ḥusayn al-siyar, iii, 22). In 821/1416, Sayyid Muḥṣīlāt b. ʿAll seized power in Mazandaran. He entrusted Naʿmōrūstāk, Dayrūstāk and Tarīta Rūstāk to his son Malik Kāwūs and gave him authority to wrest Lārīdān from the ʾāyān of Tāškhūn; in 830/1425, Malik ʿAzīz b. Ṣafī al-Kīyā al-Ḵᵛānī Rāizontādūn, lord of Kārūn, returned to Shāhruḵ. By force or by trickery, these internecine struggles of Rustamdar and his children of Malik Bahman who were subsequently delivered to Malik Ḩusayn Lāwāsān; then he entrusted Lārīdān as a ṣiyar to a ʿlāmāh bāḥšūn (AAA, ii, 534-5 tr. 713-14). But the two Ḥāfṣīyāt of Rustamdar, who had capitulated to Shāh ʿAbbas during the summer resort of Lār retained important functions: the Malik of Nayr was appointed governor of Sāwā; the Malik of Kārūn at first retained his possessions as suzerain and became one of the trusted officers of Shāh ʿAbbas. Later, he rebelled as did other maliks of Rustamdar; their conspiracies were foiled and they were put to death. Thus was extinguished the power of the Pādūsbānids (ibid., 335-4, tr. 713 ff.).

The Ḵᵛānd-Aмир and the summer resort (ṣayyāl) of the Lār were favourite haunts of the Safavids. At the time when the ʿAlībābā anṭār enthroned Shaft Tabīʿkāp (931/1524-5), the waḥīd ʿEʿlī Ṣafavī Kīmīšū established his summer quarters at Lār, before marching on Kūbdūn which had been invaded by the Uzbeks (AAA, i, 48, tr. 78). On many occasions, Shaft ʿAbdallāh visited the ʿayyān of Lār (ibid., ii, 399, 425, 543). Although the history of Mazandaran and of Ḵᵛāsīr is relatively well-documented from the time of the Safavids to the present day, points of reference concerning the Lār and Lārīdān do not become plentiful until the Kādīrī period. Tabīʿkāp II lived for two years in Mazandaran (1173-4/1764-5), in particular in Lārīdān where he was joined by Fath ʿAll Ḵᵛān Kūbdūn, who became his sipah-šādīr (Maḥjūrī, 190 ff.; ʿAlīādī al-Salṭāna, Muḥammad b. Ṣadūq-i ilāhī, i, 522). The chief put to death and the potencies of Mazandaran took the side of the ʿAlībābā against Muhammad Ḥasan Ḵᵛān Kīmīšū Kūbdūn. Sābā ʿAll Ḵᵛān, leader of the dignitaries of Lārīdān, prevented him from going to Ḵᵛāmīšū; the misconduct of Wall ʿEʿlī, the envoy of the Kādīrī chief, led to the revolt of “the people of the mountain and of the plain”, under the command of Muḥammad Ḵᵛān Ṣarāwī, Afghan governor of Mazandaran (Maḥjūrī, 123-4). After the death of ʿEʿlī Ṣafavī Kīmīšū (1291-2/1873-4), numerous Lārīdānīs and Mazandaranīs aligned themselves to Muḥammad Kūl Kūl Kīmīšū Kūbdūn, estranged brother of Ḵᵛāṣīr Muhammad Ḵᵛān (ibid., 131). After defeating ʿAll Murād Kūl Ḵᵛān and his coalition of Lārīdānīs, Afghans and men from the Lūr, Ḵᵛāṣīr Muhammad Ḵᵛān controlled the whole of Mazandaran and of Astārābād (end of 1394/1776). But in the conflicts in which he was continually at odds with his brothers, the Lārīdānīs fought on the side of his enemies (Ridū Kūl Ḵᵛān, Mihdī Kūl Ḵᵛān; ibid., 123-4). Captured and then set free by Muḥammad Ḵᵛān, Kūl Kūl Ḵᵛān again rebelled. With his Lārīdānīs at his sides (muskeśū), he captured Ḵᵛāṣīr Muhammad Ḵᵛān, who was set free on the intervention of Muṭṭaqa Kūl Ḵᵛān (ibid., 133, 134, i, 222; according to SīpīḤīr, Muḥammad al-ḵawārījī, i, 20-2, it was ʿAlī Ṣafavī Kūl Ḵᵛān who liberated Ḵᵛāṣīr Muhammad Ḵᵛān). Beaten once more by the army of Astārābād, Ḵᵛāṣīr Kūl Ḵᵛān rallied to the cause of Ḵᵛāṣīr Ḵᵛān. But
in 1265/1849, the Lārī-Djarān was pursued by the Pahlavīs (Karlr
modernisation of arterial routes towards Lür
and summer palaces of the Tehran region.

The predilection of the KadjAr for the sum
resort of the Lār led to the development of road
especially transversal routes linking the wet
and summer palaces of the Tehran region.
modernisation of arterial routes towards Lār
Lārī-Djarān was pursued by the Pahlavīs (Kāh,

1. Other Lārs.
Besides Lār in Fārs (Lārī-Djarān) and Lārī-Djarān,
toponym Lār and its variants are widely attested
the Iranian lands. Within the present-day fron
time to be noted (after DG):

village
gahristan  DG
Lārī-Djarān  Maḥdīyar  i, 196
Lārī-Djarān  Mahdīyān  i, 197
Lārī Zandjan  ii, 268
Lārī-Muhammad  Husain Khān  ii, 269
Lārī-Sar  Fāmīn  ii, 268
Lārī (Lārīna)  Sārī  iii, 266
Lārī (Lārīn)  Sārī  iii, 267
Lārī-Bihbahān  vii, 325
Lārī  Cāh Bābār  viii, 383
Lārī-Bahā  Sabałošār  ix, 374

Lārāh is alleged to be the name of a locality at
Hazar-Djarāf (Rabīnā, 142).

The gorge (tang-e) of Lārī on the northern s
portion of the Elburz in Mazandarān is known for its depl
iron ore (Lūgχā-ni-mā-i Dīhkhudā; after Kavv,
Dargāh-e-yi išātrī, 259-60). A Lārān ex
Badākhšān (Minorsky, Haddi al-ālam, 116
. n. 1). A gorge called Lār is mentioned in Kasb
26.. (Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Dughāšt, Ta'rikh
Kāšānī, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, repr.
453). According to Minorsky, Lāhī-Djarān/Lārī-
are variants of Lār (Lārī-Djarān, in E1; Hus
407 f.). Lārī-Djarān and its variants are widely
presented in Gilan and elsewhere, in Aḏābar-bā
in Fārs, in Dāgāstān, etc.: Minorsky, ibid.,
also W. Ellers in Ar C, xiii [1954], n. 174).

Variants of Lār have led to some confusions. Ta
although Yāğıt (iv, 280-1) has established a
differentiation between "Lārī" and "Lārān" that
have been made to discern in the latter topon
the arabised form of Lārī-Djarān (Marquart, 127,

According to Minorsky, LāĪ-Djarān is known
for its southern boundary around the Elburz in
Asmā'ul-e Maktūm, on whom Āghā Muhammād Khān
sent by Ā'īl Mūrād Khān to Māzandarān, on
whom Āghā Muhammād Khān inflicted a crushing
defeat at Sabzawār: the cruelty of the Kādjar
Khān towards the Lārī-Djarān has remained proverbial
in the region (Fāsā', i, 233; Mahdīyar, 134). But in
1298/1881, Shaikh Wāls Khān Zand, the son of Ā'īl
Mūrād, asserted his control over the whole of Māzandarān,
and the onset of the Lārī-Djarān, Fārs, Kāshān, Lārī-Djarān and Rustam Dar (i.e.
Nār-i Kūruk), Fāsā', i, 224-3. The following year, Ā'īl Mūrād Khān was obliged to recapture
Māzandarān before proceeding to take possession of Teherān.

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), the khāna of Lārī-Djarān enjoyed a quasi-independence. This semi-
autonomy was founded upon control of the principal economic thoroughfare between Māzandarān and Teherān "in a fairly subtle equilibrium of forces and
and services rendered with the sovereign who ruled not far from there" (de Planhol, 19, n. 23).

Although the decline of the town of Ask became
with all the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdīyar, 177). The following year,
he had to re-establish order in Fars with his
Lārī-Djarān horsemen; he entrusted the government of Kuhgānūya and of Bihbānū to his Lārī-Djarān actors and acted himself in the role of administrator (Yimīl: Fāsā', i, 306-7). The prosperity of Lārī-Djarān is again indicated in 1860 (Brugsch, i, 295) and
in 1865 (de Philippis, 256-7). At the start of the journey of Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh to Māzandarān, in 1283/1866,
Ā'īl Mūrād Khān presented himself to the ruler with all the officers of Māzandarān (Mahdīyar, 177).
Although the decline of the town of Ask became
a constant process, at the time
Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh to Māzandarān, in 1283/1866,
andjuman from members of the local
governor of Āstarābād and encountered hostility
villages of Amūl. During the upheavals of the Con-
period was Mirzā Muḥammad Haydar Dughāšt, son of 'Abbas the Gt
tr. R. Savory, ed. M. Suti
Daštī, ed. M. Suti
Ta'rikhi-i Rūydn, 1933.

Bibliography and abbreviations: A*

(3) The Masjid-i Djum'a, for which we have no detailed, historical description. Ibn Bâdi' mentions a devish convent (*zâmiyya, i.e. khânâkhâh*) of the famous Shaykh Abû Dula Muhammad. At the opening of the 17th century, there was situated near the Kaysariyya bazaar "a very great mosque, the only one of the town"; it contained the marble tomb of a saint constructed "in a fine court outside the mosque" (Rebelo, 159). A marble *mshar* of Gudjraft style, allegedly dating from the 8th/9th century denotes an important town of Fars and its surrounding region (Lar and Lâristan), an island and an islet in the Persian Gulf, and various islands and a region of pastures in southern Persia (Lâr and Lârîdjan).

1. The town of Lar (lat. 27°42' N., long. 54°20' E.) is the chef-lieu of a *shâhirâd* (which becomes *farsâdār*, see Lârîdjan, below) of the province of Fars (sûdeh-e Fars). It is situated on one of the roads connecting Lar, viz. the Persian Gulf ports and the Sea of Oman (Daryâ-yi Úmân), 366 km. from Shâh״, 366 km. from Bandar Lâbān (g.v.) and 200 km. from Bandar *Abbâs* (g.v.). Lar is an old station on the caravan route (9th-12th/15th-16th centuries), and lies at a height of 909 m. in a moderately mountainous region (ca. 1,000 to 2,000 m. high). Because of the region's aridity, the town's drinking water comes from wells and from cisterns for collecting rain-water (birkas). For irrigation, a network of *michi* (g.v.) is used. Unlike other towns of Fars, ans with the earthquakes, Lar has retained relatively well its former appearance, e.g. in its wind-towers (*bid-girs* [g.v. in *Suppl.]), its labyrinths of streets, alleys, etc. Only a single new avenue, the *Khvâbân-i Himmat*, crosses the town from north to south. The most interesting monuments comprise:

(1) The stone-built fortress *Aşhadâh* Paykar (*"having a dragon's body") which dominates the town from a rocky spur. According to legend, it was built by an army and treasures belonging to the *Khvâh-e Fârûz* (g.v.) of the Persian Safawid empire, viz. the Persian and below) of the province of Fars. 1861, no. 371; 110: 1. To plan, Pl., of a town or city, 15. 1857, 367-71, 424-7; F. A. Buhse, *Frfreise von tiefsten Sektion der Phasis* (1956), 183-224; Ta'rikh-i *Farhang-i Iran-zamân*, vil. 3[1337/1958], 177). The ancient castle of the kingdom of Lar is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake in 1593 (the ruins are mentioned by 17th century European travellers; see Calmard, 150). The region is full of fortified places, in particular, at Girs, most of them in ruins (on the *Bahrs* of Lar, see the *Magaziner-Mufadal*, ed. Amb, in ibid, 174).

(3) The Masjid-i Djum’a, for which we have no detailed, historical description. Ibn Bâdi’ mentions a devish convent (*zâmiyya, i.e. khânâkhâh*) of the famous Shaykh Abû Dula Muhammad. At the opening of the 17th century, there was situated near the Kaysariyya bazaar "a very great mosque, the only one of the town"; it contained the marble tomb of a saint constructed "in a fine court outside the mosque" (Rebelo, 159). A marble *mshar* of Gudjraft style, allegedly dating from the 8th/9th century

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Map 1. The routes from Shiraz to the Gulf via Lār (1638-1706). (After Jacqueline Calmard, *Les routes de Chiraz au Golfe Persique*.)

1. Shirāz—Lār—Bandar ‘Abbās
   - Mandelslo: 1638, February
   - Bastin de Oude: 1645, March
   - La Boullaye-Lé-Gouez: 1649, March
   - De Bourges: 1651, October
   - Tavernier: 1655, March
   - Thévenot: 1665, March
   - Struys: 1672, March
   - Chardin: 1674, March
   - Momont: 1675, September
   - Fryer: 1677, January
   - Fryer: 1678, October
   - Van Leenen: 1701, April
   - De Bruijn: 1705, August-September

2. Bandar ‘Abbās—Lār—Shirāz
   - De Bourges: 1661, May

3. Shirāz—Lār—Bandar Kung
   - Gemelli Careri: 1674, September
   - Morelli: 1675, September
   - Pereira Fidalgo: 1676, June
   - P. M. di San Siro: 1677, June

4. Bandar Kung—Lār—Shirāz
   - P. de la S. Trinity: 1640, March
   - Hedges: 1685, July
   - Pereira Fidalgo: 1696, July-August

and coming from Lār, is preserved in the Fārs Museum at Shirāz. This mihrāb poses an historical problem; was it brought to Persia in its present state? And were the inscriptions on it added in Persia? (see R. Howard, *The Lār mihrāb*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, ix [April 1970], 24-5, with a photograph which does not permit the decipherment of the inscriptions).

Lār is divided into 14 quarters (kuy). Like most modern Persian towns, it now takes in several suburban areas. It has all the organs of civil administration, a military garrison, schools (a dabāsīstān and four dabistāns) and an airport (to the south-east of the town). Although the climate of Lār is relatively more tolerable than that of the Gulf coasts, various illnesses are rife there. In particular trachoma and filariosis, both for long endemic in the region. The demography of the town has followed the evolving of the natural conditions and the historical and economic vicissitudes of the region (see below).

2. Lāristān. Geographical sketch. As a province of southern Persia on the Shirāz—Bandar ‘Abbās axis, Lāristān is generally reckoned as part of the garmsārd or warm regions of Fārs, with which it was integrated at the opening of the 11th/12th century. Since its influence spread over the neighbouring regions (see Map 2), its natural borders have fluctuated. In general, they may be fixed as follows. In the north-east and south, the old regions of Sabā (centred on Furg) and of the Shabankīa (centred on Idj, now Īstahbānī; Lāristān takes in Dājūm, to the north of the Dārāb). In the east, along a line passing half-way between Dājūm and Dājūm and connecting with the Gulf littoral in the region of Gawkānd (embracing the lands of Bid Shahr, Khundī, ‘A‘almarvdagh and Galladār). In the south, the Gulf littoral (ports and islands of the Gulf of ‘Umān, embracing Lāshīrīn, from Cape
Map 2. Lāristān and its dependencies in the 19th century, after the Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>vilāya</th>
<th>hasaba</th>
<th>number of villages</th>
<th>position in relationship to Lār</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bīkhā-yi Ābfām*</td>
<td>Bayram</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bīkhā-yi Fāl*</td>
<td>Askahān</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>south-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bīd Shahr</td>
<td>(Bīd Shahr)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>north-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dīyūm</td>
<td>(Dīyūm)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>north-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dījahangīrā / Dūhūngār</td>
<td>Bastak</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Khandūl</td>
<td>(Khandūl)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>north-west</td>
</tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Sulb-Kuh-i Lāristān</td>
<td>Bandar Ėrak</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>south</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fūmīstān-i Lāristān**</td>
<td>Gāvbāndi</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>south-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kūrwistān / Kārwistān</td>
<td>(Kashāb)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Linga</td>
<td>Bandar Linga</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>south-east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mazā'īdān</td>
<td>(Māzā'īdān)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>north-east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Muqafašt-i Shahr-i Lār</td>
<td>Lar</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>*Al-Āmar-dasht</td>
<td>(Al-Āmar-dasht)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fālā-galadār</td>
<td>(Galladār)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sab'ān-u Farg</td>
<td>(Farg)</td>
<td>(9 bulūks)</td>
<td>north-east</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Bīkhā, meaning a steep-sided valley, derived from bīkh, "river-bed", in Lāristān (Iktidari, Farhang).
** Fūmīstān, from fīm, meaning "coca" in vernacular Persian.

Nāband to Bandar 'Abbās. In the east, Kārwistān. In former times, certain adjoining regions (such as Furg, Tārum and Hūrmuz) have been on occasion attached to Fārs, on others to Kirmān; Kārwistān / Kārwistān was taken over by the Shābānḵāra in the 7th/8th century (see below, on history).

As noted by numerous travellers, this region has distinct geographical features. Nevertheless, it has never formed the object of detailed geological studies; as in regard to archaeology (see below), only the peripheral zones have been studied. The region is situated to the south of the main spine of the Zagros (the "Main Zagros thrust line", according to A. Ruttner and J. Stöcklin, in Bull. Amer. Assoc. of Petroleum Geologists 1968), i.e. on the edge of the Arabian formation-level which juts forth a salient into the region of Bandar 'Abbās. In certain marginal zones belonging to the Cretaceous period there are included some Eocene period formations, such as the "Ginaw series" (at Kūh-i Ginaw; see Pilgrim 1924, 59 ff.). The autochthonous, marginal folds which make up the mountainous terrain which is characteristic of Lāristān are clearly marked out. With their east-west orientation, they are made up from a basis of an epicontinental sedimentation; their composition (calcareous rocks, marls and gypsum) suggests the existence of fairly shallow seas. In their immediate vicinity are often found domes of salt, generally considered as being of Cambrian origin. The main concentration of these domes of salt is located in one part and another of a line connecting Lar and Bandar 'Abbās (see J. V. Harri-
son, in Camb. hist. of Iran, i, 179 with map). These marginal folds are closed on the south by the Kûh-i Khâmis (opposite the island of Kîsh [26]), which is made up of calcareous rocks described as "toedid or putrid" (hippuritic limestone) belonging to the structure bearing the special name of the "Khamîs series" (Pilgrim, 1961, 45, 60). The "Hurmân series", conglomerates of sand and rock found on the periphery of most of these salt domes, stretch as far east as Târs and Kirmâna and possibly further to in Lâristân (Pilgrim classes them as Jurassic, ibid., 45, and Harrison as Cambrian, ibid., 113).

The geography of the region is characterised by a relief which is lower than elsewhere in Fârs (especially along the axes Shîrân-Bushâr and Shîrân-Bandar Tâhirî) or further to the east in Makrân. Along the Dihurân-Lâr road, the highest point is 2,100 m., and only along the edges of Lâristân is the 3,500 m. mark passed (Kûh-i Furgûn, 3,280 m.). Elsewhere, heights are more usually between, 1,000 and 2,000 m. Lâristân suffers from frequent earthquakes, some of which have been described or noted by chroniclers and travellers; six have been counted between 1933 and 1960. In 1960, one of them caused much destruction and numerous casualties at Lâr and Gâhâsh (see photographs in the National Geographic Magazine, Jan. 1961, 58-59). The hydrography of Lâristân is very clearly marked by aridity. Except along the margins, snow does not remain long in winter, and the rainfall is feeble (at the most, 200-300 mm. per annum). The water intended for consumption or for irrigation is frequently brackish (see below). The rivers with a regular flow are very rare: rainstorms gouge out ravines across crossing-roads, and floods are often the cause of catastrophes. The most important river is the Zîrân, with local variants, as the Rûd-Sâna-yi Shîr Mihrân runs from west to east, from the dihurân of Fârsâvar to Bandar Khâmis. It is totally useless for agriculture; its flow is very feeble, and it can be forded at all times (ibid., 97). There is a great contrast between the plains of the littoral and the interior (see A. H. Adle, Socio-religious aspects. The story of the population of Lâristân is an extremely complex one. Heterogeneous tribes have been added to an ancient Iranian stratum of agriculturists and pastoralists. Elements described as Mongol were still in course of sedentarisation in the Kurbâl district at the end of the 7th/8th century (Aubin, Lâr médiévale, n, 24). The presence of Turkmen, who intervened in the affairs of Lâr at the beginning of the 14th century, presents an historical problem (ibid., 496, and below). From the 10th/11th century onwards, travellers mention the presence of numerous nomads. Kâshâri groups spent the winter in the Kûndî district (Le Fars, 17, 21). Some Bahârî had become sedentarised and lived in tents on the plains of Yazd-i Khûndî (ibid., 27). Some Bâşîr spent the winter in the districts of Bandar Lâr and some Nafar occasionally passed the winter in Lâristân (ibid., 51-2). Some nomadic or semi-nomadic families (târa) of Turkish origin have been recorded at Dûrs, Sûbicûn, Karmûstar(d), Sâhir-yi Bâgh, Ashtanân, Bid Shahr and Dîyûm and some Arabs and Bâşîr at Dîyûm, Harm, Kûrîyân and Bid Shahr (see the names in Râmîrâ, Fârâhan, vii, 209; ibid., LK, 25). There are sedentary Arab elements along the coasts, at Bandar 'Abâs, at Bandar Lûngâ (Kawânîm [40] known locally as Dîâyâsîn), and in the interior (notably the Dîhâshîyêya/Dîhâshîngdr, cf. the ghâyîhs of Bastak). The Banyans, Hindu merchants also called Mûrthânis (numerous at Bandar 'Abâs and at Bandar Kûng in the Šâfâawî period), used to play an outstanding commercial role, and there are still residual groups of Hindus in Lâristân. There used to exist an important Jewish community at Lâr, Gîlûr, Dihurm and Humruzî, and Lâr was a centre of Hebrew learning. At the beginning of the 13th/14th century, a Jew from Lâr became a convert to Islam, assumed the name of Abu 'I Hasan Lârî and secured from the Šî'î 'Islâmâmî the putting-into-force of discriminatory measures against the Jews. These measures were incorporated in a code to be applied to all the Jews of Persia, who had in special, distinctive clothing (a hat or piece of coloured cloth), and they underwent various persecutions under 'Abbâs I and his successors. In the 13th century, there were massacres, forcible conversions, expulsions, etc., and the Jews of Lâr, Dihurm, Fasâ, etc., emigrated to Shîrân (the main items of bibliography about the Jews of Lâr are to be found in L. Loeb, The Jews of Southwest Iran, a study of cultural persisence, diss. Columbia University 1970, 31 ff., with translations of the "restrictive codes", App. I, and chronological lists of intimidatory measures, App. II; on Abu 'I Hasan, see also Habib Lîwî (Lewis), Talâfîr-i Kânît-i Ìrân Tehran 1313/1935, 219 ff.)

Islam in Lâristân was notable for the preponderant influence of the Sunnîs or dervish orders: the Ismâ'îlîyya/Murshidîyya, the Dâyâlîyya (at Kûndî and Lâr), the Bâni 'Abbâsî (at Bastak), etc. The Twelver Shî'is imposed by the Šâfâawîs only succeeded in implanting itself in Lâristân to a partial extent, and numerous troubles broke out in the post Šâfâawî period, in the 18th and 19th centuries (see Aubin, Les sunnîtas du Lâristân, and below). The dichotomy thus created remains very apparent today, since the greater part of the urban and village communities are in majority Shî'îs. The sedentary Arabs of southern Lâristân are Sunnis. Amongst the tribal groups, it appears that today, only the Turkish tribes are both nomadic and Shî'is (Aubin, op. cit., 157 n. 5). Non-Islamic practices have been noted among the peoples of African origin who settled the coasts and in the islands (see below, on Lârak).

The population structure has been heavily affected by natural factors: earthquakes, floods, droughts, polluted water sources, locust-plagues, etc. These last have been the cause of dearths and illnesses: ophthalmia (from the sand storms), malaria, dysentery,
and above all the filariosis peculiar to Lāristān, caused by a parasite present in particular in the stagnant water of cisterns, the guinea-worm or Filāria medinensis, payawalīyāk in Persian and peye in Lāristān (see Iktīdārī, Farhang, 67). Accidents of history have also been the cause of depopulation (destructions, sackings, massacres, exoduses, deportations, etc.). Despite the relative economic florescence of the region during the 14th-15th centuries, the Lārists have continued to emigrate, along with the other groups of Muslim India, where they have served in the army and in the administration.

Taking into account the lack of preciseness in the evidence, the demography of the region as a whole is difficult to delineate. The only data which are even a little sure concern the town of Lār itself, and these are given below (unless there is an indication to the contrary), these items of information pertain to the town or the urban agglomeration of Lār; one should reckon 6 persons per family or household (see the references in Mattakhī, al-Iṣābā). In 1966, the Lārists occupied 3,431 households in 183,369, 52,465 being urban and 130,904 rural dwellers.

Language and literatures. In addition to Persian, Arabic (spoken on the coasts) and Turkish, Lāristān has its own particular dialect, which has been used by popular poets of the region; their verses have been partly gathered together in written form and studied (see the references in Mattakhī, al-Iṣābā). Some works in Lāristān have been published (Iktīdārī, in PI2, s.v.f.3 [1333/1925], 233-53, as well as vocabularies: K. Kamioka and M. Yamanada, Larestani studies. I. Lari basic vocabulary, Tokyo 1970 (not seen). Some works in Judaco-Persian have been written at Lār, which must have been the centre for a school of scribes, translators, copyists, etc. (see Loeb, op. cit., 41 ff.). The fate of the Jews of Lār has been put into Persian verses (mixed with dialectal terms) by the Jewish poets (see Hâbbī Līwī, op. cit., 270-1), notably by Bâbâ’ Lutf Kâshâni and Bâbâ’ Fârābî Kâshâni (cited at length by Līwī, 224 ff.).

Numerous littérature originally from Lāristān have written in Persian in all the literary genres: poetry, grammar, philosophy, mysticism, fīqā, historiography, etc. (see the lists cited by Râzī, Hâfīj ištān, ms. India Off. Libr., cat. Ethis. I, 397, fol. 1114-15; Fâsâ’ī, ii, 264 ff. Iktīdārī, LK, 135-203). To these one should add Nimdīfârī, a writer of the 19th century, on whom see A. Aubin, in PI2 [1967], 61-62; Karāmatī [ibid., Les sources du Larestân, 155]; Shaykh Ahmad Fâhštī [ibid., 170 n. 1; etc.].

Economic aspects. Though generally considered as one of the poorest regions of Persia, Lāristān is not without natural resources. Sulphur is found in many places, and is fairly easily exploitable: in the coastal regions, at Būstānī (to the west of Bandar Linga) and at Khâmīr (to the east of Bandar Linga); in the interior, at Karāmatī, to the south-east of Lār, etc. In the 19th century, the sulphur mines of Lāristān were quite productive (see Pilgrim [1908], 155 ff., [1917], 343 ff.). Gypsum [gāl] is frequient everywhere, and is easily exploitable along the littoral (Pilgrim [1908], 157-8). The iron ore and the salt of the “Hurnuz series” are more difficult to exploit. There is also some copper, unexploited, at “Karmōossaḥī” — Karāmatī (see Duprē, i, 431). Salt-petre, taken from nitric lands and abundantly in the region of Lār, yields material for gun-powder (at GirAsh, to the east of Lār; Duprē, loc. cit.). On the minerals of Lāristān, see also Fasâ’ī, ii, 338-9. After having been famous for its bows (see below), Lār was also famed for its firearms (Calmaud, i, 137). Various manufactures existed at Evaz (ca. 30 km. north-east of Lār; see Duprē, loc. cit.; Karāmatī, 48-9).

The natural vegetation covering is fairly meagre. However, Lāristān is relatively well-wooded. There are to be found vintages of tamarisk, asenas, cedars, firs, pines, tamarisk, and the cypress tree (kâbi) is also to be found. The gāl wood, which is very hard and solid, is used for cabinet-making and for timber framing. Various spiny shrubs, such as the hâhīr, are enjoyed by camels. The region falls completely within the date-palm zone, which is cultivated in the oases of the interior. The date harvest occupies a seasonal work-force, and as well as dates, cotton, tobacco (of good quality) and muscard are grown and exported (Le Furs, 163). In some places, opium poppies, sausages, etc. are cultivated. On the plains between Lār and Bandar ‘Abbâs, asfodelia, the exudation from the roots of certain varieties of Punica foedus, used in the pharmacopeia as far as in Europe, is gathered (Calmaud, 135-16). Amongst products of an animal origin, the “bezoar” has been noted (see below). One should also note the raising of and trafficking in camels (Duprē, i, 441; Le Furs, 163); a similar trade in horses, exported to India (see below); and one in sheep, whose skins were the subject of an extensive trade throughout all of Lāristān (see Duprē, i, 45; 143).

The basic problem remains that of water-supply. The water from wells and watercourses is most often brackish. Cisterns for rain water (bāraks), in various patterns (hexagonal, circular, etc.), are to be found in all the inhabited spots and at road stages. Except in certain regions of the north, in particular at those of Dīyūm and Khundī, where irrigation by kanān, wells (gālābucks) and springs is found, dry farming is generally done (daymānī, see Razmārā, Farhang, vii, 299). In the date-palm oases of the interior, these are often consumed on the spot. In addition to dates, the food supply comes, according to local possibilities, from cereals, products of market-gardening, citrus fruits, specimens of the goat family, milk products (cows, goats, sheep), poultry, etc. Travellers have noticed the abundance of game (ijxes, moufons, partridges, quails) and the excellent truffles of Lār. On occasion, grasshoppers are also appreciated (Calmaud, 120-1). Along the coasts and elsewhere in Lāristān, fish is fed to livestock (horses, camels, goats, sheep), and as well as to bovines and sheep (ibid., 124). There is a conglomeration, peculiar to the region, made from a fish base and spices (impanähā or mpyālā, called mahās in Lāristān; see Iktīdārī, Farhang, 203-4, and Fasâ’ī, ii, 283, where its making is described).

As well as the making of arms, local products include cotton cloths and carpets (jilīms, kāhi). Except in period of disturbance, the agro-pastoral sedentary and the nomadic economies complement
Each other (i.e. exchange of agricultural products and manufactured goods for the products of stock-raising, carpets, etc.).

The economy of Lär, Lärîstân was relatively prosperous in the 9th/15th to the 12th/18th centuries, but suffered in the post-Safavid disturbances and the interruption and ending of international trade (see below). The profession of caravaneers (coupled with the rearing of camels, mules, asses, etc.) used to occupy an important proportion of both the town and rural population. From this economic activity in the past, the people of Lärîstân have retained an interest in the commercial life; one meets, above all along the coast, numerous peddlers (pilawar). Also, the profession of arms (cf. the famous tasfîf) has continued to attract a good number of Lârs.

Historical evolution. Lärîstân or the land of Lâr does not emerge clearly in Persian history till the 8th/14th and 14th centuries. Until then—apart from a few sparse items of information about the neighbouring regions or about certain small places (Yâldt speaks of "Iqraym Abi Ahmad", i.e. Dîâyûm)—its past belongs almost exclusively to the little-known history of the Fâhîrds, etc. There are doubts concerning the localisation of this last according to mythical or legendary history. Minorsky (El art. Lâr) proposed to equate it with the land of the dragon Hâftân Bâshî (or the Hûftvîd of Firdawâ's Shah-nâmâ) which Ardâqâr Pâpahân killed. This dragon is said to have lived in the village of Lâr in the rustûk of Kûrândân, one of the rustûks bordering on the Gulf of the province of Ardâqâr Khûnra (al-Tabâri, i, 520). The variants Gûlîr (Kûrânâmâx, tr. Nûbîc, 50, Kûrândân ibid.) or Kûrândân (Shâh-nâmâ, ed. Mohî, v, 368) do not help in identifying it. Lâr is the name of an island (see below); Kûrândân, in the bulak of Galladar (Fasât, 1, Fûhrît), borders on Lärîstân (of which it forms part, in the large sense). At the present day, one finds several villages in Lärîstân whose names might well be variants of Gûlîr (Iktîgîrî, LK, 76 n. 2; Gûlîr belongs to the bulak of Dîâyûm, Razmâr, Fârhang, vii, 202). But there is also a Kûrândân in the shahristân of Dâh-e-ghar (ibid., 197), a Kûrândân in the bulak of Kûrândân (ibid.).

Thus the localisation of the land of the dragon Hûftvîd within the imprecise borders of Ardâqâr-Khûnra (also called Tâbâtân) remains problematical. Moreover, a legend which could have some basis of genuineness places the home of HâltvAî on the region of Band (Aubin, Lär médâvîne, n. 3). The place-name Marakî Lârân appears in the Bundakhdâr (D. Monchâzadeh, Topographische-historische Studien zum persischen Neutralreich, Wiesbaden 1973, 141). A village called Lâr exists in the shahrîshân of Câh Bâhâr (in the old udîn of Kûrân wa Makrân), populated by Sunnî Bâlûcîs (pop. 220 in 1950, see Razmâr, Fârhang, viii, 38).

According to a basî attributed to Firdâwî (lacking in the known editions of the Shah-nâmâ, but cited in the Burhân-i bâdî, whence Voles, Lexicon, s.v. Lâr; Fasât, ii, 263, etc.), the town or region of "Lâd" was allegedly "given" to Gurînî Mîlâd by the Kâyâmîd Kây-Khûsuraw when he renounced the world and distributed the Persian lands to his dignitaries. The passage from d r is found in Armenian, in Tâfî (Minorsky, El art. Lâr; J. Durmesteter, Etudes turcques, i, 79) and in various Iranian dialects (see G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, Paris 1953, 156).

Previously, Lâd seems to have had another name (AAA, tr. Sâvory, ii, 807).
and these last acknowledged them till the time of the Portuguese domination (Aubin, *Princes d'Ormuz*, 94-5; *Survie de Shildu*, 26). Around 1250 also Kays was occupied by the Ormuzi, and henceforth, the international transit trade via Hormuz and the Kays-Shiraz route was abandoned.

Although Lār is described in the 8th/14th century as a prosperous town (by Ibn Batūṭa, see below), it does not seem to have played any important political role nor to have excited the envy of its neighbours in medieval Persia. The sole exception to this state of affairs, it is said, was the annexation in the 7th/13th century of Lār by the Shabānḵāra, its northern neighbours who controlled eastern Fārs and who had spread into Kirmān. According to Aubin (*Lār médiévale*, 499-500), this was an episode in the fight between the Shābānḵāra and Salghurid Fārs. From the beginning of his reign, the Salghurid Abū Bakr b. Sa‘d (628-38/1238-58) began a policy of dominating the Gulf. In this kind of race to the sea, he clashed with other local powers: Muṣaffar al-Dīn Shabānḵāra and, over control of the island of Kays, the prince of Qumūz. It was probably in 628/1330 that Muṣaffar al-Dīn seized Lār; the territories annexed extended to the Gulf shores (not precisely delimited in the west, but to Kirmān, the frontier with the kingdom of Hormuz, in the east, see Aubin, *op. cit.*, 500). Lār’s orientation towards the Gulf and its prosperity in the 8th/14th century are confirmed by various sources. Mustawfi—who does not use the term Lārīstān but that of wālīyāt-i kinnar daryā "region along the sea-coast"—says that most of its inhabitants are merchants who travel by sea and land, and cotton, dates and cotton goods are grown there (Nuzha, 139, tr. 138). Ibn Batūṭa’s words, who visited Lārīstān (probably in 748/1347), pose certain problems, especially in regard to dating (see J. Hrbek, in *ARO*, xxx [1962], 446 ff., and Aubin’s remarks, *Survie de Shildu*, 23, n. 29, n. 26, n. 68, 37, n. 2). He describes Lār to us as "a large town with springs, considerable streams and gardens." It had large, well-built bazaars. He lodged in a khanākūh (q.v.) whose murjiḏī, who held Shillāw and retained some influence in the Gulf—succeeded in maintaining Fā’il as a petty urban centre, despite the growing pressure of the princes of Lār. The latter in fact drew benefit from the new position of their town—staging post on the Hormuz-Shirāz axis by extending their power towards the coast and the intervening high valleys (*bid.*, 35-6). The inevitable conflict between Lār and Hormuz—which had become economically complementary through their dependence on the Indian trade—broke out in 904/1500-9, when the prince of Lār tried to exploit an outbreak of discontent amongst the Belewis of Dijūlar. The naval expedition against the island of Djarū led by Abū Bakr Lārī was checked by Shībā, a Qānūn of Salghur Shāh (Aubin, *in Mure*, i, 102-2). The intrusion of the Lārīs in the affairs of Hormuz revived
After the death of Salghur Shâh (1505) with a further attack on Djarin. But the new lord of Hurmuz, Khâdja 'Abâ' put an end to this, at the same time removing the young ruler issued from a union between Salghur Shâh and a princess of Lâr (ibid., 104-5). Nevertheless, the princes of Lâr continued to expand towards the shores. Their vassal, the amirs of Lîl, brought pressure to bear on the Lashkân region (the land behind the island of Khwân at Nâiband) one of them seized the district of Lashkân in 1516 (Aubin, in Marè, ii, 143-3; on Lîl, see ibid., n. 367 and Lâr médialhâle, n. 22). Yet despite the decline of Fâl, Lârs and Fâlis followed parallel paths in their relations with Hurmuz even after the advent of the Saintwâds.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, commercial traffic was enough to stimulate Lâr's prosperity. The prince levied no taxes on goods in transit. At the beginning of the next century, at the time when the Portuguese appeared, Lâr merchants and mercenary soldiers took an active part in affairs of the Deccan. The famous silver coin of Lâr, the lârî or larîn [2.5], circulated through all the markets of the Indian Ocean shores (Aubin, in Marè, ii, 124; Steensgaard, 420-1). Like Lâr warriors, the bowmen of Lâr were celebrated, and were exported to Irân and India (Aubin, op. cit., 177-8). After Fâl (Dâr al-Sâfî [abode of purity]) and its twin Khûnj (Dâr al-Awûtâ [abode of saints]), Lâr could boast the lâbân of Dâr al-Mâ'âdâl [abode of equity].

In 914/1508 envoys from Hurmuz and Lâr came to give allegiance to Shâh Jamâil at Shîráz (A.A.A., tr. Savory, 157-8). The princes of Khurâsân and the Dâr merchants became tributary to the Saintwâds with the title of Amîr-i Dînân (ibid., ii, 860). Around the turn of the 16th-17th century, pieces of information on Lâr become more numerous. The travellers who passed through it in the 16th century did not give any details on their itinerary (Amanâzî Nûhitî, Khânâyên iz tri morga, Moscow 1955, 89; Girolamo S. Stefano, see Aubin, Suriye de Shîhât, 33, nm. 106-7). Gil Simbès, secretary of the Portuguese embassy to Shâh Jamâil who, in 1513, returned from Shîráz to Hurmuz via Lâr after fighting furiously with the Portuguese, however, gave more information. The embassy of 1523/4 passed through Lâr. Though sometimes difficult to trace, the itinerary of this embassy is described in detail by Antônio Tenreîro (Itinerário, Lisbon 1571, 16 f.; for a critical study of this text and of the parallel account of Pernâo Lopesde Castanheda, see Aubin, in Arquivos, iii (1971), 238-53, with 245-6 on Lâr itself, Tenreîro gives us some important information about Lâristân, especially on Kawrûtân (Kawaristan), the frontiers between Lâr and Hurmuz (cf. Aubin, in Marè, ii, 104), on the caravanserais and cisterns constructed along the road by pious donors, on the town of Lâr (its protective wall stonewalls. It had a higher part, that with the citadel, and a lower part, and 'outside the town there are other houses which are not walled'. Tenreîro and his retinue lodged in a caravanserai outside the town walls. He noted the numerous cisterns for collecting rain water built by pious Lârs both in the town and at two-league intervals along the Lâr-Hurmuz route. At Lâr, there were even some fountains for the prostitutes. The gold and silver smiths were 'gentiles from Indâ', 'all gathered together in one street'. At Lâr, both Turkish and Persian were spoken. The king, a vassal of the 'Sofî', was called 'Soppdzi' [2], and wore the 'scape' of the Sofî (the external sign of adhesion to Twelver Shi'ism, according to the Kâlibâyi). The shops, piled high with merchandise, hardly needed protection at night against thieves in the cause of the said king of Lâr exercises great justice'.

Soon after Tenreîro's passage through Lâr, the prince [Aznâthawân] b. Abî Saîd b. Sâîb al-Mulûk, called Shâh âdîl, was assassinated (29 Safar 548/24 June 1541; see Aubin, Lâr médialhâle, 493). Under his successor Ibrâhîm Khan, the relations of Lâr with the Saintwâd authority deteriorated. He omitted to go and give allegiance to Shâh 'Ababsâ I when he went to Shîráz, ill-treated the Shi'ite tributes-collectors and levied extraordinary taxes on merchants and travellers. The Shah's anger was aroused, and he sent twice punitive expeditions against Lâr in 1610-11/610-1 under the command of Alih-Verdî Khan, the beglar-begi of Fârs. In the course of the second one, the latter seized Lâr, carried off Ibrâhîm Khan and his entourage back to Shîráz and confiscated their possessions. Ibrâhîm Khan and the 'treasures of Lâr', including the famous crown of Kay Khursâr, were then taken off by Alih-Verdî Khan to Shâh 'Ababsâ's court, then engaged in a war with the Portuguese in Badghis near Harât. In the course of the expedition against Bâlîch, Ibrâhîm Khan died of an epidemic which affected a large number of the troops. The administration of Lâr was entrusted to Kâdî Abû 'l-Kâsim Lârî, a devoted Shîfî (A.A.A., tr. Savory, 805-8; cf. Yazdî, fol. 99a ff.).

During the whole of the 16th/17th century, until the decline of the Saintwâds, the Persian Gulf routes via Lâr were followed by numerous traders, diplomats, travellers, men of religion, etc., who have left us lively first-hand accounts. A few months after Alih-Verdî Khan's seizure of Lâr, the Augustinian friar Antônio de Gouvea passed through the town, where he mentions the recent destructions (on Gouvea's mission as mediator in the conflict between the Portuguese and Shâh 'Ababsâ, see Steen¬gaard, 230-1; on Lâr, 231). In a parallel version to the Itinerário of Gaspar de S. Bernardino, Nicolau da Orta Rebelo gives us a long description of Lâr and Lâristân dated August-September 1566 (on S. Bernardino's narrative, see Aubin, in Arquivos, i (1960), 201-45; on Lâr, ed. Lisbon 1842, 136-47). Rebelo noted the numerous charitable works (cisterns and caravanserais), the security of the roads (the Hurmuz-Lâr road and above all the entry into Lâr was very well policed 'because of the war between the Sofî and the king of Ormûn') and the freedoms and the liberalities which the Persians and the travellers enjoyed (see below). He further noted the
abundance and low price of the bazaar products (fruits, textiles, poultry such as partridges, and sheep) and the rebuilding works undertaken after the Safavid conquest, in particular, the fortress dominating the town and the basar (i.e. the Bazaar Kayaneya, see above) rebuilt at that time by Kambar Ali Beg, who also erected a sumptuous caravanserai on the Lur-Shiraz road (Rebelo, ed. Serro, 107 ff.).

After the fall of Shiraz, the English, and then the Dutch, and then later the French, were authorized by the Safavid government to set up their factories at Gombron, now renamed Bandar 'Abbâsi. In 1630, the Portuguese gained the same permission to use Bandar Kung (8 km. to the east of the modern Bandar Lânsa) which began to fill up with Arabs and Persians (and then with Banyans and Portuguese) and became an important town in the years 1630-40 (Steensgaard, 357-8). The khân of Shiraz, the begler-begi of Fârs Imam Khan Khân, seized the port of Gombron/Gombroon (Portuguese Gomcrô) in December 1614 (ibid., 294 ff.), and in spring 1622 Persian troops commanded by Imam Khan were helped by an English naval force (A.A., tr. 1204-9; Steensgaard, 305 ff.).

The negotiations begun by the second "Spanish" embassy of Sherley (1617-22) and the presence of a Spanish ambassador at the Persian court and a Portuguese one in the Spanish court since 1617 were unable to prevent the Portuguese from losing "the key to the Land of India". Much held back in his mission (cf. Steensgaard, 312 ff.), the Castilian ambassador Figueroa has left behind for us an itinerary (lacking details) of his journey through Lâristân in 1618.

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From this time onwards, the routes through Lâristân are described in detail by the travellers. We have important items of information from Sir Thomas Herbert about the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Persia in 1628-9 (tr. Paris 1653, 209 ff.; Calmard, illustration 1), and the parallel account of Robert Stafford (ed. Denison Ross, London 1935: on Shirâz-Lâristân-Gombron, see 75-83). Mandelslo, a Danish traveller who only describe Bandar 'Abbâsi, Bandar Kung, etc., have been included here). As this chronology shows, the dates of movements across Lâristân were a function of the movements of ships, hence of the monsoons, and the climatic conditions in the interior of the country: there were few journeys in midsummer, because of the extreme heat and the "poisonous winds" (bad-i samir), or in winter, because of the snow along the route Lâr-Shiraz (Calmard, 23 ff.). The travellers give us first-hand information on the routes followed (which varied little from the 17th to the 19th centuries, except on the Lâr-Shiraz section), on travelling conditions (state of the roads, bridges and fords; the security provided by the bakhtâns, "road-guards"; tolls, customs-dues; etc.), on the natural habitat and the populations (climate, plants, animals, local inhabitants, habitats, illnesses and urban communities), on the political rivalries in the Gulf and in Persia between the central and local powers (including the topics of pirate activity) and between the different European Companies, etc. (see the Bibliography for the 17th-18th centuries).
help of his brother Hādījī Khān—control over the Bulūkī Sabān (i.e. the region between Lāristān and Kirkūm), and then over Lār. After an abortive expedition against Shīrāz in 1243/1825, in which Ḥādījī Khān died en route, Naṣīr Khān extended his jurisdiction over the Gulf littoral (i.e. over the Arab shaykhā) and his extensive power over the East India Company at Bandar Ablas. Nevertheless, he had difficulties in controlling this latter port, and moreover, fell inevitably into conflict with Karīm Khān Zand. During the years 1754-66, he led three expeditions against the governor of Kirkūm on the one hand, and the penetration of the Zands on the west. He even planned joint attacks against Karīm Khān in Shīrāz in concert with the Kākir chief, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (in 1256 and 1758). It was ʿAṣād Khān Zand who, in the end, captured the town of Lār and reduced Naṣīr Khān’s family (till 1845, according to Minorsky, to 1858 according to Perry). This same family adopted towards the Zands and then towards Aḥṣa Muḥammad Khān Kākir an at least rebellious attitude (Fasā’ī, i, 223; Dūpūr, i, 396). Furthermore, Naṣīr Khān Zand and Lār also saw their bakhshis handed over to the government of Lāristān and the ports of the Gulf (ibid., p. 283). It seems that, contrary to what Fasā’ī asserts (followed by Minorsky, F. 1 art, and Perry, 195), the administration of Lāristān did not remain in a more or less autonomous fashion in the hands of Naṣīr Khān’s family (till 1845, according to Minorsky, till 1858 according to Perry). This same family adopted towards the Zands and then towards Aḥṣa Muḥammad Khān Kākir an at least rebellious attitude (Fasā’ī, i, 223; Dūpūr, i, 396). Furthermore, Naṣīr Khān Zand and Lār also saw their bakhshis handed over to the government of Lāristān and the ports of the Gulf (ibid., p. 283). The fighting between Karīm Khān Zand and Naṣīr Khān Lārī for control of the ports and the routes through Lāristān accelerated the economic ruin of the region (Perry, 152 ff.). Already rather little-used in the Safavid period (over and above the Gulf routes via Lār), the Shīrāz-Bandar Rūg route (facing the island of Khārg) was envisaged by the East India Company as an alternative to the Shīrāz-Bandar Ablas one (ibid., 259). The troubles in Lāristān amongst the local powers led to the Companies moving further north up the Gulf: the English to Bushire (Bū-Shahr) and the Dutch to Khārg (ibid., 154 ff.; Stitt, in GJ, xvi [1900], 211-15). Hence Lār retained henceforth only a regional importance.

Lāristān once again suffered from brigandage (the pillaging expedition of the Balfārdī Mihrib Khān, sardār of Rampūr, at the opening of the 19th century, see Pottinger, Travels in Baluchistan, London 1816, 163, Fr. tr. Paris 1818, 825 ff. (on the Balfārdī raids of Gulf, Bandar Lārī, see K. Eth, in GJ, vi [1899], 220-22), see Pottlnger, Ten thousand mils in Persia, of 1810, see Sykes, Eastern Persian Irak, Sljih (Houtum-Schindler, xvi [1900], 211-15). Hence Lār was at that time the main port of Lār (via Bandar Lārī, see Stitt, in GJ, vi [1899], 220-22).

In 1881, Stack found Lār in a fairly wretched condition (ibid., 133-35). But the action of its governor Fath ʿAlī Khān (a person whom he describes at length) and his son allowed the town’s buildings to be restored (see above, on the Kayāyirīn bāzār), noted as being in excellent condition in 1907, Bandar Lārī was at that time the main port of Lār (via Bandar Lārī, see A. T. Wilson, in GJ [February 1908], 132-70). The comparative development of Bandar Lārī under the Kāfkāsī/Fawwāsī Arabs favoured the hinterland, and notably Bandar Lārī. At the end of the Kāfir period (ca. 1900-15), the Gulf ports, including Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Lārī, were increasingly controlled by Belgian officials (Lorimer, ii, 34). In 1952-1957, Bandar ʿAbbās was considered to be wholly under British influence (Kababī, 541).

The island of Lār (see Map 2). This Gulf island is generally considered as being that called...
Aba Shu’ayb (Bū Shu’ayb, Shaykh Shu’ayb or Džwrat-al-Shaykh), situated to the south-east of Bandar Naghli and belonging to the Shīb-i Khūi-i Lārkān (at 2 farsākh’s distance from the coast, according to Panābi, ii, 315). Since the identification of this island is not made easy by utilising the classical and early Islamic sources, one finds numerous errors in both old and modern writers, and some of them have mixed up the island and the kingdom of Lār (Iktidār, Lār, 126-9). Neceh must have touched on it in the course of his peripat. It could possibly be the island of pearls (Neus Margaritis of Hormiz, see Tomasek, in 32, 44; Wensnæs, xxxi [1890], 59, and Minorsky, EI iv, 470). The geographers writing in Arabic give it various names: Lāwān ( Ibn Khurṣāsānī, al-‘Istakhri); Lār (Yākūt, Abū ‘l-Fida’); whilst the variants Lār, Lān, Allān (Lārān) are given by Schwatz, 57, Le Strange, 251, and Minorsky, loc. cit. Ibn al-Balāchī (Fars-nama, ed. Le Strange, 241) connects the island with Arzāgār Khūra (Irbīštān). Muhammad b. Naghib Balarkān calls this island Lādū (Dhūlān-numa, ed. Le Strange, 251). The toponymy Lādū (cf. Lādū, the ancient name of the town or the kingdom of Lār) could be applicable to the place called Lāz/Lāza or to Lāz/Lāza/Lāzā, the most important settlement in the eastern part of the island. The Portuguese called it Ilha de Lázaro or Larançar (Lār Shāvār, from the name of the ishāl Shāvār/Shawār/Chāwara at its eastern extremity; see Aubin, in Mare, ii, 97, n. 175).

According to Yākūt (iv, 341), Lār is a large island situated between Sīr Gūn and Bandar Līngā, lacking any settlement or village; there were pearl-fishers, i.e. divers; its circumference was said to be 12 farsākh’s round. Because of the insecurity from Gulf piracy, the island was thinly populated. According to Duarte Barbosa, it formed part of the dependencies of Hurmūz (Aubin, in ibid.). It is situated, in relationship to the coast, which makes an outward salient at Ra’k Khūnā, 14 to 15 miles from the coast; from east to west it is about 15 miles long, and about 3 miles wide. It is 130 feet high at the centre, and low plains to west it is about 15 miles long, and about 3 miles wide. It is surrounded by deep water except at the western side. The interior is a mass of sharp, sandstone hills mixed with salt domes and dunes of red iron oxide (a typical formation of the Hurmūz series), see Pilgrim [1908], 141, [1942], 16). Except for a few date-palms, it is almost bare of vegetation. The highest point reaches 910 feet. Except for the well of Salmī (in the west), water comes from cisterns (Lorimer, iiB, 1086; see also Panābi, ii, 317). There are many mice and rabbits, the latter living off a spiny plant called hītāw which stays green in winter as well as summer (Kabābī, 98, who states that the island is 13 miles in circumference, 18 miles from Bandar ‘Abbās, 28 miles from Khūn-i Musandam, 8 miles from Shahr-i ‘Iṣām, and 16 to 17 miles from Hurmūz).

The sparsity and the vagueness of the older sources has given rise to many hypotheses. Lārāk, literally ‘little Lār’, has been take—for Kabābī, 292—for the ancient island of Hurmūz (wrongly, because the depths do not allow settlement); the former, when not occupied, made useful and cultivated by a fairly important (to judge by the remains of buildings and irrigation works) non-Muslim population (according to the orientation of numerous tombs, see Lorimer, iiB, 1087, and Kabābī, 98). Amongst the ruins, the latter author mentions those of a rectangular fortress like the one of the island of ‘Iṣām. Lorimer records two ancient forts: a ruinous one at the place called Khāshākhūnā, in the interior of the island (i.e. Lārāk-i khūnā), and the other, in a better condition, at Labtīyāb on the northern coast. According to this same authority, the fort is said to be Portuguese, but according to Curzon, ii, 413, Dutch. According to Iktidārī, the ‘Iṣām of Lārāk and Khūnā are Portuguese, whilst that of Kh ūmnī is possibly Dutch. The Lārāk šārā is made from dressed stone covered with mortar, with three floors, four towers and a look-out walkway (Aḥdem, 740 ff., with photographs). Only the foundations remain of the East India Company’s telegraph house. Among the remains of the cemetery have been found lamps for the dead from baked earth (ibid., with photograph at 74). The anchorage of Lārāk was much appreciated by sailors, especially the Portuguese, who called it Larka/Laraca. They sheltered there in February 1625 when making an attempt to recover Hurmūz (see Steensgaard, 352). The ambassador Pereira Fidalgo stopped there in 1966 (ed. Aubin, 29). In 1717, Lārāk was captured by the Imam of Maskā, aided by the Rāwānī and Arabs from Kārār (Perry, 158).

According to the Maḥjūzar-i Mafsid (17th century), Lārāk was inhabited by Arab fishermen. The boat from Bandar Rig called there sometimes (ed. Aubin, in Fīrāzī, vi, 2-3 [1337/1958], 175). At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of ca. 200 was made up of Dhūlānīyān linked by marriage with the Banū Shātāy Shībū of Kumzār (the region of the Ru’b’s al-Džūlībī in Ḩumān who spoke kumzāri (Lorimer, iiB, 1086). In addition to the Kumzānī, Kabābī mentions the records of families, five of them from Bulūnāy-ye ‘Abbas, and he states that the soil of the island is good for agriculture. The people live by extracting salt (exported to the Ḩumānī and Khūmī), fishing and a little bit of stock-rearing (sheep and goats). In summer, most of them migrate to the oasis-palm-groves of Mināb (Kabābī, 98). Formerly, the island depended administratively on
the kalntar of Kigraph. Persian authority was only established after 1905-6 with the building of a customs-post (Lorimer, iiB, 1687; Kabîbî, 97). One of the interesting peculiarities of Lârak is that it possesses—in company with other places of the coasts and islands of Lârak—Är [q.v.] adepts and practitioners. Called locally the ahâl-i kandar "people of the wind", they have as the officiating persons men (the bâhns), women (the namûms) and some ashâs, most of them of African origin (see Ghulâm Husayn Sâ'dî, Ahâl-kandar, Tehran 1345/1966, index s.v. Lârak).


LARÂCHE [see al-ÁRÂS] 953.

LÄRANDA, Lârendê or Karmân in modern Turkish usage, earlier Turkish Karaman or Dârande, a provincial town in Anatolia, is the seat of one of the thirteen districts of Konya [q.v.]. The district of Karmân is the largest (4,647 km²) in Turkey. The town lies outside the earthquake zone at lat. 35° N, long. 33° 28' E, at an elevation of 1,938 ft., on the plateau at the northern end of the pass leading through the Taurus Mts. to the Goksu (ancient Kalykados, or Saleph) river valley. The main road from Konya (at 110 km.) to Silifke (at 186 km.) passes through the district. The town has a station on the railway line from Konya to Ereğli, a stretch of the former Istanbul-Baghdad railway. The population grew from 4,232 in 1927 to 28,183 in 1965 and 1971 in 1980, when the town counted 25,468 inhabitants.

1. History

Excavations at prehistoric sites in the Konya-Lâranda area, especially at Çatal Hüyük and Çan Hasan, have revealed an advanced Neolithic culture and substantial towns dating from ca. 7000 B.C. (See J. Mellink et alii, in Cambridge ancient history; idem and D. French, in Anatolian Studies, x (1960); U. H. Alami, in Asiatnila i (1968); D. Magie, Roman rulers W. Ramsay, Hist. geogr., 45; F. Tachschier, Wegenetc).

The Byzantine Laranda (74 Apostolos, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, xii, col. 793) fell to the Seljûqs after the battle of Manzikert (1071), and Islamisation must have taken place early. After having been under Dânishmandi [q.v.] rule, it was retaken around 560/1165 by the Seljûk sultan Kilid Arslân II [q.v.]. Taken briefly in 586/1190 by emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and in 1210 by Leo II of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia, it was retaken by the Seljûqs in 1216 and used as a frontier fortress against the Armenian kingdom. In 633/1236 the area was organised as the avlûcay-î Arman (Historie des Croisades, Doc. Arm., i, 360; Cambridge history of Islam, i, Cambridge 1970, 234 f.). Around 650/1258, the family of Mawlawî Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî [q.v.] settled in the town. Djalâl al-Dîn was married there and extols its delights in his poetry (A. Göl-
LARANDA

It is claimed locally that the great folk poet Yunus Emre [g.o.] is also buried there (seeem, Yunus Emre, hayatı, Istanbul 1963; M. C. S. Tekindag, in Bulletin xxx (1966), 117, 59-90; Proc. of the 1971 Istanbul Symposium on Yunus Emre). Laranda also claims as its native son the chronicler Negri[i] [g.o.], the Grand Vizier Karaman Mehmed Pasha [g.o.], the medievist Gezgin, the 19th-century Dervish, and a number of others (Gibb, Ottoman poetry, index; Babinger, Geschichtsschreiber, index; V. L. Monage, Negri[i]'s History of the Ottomans, London 1964; A. A. Adivar, Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim, Istanbul 1949). In 626/1228 the Türkmen dynasty of the Karaman oglu-qullu [g.o.] emerged in the Ermenek-Laranda region, and in 628/1231 the town was given as a temporary ıfriki by Kılıçlar Sani, a ıv. Karaköy chief. In 654/1256 Laranda became the capital of the Karamanids under Karaman oglu Gümüş Beg and was able to maintain itself against the combined forces of the Saltuks and their supporters, the Il-Khanid Mongols. In 687/1288 Laranda was burned by the Il-Khânids, and lost temporarily again to them in 697/1292, but heavy destruction and loss of population did not stop the Karamanids from rising to great political power. The town grew in importance and was enriched with many buildings. (See section 2, below). After 1300, the name Laranda was replaced by the new name Karaman. Even when the Karamanids princes expanded their dominions and were able to make the prestigious new royal city of Konya their capital in 720/1321, the old residence remained important as a seat of lesser members of the dynasty. The town remained somewhat distant from the battle front during the Karamanids' struggle with the competing powers in Anatolia, including the Mongols and later the Ottomans, the heirs of the Saltuks. According to F. Sümer (in, Karaman oglu-qullu, Vol. IV, 692), Ibn Battuta's account of his visit to Konya and Laranda, and of his meeting of the Karamanids, began on hearsay. In 799/1395 the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I visited Laranda and conquered nearly all the dominions of the Karaman oglu amir Ali Beg, who was himself killed. The amir's widow, the Ottoman princess Nezza (Melek Khatun), and her two sons Mehmed Beg and Ali Beg, were deported to Bursa in 800/1408. It was the end of the principality. Timur, however, restored the Karamanids to power after the battle of Ankara (864/1402), and they maintained themselves in the face of the Ottoman restoration in 877/1474 and 878/1475. Next to Konya, Laranda remained the main centre of the Karamanid state and flourished greatly. At this time, however, the Mamılıks invaded the country and occupied Laranda in 828/1421-2 for a short time, the region becoming tributary to them. The town's lords then changed several times because of civil warfare. In 826/1425, Mehmed Beg was killed at the siege of Antalya and buried in Laranda. The town saw its last decades of glory as a capital under Karaman oglu İbrahim Beg (827-94/1424-64). When De la Rochefoucauld traversed the lands of the Grand Karaman in 856/1452, he attended an audience with sultan İbrahim in his court at Konya after having visited Laranda. He remarked on the great extent of the Karamanids' dominions, the dignity and wealth of the court and flourishing trade of both towns. Another conflict brought the Mamılık army to Laranda again, and it was set on fire (861/1456-7). After Konya was lost to the Ottomans, the Grand Vizier Mahmut Paşa took Laranda in 873/1468, the last Karamanid chiefs continuing their resistance against the forces of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. Part of the inhabitants, especially the craftsmen, were deported in 1471 to be settled in Istanbul in the so-called Büyük Karaman quarter (the present Çarşamba). In Laranda a number of monumental buildings, sacred and profane, were destroyed or suffered damage. Devastation followed the foundation of the small town by Gedik Ahmed Paşa [g.o.]. The castle was repaired with the architectural debris. In 881/1476 the first Ottoman registration of land, property and pious foundations took place, and the town's title tax (boyır) was made into a waqf for the benefit of al-Madina. By this time, the rule of the Karaman oglu-qullu in Laranda had virtually come to an end (Tekindingag, 1953, 51; Konya, 100-2, 405). The town became the first Ottoman vakıf [prince's] saûdâq, governed from Konya under princes Mustafa and Dînî [g.o.]. In 888/1483 Bayazid II had the Karamanid territory organised as a regular Ottoman province as the eyâlet of Karaman, with Konya as capital and seat of the beglerbeği.

From now onwards, Laranda was of only secondary importance. With its castle, it must have played a role in the Ottoman campaigns to suppress revolts fomented by Karamanid chiefs and Safavid agents till ca. 1501. The rebel Kulf Shah seized the town briefly in 916/1509, while in 917/1510 the area was taken by prince Ahmed in his fruitless effort to succeed Bayazid II. Timur's invasion in 923-5/1526-8 by the Kalânlar [g.o.]. Until 923/1526, the town was part of the fortified frontier with the Mamlûk dominions, and it became a hadîf in the saûdâq of Konya. During a short period in the ı1/17th century, it probably held the rank of saûdâq itself. The name of Karaman came now more and more in use. The importance of the trade route passing through Laranda was probably reduced by the extension of the Ottoman empire to the east. The tax registers dated ca. 929/1523 show that the population of Laranda counted 664 bâhânes = 576 nefs or tax payers (Konya), or 366 bâhânes = 677 nefs (Jennings), or 576 bâhânes = 676 nefs (Faroqi). The registers of 933/1528 and 935/1527 show 2,027 nîfâs (Konya), 2,028 nefs (Jennings), and 1,423 bâhânes = 2,005 nefs plus 625 müddferredâs (Faroqi). The number of mahâlales had increased in 1587 from 34 (Konya) to 39. Thirteen of those quarters still exist at the present. The growth of the population seems to point to secure living conditions. From other sources it is known, however, that Laranda was one of the centres of the well-known saûf or student revolts against the central government's financial policy in the years 985-1008/1577-94. In 1596 the Geldâlî [see Geldâlî in Suppl.] revolts ravaged the province of Karaman. Laranda's population seems to have remained loyal to the government during the following years, at least till 1011/1603. The presence of the Janissary garrison must have had an influence here (cf. M. Akgâh, Edûlî iâyânaları (1359-1603), Ankara 1965, index sv. Karaman (Laranda)). Kera Yâzîlî [g.o.], one of the leaders of the Geldâlîs, was bought off by the office of müddfer of Konya.

From the taxation data of the roth/16th century, Laranda appears as a flourishing interregional market town in an important agricultural region. The building activity during the same century seems to bear this out. The town contained, around 929/1523, 1 sâmkâr, 4 dîvâns, 25 meşâhid, 7 medreses, 1 dîr el-hadîf, 10 tekkes, 7 hammâms, 366 dîbâhâns.
and 65 standils ("trading booths"). The castle was manned by a garrison of 39 men under a commander (dëddar) and a kâkâ. Its armament must have included some pieces of artillery (Konyali, 276, 1758).

Tenth/seventeenth century Liranda is described by Ewliya Celebi (Seydikâ-âme, §, 373-12) and Kâtib Celebi (Djâhân-nûmâ, 1145/1731, 614 L.). In 1867, Liranda/Karaman was incorporated in the new vilâyêt of İkonya as a kâfî in the central sanjak.

Traditional economy, based mainly on dry farming, live-stock, textiles and the production of the well-known Karamân-bulgur (wheat), has been diversified and enlarged. Lead, zinc and chrome are well-known. Karamân-bulgur is of all recognition, was a flat-roofed aisled construction, though the unusually diverse nomenclature of the town. Its armament must have been supplied by a garrison of 39 men under a commander ("trading booths"). The castle was manned by a garrison of 39 men under a commander (dëddar) and a kâkâ. Its armament must have included some pieces of artillery (Konyali, 276, 1758).

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tion with wooden columns and stalactite capitals (Konyayh, op. cit., 359-63). No Great Mosque is mentioned in the wafl register of Muhamayr 881/January 1477, which thus indirectly corroborates Shikhârî’s assertion that it was destroyed in or after the Ottoman capture of Karaman. The only evidence, moreover, for the existence of a Great Mosque in the 17th century is the foundation inscription of a maâhid associated with it dated 940/1533-4. The façade of the Hacibeyler Camii (Konyayh, 294-8), a rectangular Mosque built under Thaumâr (d. 733) with a double polyhedral capitals. The foundation inscription of the heavily restored Arapzade or Arabolgu Mosque dated 899/1493-4). However, a block built into the wall to the left of the porch bears the foundation inscription of a mosque dated 757/1356. This is evidently a re-use, and it is unclear whether the present building occupies the site of an earlier mosque.

The Dikbasan Mosque in the bazar (Meinecke, ii, 275-7), identified by Konyayh, 198-3 with the Fatih Camii of the wafl register of the reigns of Bâyazid II (905/1499-1501) and Suleymân I (929/1523-4), is a flat-roofed, four-sided construction with a carved stone mihrâb in the central bay. The brick minaret is rebuilt. The interior contains a two-line chemonogram, read variously as 899/1493-4 (Konyayh, loc. cit.) and 950/1544-5 (K. Dîne, O. Aslanapa and Muhamayr 1971, 419). The building now forms a small arcade or reused marble columns, and an axial mihrâb flanked by domed chambers, one a mausoleum. The entrances to these have high relief-carved limestone frames (Fig. 5). The projecting entrance niche has been heavily restored several times: the entrance is recessed in an elaborately-carved and profiiled bi-coloured marble frame, continuing a tradition of Saljuq porch decoration— the Çifte minare Madresas, Erzurum (ca. 1242), the Çok Medrese, Sivas (870/1467-8) and the Erfuğullari Camii, Beyşehir (699/1300)— and although on a smaller scale than these, is particularly close in conception and execution to the Çok Medrese at Sivas (cf. S. Çigîl, Bir Selçuk gostelligi (sic) grubu ve Karaman’îlî Hatuniye Medresesi portalı, in İhsâîy-ı Fakûliyesi Dergisi, Yêu bar Arastırmalar Dergisi 1957 (Ankara 1958), 73-9 and Figs. 6). It bears a craftsman’s signature, Khâsadî Abmad b. Nu’man b. Ahmad (Meinecke, op. cit., ii, 166, correcting the “Muhammad” in Mayer, Aschritic, 112), which also continues the Saljuq tradition of signed façades. The remarkably exact copying on a smaller scale of both profiles and decoration suggests strongly that forms of projection were known to the builders of 14th century Anatolia, though there are no literary attestations for the popularity of the prototype, and the other cases of parallelism have not been established beyond the Saljuq period (cf. K. Erdmann, Das Anatolische Karawanseray des 13. Jahrhunderts, ii-iii, Berlin 1976, 448). The marble revetment of the façade, like the columns inside, is entirely re-used.

There is no trace of any tile mosaic mihrâb, but Meinecke, loc. cit., has established that the minârâ and the mausoleum both had daces of dark turquiose-green hexagonal tiles. The cunstapka have disappeared but these also may well have been tiled. The Hatuniye has also yielded a re-used Sâljuq tile inscription, evidently from a pious foundation, in white relief mihrâb on a cobalt ground, in the name of Abu-Fath Kaykhuwar ... b. al-Sâdî Kithîl Arslân (= RCEA, 4817), now in the Islamic Museum in East Berlin (No. 1, 303). The inscription is defective and the ruler, therefore, indeterminate, but Meinecke, loc. cit., has argued for Kaykhuwar I (second reign 681-712/1283-84) or for Kaykhuwar II (665/1266-67) (p. 49). Kaykhuwar III (665-81/1266-84) (p. 49) may be eliminated, since from 1268 the amir of Karaman was independent, and the titularature of a Sâljuq Sultan would not have appeared unmodified in foundations at Karaman of the later 14th century. The foundress has been identified with Malak Khâtun, whose nefi’îyya, applauding herself as
The tomb, on the southern corner, is also fully-oriented, a domed square surrounded by an eight-sided pyramidal canopy and an octagonal drum (Fig. 11). Inside there are two floors: a crypt or burial chamber just below ground level and an upper chamber with a carved porch reached by a double staircase. The porch has a shallow stuccoed canopy and carved frame with marble jambs, and a lintel and voussoirs set as a flattened broken arch of marble. The main entrance is framed by moldings of Ottoman Saliqû origin, but without concern for their canonical disposition, and their carved decoration, particularly the marked-chiseled foliate and geometric elements in the squinches of the porch, is more indebted to the decorative renaissance of the 1420s at Bursa than the Salciû tradition. The Bursa style is also apparent in the carved marble hood of an exterior window, a single carved block with an arabesque-palmette design, deriving from the marble hoods of the Great Mosque at Bursa.

The tomb was evidently colonised by a late Mevlevî dervish, Mevlîvî bek, and the Mevlevî order must, therefore, be based on a late colonisation of the tekke by Mevlevî dervishes.

Though the details of its organisation are obscure, the so-called Simâret of Ibrahim Beg (Konyalû, 405-321; Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 57-64; Heinecke, ii, 170-80), and the tekke formerly among the tekkes of Karaman. It was a multiple foundation, enclosed by a wall of which there is now no trace, consisting of the Simâret, a mausoleum attached and a fountain opposite (Fig. 10). The Simâret has a domed, central courtyard surrounded on three sides by two storeys of rooms, with a bibû-oriented axial iavlân flanked by domed chambers. The minaret salient and traces of the springing of arches on the façade show that originally the building was intended to have an arced entrance. The Simâret plan has several remarkable features, including the fan-pendentives below the dome which derive from the brick architecture of 13th century Konya, though with the exception of re-used marble blocks for the iavlân and consoles of the main entrances and the tynpana of the outside windows the building is entirely of local stone. The upper storey consists of long galleries, evidently store-rooms or places of assembly. The central area is poorly lit and barely decorated in a style resembling the internal stone carving of the Cîfe Minare Medrese at Erzurum (ca. 1242) and the Hospital at Divrî (670/1272 onwards), and the decoration is concentrated on the exterior-grilled windows and their tynpana, soft ijlât, door frames and a cylindrical minaret shaft divided by projecting mouldings into registers sparsely decorated with bit-coloured stone (ââkât). The main entrance is framed by moldings of Ottoman Saliqû origin, but without concern for their canonical disposition, and their carved decoration, particularly the marked-

The interior of the Simâret still contains traces of hexagonal turquoise tiles set directly on the rubble walls. The most important decorative feature, however, was a monumental tile mihrât, now in the Cîfe Köşk in Istanbul, and the number of which in the name of the Simâret may be based on a late colonisation of the tekke by Mevlevî dervishes. 

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lying, with black or red contours of earth colours to prevent the glasses from running. Though not identical to the tile-work of the Green Mosque and Tomb at Bursa (821/1419-20) or the 16th-century Edirne (ca. 1433), it is markedly similar. Measured, loc. cit., considers the mihrab to have been a special order, while assigning comparable fragments in Konya, Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum to a refection of the tomb of Djakli al-Din Râmi at Konya in 783/1382-3. Also from the ftyere, doubtless from the main entrance, is a wooden door, now in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Museum, İstanbul (Chibli Kelâb, elder member 13; see No. 238 and 239). The marble foun¬
dation, "Umar b. İlyâs al-Karamânî [Mayer, Woodcarvers, 60], combining high-relief foliate motifs and silhouette carved lions and griffins, in a style much closer to stone carving than was Anatolian woodwork of the Selçuk period.

The Fandere and mausoleum are rich in inscriptions. That over the main entrance is dated Muhammad 836/August-September 1432. Over the entrances to the domed chambers flanking the axial fûrûj are two dated foundation texts, 845/1439-40 and 870/1463-6 (fasimme and commentary by Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, Karamânîlileri devri vesikalardin İbrahim Bevîn Karamân imaret rakfiyasi, in Belleten, i [1937], 63-156). The richest foundation of Karamânî, was it endowed as maful al-fil according to the Hanafi madkhah, with a staff of twelve Kûrân readers, from among whom the of¬
ficers of the foundation were to be appointed with the appropriate supplements to their basic stipends of 255 silver dirhams, and servants to work in the kitchens to provide three days' free food and lodging for reputable visitors. Its designation is slightly ambiguous. Uzunçarşılı describes the foundation as dar birûh, madkhah, and maful fid. However, the foundation inscription and the first of the extracts from the mafulyas inscribed inside describe it as fûrûj, and maful al-fil. From the second extract (from description "foundation"); while the mafulyas also mentions a dar al-huffa. None of this is sufficient to characterise the foundation as a mosque in institutional organisation. The mutawalli was to be İbrahim Beg during his lifetime, and thereafter his descendants. Nothing is said of the disbursement of surplus revenues; but the express conditions that one-quarter of the income should go to the upkeep of the foundation and that maful property be kept in good repair look forward to the terms of Ottoman mafulyas.

Mausolea. The distinction between attached and unattached mausolea is probably artifical, since the cemeteries have suffered considerably from recent urban expansion. Photographs, for example, taken prior to the restoration of the "Aîb" al-Din Tûrbe (Fig. 13), close to the no longer existent madrasa of Mûsâ Beg (see above) show the springing of the arches of an adjoining building on its south-east side; while a tomb, probably early 15th century, possibly a family tomb with the Zaynûl-"Allî, and fakîh, Shams al-Dîn Mehmed Fënî, who was actually buried at Bursa (see Şenâîd-Zâda) (d. 834/1430-1), was also attached to a madrasa or maful fid. Of the tombs in the cemeteries, only three are now of architectural importance. The "Aîb" al-Din Tûrbe (designated as such in the wafl survey of Mubârrâm 881/January 1477) is an undated octagonal con¬
struction of the 14th century with a fluted pyramidal roof following a brick prototype (cf. the mausoleum * of Sayyid Mubârîrî Kâhereînî at Alâshîr [621/ 1224-5], ROEA, 3900) with a recessed entrance and diminutive stalactic canopy (Fig. 14). A ruined octagonal tomb with a set-back octagonal transitional zone and a recessed entrance in a shallow, broken-arch niche, known (Konyaî, 499-502) as the Demûrgûmlek Tûrbe and identified on the basis of the 881/1477 wafl survey as the mausoleum of a late Karmânî official, Arân al-Dîn, appears to be a development of a tomb type characterised by the Hûdavend Tûrbe at Nûçhe (721/1323-722/1324). Also from the quarter, is a small, unadorned structure of cut stone with bi-chrome (âkla) designs on alternate facets and a recessed entrance set in an arched canopy. The evidence (despite Konyaî, 364-77) that the tomb of Yûnuş Ennez—fervently believed by the local population to have died at Karmânî—is in the Kirüîî Baba Mosque is inconclusive.

Baths and fountains. Most of the baths of Karmânî were seriously damaged in an earthquake of 1299/1881-2. None is dated, but the plan of a bath given by Aslanapa-Diez-Koman, 49, which, they suggest, might have been founded by the Karmânî Sûleyman Beg, is of recognisably traditional type. There are no recorded double baths, so the buildings must have been used alternately by men and women. Many must occupy the sites of baths mentioned in 16th century Ottoman waflyas and may well be older, since Sauvaget has remarked that waterworks, for obvious reasons, tend to persist even though the superstructure is rebuilt. However, there is some confusion between the construction of new baths in the outlying quarters of the town, and the building of fountains in the 18th-19th centuries.

The numerous fountains of the quarters of Kara¬
mân (Konyâî, 625-33) are of uniform type, with the outflow inset in an arched, normally undecorated, recess, with small mafuls as seats at the sides. Those in the centre of Karmânî have, like the above, been the subject of recent conservation, repairs and restorations, often re-using stone from other constructions. Thus the foundation inscription of a dar al-huffa, dated Rabî 855/May 1451 built into the Hoca Mahmûd fountain (Konyaî, 632-6) is no evidence that the fountain was associated with any dar al-huffa founded by Khâbâja Mahmûd. Likewise with the marble foundation plaque of a "imra of the Karmânî "Aîb" al-Dîn Beg's Super¬
visor of Waterworks (mir-i abîl), dated Rabî 877/October 1775, built into the so-called Sabûrî Çeşmesi (Konyaî, 391). The earliest standing fountain is thus that opposite the main entrance of the Fandere of İbrahim Beg (836/1432), set in a well-decorated, carved frame. The fountains of the Ottoman period, except for the Kandıbecak and Kılıç Çeşmesi (both 938/1531), are mostly associated with mosque foundations. To judge from the surviving inscriptions, few were built in the 17th century. However, the large number of construction or restoration inscriptions covering the period 1790-1830 on the fountains of the peripheral quarters is evidence for a considerable urban expansion in the late Ottoman period.

Conclusion. Despite the disappearance of important monuments over the past hundred years, the surviving monuments (of which only the most important have been considered) seem a typical sample of the original constructions of the Karmânîd
and Ottoman period. To judge from the earliest Ottoman wa'fī registers, many buildings were already khâṣbī and their wa'fīs appropriated by other foundations. Calculation of the revenues of the major Kâramânî constructions is difficult, since the scale of the endowments is not recorded. However only the largest foundations, the madrasa of Mîhâr Beg (ca. 1340, no longer extant) the Hatunîye Medresa (783/1381-2: and the İmârât of İbrahimî Beg (835/1432), have whole villages specified among their awḏû. Even allowing, therefore, for the decay of Sâljuq foundations and their endowments through the 14th century and for their tacit absorption after Kâramânî foundations, the wa’fī registers tend to show that even at the height of the Kâramânî’s power, building was no more extensive at Kâramân than at other centres of the amirate—Nîjîr, Ermenak, Eregli and Aksaray—and considerably less than at Konya, Aksêhîr, Beysêhir and Aksaray under the Sâljuqûs.


**LÂRI [see LâRIN].**

**LÂRÎ [see LÊRÊN].**

**LÂRÎ, MOHAMMAD b. ŞâRÎ b. Djalâîl b. Kamîl. İbâd al-awlî (or al-nâkrî), known as Mûlisî al-Dîn al-Lârî, Persian scholar and historian, was born ca. 1316 in Lârî, to the south of Şirâz. Following his family’s tradition, he entered upon a scholarly career and studied under Mullâ Sâdrî’s son Mîr Ghiyâth b. Şârî al-Dîn Şirâzî and Mîr Kamîl al-Dîn Hüsâyîn, a pupil of Djalâîl al-Dîn [see AL-DARAWISH]. It is transmitted that Lârî’s father proceeded openly against the Shî‘î heretics (nda‘îfîî). During his later journeys, Lârî was at first received honourably by the Mughal emperor Humâyûn (1530-56), who granted him the title wa‘dîl and became his pupil. Because of the unrest after Humâyûn’s death, he left the country to go first on a pilgrimage to Mecca. According to the Persian source quoted below, four hundred of his books were lost at a shipwreck. After the pilgrimage, from 964/1556-7 (rather 1557) onwards, he stayed for a while in Aleppo, where he apparently tried to establish himself as a merchant. His tradition stood out in discussions with learned men, among whom was Ahmad Kâzîmlî, who did not dare to answer Lârî’s objections against his recently composed ʿHâbdî al-wâgîdî. It is not known how long Lârî stayed in Aleppo: he probably lacked there means of subsistence. His next station was Istanbul, where he obtained admittance to the Muftî Abu ‘l-Sûfî [see ABU ‘L-SÛFÎ]. But he declined the offer of a professorship, endowed with 50 abce daily; he might have thought that such a position was rather unimportant in comparison with his previous situation at the Mughal court. In this connection, the Ottoman historian Alî speaks of breach of faith of the Muftî 164-4-72 Lârî (H. Schrâweîde in Tâh, xvi [1970], 286). Disappointed, he left Istanbul and found his final home in Âmid (now Diyarbakr), where İskender Pâsâ, the Ottoman governor, appointed him professor at the Khewrew Pâsâ’s madrasa and teacher of his children. After being accepted among the mendâlî-yi Rûm, he then also met with recognition by the Porte. He died over 60 years of age in Istanbul on 12 May 1577.

Lârî was originally a follower of Kâramânî, becoming later a Şî‘î; also, he had a certain inclination towards mysticism. He wrote numerous Annotations and Commentaries of well-known works on philosophy, astronomy, tasîrî and hadîthîs. His few experiments as a poet met with no approval, but his Mirât al-adwÎr wa-mîrât al-ājdâr, a universal history in Persian, dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Selîm I (1574-82) and considerably less than at Konya, Akehir, Beysêhir and Aksaray under the Sâljuqûs.

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Fig. 1. Citadel of Igkali. Late 16th century. General view, prior to restoration (M. Van Berchem, 1899, courtesy Foundation Max Van Berchem, Geneva).

Fig. 2. Citadel. Re-used 14th century stone-carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).
Fig. 3. Madrasa of the Amr Mūsā (ca. 1340). (F. Sarre, courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).

Fig. 4. Hatuniye Medrese (783/1381-2). Main entrance. (J. M. Rogers 1978).
Fig. 7. Fatuniye Medrese (283/1384-2). Detail of marble carving (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 8. Siyahser or Karabaş Veli (ca. 1460). Interior (J. M. Rogers, 1978).
Fig. 9. Siyaliser or Karabas Veli (ca. 1460). Ruined canopy mausoleum (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 10. Īmaret of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). General view (J. M. Rogers, 1978).

Fig. 11. Īmaret of Ibrāhīm Beg (836/1432). Mausoleum. Entrance (F. Sarre courtesy Staatliches Museum zu Berlin, Islamisches Museum).
Fig. 12. Imaret of Ibrahim Beg (856/1452). Mausoleum. Moulded plaster cenotaph (F. Sarre Museum).

Fig. 13. Ala' al-Din Turbe (14th century). General view. (F. Sarre, 9002 Museum).

Fig. 14. Ala' al-Din Turbe (14th century). Entrance. (F. Sarre, 9003 Museum).
of attack. Situated on the main strategic route of the Upper March, Lárida was an obligatory transit point of armies and a site of utmost importance in the defensive system of the Marches. Conquered by the Muslims at some time after the capture of Saragossa and Tarragona (whose inhabitants capitulated without resistance, if al-Rázi is to be believed), the territory of Lárida underwent pillage and destruction, in the 2nd/8th century, at the hands of Franks—the armies of Louis—and of Cis-Byzantine Christians and renegades. Governed by adilis granted military prerogatives on account of its strategic location, its region was linked to that of the Arab family of Banú 'Atsrus, and the Banú Shabrić or Banú Tawiš, on the other, as well as the Banú Muhājir or Tadjība, dominated the entire history of Lárida and its region in the 3rd-4th/9-10 centuries.


LÁRIDA — LARIN (r., lárīn, a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the 16th and 17th centuries. It takes its name from the town of Lár [q.v.], the capital of Láristan at which it was first struck; cf. Pedro Teixeira (Travels, Amsterdam 1735. iii, 128), after its conquest by Shah * Abb As the Great of Persia that the two ends meet at the juste halfe part and the Ottoman Sultans at Basra. In India, they

were struck in the 17th century by the Akil Shahi dynasty of Bhopur and other rulers, and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldives Islands in the early 17th century, the king struck his own larins. He knew the "fish-hook" money of Persia (Hakluyt Soc., 1887, i, 232-3). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the nates but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo; in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the 18th century. A degenerate descendant of the larin existed till recently (H. St. J. Philipby, The heart of Arabia, London 1921, ii, 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Hasa, where it is known as a "jauli", i.e. the "kous" [coin]. It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Pagavre (Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, London 1865, ii, 279) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Hasa jauli", applied to any one who, like the local currency, is of no use for want of a change.

2. Ethnography. The main Las tribes claim descent from the Sainri and Samnai former rulers of Sind, and seen from their names (cf. the frequent element patna) to be of Indian Rajput origin, Las Bala's north-western part of Makran and then Persia. Negroid features, clearly descend from an imported slave population, and another low-caste group is constituted by the Langes, mainly employed as domestic servants. The overwhelming majority of the population is Sunni Muslim in faith, with some Khudja Isma'ili traders in the towns. The worship of local saints is widespread, with especially important shrines, formerly visited by Hindus from quite distant parts of the subcontinent as well as by Muslims, at Hingalch, Shah Bialwal and Lath-T Laman. The desert population depends on subsistence farming, with rice, pulses, fruits, and vegetables grown in small plots, and on cattle and camels raised in the desert. The heart of the desert, London 1949, still registers in his Glossary, 643, the jauli as a copper bar coin current in Hasa.


J. Allan

LARISSA [see VENETIEM]

LAS BELA, a former native state of the British Indian empire. It lies in the south-east of Baluchistan, along the coast to the west of Karachi, between lat. 24° 54' and 26° 39' N. and longs. 64° 7' and 67° 29' E. It is bounded on the west by the desert, London 1810 and found that town enjoying considerable prosperity under the benevolent rule of Jauhar Mir Khilji: the chieftainship henceforth remained with this family, who were known by the Rajput title, formerly used in Sind, of Djoon but who came to claim a spurious descent from the Arab tribe of the Quraysh. Las Bala thus became a dependency of Kalat, whose Jauhar at first drew half the revenues of Bala as his share and later required on occasion a troop contingent in lieu; also, Las Bala's northern frontier adjoining Jhalawan remained for long undefined. Henry Pottinger passed through Bala in 1816 and found that town enjoying considerable prosperity under the benevolent rule of Djoon Mir Khilji I (1770-1818); a colony of 250-300 Hinde merchant families carried on trade there (Travels in Baluchistan and Sind; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries, London 1816, 14-26). It was during this Djoon's reign that conflict arose over the Makran port of Gwadar [see Suppl.], which had been transferred to the sultans of Umay in 1784 by Mir Nasir Khilji of Kalat, but captured at one point by Mir Khan I. In the middle decades of the 19th century, Djoon Mir Khan II (1830-60), who was beginning his reign as a child when Charles Masson was in Bala in the 1830s (Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab, London 1842, ii, 17-25, 25-30), came to covet the territories of Makran and Makran beyne; and captured on various occasions from 1835 onwards with the Khan of Khurana [p.64] in north-western Baluchistan and the Brahui sardars or chiefs of Jhalawan. After 1846 he lost the chieftainship of Las Bala, however, and was an exile in British India; his son and ultimate successor as Djoon Ali Khan III in 1870 recognised the suzerainty of Kalat coast as far as Zanzibar, Bombay and the Malabar coast.

3. History. Las Bala has virtually no separate history before the 18th century: for the history of the region before then, see in general MAKRAN.

The Arab of any one who, like the local currency, is of no use for want of a change, who adds that Las Bala was known in classical times as one in-
in the general settlement at Mastung arranged by Sir Robert Sandeman (T. H. Thornton, Col, Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier, London 1895, 46). Irreconcilable disputes within Las Bela broke out between father and son, with Djam Mir Khan II died in 1888, Sir Robert Sandeman, then Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, in 1889 installed Djam Ali Khan III in Bela (ibid., 199-263). After this latter ruler's death in 1896, there were disputes among his sons, but Djam Mir Kamal Khan assumed the chieftainship, and in the ensuing decades, events in Las Bela were less eventful.

After British India was partitioned, Las Bela, like Kalat and Khär, adhered to Pakistan (1948), and after 1952 became part of the Baluchistan States Union, with the Djam no longer an independent ruler but receiving a privy purse from the central government. In 1935 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, with Las Bela as a District of Kall Kalat Division under a Deputy Commissioner; but after Las Bela District was transferred to Karachi Division. According to the 1961 census, Las Bela District had a population of 90,826, excluding non-Pakistanis, and the town of Bela one of 3,139 (Population census of Pakistan 1961, District census report, Las Bela, Karachi n.d.).

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Imperial gazetteer of India, vi, 380, xvi, 144-9; Baluchistan District gazetteers. viii. Las Bela, Allahabad 1907; M. Longworth Davies, Ed. art. Baluchistan. (C. E. Beazworth)

LASHKAR, the Persian equivalent of the Arabic 'askar, 'jaund [q.v.], or 'jauny [q.v.], and the term normally used by the Indian Muslim rulers for army. Though armies were generally organised according to the Peric-Turkish military traditions of the Ghaznavids and the Seldjükids, Mongol traditions were also assimilated later into the subsequent plans for the reorganisation of the lashkar.

Composition and organisation. The lashkar of the Dilh Sultans, that of the 9th/10th century provincial dynasties, and that of the Mughals was divided into the cavalry, infantry and the elephant corps, the cavalry forming its backbone. Following the Ghaznavid, Ghurid and Seldjükids traditions, both the Sultans and the Mughal emperors maintained a multi-racial professional cavalry, not neglecting to include even the leaders of the Hindu racial and ethnic groups.

In the 7th/8th century, the Dhill cavalry, or the standing army at the capital, was variously known as the haqam-i kahli, afwdf-i kalb, kalb-i sultani, or simply haqam. Some Sultans also recruited a slave corps personally loyal to themselves, but they invariably proved disastrous to their successors. The dhlh (king's body-guards) performed both military and police duties and were counted as members of the military force. Apart from the haqam, the dhlh (q.v.)-holders also recruited cavalry from the regions in which they were posted, or from the garrisons under their command. The army of the dhlh-holders was known as the haqam-i aṭarf, or later, as the haqam-i bid-i munawil. A separate army was kept at strategic points, both in old and newly-built forts along the River Indus in order to stop the Mongol incursions. Sultan Balban [q.v. in Suppl.] built strong forts even at Dhill, Patiyah, and in other predominantly Hindu areas east and north of Dhill, in order to open up roads and communication with Outli or Awadh [q.v.]. He manned these forts with Afghans, who were given fertile land to farm. The commanders of the forts remained as dhlh-holders, but the soldiers were encouraged to develop a personal interest in the land as landowners.

Bughra Khan, a son of Balban, is said to have informed his own son Kayukhalif, who succeeded his grandfather Balban as the Sultan of Dhill, that a sar-ḥqayl should be in control of ten horsemen; a suhpi-salih should command ten sar-ḥqayl; an amir should be a commander of ten suhpi-salih; a mašik should have authority over ten amirs; and a khan's forces should control contingents of ten mašiks (cf. Dīya', al-Dīn Barani, Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-2, 143). This is not to say, however, that the armies were organised according to a decimal system, but it was an ideal which the Sultans wished to implement, because of their growing awareness of the decimal chain into which the Mongol army was divided. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālid, however, did reorganise his army on that basis, and the Tughluks are known to have continued the decimal system, for we are told by Al-Mu'izz al-Maṣlīḥ as-Sāhib fi mansūlah al-ansāl that, in Muhammad b. Tughluk's reign, the khan commanded 20,000 horsemen, the mašik 1,000, the amir 100, and the suhpi-salih less than 100.

The head of the military administration was known as the 'ārīd-i mašālīk, or the sīh θ i d i d i s θ wad i s θ w (see Sarbānād, 'Āṣ). As a minister, he was second only to the mansūr or the Prime Minister. In the reign of Balban, the 'ārīd-i mašālīk was known by the title rūḍa'r-i sar, the first word being of Hind origin. Mir Khusraw's maternal grandfather, Imām al-Mulk (piller of the state), was Balban's rūḍa'r-i sar, and had a very keen sense of his responsibility. Later, in Fīrūz Shāh's reign, the 'ārīd-i mašālīk was given the title Imām al-Mulk.

The 'ārīd-i mašālīk was the principal recruiting officer for the Sultan's standing army (haqam-i khāb); he inspected the armaments and horses of the cavalry at least once a year, kept their descriptive rolls (hrīyāt), and recommended promotions or punishments accordingly. The 'ārīd-i mašālīk was also responsible for the internal organisation and the discipline of the haqam-i khāb and the commissariat. The leading dhlh-holders appointed their own personal 'ārīds.

Fahliri-Mudabhir [q.v. in Suppl.] tells us how the 'ārīds' assistants were required to note down the names and bīyat of both the troopers and the foot-soldiers. As an inspection of the army was invariably held before its march to a campaign, the 'ārīd on such occasions was not expected to be too harsh, for disheartened troopers, according to Fahlī-Mudabhir, were not very dependable (Fahliri-Mudabhir, Aḏḏ b al-karb wa 'r-ṣamālān, ed. A.S. Khānsād, Tehran 1346/1966, 275-8).

It would seem that the system of dāḏ (branding of horses) which was known in the reign of the Ghaznavids had been abandoned by Ilhūmān, but it was reintroduced by Sultan 'Alī b. al-Dīn Khālid, but Sultan Fīrūz Tughluk abolished the system as well as that of recording bīyat. The latter was reintroduced once again by Shīr Shāh, while Shīr Shāh also made dāḏ compulsory (see Dāḏ u Tasmānā in Suppl.).

A remarkable change took place in the military organisation when Akbar introduced his monolithic military and civil service organisation, known as māẓādarī. Although the system became more complex in
the reign of Shāh Jahan, the basic framework of the mansabdari system as instituted by Akbar endured. According to the Ain-i-Akbari of Abu'l Fazl, the Emperor would need to muster only 30,000 troopers from the darbār (commander of ten) to darbār khānār (10,000), reserving commands of 5,000 and above for his own sons. He intended to limit the mansāb to sixty-six, representing the value of letters in the name of Allāh, but in fact there were only ever thirty-three grades. Akbar himself relaxed the rule about higher ranks, promoting Prince Sūlīm to a mansāb of 12,000 and two nobles to the ranks of 7,000. All mansābdars were required to maintain horsemen, horses, elephants, camels and carts, as fixed by their respective ranks. Troopers were divided into ḍabī and swādī and the institutions of yah-aspah, di-aspah and sih-aspah were also introduced. Mansābārīs of the rank of 500 were called amirs and those holding higher ranks were given other appropriate titles. Later in Shāh Jahan’s reign, only those who held the rank of 1,000 were known as amirs (rendered as Omrah by Bernier and other foreign authors).

The personal rank of mansābdars called ḍabī was important for calculating one’s salary according to the sanctioned pay scale, and the swādī rank indicated the number of troopers and horses the mansābārī was ordered to maintain; for example, a mansābārī with a swādī rank of 5,000 was ordinarily required to produce 7,000 horsemen at muster. Troopers who were required to provide one horse were called yah-aspah, while those who undertook to provide two horses were called di-aspah. Those obliged to provide three were known as sih-aspah. The mansābdars’ and swādī’s contingents contained all three types of troopers proportionate to the salaries they drew. Salaries were not allowed for the full twelve months; some drew them for much shorter periods. For example, a mansābārī with a swādī rank of 5,000 drawing his salary for twelve months was required to muster a contingent of 7,000 troopers, of whom 300 were yah-aspah, 600 di-aspah and 1,100 yah-aspah, i.e. a contingent containing 2,000 horses. If, on the other hand, he were to draw his salary for only five months in a year, he would need to muster only 1,100 yah-aspah.

The contingents of the mansābdars were multi-racial, the number of recruits of different martial races being determined. Only the Rakhpūts and Mughals were allowed to recruit troopers exclusively from their own racial groups and tribes. Troopers wishing to enter the army had first to find a patron who generally belonged to the same race as himself, but as the empire expanded, the racial exclusiveness in the mansābdar’s contingents broke down. The candidates had to furnish their own horses of a standard breed, as well as armaments, but the patron, mansābdar also gave them horses for which deductions were made from the troopers’ salary. The mansābdar’s troopers were known as jābdinān ("followers").

The appointments of the mansābdar from the lowest to the highest rank were approved by the emperor, and all of them were technically speaking directly subordinate to him. The head of the military administration was called the mir-bakkshi, the Mughal name given to the firād-i-mansabī. The mir-bakkshi also held the status of a minister, and in that capacity was next to the prime minister. However, even the ministers’ contingents were examined by the mir-bakkshi’s department and, the fact that their salary depended on the maintenance of those contingents meant that even the prime minister’s salary was dependent on the mir-bakkshi’s approval. The bakhshi’s department also recorded the descriptive roll (ōlāra) of the mansābdars, their troopers and horses. The breeds and the quality of their horses were examined and tested, and those that were approved were given different marks (āḍēk). A muster of troopers and horses was held periodically for physical checking and verification (tālqishā). Those who failed to muster their troops forfeited their pay or were heavily fined. The mir-bakhshi was assisted by two other bakhshīs who helped to check the evasion of rules, and to prevent fraud. The Mughal government, which depended mainly on the troopers of the mansābdar for their conquests and for the suppression of rebellions, required the man-sābdar to maintain an efficient force. As the man-sābdar’s families became more powerful, they naturally drifted away from the Mughal administration and, the fact that their salary was next to the prime minister. However, even the incompotent Mughal emperors who succeeded Akbar, the government began to disintegrate.

There was a second group of troopers, superior to the jābdinān, who were known as ahādīs (from ahad, “one”). An ahādī was commissioned especially to introduce suitable candidates for the ahādī-shīd, and a separate bakhshi was assigned to examine their horses, brand them, and compile their descriptive rolls. The amount of money was somewhat higher than the jābdinān’s, and their horses and arms were thus of a superior kind. During Akbar’s reign, the ahādīs acted as his immediate servants. They were also assigned to non-military duties. The ahādī was known as the “emperor’s slaves” by Manucci, worked as bodyguards or defenders of the imperial person, and were also picked from amongst the ahādīs. Another category of horsemen were known as ḍabī-ahādīs. They neither owned horses nor were enrolled as jābdinān. However, as they were fit for cavalry service, in times of emergency they were provided with horses and went into action. They were not, however, part of the regular cavalry.

Abu'l Fazl also makes mention of a large army consisting of 38,558 cavalrymen maintained by the sāmīndārs (subordinates). Some sāmīndārs made their contingents available to the emperors for suppressing rebellions; they also kept their localities free from robbers, and performed corporeal duties in the villages, but in no way did this big army form a part of the Mughal regular fighting forces. The foot-soldiers who were maintained within their infantry contingents by the Dihlī Sultāns were known as psāys, and were mostly Hindus. They were good archers and were generally arrayed in front of the lines of horses, or around the elephants in order to prevent them from fleeing. As bodyguards and palace-guards of the emperors and princes, the psāys were deeply loyal to their masters and are known to have rendered singular services to Sultan 'Ali Al-Din Khālidī and Kith al-Din Mubārak Shāh. Shīr Shāh presented them with matchlocks, and Akbar’s infantry contained 12,000 matchlockbearers [see Nakōn, vi. India]. They were divided into four grades with different salaries. Akbar also recruited into the infantry a caste of Hindi high-way robbers called nāthas, and named them bhādāntīyās (servants men). Their officer was called the Rīdūntī Ray. The bhādāntīyās were required to guard the palace and to control highway robbers. Members of many other hill and mountains peoples were also induced to join the Mughal infantry. The matchlockmen and the archers formed a formidable corps of the Mughal army. For administrative purposes, Akbar used to assign contingents of foot-soldiers, paid by the imperial treasury, to some high mansābdarīs. They were
known as pydâb-i daghûl and were classified as kisse-nawârdûn (half-troopers) in the descriptive rolls. One-fourth of the daghûl foot-soldiers, used matchlocks, and the rest were archers.

Auxiliary tradesmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, cotton-carders, stoolmakers, leather workers, firework-makers, turners, diggers, miners, axemen, larriers, and radârs (bearers of different kinds of litters) were also classed as infantry. Indispensable as they were for constructing defensive works, pontoon bridges and helping in siege operations, they were often included in the infantry and trained in swordsmanship in order to defend themselves in times of need.

Elephants imported from India formed a formidable corps of the Ghaznavid army [see IV. As beasts of war, and [HAB. v. Persia]]. The Dihli Sultans were also highly impressed with the utility of elephants in war. Balban considered each elephant as equal to 300 horsemen, and the Dihli Sultans lost no opportunity in obtaining more elephants for their adârgháns (elephant stables). They also strove to keep those areas that supplied the best elephants, such as Bengal and Deccan, as their possession. One hundred and twenty war-elephants arrayed against Timur's army by the able Tughluq Sulân are known to have struck panic even into that world-conqueror's army [see also HAB. vi. India].

Elephants were an asset to the army in battering the gates of strongholds. The warriors shot arrows or matchlocks from their positions on the elephants' back; the commanders who were seated on the elephants could be seen from a distance by the rest of the army and were able to instil confidence into their soldiers. However, when panic-stricken, or severely wounded, the elephants became uncontrollable and would often trample their own army underfoot.

The Muslim rulers in India did not neglect the artillery [see [HAB. v. India]]. The Deccan Sultâns of India, who had close contact with the Ottoman Turks, were pioneers in establishing firearm factories. The Gudjurât Sultâns followed their example, and Sultan Muhammad and Shâhâd Shâh made good use of the Turkish gunners in their service. Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire in India, secured a decisive victory over Ibrâhîm Lâlî, mainly due to the efficiency of his artillery. In India, he took a keen interest in having heavy guns cast by those gunners trained under the Ottoman Turks who were now in the service. Akbar also took a personal interest in casting guns, and recruited even Portuguese to develop his artillery. Many new types of guns were invented by the Persian Fath-A爷爷 Shâhâd in Akbar's reign. From the middle of the 16th/17th century, European adventurers drawing exceptionally high salaries began to hold superior positions in the artillery of the Mughals and other rulers. In the 18th/19th century, the British and French gunners made radical improvements in the casting of cannon and heavy guns, but the Britishartillery remained Indians.

All the heavy guns were given pompous names, and some of them were so heavy that it took as many as 250 oxen to pull and several elephants to push them. Naturally, they could not cross the bridge-built and were only with great difficulty transported along the rugged routes. The light artillery consisted of several types of guns, variously known as gafrâl or hârâlân (guns transported on elephants), shâfiyâl, zambârâk and 'abârs (swivel-gun or wall-piece). A special type of light artillery known as the "artillery of the stirrup", which François Bernier mentions, consisted of "fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and hand somely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and one in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers" (Travels in the Mogul empire, ed. A. Constable, Oxford 1841, 217-18).

The Dârâsgâh-i lâ'în, or mîr disâr ("head of the artillery department"), performed duties similar to those of the hâlârâgh, insofar as the recruitment of artillerymen and the supervision of guns were concerned. With the growing importance of artillery, the mîr disâr in the 17th/18th century became one of the most influential officers of the empire.

The Indo-Muslim rulers did not, however, take any interest in developing their navy. Mubârâq of Ghâzna is known to have fought against the Ilâhs in 418/1027 by launching a flotilla of 1,100 boats on the River Indus. The Dihli Sultans used boats provided by Hindu chieftains only for transporting goods and men. The Gudjurât Sultâns fought naval battles against the Portuguese. Babur had numerous boats constructed and Akbar also constructed an extensive flotilla of huge boats some being shaped in the forms of different animals. Bengal, Kâshmir, Thatta, Lahore and Aâlâbâd were the main boatbuilding centres. Akbar also employed seamen, had pilgrim ships built, but was unable to establish a genuine navy. Early in Aârângzâb's reign, Mir Jamul [q.v.] fought successful river battles against the races of Kâh Bâhâr and Asânâ, who had complete mastery over their rivers. The only navy that the Muslims possessed belonged to the Ilâhs who ruled the rocky island of Shâhâdâr [q.v. in Syriâ], 95 miles south of Bombay. They were most daring seamen, and until 1730 were victorious both against the English and the Marâths [see further hâsâh].

Numbers. The strength of the army of the Dihli Sultâns can only be roughly estimated and many of the figures in the sources seem to be exaggerated. We are told by Mirâhâd-i Sârîâh-i [Hôdâhî] [q.v.], that in 635/1238, Sulân Nâsir al-Dîn Mubârâq had collected 50,000 troopers and 200,000 foot-soldiers from multân and its vicinity to demonstrate his strength before Hâlâghâ's ambassadors. Balban recruited a considerable number of trained soldiers into the corps of the samârdân-i kâb and made him standing army very strong. Troopers in Aâlâ al-Dîn Khalâlâl's army numbered 475,000. Muhammad b. Tughluq's cavalry is said to have consisted of 900,000 troopers, some being stationed in the capital and the others in the provinces. In 730/1329-30 he is known to have recruited 350,000 troopers for his Khorasan expedition. The army he sent against Kanârgî consisted of 100,000 troopers and a large infantry. On his first Bengal expedition in 754/1353/54, Hârâl Tughluq commanded 90,000 troopers. Again, Firdâs Shâh marched against Bengal with 80,000 troopers, 470 elephants and an exceedingly large number of foot-soldiers.

According to Bâbûr, Ibrâhîm Lâlî had resources enough to have brought into the field 500,000 men, but actually took only 100,000 men and 1000 elephants with him. Bâbûr's army, on the other hand, consisted of 46,000 men. Humâyûn fought the battle of Kanârgî against Shîr Shâh with 100,000 troops, while Shîr Shâh commanded only half that number.

The total strength of the army of Shîr Shâh consisted of nearly 300,000 horsemen and 100,000 infantry, comprising matchlockmen and archers. Of this army, 150,000 troopers, 25,000 horsemen and 5,000 elephants were commanded by the king himself, the
rest serving at cantonments and in strategic places. The contingents of 

The Persian sources do not help us in calculating the number of Akbar's horse-holders and his number at the Emperor's death, given by De Laet as 29,000, seems approximately correct. According to Father Moussarat, there were "forty-five thousand cavalry, five thousand elephants and many thousand infantry, paid directly from the royal treasury" (J.S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerji (trs.), The commentary of Father Moussarat, S.T., Oxford 1912, 80). 

Bernier says that the total number of cavalry in India was incredible, but he considered that the effective cavalry commonly about Aurangzib's men, was approximately correct. 

Akbar and his immediate successors paid their army in cash, but in the 7th/13th century, the Mughals, they are seen wearing clothes of different colours, but in the 12th/18th century, some kings included matchlockmen and others who discharged heavy and light artillery, 10,000 were always with the Emperor. 

Training and physical exercises, and uniforms. Before their admission into service, both the troopers and foot-soldiers had to pass a severe test of their competence. Fakhri Mudabbir gives the rules for training horses and for horsemanship in considerable detail, and works on archery as well as swordsmanship have also survived. This same author further discusses the advantages of different kinds of sports, such as wrestling, boxing, weight-lifting, disc-throwing and fencing for military training, and gives a detailed account of the advantages which the manoeuvring of stick, ball and horse in polo offered to the troopers. 

After entering into service, the soldiers had to maintain rather than improve their military skills through regular physical exercises, horse-racing (see FURQAYNA) and polo (see CAWGA). Balban took with him 1,000 horsemen and 1,000 foot-soldiers, expert in archery, during his regular hunting expeditions. These expeditions and polo were an indispensable part of the life of the Mughal soldiers, officers, princes and emperors. The military parades and proper battle array were not possible without some training in combined movements, but regular drills of the soldiers do not seem to have been common. 

The troopers are not known to have worn any uniforms. In the miniatures depicting the reign of the Mughals, they are seen wearing clothes of different colours, but in the 13th/18th century, some nobles seem to have introduced uniforms. The contingents were generally identified by the special marks with which their horses were branded. 

Pay. Mahmud of Ghazna and his immediate successors paid their army in cash, but in the 7th/13th century the Dhill Suljans assigned 1/64's (assignments of revenue of different regions) to their commanders for their personal maintenance and for that of the troopers (baghe-i baghd) under them. Sultan Shams al-Din Itutmish assigned the revenue of the villages around the capital and in the Dehli to the bagh-i bagh, and the latter were also called baghd-holders. By the time of Balban, the surviving 

The Khuldibs and the Tughluks reorganised their revenue system and determined the salary of the commanders and their troopers in cash. They then assigned its equivalent in the form of the revenue of different regions to the troopers. As a result of the talk of the 13th/19th century, the Syrian and Egyptian 1/64 system differed from that of India in the mode of making payment to the troopers. In Egypt and Syria, commanders assigned land directly to their troops instead of salaries, while in India the troopers were paid in cash. 'Ala al-Din Khuldib resumed all the smaller 1/64's into the khudai and paid cash to his large army, recruited to meet the Mongol threat to his kingdom and to ensure further conquests. Two hundred and thirty-four thousand 1/64's were paid annually by the Sultan to a well-trained and equipped troop with one horse, 75 lankas extra being granted to troopers with two horses. To ensure that the troopers lived satisfactorily on their low salaries, he fixed the prices of all commodities, from horses to articles of daily use, making sure that supplies were not withheld. 

Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Tughluq also paid his large standing army in cash, and issued strict orders to the baghd-holders to refrain from reducing the salaries of troopers fixed by him. Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq made his commanders further dependent upon the local treasuries for their salaries, sometimes by appointing his own officers, and sometimes revenue farmers to collect the revenue from the 1/64's. Firuz Tughluq made all civil and military posts hereditary and paid them by assigning 1/64's, the revenue from which was known as waqf. 

The Afghan sources give Firuz's policy highly compatible with their own tribal system, and assigned hereditary 1/64's to their commanders, who in turn sub-assigned smaller areas to their subordinates, who then paid the troopers by making similar sub-assignments. However, the monthly salary of ordinary troopers was fixed and the 1/64's were granted to the commanders on the basis of the total number of troopers and their monthly salary. Sih Shahr, who in his youth had managed his own father's sub-assignment, was fully conversant with the abuses of the system. He reverted to the system of 1/64's al-Din and paid his standing army in cash, personally supervising the recruitment and the fixation of the soldiers' salaries, which were paid in cash. Fraudulent practices were eradicated by making payment only to those whose horses were branded. The big 1/64's corresponding to provinces were managed by the Afghan tribal chiefs, but they were also ordered strictly to enforce the central government regulations in their respective administrative charges, including monthly cash payments to the troopers and the branding of horses. 

Akbar and his successors paid their mansubdars mostly by assigning them revenue from territories, called by the Mughals bagerg (q.v.), although the term 1/64 was also used. Some mansubdars were paid in cash, others partly in cash and partly in bagerg. The salary schedules of mansubdars were carefully prepared on the basis of their bagerg and waqf ranks.
Mughals were paid by the state, they were not entitled to receive the four-fifths of the ghanima (booty) sanctioned by the Sharī'a. Firuz Tughluk is known to have distributed this portion of the ghanima taken at Diāngāagar and Akbar took only one fifth into the imperial treasury, requesting the officers of faujādārs [five] to distribute the rest equitably amongst the army. However, as the booty gained by the faujādārs in local wars was never very great, the amount received by the troops was minimal.

Horses and elephants. The Indian Muslim rulers maintained the superiority of their cavalry, not only by acquiring superior breeds of horses through sea and land routes, but also by devoting their full attention to improving Indian horse breeds. From the Persian Gulf, Bāhrām and the ports of the coast of southern Arabia were imported 'Irākī, Persian, Syrian and Arab horses. Overland trade brought in Tāṭār or Central Asian horses from the territories lying between the steppelands of southern Russia and the Óxus. The horses from Ghāzna to Peshāwār compared favourably with these animals. The territories between the eastern Paigūbā and north-western India, and from north-eastern India to upper Burma, contained the best horse-breeding grounds, although horses from these areas were considered inferior to those imported from foreign lands, and were sold at a lower price. Ibn Baṭṭūta says “The people of India do not buy them [horses] for [their qualities in] running or racing, because they themselves wear coats of mail in battle and they cover their horses with armour; and what they prize in these horses is strength and length of pace. The horses that they want for racing are brought to them from the regions of Vāman, Vrānā and Fārs, and each of these horses is sold at from one to four thousand [silver] dinārs (Rūbāi, ii, 374, tr. Gibb, ii, 475). This same author states here that the price of the cheapest Tāṭār horse in Muhammad b. Tughluk's reign was 100 silver dinārs, while the exceptional ones were sold for 500. Racehorses were therefore very dear.

Akbar reorganised the purchase of horses of foreign breeds by providing improved living conditions for the merchant and his horse. Horses from 'Irāq, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Turkīstān, Hadaljābān, Shīrāz, the lands of the Kirghiz, Tibet and Kashmir were acquired for the imperial stables. Soon, Indian breeding techniques were so greatly improved that the Indian horses could hardly be distinguished from 'Irākī or Persian breeds. Among the new horse-breeding regions, Kacch began to produce horses which exceeded the Arab imports. Horses from the region between the Indus and the Jhelam were similar to those from 'Irāq. The horses in Akbar's stables numbered about 12,000; the imperial stables were classified into several categories and the quantity of the beasts' fodder, the quality of their outfits, and the salaries of officers and servants appointed to look after them were fixed.

Under the Dilh Sultān, the superintendent of the royal horses was known as the ḍākhārā, there being one for each wing of the army. Under the Mughals, this officer was known as the āḥādī or āḥābāgh. Akbar appointed a noble of Abūl Ḥasan Khānān's [q.f.] status as the āḥādī. Manṣābārs from the rank of 5,000 down to the senior āḥādīs were appointed as the āḥāghās (superintendents) of different stables. A big staff, which included senior officers on the list of āḥādīs, was appointed to carry out miscellaneous duties related
to the maintenance and improvement of the stables [see further, *Ist'1al, v. Indus*].

The Ghurid conquest of India was achieved by the exploits of the cavalry. The elephants in the *phikhana* (elephant stables) were acquired mainly as booty. However, it was after the Deccan conquests that the *phikhana* of Sultan *Ali* al-Din Khajji came to consist of ca. 1,000 war-elephants. The numbers increased during the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluq, and the elephants seem to have been bought even from Ceylon. Firus also added to the number of elephants in his stables, but under his successors they were rapidly lost, to the extent that the last Tughluq Sultan had to hire elephants. In Akbar's reign, elephants were hunted under the control of superintendents known as *bārdar*. In the forests of Agra and Allahabad provinces, besides being acquired from Bengal and Orissa. The best elephants were to be found in the forests of Panna, near Bāndāl in Rājasthān. DJhangir seized 69 elephants from Gudjarit, but they could be bought from all over India; in Shāhjahān's reign, the first white elephant was bought from Peug. Akbar introduced the breeding of elephants, abandoning the ancient superstitions belief that to do so was unlucky and his successors continued to follow his lead. He also classified elephants into seven categories, and framed rules for their feeding and general improvement.

Under the Dilli Sultāns, the *ghaswa-yi fil* was the supreme head of the *phikhana*. Again, there was one for each army wing, and the *ghaswān* were each assisted by a large staff. From the reign of Akbar, the elephants were classified into *hāllas* "circles" or "rings") of tens, twenties and thirties, and placed under the control of supernumeraries known as *faujādār*. They were also orderly to train them to stand firm at the sight of fire and in the noise of artillery. Several *hāllas* of elephants were placed in the care of some important nobles, and 101 chosen elephants known as *khilāsa* elephants were placed in the care of one such person, with the expenses being met from the imperial treasury.

**Bibliography:** See the bibls. to such articles on Indo-Muslim history as *omnia sultanate et reis* and those on military topics such as *Barad* or *B. M. Or. 1641;*, *Ruhala-yi mauzib* *Datrubf-i Mitr Sen*, *Jagat Ra'y Shusī*!**!


**LASHKAR-I BĀZĀR**, the name given to a complex of military encampments, settlements and royal palaces in southern Afghanistan which apparently flourished in the 5th/9th and 6th/12th centuries. The site (lat. 31° 28' N. and long 64° 20' E.) of *Isbāli* (named after the mediaeval complex of buildings) is an extensive one, stretching along the left bank of the Helmand River [see HELMAND] near its confluence with the Arghandab with the mediaeval Islamic town of Bust [q.v.], modern ruins of Ka'fa-yi Bist, at its southern end, and the modern, new town (named after the mediaeval complex of buildings) of Lashkar-gāū at its northern one. The western edge of the complex is thus bordered by the river and also protected by a cliff running down to the water.

*History.* The existence of ruins on this site was vaguely known to H.W. Belloc in the mid-19th century, probably from hearsay when he was travelling in the region; but its existence was only made known to the academic world through the discovery in 1948 and the subsequent five seasons of excavations in 1949-54 by the Délegation Archéologique Française in Afghanistan.

The complex is not unmentioned in medieval geographical and historical sources. Al-Mukaddasi, 304-5, says that *hall-a-shurafā* (from Būzurg, in the direction of Gharm, there is something like a town, called al-Āskar, where the ruler (al-sulūm) resides). Since al-Mukaddasi completed his *Aṣaṣn al-āsālīm* in 375/985, although later additions may have been made to it, it seems that Lashkar-i Bāzār was an early creation of Sebūktūn, built to secure his newly-
acquired province of Zamin-Dawar and Bust—the founder of the Ghaznavid line had seized this from the Turkish ghulam ruler there, Baytun, in 367/977-8 (see Bosworth), The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 999-1186, Edinburgh 1977, 391, 393— but it is not excluded that Baytun himself had buildings on this site, and a coin of his dated 359/969-70 has been found there, see Cordin, Lashkari Bazar, ii, 170-1. Whether Muṣaddad’s al-‘Āṣhar is responsible for the small district between Bust and Zamin-Dawar”, as suggested by Minorsky, comm. 345, is uncertain. However, one site must be that mentioned by the Ghaznavid historian Bayhakī, Tarikh al-Mustawfi, ed. Ghani and Fayyād, Teheran 1324/1945, 149, Russian tr. Aruṇs, Moscow 1969, 222, when he speaks of the building operations of sultan Mansūd b. Māhmu’d (421/1031-41): ‘At Bust, by the palace of the military encampment (lāshkār-gūl) of his father the wālin, he had several additional constructions made; some of these are still visible today” (sc. in ca. 431/1040).

The main, or southern palace, shows signs of two successive burnings; after the first conflagration of these, there was considerable restoration, but after the second, the whole palace was definitely abandoned. It seems reasonable to assume, with Schlumberger, that the first conflagration was the work of the vandalistic Ghūrid sultan ‘Alī al-Din Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Din Ḥusayn, called Dihrān-sūz, in ca. 545/1150, when he sacked Ghazna, temporarily expelled the Ghaznavid sultan Bahārīn Shāh to India, and then marched back to Ghur via Zamin-Dawar and Bust; Dīhrānī states that he devastated the palaces and public buildings of the Ghaznavids at Bust (see Bosworth), The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1090-1185, Edinburgh 1977, 118-19). When, soon after these events, the last Ghaznavid sultans abandoned their Afghan possessions and retreated to the Pānḍjāb, the ʿAbbāsid or their governors doubtless restored the buildings at Lashkari Bazar and installed themselves there in the Ghaznavids’ stead. Schlumberger dates certain alterations even to the post-Ghūrid period, of the Lashkar-Shah, the second and final burning thus probably dates from the ravages of the Mongols in southern Afghanistan in spring 617-8/1211-2; Nasawī, Širāt al-Sultan Ḥusayn al-Din, ed. Houdas, 64-5, tr. 106-8, speaks of a siege by the Mongols of Kandahār at this time (doubtless, however, by Tarhūz, Turkestanien dann zu den Mongol invasionen, 438). Yet undeniably, life no longer continued on any discernible scale at Lashkari Bazar.

The buildings. Lashkari Bazar includes three palace buildings along the cliffs of the Helmand, the most impressive of which is the southernmost one, constructed of unbaked brick on foundations of fired brick and with wooden bonding; fired brick was also used in the reception hall and for doorways. The palace is built round a vast central rectangular courtyard with four inās. After the first burning of the palace, modifications and repairs were made to the palace and the fire-blackened remains of the original main entrance were masked by a new entrance with a frieze of geometric panels and epigraphic bands, on one of which are the resonant dates of a date, 552/1155-64, probably indicating a reconstruction by the penultimate Ghaznavid sultan, Khusrāw Shāh, the last of his family to reign in Afghanistan, or by his Ghūrid successors.

At the north of the palace, backing on to the Helmand, is the very interesting reception hall of the palace, the most monumental of the rooms in style and the most richly decorated, including with panels of brick ribbon work with stucco insets. But especially important from the viewpoint of cultural and artistic history is the fact that the friezes running round the inner faces of the brick piers in the hall contain mural paintings (these have now been removed, for safety, to the Kabul Museum). The remains of 44 figures are visible, and with those probably to be found on the missing north side, must have numbered some 60 all told. They depict frontal views of the bodies of what must have been the royal guards, the corps d’élite of Turkish military slaves of sultans Bahārīn Shāh and Mansūd (see mamluk, d. Persia). These warriors wear rich tunics and boots, and bear the shafts on their left shoulders of what may well have been maces, the mace (zāra) being a favourite weapon of Mansūd himself, according to Bayhakī, and a weapon of heroes in the Shāh-nāmā. The faces are unfortunately badly damaged, but a painted fragment found elsewhere in the palace shows a beardless, smooth-faced youth with what are generally regarded as ‘Mongolian’ (here, of course, ‘Turkish’) features. The appearance of these figures accords remarkably well with the literary descriptions in e.g. Bayhakī of the rich uniforms, jewelled weapons, etc. of the royal ghulams when paraded on ceremonial occasions such as the reception of envoys and ambassadors.

Leading to the southern palace was the street of the army bazaar, 500 yds./half-a-kilometer long and lined with shops; judging from the absence of post-Māhmu’d coin found there, this bazaar may well have been abandoned after that sultan’s death. Also to the south of the palace was the great mosque (the southern palace itself contains a small, richly-decorated mosque, obviously for the private use of the sultans and their entourage), constructed originally from good-quality fired brick, but rebuilt, like the southern palace, after the first burning in a less careful manner. Schlumberger places the original mosque within the early Ghaznavid period, and it is of obvious interest as one of the very few pre-Mongol period mosques in Afghanistan.

The placing of all these buildings of the Lashkari Bazar complex in their proper architectural and art historical contexts raises many problems, and a full evaluation can only begin to be made now that we have the long-awaited volume in the DAFA Mémoires series on the architecture of Lashkari Bazar (see Bibl. below). Schlumberger was reminded of the plans of Ṣamarqān palaces ("l’architecture de Lashkari Bazar apparaît, à plus d’un égard, comme un représentant provincial et tardif de celle de Ṣamarrādehyde"), but noted eastern Iranian features, such as courtyards with four inās and the ornamental use of brick (Syria, xxix [1952], 268-9). J. M. Rogers has noted the early appearance in the southern palace (the early Ghaznavid construction) of the angular, interlacing strapwork in stucco characteristic somewhat of Suldāfīk decoration (The 12th century—a turning point in the architecture of the Mamluks, in D. S. Richards, ed., Islamic civilization 930-1175, Oxford 1973, 221-3). The mural paintings reminded Schlumberger again of Achaemenid representations, but he also observed that the heritage of the Buddhist art of Candahār and northern India, much nearer in place and time to 5th/6th century Zamin-Dawar, should clearly be taken into account. Finally, it should be noted that the pottery finds at Lashkari Bazar give a valuable conspectus of
local artistic trends in this field for the period ca. 1000-1220.


(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-LÂT, name of one of the three most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon, the two others being Manât and al-Uzza [q.v.].

The deep attachment felt by the Thâfî towards al-Lât, the Aws and the Khazraaj towards Manât and the Kuraysh towards al-Uzza, constituted the greatest obstacle in the path of the peaceful implantation of Islam in Arabia, as the Christian missionaries had found difficulties to overcome that the Prophet seems, for a brief period, to have consented to the continuation of the cult of these three deities, called al-gharanîya al-'ulâ (see T. Fahd, Pantheon, p. 88, but cf. al-Kurnâbî, B, in jâmî).

The cult of al-Lât, the deity of the Thâfî, descendants of the Thamûd (Aghâqîf, iv, 74; al-Tabârî, i, 437), is attested over a vast area of the pre-Islamic Near East. She was at the same time the goddess of shepherds, from the Eljâzâ to Sâfî, and that of caravan-travellers, from Mecca to Petra and to Palmyra. Her name is recorded in the most remote antiquity, and it is to be found, in various forms, in the works of Herodotus (cf. E.P. s.v. Allat), also in Akkadian texts (Al-Ist-sam: Tâlliqu, Gitter-epitaeca, 259; J. Bottéro, In l'antique divinité semi-âtique, 56). Safaitic texts (R. Dussaud, Pâtrîcarion, 56 ff.), Palmyran texts (D. Schumberger, La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest, 63, 71, 73), Nabataean texts (M. de Vogüé, Palms, 119, W. R. Smith, Kinship, iv, 39; J. Wehbe-Kasim, Reste de Kinjics textes [Pugnon, in MEOB, v (1917), 78). The Arabic form of her name dates back, at least, to the time of the Khwarî Amr b. Luhayy, the reformer of the idolatrous cult in Mecca at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., a period for which there is evidence of the cult of al-Lât in Nabataea, in Sâfî and in Palmyra. Now it is known that this reformer spent some time in the land of Moab, whence he would have brought back statues of various deities, including that of Hubâl [p.c.]

The precise meaning of the name of al-Lât remains unclear. Two interpretations deserve consideration.

The first derives it from the root l-t-l. Arab lexicographers are unanimous in considering that al-Lât is derived from the verb lâdâ, "to mix, or knead, barley-meal (mâlî)." It has been shown, in Pantheon (112 ff.), that this interpretation emerges from a revealing association with the "idol of jealousy" erected in the temple of Jerusalem (Ezekiel, v, 15), which can be none other than Astarte [cf. H. Kings, xx, 7; xxlii, 6, 7-13; 114; cf. Dussaud, in Syria, xxvi (1940), 355-60; Ch. Viroleaud, in J.A., exxci (1943-5), 418-19]. The "obliteration of jealousy", offered by the husband who suspected his wife of infidelity, was made with barley-meal. Now Ibn al-Kalbî, K. al-A'mân, 10, speaks of a lât aslîfî, "kneader of barley-meal", who was a Jew and after whom was named the square rock of Ta'fî, symbol of al-Lât. From this it may be deduced that a ritual similar to the Hebraic ritual of the "obliteration of jealousy" was practiced in the vicinity of the sacred stone, symbolizing al-Lât, and that the latter was regarded as one of the multiple incarnations of the Semitic Ba'âl of which Astarte was the most eminent. This is further evidence of the Semitic tradition of the anonymity of gods, to whom epithets were given, reflecting the sites or the forms of worship dedicated to them.

The second, treating al-Lât as consort of Allâh or of his son Ibrâhîm or El, simplifies the problem, calling al-Lât to be a feminine form of Allah or Allâh, unname god of the pre-Islamic Arab pantheon (Pantheon, 41-4).

Either of these etymologies is possible: the first responds best to Arab traditions, the second is more in line with Semitic tradition in general (cf. details in Pantheon, 111-20).

Al-Lât is seen at Ta'fî displaying the most primitive attributes of the Semitic Ba'âl. Originally, she was represented by a white stone, in contrast to the black stone of Mecca; subsequently, she was associated with a sacred tree; then a sanctuary was erected for her, and this became a place of pilgrimage. But the rivalry between Ta'fî and Mecca and the commercial and economic predominance of the latter prevented the goddess of the Thâfî from making Ta'fî a centre of assembly for all the Arabs. The Mecca of Kušây, the reformer of the pilgrimage and architect of the Kuraysh confederation, rapidly eclipsed the other metropolises of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus al-Lât was unable to preserve anything of her former prestige other than the epithets raiba "mother of the gods", in her role as goddess of fertility, after the manner of Ba'âl, of whom she is an incarnation, and fâqîhâ, "pre-eminent goddess", an epithet still reflecting the important cultic role that she had played among the Arabs of the Nabataean, Sâfîtî and Palmyran regions, as goddess of war (see refs. in Pantheon, 111, n. 2).

In order to consolidate the economic power of Mecca and to reinforce its role as holy city of the Arabs, Kušây brought together in the Ka'ba all the divinities of Arabia. The triad which emerged, namely Manât, goddess of the northern Arabs, al-Lât, goddess of the Arabs of the Najđî, and al-Uzza, goddess of the Kuraysh confederation, represent the three political forces which coexisted in central and northern Arabia, from the period of Kušây [7th century A.D.] to the advent of Islam. These three deities correspond to the theoanthes of Venus, morning star and evening star, very often confused with the Semitic Ba'âl and worshipped by the Arabs since time immemorial.

Although al-Uzza was the last-born of the triad, she soon became the most important, in her role as tutelary goddess of the sanctuary of Mecca (see details in Pantheon, 118 f.). In a parallel development, the three sacred trees (aswâr) which stood before the sanctuary of al-Uzza at Nahâla, on the road leading towards 'Irak and Syria, were assimilated to the three divinities (Pantheon, 164).

The predominance of al-Uzza over Manât and al-Lât is expressed by the dual al-Uza'zâni, "the two 'Uzâs", which designated them (Hamâsa, 190, i. 15; Pantheon, 118, n. 3). This predominance is also apparently in the Nabataean region, where al-Lât had been a favourite goddess, as a result of the
expansion of Meccan commerce inside Nabataea, the birthplace of Kusayy.

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All through his life Laflfi complained that he had never been appreciated properly. He did not have a comfortable life, for he had never been pushing and sycophantic; but he expected that others would have realised his literary ability.

Although Laflfi mentions in his Tadhkira that he composed twelve books, treatises and literary compositions, only the following seem to be extant: (1) the Tadhkira al-šurhâr; his most important work, generally considered as the second best biographical work (after 'Ashık Celebi's) in Ottoman literature. He states that both of his own time and his forefather, Hamdi Celebi, where taken this idea from 'Ashık Celebi, but applied it in his time, but none of them received attention and fame or were widely read (Tadhkira, 392). Probably they were all incomplete, pioneering attempts in this field. The Tadhkira consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, he mentions poet IHkhrûs of Anatolia who were brought up in or emigrated to Anatolia. In the second, he speaks about Ottoman sultans who engaged in poetry. In the third, the main part of the work, Laflfi mentions, in alphabetical order, the names of 300 poets (Tadhkira, 372) who lived from the reign of Murad II (934-952/1524-51) until 950/1543. The book is arranged alphabetically (mud'djam), a method which Laflfi initiated in Turkish biographical works, whereas Schöll's and Nawâ' had been arranged by tabâhât or generations, so that Laflfi's Tadhkira became the bridge between the two types. Laflfi took this idea from 'Ashık Celebi, but applied it in his book before him. Some criticisms were, however, made about his work. One was that Laflfi did not include poets of his own time; another that he did not include the early copies of the work (e.g. Kayseri, Râşîd Esnâf Libr. 1760, copied before 957/1550, and another one which stems from the above, Ist. Universitesi, Ty. 2564, copied in 968/1561), it can be deduced that two redactions of the work were in existence and that the early copies did not have Laflfi's autobiography. The author later included it, as well as notices of some other poets not previously included. By doing so, he improved the text and also replied to the criticisms of those whom he calls ikhtedâ-n hikd u hasad, "the hateful and the jealous ones". 'Ashık Celebi relates that Laflfi's work also became nicknamed the Kastamonu-nâmas (f. 133a), for the author found ways to connect some poets to Kastamonu, whether or not they had been born in the city; but he adds that Laflfi's Tadhkira is most valuable and quite different from Schöll's one. Hasan Celebi regarded the style as rather dull (Hasan Celebi, Tadhkira, f. 265b); hence 'All took it upon himself to answer all unfair criticisms (op. cit., 415b). The work is undoubtedly important, not only because of its form, but also because of the fact that, with this work, for the first time literary criticism and assumptions were dealt with in this Ottoman poetic biographical genre. It accordingly soon became a very popular reference book, considered to be reliable. It was edited by Ahmed Djezdet under
the title of Tadhkira-yi Latifi (Afghân-i aslif series, no. 9, Istanbul 1341/1896); H. Theodore Chabert summarised it in German (Latifi oder biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichen Türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenliste aus ihren Werken, Zürich 1850); a second translation into German was done by O. Rescher (Latifi Tadhkira, Tübingen 1950); this last translator referred to 9 old ms. of the work, together with the edited text. (2) Riāl-yi asālī-yi Istanbul. As the title indicates, the work is a brief description of the natural beauties, the historical buildings and monuments, etc. of Istanbul, in short, a physical description of the city and its spiritual life in the 10th/16th century, written in an artistic style. The work is quite valuable in that Latifi's observations reflect the thoughts and the feelings of his youth. As he says in the bāhtīma or conclusion, he was then spiritually in confusion; at times acting like a vagabond and at others behaving piously. The text is adorned with poetry, and Latifi claimed that he had invented a new style in prose writing; Istanbul was the most proper topic for such a purpose, in order to display a successful sample of his creative style (Tadhkira, 300-1). He later revised the work, and with a new introduction, presented it to Murid III. (3) Fuyūt-i asār (Mumtaz-i hadżhārd or ?), an artistic description of the specialities of the four seasons, written in a mixture of prose and poetry. It was first published in the Ādīs newspaper in instruments and then as a book under the title Mumtāz-yi Latifi (Istanbul 1287/1870). (4) Subḥat al-bāsīrīk, a Turkish translation of 100 hartūfīs, composed in verse. (5) A Turkish translation of 40 ḥādhīts, also in verse, having much subject-matter in common with the previous one (ms. in Şehid Ali Paşa Library, 797a-798b-953a, 1257-1258). (6) Nasn al-ājīdushūr (lafl/ī manūf ʿa-l-ajīdushūr-i manūfūm), a versified Turkish translation of 207 speeches of Allāh. (7) Mundūsra-yī lāfī/i (Istanbul 1287/1870)-ūyubhat. From the contents of his works, Latin was apparently not a first-class poet, but a very good critic!如前 mentioned, the first translator referred to 9 old mss. of the work, summarised it in German (Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst, Budapest 1837, ii, 28-30; Smirnov. Češk istorii tvyrskovskoy literatury, St. Petersburg 1841, 456; Fâhā-Rejāh, Tadhkira-yi Latifi, Istanbul 1341/1896-7, 357-81; E. J. W. Gibb, HOP; M. Thürényi, Siddīq-i ʿOthmānī, Istanbul 1316/1898-9, iv, 92; F. Bäglinger, Geschichte der schiitischer, 110 fl.; Mehmēn ʿAlādī, Latifi ye tadbirkhāri, in Dājjīn mwaqṭa-yī, Istanbul 1927, xvii, 61; Istanbul kudādīhān, in Dictionary of literary yeznidars (faorex teknikler), Istanbul 1924, 397 fl. (Nimā M. Češīm)

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE [see DIWANHA-
FYA, KURBAT AL-ARD]

LATĪFĪ—LAWĀṬA, an important Berber ethnic group belonging to the family of Butiʿ and whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the Young, son of Lawār the Old. They are distant descendants of the Libu (Lebou) of the Egyptian documents of the 15th century B.C., of the Libiun or Lebibil in the Bible, the Libu (Libuyns) of the ancient Greeks, of the Laguantan of Corippus and the Lebucius of Procopius (6th century A.D.). It is probable that the Libu (Lebou) of the Egyptians lived on the Mediterranean coast of Africa, between Egypt and the Gulf of Syrte. As for the Libi̇un, they were for Pindar (518-458 B.C.) natives of Cyrene, but later their name is known among the ancients a name for all the indigenous peoples who lived in the littoral zone of North Africa, from Egypt as far as the Atlantic coast inclusive. However, it appears that the real Libu (Lebou) survived in the tribe of the Liburkhae who lived, according to Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), in the north of Marmarica, immediately to the east of Cyrene. Another section of the Libi̇un properly so-called, apparently Egyptianised, were the Libu (Libou) who Ptolemy places in Maret^nis, i.e. in the region of Lake Maraitn, named the Liburae and Libius (Maryout) on our maps. It should further be added that some Greek and Latin authors, such as Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy mention still another branch of the Libi̇un, the Libu (Libuyns) who were probably Liburus or Libu people mixed with the Punch people, and who lived most probably, if one is to believe Pliny, in the province of Byzaemen in present day Tunisia. Later on in the 6th century A.D., the Libu (Libou) of the Egyptians become the name of Laguantan (Lawata), one of the Libu (Libou) of the Egyptians lived in the littoral zone of North Africa and was not mentioned in the Arabo-Berber traditions, the Lawata first established themselves after their arrival from Palestine in the Magrib, in the period of Biblical David (XII), in the territory of Barqa (Cyrene). This was the land which made known the time of the invasion of the Arabs (in 21/642-3), at the time when the Islamisation of the Magrib began. The Arabic sources tell us of the peace treaty that 'Amr b. al-Āṣ concluded in this year with the Lawata of Barqa. However, it is certain that some sections of this people, distant descendants of the ancient Liburkhae and Libu, also lived in
this period in Egypt, and it is very probable that other Lawatān sections, who were descended from these Laguantān or Corippus and the Leuaches of Byzacena and were established in the 6th century A.D.; in Byzacena, continued to live, in the 7th century, in the southern part of Tunisia. Later on, from the 6th century A.D., branches of the Lawata expanded into some regions of Algeria and Morocco.

If we set aside the powerful peoples of Mazāta and Sadrāta, to whom some Berber genealogists attribute a Lawata origin, but who already constituted, in the 4th century A.D., separate ethnic groups, the Lawata properly so-called were subdivided in the Middle Ages into several branches of which some are named by the Arab geographers as the works of al-Ya'kūbī and Ibn Khālid. They are as follows: 1. Māsila or Māsāla (al-Bakrī writes this name by error Māsila) 2. Khattāfa, 3. Māghtāba, 4. Wāhilā, 5. Mārawā (this name might be identifiable with that of the Libyan tribe of the Mareotae living in the south of Lake Mariut in Egypt). 6. Maghūna (to be corrected as Māgūna): Ibn Hawkāl, Maghūna, 7. Zānāra (8. Kuwait Zakūda (Ibn Hawkāl: Zakūda) 9. Mākara (al-Ya'kūbī, Māratā): ‘Ā‘īruz, and 11. Dīji‘ānā (this tribe was a branch of the Lawatān group of Kātra or Qaṭṭāta). It is also highly likely that the following Berber tribes of Barka belonged to the Lawata: 12. Wādi Makhṣīla (Ibn Hawkāl, al-Bakrī writes this name by error Mākra), 13. Siwa (al-Makrīzī, Siwa) and 14. Māsūsā. This comparison suggests the evidence concerning the collection of Lawatān groups and their geographical situation, going from east to west, evidence which the medieval Arab authors, of the 2nd to the 8th/9th centuries, have bequeathed to us.

Egypt. The numerous Lawatān groups dwelt in a nomadic fashion near to Alexandria and Cairo, to the west of these cities. Among these groups who paid the jāshīfī to the Egyptian government, Ibn Hawkāl mentions, in the 4th/5th century, a branch of the Lawatān group of Māsila (Māsila). It was apparently these Lawatān whom al-‘Idrīsī mentions as a tribe who ravaged the western banks of the Nile to the north of al-Bahshās. Later on, in the 8th/9th century, the plains extending from Alexandria to Cairo which constituted the province of al-Bubayra were inhabited by another branch of the Lawata, the Zanāra, a people who were nomadic, but who stopped in al-Bubayra to sow their seeds at the approach of winter, as they passed through the environs of Barka. The Zanāra themselves paid a tax to the Egyptian government; Ibn Khālid says that, in a slightly later period (probably towards the end of the 8th/9th century), the chief of the Zanāra of al-Bubayra called Bā’r al-Badr (or more likely Bār Yedder) b. Sālām revolted against the Egyptian government, but after having been beaten by the Māmlūkī, he took refuge in Barka. According to Ibn Khālid, some remnants of the tribe of Lawata were also to be found, in his own time, i.e., towards the second half of the 8th/9th century, in Upper Egypt, where they pastured their flocks and cultivated the land. One should also note that the present locality of Maghūna situated on the road leading from Cairo to Asyūt, 80 km. south of Cairo, probably owes its name to the Lawatī tribe of Maghūna. A numerous Lawatī population occupied, in the 4th/5th century, the oases of Egypt, where the Lawata created a state. According to al-Mas‘ūdī, the Lawatī master of the oases in 332/943-4 was called ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; he had under his command several thousand riders on horses and camels. According to Ibn Hawkāl, who wrote at a slightly later period than that of al-Mas‘ūdī, the kings of the oases who belonged to the tribe of Lawata, mistress of this region, traced their origin to the dynasty of ‘Abd al-Malik. Al-Bakrī also speaks of the Lawatī tribes established in the Egyptian oases. It appears that these Lawatī tribes of al-Bubayra and the oases were distant descendants of the Libuaga of the ancients. It is perhaps due to this Lawatī branch that Ibn Ħarm attributes the name to the Lawata a Coptic origin. Moreover, to the west of Alexandria, in Marmārīa, al-Bakrī mentions the existence of about a thousand tents belonging to the Māqīra or Māsīla (al-Bakrī: ‘A‘īruz) and the Khattāfī near the oasis of Fatīhā al-Bihāra, probably to the group of Lawata. A section of the tribe of Siwa or Siwa who probably belonged to the group of Lawata lived, in the 9th/10th century, in the oasis of Siwa, the oasis of Ammon of the ancients and Sanātunyya of al-‘Idrīsī. The oasis of Siwa owes its name to this people.

Barka. This land was inhabited, in the 13th/14th centuries, almost exclusively by Lawatī groups. One of these groups is the tribe of ‘A‘īruz b. Sālahā (Māsāla) placed by al-Ya‘kūbī in the eastern part of Barka; they lived, in the 4th/5th century, alongside other peoples, probably Berbers. They were also to be found in the coastal region, mixed with other Lawatī groups, such as Zanāra, Maghūna, Marwā and Fatīhā (Fatīhā), in the north of Wādi Makhṣīla, which resembled a town and which may be identified with al-Mechḥī on our maps. The dwellings of the Maghūna and other groups of the Lawata, such as Marwā, Mākara and Zakūda, were also to be found near the road which linked Wādi Makhṣīla to the town of Barka, al-Merđīj on our maps. The tribe of Marwā left its name to present-day Marau, a locality situated about 50 km. to the east of al-Merđīj. Further to the south-west, in the Dījāl al-Gharbī (probably Dahar al-‘Ammar and Dahar al-‘Abīyad on our maps), al-Ya‘kūbī also places Berber groups of the tribe of Lawata. In the second of these chains of mountains lived, according to this geographic division, the Lawatī tribes of Zanāra, Marwā and Zanāra. It is also in this region that there lived a section of the tribe of Kāṭāfa which gave its name to Kasr Kefet, a locality mentioned by H. Barth (Wanderungen, 356). Further to the west, in the environs of Bərán (ancient Berenike, Benghuzi on our maps) lived three Lawatī tribes, namely Maghūna, Wāhilā and Dīji‘ānā, as well as the tribes of Siwa and Masūsā, who themselves traced their origin from Lawata. The territory of the tribe of Masūsā extended from Benghuzi towards the south and south-east. Indeed, the name of this tribe is to be connected with the Wāddi Masūs mentioned by Kudāma b. Dījāfīr (d. 337/948-9) and by al-Bakrī who wrote a century later. According to the latter, there are in this valley “several ruined vaults and cisterns, to the number, it is said, of three hundred and sixty.” In our opinion, it is to be identified with Muṣūn (Muṣūs) on our maps, a centre of encampments situated near an homonymous oasis, about 80 km. east of Solūk. A section of the Muṣūn also lived in the town of Adjdābīya (Adjdada in our maps), alongside Lawatī groups of Zanāra, Wāhilā, Siwa and Dīji‘ānā. The latter constituted the majority of the inhabitants of this town.

Tripolitania. The inhabitants of Adjdābīya constituted in the second half of the 4th/5th century, if one can believe al-Ya‘kūbī, the westernmost group
of the Lawata of Barks. However, it appears that the ethnic situation of this part of Libya was a little different a century earlier, under the domination of the Íbāḍī Imam Abu l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-A‘lā b. al-Rustam. According to the Íbāḍī general Musta‘īs b. al-Azīz, who succeeded in retiring to this massif after the extermination of the Berber tribes of this latter region by the Aghlabid general 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rayyān al-Azīz, the Lawata of Barks were simply the remnants of the Lawata of southern Tunisia who succeeded in retiring to this massif after the extermination of the Berber tribes of this latter region by the Aghlabid general ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Rayyān al-Azīz, which took place, as mentioned above, between Tozeur and Galsa in 234/848-9.

Another important group of Lawata occupied, according to al-Bakri, the surroundings of the town of Madījkān (Meditane of the ancients) which was situated near Wādī Mallāk (Mellégue, south of the ancient town of Ma‘turtas (Montebronch on our maps), on the road which led from Kayrawān to Baghāyā. The history of this group is unknown to us; however, it is not impossible that we are concerned here with descendants of these Lenatah who beset the town of Larq (Lorgouts) in 534 A.D.

Ibn Jā‘far mentions a branch of the Lawata settled in the plain of Trarza, in the environs of Buggia. This branch cultivated the land and pastured its flocks. In the 8th/14th century, it was subject to the government of Buggia.

There was no lack in the 4th/10th-12th centuries, if one can believe al-Shāmikhī, of small groups of Lawata in the oasis of Sūf (Suf) and in that of Righ. According to this author, a Lawata settled in this latter oasis had come from Barks. However, it appears that the majority of these Lawata were the inhabitants of the oasis of Sufā and the Wādī al-Diārid in southern Tunisia.

An important group of Lawata who accompanied, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the Íbāḍī governor of Kayrawān ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam in his flight from Hīrijā to the west in 144/761-2, settled to the south of Tāḥert, capital of the Íbāḍī state founded by this emigrant. If Ibn Sabīr is to be believed, the Lawata already lived there towards the end of the 6th/12th century and at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. In the 7th/13th century, the former evidently settled on the road which linked this latter town with the town of al-Masla. Ibn Khaldūn supplies us with several details on this section of the Lawata. According to this historian, they frequented the valley of Minas. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the chief of this Lawata section was the ruler of the Íbāḍī emirate of Māfīd. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this branch of the Lawata was, in the 6th/17th century, liable for tax.

Morocco. According to the early Arabic sources, there were also some Lawata in Morocco. It is possible that they may have come from eastern
Babery towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century, probably with the Idrîsî and Sufi chiefs who took refuge in the west of the Maghrib before the Abbasid armies. In any case, when Idrîs I b. 'Abd Allah founded the state of the Idrïsids in the Maghrib al-Ahsan, among the Berbers of the north of Morocco who rallied to his cause (in 724/838) there was also a section of the Lawata. This people probably lived to the south and west of Fas. Ibn Sa'dî al-Gharnât notes there, in fact, the territories occupied by this people. These are probably the Lawata settled on the Sebou River who owned the fortress called al-Lawnta Madin, this fortress was situated on the road which linked the town of Sidi-Mansur to Fass. Another group of Lawata lived in the north-west of Morocco, south of the town of Aglia (Arraila), the territory of which also belonged formerly to this people. In the province of Tâdla, south of the Oued Unin al-Rabi', there lived, among the Arabs of the tribe of the Banû Pikûr, the Lawatî tribe of Zanûrûn.

Mauritania. A certain number of people belonging to the tribe of Lawatî, probably merchants, lived in the middle of the 1st/nth century in the region of Adhâwûr which was an ancient centre of commerce. It is possible that they may have come from Tâhût, or more likely from southern Tunisia.

Guy. According to Amari, the Berbers of the tribe of Lawata appear in the Middle Ages in the diplomas of Palermo as amongst the inhabitants of Sicily. This people probably lived in an island in the province of Barani Hamâmât and that he had visited two places not very far from the Oued Righ, sc. Waggâna (modern Ourâna) in the north, on the road from the Oued Righ to Biskra, and Wardîgka (Guarqala) in the south of the Oued Righ. Amari also noted that his family had connections with the town of Sadrata (the modern ruins of Sadrata) in the Ouargla oasis. Indeed, his maternal uncle, the learned shaykh Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Sadrâtî was probably a native of that town.

Ibâdî tradition rightly accords al-Lawâtî a place of honour. He was not only an eminent historian and traditionist, but also a remarkable poet. He wrote a work on the history of the North African Ibiîjîyya which was used by the anonymous author of the Siyar al-muqaddimah, who used al-Lawâtî's autograph. He also taught Ibâdî history and siyar to numerous pupils. One should mention three of these, who are accounted amongst the most celebrated historians and biographers of the 9th/15th century: 'Abd Allâh al-Châfî, Abu 'l-Râ'î, Sulaybî, Abu 'l-Salâm al-Wasîyânî and Abu Nûh, all of whom took from al-Lawâtî many narratives, to be used in their own works or else to be transmitted to the traditionists of the following generation. Amongst other works, whose authors used al-Lawâtî's traditions and stories, may be mentioned, in addition to the Siyar al-muqaddimah, the K. Tabâbî, the K. Thaâbih, the K. al-Siyar, and the K. Bâb al-Shamâshil.]

(T. Lawicke)

LAWH (a.), board, plank; tablet, table. Both ranges of meaning are found in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethopian, and Jeffrey thought that, whilst the sense "board, plank" might be an original Aramaism, the second sense was almost certainly from the Judaeo-Christian cultural and religious milieu (see The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an, Baroda 1938, 253-4).

The word occurs five times in the Qur'an. The first meaning is found in sura LIV, 13, where Noah's ark is called shab al-a'affā. The second meaning is that of lawh as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the lawh 'sura VII, 142, 143, 155, where the plural al-lawh is used; see LA, iii, 421. Al-lawh is also translated as 'planck' (Bekkäri, Tafsir al-Kur'an, sura IV, bāb 18) correspond to our "paper and ink". The expression mā bāyyn al-lawhānayn "what lies between the two boards" is found in hadith, to describe the whole Qur'an (Bukhārī, Tafsir, sura IX, bāb 4, Libilit, bāb 54); cf. mā bāyyn al-nassātayn (Buṣūrī, Fad'il al-Kur'an, bāb 18). In modern Arabic, al-lawh also means a schoolboy's slate and a blackboard.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the lawh with the pen, tawmā (q.v.), and the particulars contained as a whole in God's consciousness are transmitted by this last, so that on the lawh are inscribed the archetypes of all things, past, present and future. The popular mind represented the lawh as the created from the Creator and imprints its form on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge 1921, 111-12). The word occurs five times in the Qur'an. The first meaning is found in sura LXXVII, 1, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (sc. the Qur'an) safely preserved", i.e. "Verily it is a Qur'an, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries); "safely preserved", i.e. "... and only later given objective individualisation by the pen or divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge 1921, 111-12). Esoteric works identified various forms of the tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the lawh al-anwāf with the expressive, universal soul (al-nasūf al-nashīfa al-huliyya) - the preserved tablet; with the particularising soul; and with the lawh al-kayyūla or material tablet, which receives the forms of the supersensory world (cf. al-Djurdjīn, Ṭarīqah, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 24). Mystically-inspired persons, it was held, might have glimpses of the entirety of God's decrees inscribed on the tablet and normally hidden from human comprehension, either by dreams or by a sudden flash of divine revelation (shāmā, removing the veil (see D. B. Macdonald, The religious attitude to life in Islam, Chicago 1909, 252-4, 254-5). Finally, it may be noted that the 10th century Persian religious leader Bahā' Allāh [q.v.] promulgated, at different points in his career, various "tablets" containing homiletic counsels and prophetic instructions for his followers, such as the lawh al-surūf "tablet of command" issued in 1280/1863 and ostensible from the beginning of his mission (a document which contributed to the schism with his rival Mīrā' Yāhūbī ʿAbd al-Ansāf al-A✿zāzī; the lawh-i bābhārī "tablet of good tidings"; etc. (see E. G. Browne, Materials for the study of the Bābī religion, Cambridge 1918, 17, 21-2, 29-31, 187).


AL-LAWH AL-MAHFIZ [see AL-LAWH]

LAWN (a.), "colour". One of the distinctive features of the Arabic language is the great richness of its chromatic vocabulary. It is as if the smallest detail, the most minute nuance, was deemed to require a nomenclature sui generis.

In the first part of this article, we shall undertake a morphological and semantic analysis of the names of colours. Subsequently we shall see how Muslim thinkers, theologians and philosophers, have analysed perceptions of colour. The final part will be devoted to the symbolic dimension of colours.

From these passages, it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also, the tablets in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of lawh in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the index to Charles, The apocrypha and pseudoapocrypha of the Old Testament, s.v. "Tablets"; it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In Şâfī mysticism and in esoteric philosophy and cosmology, the lawh has an important place. The pantheistic mystical writer ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Dīnī [q.v.] (d. in the first half of the 9th/15th century) explains in his al-Tāfīn al-tāfīn how God's creation is first given shape occultly in the divine knowledge, and only later given objective individualisation by the pen or divine intelligence, which distinguishes the created from the Creator and imprints its form on the soul (R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge 1921, 111-12). Esoteric works identified various forms of the tablet with the primal intelligence (as above), the lawh al-anwāf with the expressive, universal soul (al-nasūf al-nashīfa al-huliyya) - the preserved tablet; with the particularising soul; and with the lawh al-kayyūla or material tablet, which receives the forms of the supersensory world (cf. al-Dīnī, Tāfīt, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 24). Mystically-inspired persons, it was held, might have glimpses of the entirety of God's decrees inscribed on the tablet and normally hidden from human comprehension, either by dreams or by a sudden flash of divine revelation (shāmā, removing the veil (see D. B. Macdonald, The religious attitude to life in Islam, Chicago 1909, 252-4, 254-5). Finally, it may be noted that the 10th century Persian religious leader Bahā' Allāh [q.v.] promulgated, at different points in his career, various "tablets" containing homiletic counsels and prophetic instructions for his followers, such as the lawh al-surūf "tablet of command" issued in 1280/1863 and ostensible from the beginning of his mission (a document which contributed to the schism with his rival Mīrā' Yāhūbī ʿAbd al-Ansāf al-A✿zāzī; the lawh-i bābhārī "tablet of good tidings"; etc. (see E. G. Browne, Materials for the study of the Bābī religion, Cambridge 1918, 17, 21-2, 29-31, 187).
For a proper understanding of the subject, some clarifications and definitions are required, however: the colour of an object is observed, on the purely perceptual level, with its three sensory variants of tonality ("colour" in the strict sense), luminosity (the "quality", the extent to which the object reflects or transmits light) and saturation ("vivacity", "intensity" of the colour). White is an achromatic colour, as is black. Just as, in physics, a white body diffuses equally all the visible radiations that it receives, so a perfectly black body, for its part, absorbs all radiations totally and transmits none. The achromatic colours have a zero saturation. The primary or fundamental colours are those which an artist distinguishes from each other and which when combined produce white: indigo/yellow, blue/orange, violet/orange-green, red/blue-green. Finally, of the seven colours of the spectrum, only three, blue, yellow and red, are fundamen-tal: they serve to elaborate the other colours.

Morphological study. The morphology of adjectives of colour is characterised by the fact that they are, in the majority of cases, formed on the diploite paradigm al-bal in the masculine, fajal in the feminine. The adjective form is a theme of intensity, which also supplies the adjective; this common formulation of the intensive and of the adjective of colour is apparently not coincidental, and it is asserted that, semantically, the latter may have been regarded, at a certain stage in the evolution of the language, as an intensive, that which we translate as "red" may, originally, have signified "more red than ...". The evolution of the language would have led to the ellipse of the second term of the comparison. In this context see LA., ed. Beirut, ii, 122. As M. Guillaumont has commented (Problèmes de la couleur, 343), "it is a fact that in Semitic, there is a particularly narrow line separating names of colours and intensive themes. In Aramaic, names of colours are specifically formed on the pattern al-bal. In Hebrew there also exists a series of names of colours formed on an intensive pattern characterised by the doubling of the last two radicals (al-bal) ..."

Alongside this al-bal construction, which is not only found in the majority of adjectives of colour, but also that of all the fundamental colours, other forms are encountered, admittedly rare, to which we nevertheless, draw attention, while not forgetting that some of them are doubtfull forms of the al-bal, or combine to form doubles of their own. We may mention the following themes: fajal (hānūṣ), mutafal (māfārā), al-bal (al-balān), fajal (fājān), fajal (fājān), fajal or bal (gakhk, tāhik) and mutafal (muḥāf). Less common are adjectives of the patterns fajal, wajal, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, jālīs, and fajal. There exists an undoubted link between certain of these themes and a certain chromatic nuance: fajal and saturation, mutafal and mixture, al-bal and blending. Others of these themes are in fact relative adjectives terminating in i, an indirect manner of denoting colour to which Arabic frequently has recourse. Some adjectives of colour (often borrowed words) are defined by relation to an object which represents this colour and which serves as a support. Thus wajal derives from wajal "rose", hānafājī from hānafī "violet", lūlūlī from lūlūlī "carnation". It is most probable that there exists a connection between the form of the adjective and its meaning. Thus, from the one root fajal, the following are derived: fajal "of a simple yellow", fujal "very red" (of human complexion), fahal "red or white", and al-bal "very white"—so many bright nuances.

Nouns of colour are mādara which generally have the form fajal. This is the only abstract element in chromatic terminology. By āwāma or inflection, one also expresses (the state of being red", "the state of being yellow". As with the adjectives of colour, but within a less varied spectrum, the nouns of colour, although being mādara, are capable of borrowing the following themes: fajal, fujal, sajula (the last applying, apparently exclusively, to white and black, of which the roots are "hollow"); jūlub, jūlub, jīla. For nouns of colour of the theme fajal, and for these alone, it seems that these mādara cannot be called "verbal substantives", since, as we shall see, the verbs of the same class which correspond to these mādara are denominative in origin.

Of the derived forms of the Arabic verb there are two—those of the paradigm fajal and fajal—which have a particular quality: they express states (colour or deformity); they do not derive from the "bare form" fajal, but are denominative in origin, formed from adjectives of the paradigm al-bal expressing the states cited above; and they denote an intensive aspect which is illustrated by the doubling of the final radical of the IXth and Xlth forms of the theme (Ifal), less common than the IXth (Ifalala) seems to be a doublet of it, still more intensive. Thus we have, besides āwāma and maddīda, meaning respectively "to become white", "to become black", āwāma and maddīda, for "to become pure white", "to become black as ebony". All verbs of the IXth and Xlth forms are verbs of colour or of deformity. It does not, however, follow that all verbs expressing a notion of colour belong to one of these two forms. Besides the latter, which could be described as "essential verbs of colour", we encounter others which borrow all the verbal forms, "bare" or derived, and which in general express colour through derivation of sense.

Finally, attention should be drawn to mono-trilateral forms and loan-words. The following paradigms are encountered: fujal, fujal, fujal, fujal and fujal among the former. As for loan-words, the most used are: ākāzā" (purple), sīyāb (yellow), zard (red and gilt), jīla (violet), sīnayshā (sky-blue) and maddī (indigo); these are terms derived from Persian or Greek.

Semantic study. To express the concept of "colour", Arabic uses the general term laum which, besides this precise sense, also denotes "shade", "aspect", "type", "dish (of food)", etc. In addition to this general term, we also have the following words: bīs (stressing a notion of brightness, of clear colour), ṣabb (liquid colour or tincture, also applied to the object to which it colours) subās (applied to the colour of the complexion), laum, nāṣif (applied to a dirty colour, a mixture of two blended colours). bikāri, bikāri and nāṣif (all three referring to a mixture, a combination of two colours sometimes regarded as opposites).

It would seem useful, as preliminary to a semantic survey, to discover how the Arabs perceived the colours of the rainbow [see GAWK KAN], and how they subsequently transcribed their perceptions. Since this atmospheric phenomenon displays a very wide spectrum of colours, it is of the utmost interest to determine, for each people, the way that they have given to what they have seen. We know that the Greeks and Romans attributed three colours to the rainbow. In his Meteoron (II, 4, 173) Aristotle lists red-brown (albogor), green (prassenon) and purple (phaimon) in which he sees a progressive weakening of the light. Plato shows, in the Timaeus, that it is possible to reconstitute all shades with
700

LAWN

lour fundamental colours: black, blue, red, and
the colour oi light. Comparative study of languages
belonging to very diverse cultural areas show that the
divisions of the spectrum arc far from always coin¬
ciding. They are arbitrary, and differ according to
situations and the existing resources of the language.

snakes. The terminology of this colour is relatively
limited, and this could be connected with the symbolic nature of blue, which we shall examine in due
course. We may cite samdwi, kali, askhal, ‘axvhah and
amjeah (three terms of a pejorative nature), and
amlah.
Green is synonymous with nature. It is the basis
ol life. The usual term is akhdar, an adjective also
associated with the notion of darkness, since it some¬
times denotes black, dark, grey. We also find al•
kjuulrH* as a reference to the sky: a further illustration
of the link between blue and green, often confused
in antiquity. The Greeks, the Chinese, the Melane¬
sians, the New Caledonians, the Romans, among
others, used the same term to denote these two
colours. Without having the extreme richness of
those of black and of white, the terminology of
green is fairly extensive. We shall confine ourselves
to mentioning hani*, ahwd, akhtfab, ahkfab, adlas,
rahik, eashrak and agkyan.

The great dictionaries and encyclopaedias of classical
Arabic present, under the heading kaws kuiah, almost
unanimously, the following formula: "the rainbow
consists ol strips in a circular arc, coloured yellow,
red and green '. Here too—green replacing blue
with which it is often confused—we again find the
three fundamental colours.
The primary term used to denote the colour white
is the adjective abyaj. The same root supplies the
word for "egg", bayfa. A\-abya4 also denotes saliva,
a sword, money, and, paradoxically, in Africa, coal.
In the
the terms abvaJ and intend appear con¬
secutively, expressing the contrast between light and
dark, rather than that between white and black. Many
examples could be quoted where abyiui refers to a
tonality rather than a colour. There exists a host of
other terms to denote white: Sdam, (hdgkim, £atra
(which denotes white as well as a dork tonality),
a$hyab, $iklab, zalm, a&harr, fall1 (u bright white
as well as a bright red), ahmar, kithdbi, haddi, ahamm
(which displays the same peculiarities as Hawn),
kawdri, khulis, azhar, lahak, amrah, mlsi* (brightness
of white, yellow, red), yakak. etc.
The principal term used to denote black is aiwad,
of which the root implies the notion of power, of
might. The antonym of abya4, sc. asu'ad, has the
same characteristics: very often it applies to a dim
or dark tonality, rather than to the colour black Itself
(cf. Kur’in, II, 187, III, 106, XVI, 58, XXXIX, 60,
XL1II, 17). The substantive al-a$*>ad can refer to
such diverse objects and creatures as the snake, the
scorpion, dates, etc. The masdar "uitcad", referred,
quite uniquely, to a region of *Irak especially rich in
palm-trees and orchards.
The range of terms used in reference to black is
also extremely wide. Worthy of mention are baghs,
mutabbam, djaun, ahtam, hunbub, hindas, fiulba,
hdlik, ahamm (white, black, or dark red), ahwaz, ahwd
(a perfect example of the concept of darkness: black,
red, green; cf. RurMn, LXXXVII, 5) adbas (dark),
addiuu, ad'adj, adkan.adlam, adkam (dark: cf. Rur’an
LV. 64). asham, oifa*. muflim. gkvddf, ghitbib (the
association between the crow and the colour black is
very wide-spread; we may recall that the roo: c-r-b
serves to denote black in Hebrew and in Aramaic),
a]ham, kdlim. kdlin, kdhint, akhal, etc.
C.rey, a fusion of black and white, does not have
a precise colour. It does not hav© a primary term in
Arabic. We may mention the designations gdhtb and
ashhab, aghtham, akhab, adsam, arbad, armnd, armak,
aghbath, awrak, afhal, h aid, aklas, anwas, amlah,
amhak, etc.
The Arabs rarely mention violet. The principal
term, borrowed from Persian, is banaj$*4i*- Also en¬
countered are }$hubldz\, samdnghiiwf./ir/fri, evidently
non-Arabic words, and all of them adjectives of rela¬
tion. The same applies to indigo, of which the colour¬
ing material, a plant, is called khifr, sadQs, mu^hayfir,
Hflim, wu’tJr, nil, ttila or nllaii and wasma. On the
rare occasions when the colour Indigo is mentioned,
it is through paraphrases, as the colour of the
indigo, or through adjectives of relation ending in i.
Blue, on the other hand, is one of the essential
colours of nature. The usual word denoting it is nsrak,
a term which also has the sense of livid, haggard
(cf. Ku^an, XX, 102). The plural, sardkim, designates

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Yellow is denoted, most often, by asfar, a word
whose relationship with the name of the saffron plant
(borrowed from Persian) is striking. Arab historians
applied the designation Bant* 'l-Affar [y.u., lit. "the
Yellow Ones") to the Greeks and the Byzantines,
while they called themselves "the Blacks" (or "the
Masters"?) and applied the designation "the Red
ones" to all non-Arabs. The terminology of yellow
is extensive. The principal terms are hibr, 4hiryab,
wbrak, zabra^i. zirydb, lahr, asham. a/ka( (see
for bright white and red), kuladi, anila^i, nd$ic
(the same remark as for afkac) and twfris.
Orange, like violet and indigo, is indicated by
means of the adjective of relation applying to the
object which represents the colour: burtukdl "orange",
supplies the adjective burtukdli.
Red evokes the notions of blood, flesh, fruits,
life. The two "opposed" and complementary colours,
green and red, arc also the colours of all vegetable
and animal life. Red has always occupied a position
of particular significance, in almost every sector of
humanity. It has always enjoyed a privileged status
in vocabulary. All its shades are represented, in vir¬
tually all languages. Block, red and white form the
trilogy of colours that are the best recognised and
the richest in terminology and symbolism. The usual
word, in Arabic, is ah mar, deriving from a root with
the sense of ardour, violence, intensity. Red is the
colour for which Arabic terminology is the richest.
We shall confine ourselves to citing Siam (already
encountered as a word for white, and perhaps the
term for red in ancient Semitic), badhagh, abkam,
fh&klb. Hawn (already encountered as a word for
white), ahlas, huml, adbas, madmilm, adhas, adhan,
arbad, rddini, zabnik, zdhtr, azhd, oslakh, aslagh,
ashraft, suhdhi, a$lror, jay'ari. ?ikldb, (already men¬
tioned for white), $am*ari. a?kab, adradj, *&nik,
'anami, gkasik, ghadb, tnaghluk, fadm, Jadn, /irds,
firfad, a/dah, faki« (already mentioned for yellow),
hurra?, a^rof, ktrmiti ("crimson"), ka$har,
(especially denoting saturation), aktka*, karik, half,
kamil, mdii1, atn'ar, mantkur, tiaka*, ward (cf.
Kur’an, LV, 57) and ydni€.
Brown and pink have a limited vocabulary. It is
logical, on the other hand that russet-fawn should be
precisely observed and distinguished by a people
whose origins lie in the desert. We may mention
bahran1. ahsab, hxddr, a&kah, (tihfear, ashar, a$hab,
a'yas, aklaf, kumayt and irard (already mentioned
for red). Purple is denoted, in the principal Semitic
languages, by terms deriving from one single quadriliteral root r-g-u*-»». Arab lexicographers claim


that the Arabic argawas is a loan-word from Persian. Firdāš and biyāfš obviously derive from the same etymology as the Greek purpura and the Latin purpurā. For lessened colours other than brown, the terminology often relies on variants of terms designating dust, ashes and earth.

The vocabulary of mixtures and blendings of colours is very extensive. One is struck by the frequency of the consonant ġh in the formation of terms designating mixed, mottled, strained, spotted, colourations. In addition—which is scarcely surprising—the hides of horses and camels are differentiated, down to the slightest nuance, by dozens and dozens of term (see the articles by Hess and Shihibī, cited in the Bibli.). The striking fact, in this context, is the large number of terms (adhas, adjan, adkham, adra, adas, adhatb, adham, adlam, adhas, adham, etc.) with ġ as the first radical.

We close this brief survey of the semantics of colour with the remark that doubles and loan-words are not, and hardly indicate that this colour has attained its highest degree of luminosity or of intensity. While the substantives, al-sharkh, al-tarzahr, al-tashbik and al-ghabrī, specifically denote saturation; and while, on the other hand, brightness has the names al-bašir, al-bashīf and al-brī:j; it is nonetheless true that the intensives fāsi, nāsi, ibrīs, nibrīs and 'ibīk, previously encountered in this survey, and all of them active participles: (a) imply, when they govern the notion of colour, the notions of saturation and luminosity, indicating that the colour is intense and striking; and (b) are capable of being applied—as originally at least—to any colour whatsoever. Apparently it was at a later stage that Arab grammarians assigned to each of these intensives a specific adjective of colour to qualify.

Colour in the works of Aristotle and his Arab translators. The Arab philosophers, in their analysis of the problem of colour and of its perception, were, to differing degrees, influenced by Aristotelian theory on this subject. It is important therefore to identify the major themes of the theses expounded by Aristotle, especially in his De anima (ii, 418a-419a) and his De sensu et sensib. 437b-440b.

The Greek philosophers were struck by the indissoluble link between light and colour on the one hand, and transparency on the other. The eyes, the most transparent part of the human body, are the meeting point of light or of external colour, and of their interior equivalent, a fact which favoured the theory of emanations. What is visible, says Aristotle, is colour; and colour is that which is on the surface of what is visible by itself. The basis of all the phenomena of colour is the transparent. The latter, represented especially by air and water, carries and determines colour, and colour is not visible without the aid of light, since it is only in the light that the colour of any object may be perceived. Where transparency is only potential, there is darkness. Light is like the colour of what is transparent, and this transparency is realised in entelechy. The receptacle of colour must be what is colourless. The quiddity of colour is the ability to move the transparent in fact; and the transparent has the property of transmitting, instantaneously, the colour of the visual object to the eye, independently of any notion of time or space. One sees it; it is a qualitative and not a quantitative transmission. Aristotle rejects categorically the theory of emanations, developed by Empedocles, revised by Plato in his Timaeus (458 f.), according to which we see by means of "rays of the nature of fire", which issue from the eye and meet the luminous emanation from the object perceived. Aristotle and all those who followed him, including the falsāda (q.v.), insisted on the aqueous and non-luminous nature of the eye. All the same, the Master rejected the idea, propounded by Democritus, Leucippus and Epicurus, that vision is only the reflection of an object, as in a mirror. Every object, even opaque, contains, in varying proportions, air and water; and to the extent to which bodies contain transparency, they are susceptible to being coloured. The colour of a solid body is the limit, the surface, not of the body itself, but of the transparency that is within it. The nature of transparency extends, in addition, throughout the whole of the body. Colours are the defined transparencies which reside in bodies and which approximate, more or less, to white or to black, according to whether they contain more or less fire (luminosity and active transparency), or earth (the opaque in the absolute), or ether (the obscure element). The essence of colour is the act of determining a qualitative change in the light, which is, itself, active transparency. The intermediate colours—that is, those other than black and white—exist neither through juxtaposition of a white and black particle, nor by superimposition of one colour perceived over another. They result from a total, effective blending, of bodies entailing the blending of their colours. Such is the determinant cause for the existence of the transparency of colour. The latter is number is limited, since it is confined within the two extremes of white and black. Finally, Aristotle distinguishes between darkness and blackness. Darkness is the absence of actualisation of the transparent. It has no existence per se.

Some eminent Arab authors and translators, like ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Tabāṣ (d. 240/853) and Hunayn b. Ishāk (d. 260/873) were influenced by Greek theories of colour, as they became known to them through the medium of the commentators of the early Middle Ages. According to al-Tabāṣ, white, the evidence of the predominance of the dry element over the humid within bodies; the exact converse applies to black. For him, red results from the synthesis of heat with dryness and humidity. Such are the three fundamental colours from which the others derive. Yellow is the intermediary between red and black, green the intermediary between red and white. In the former, humidity is greater than in the latter. Other chromatic nuances are determined by varying quantities of dryness, humidity and heat. Hunayn,
for his part, is complimentary towards Aristotelian theories regarding the perception of colours. He insists on the fact that light is neither a form of fire nor a rarified body, as some of Aristotle's predecessors had maintained, but a transparency borne by a body. Colour is the perfection (entelechy) of limpid and diaphanous bodies—namely, water, air and all other similar substances—which receive the real colour of the objects surrounding them. The transparent body has no colour per se; but it absorbs the colour of the object which it envelops: it thus has potential colour. Colours transform the transparent: from being potentially coloured, it becomes actually coloured. Light, by its presence in the air, renders it possible for objects to have another colour.

Colour according to the Mu'tazilis. In its defence of the articles of faith by means of rational argumentation, the theo-logico-political school of the Mu'tazilis was led to take an interest in the problem of physical bodies and of their perception; but they took divergent views on the problem of colour. While Naṣṣān (d. ca. 239/853), starting with the postulate that accidents cannot be visible, classified colours among the substances, the corruptible bodies. Rimh b. al-Mu'tamir (d. ca. 220/835), his contemporary Muṣʾammar and the majority of the disciples of the school, considered colours as accidents due to the action of men alone, or produced by the very nature of the things that they affect. Thus they are not subject to divine creation, but God remains the determinant cause of the accidental determination of substances. God created substances (bodies, atoms), capable of producing, by their own nature, well-determined accidents, and colour is one of these. Directly following this reasoning, Hījākīn al-Fuwāšث (beginning of the 3rd/9th century) declared that colour does not constitute proof of the existence of God, but is a simple form of physical bodies. Muṣʾammar, the theoretician of maʿnā ('entity', 'nature'), according to which "God creates a thing by virtue of a cause which, itself, derives from another cause, which is the fruit of another cause ...", postulated that it is through the effect of a maʿnā that blackness differs from whiteness, and through another maʿnā that a certain body is black and another white. In fact, according to him, every "accident" (movement, colour, taste), requires the existence of an infinite chain of determinants.

Colour according to the Malakī. In its argumentation, the theologico-political school of the Malakīs was led to take an interest in the problem of physical bodies and of their perception; but they took divergent views on the problem of colour. While Naṣṣān (d. ca. 239/853), starting with the postulate that accidents cannot be visible, classified colours among the substances, the corruptible bodies. Rimh b. al-Mu'tamir (d. ca. 220/835), his contemporary Muṣʾammar and the majority of the disciples of the school, considered colours as accidents due to the action of men alone, or produced by the very nature of the things that they affect. Thus they are not subject to divine creation, but God remains the determinant cause of the accidental determination of substances. God created substances (bodies, atoms), capable of producing, by their own nature, well-determined accidents, and colour is one of these. Directly following this reasoning, Hījākīn al-Fuwāšث (beginning of the 3rd/9th century) declared that colour does not constitute proof of the existence of God, but is a simple form of physical bodies. Muṣʾammar, the theoretician of maʿnā ('entity', 'nature'), according to which "God creates a thing by virtue of a cause which, itself, derives from another cause, which is the fruit of another cause ...", postulated that it is through the effect of a maʿnā that blackness differs from whiteness, and through another maʿnā that a certain body is black and another white. In fact, according to him, every "accident" (movement, colour, taste), requires the existence of an infinite chain of determinants.

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Repeating an Aristotelian formula, al-Farabi defines colour as "the surface of the diaphanous body, in the measure of its transparency". White is not the negation of black, nor black that of white; these opposed terms annihilate each other.

The Ikhwan al-Safa* [f.v.] (2nd half of the 4th/10th century) authors of a collective encyclopaedia clearly influenced by Neo-Platonic emanationism, considered colour one of the complementary attributes of the body. It is a "spiritual accident", a "form which the soul puts into the body". Light is bound up with the souls and spirits that circulate within it. While traversing diaphanous bodies ("the purest bodies are diaphanous") in the same way in which the soul circulates in the human body, light carries colours up to the pupil, preserving their purity intact. At the level of the pupil, the visual faculty perceives the colours, then transmits them to the imaginative faculty. Light and darkness are "spiritual colours". On contacts with bodies, they transform themselves, respectively, into white and black, which are "corporal colours". Colours, defined as "the brightness of bodies" are categorised into five only on the surface of the latter. There exist seven simple colours: white, black, red, yellow, green, blue and "the dull colour" (al-kadra, violet?). Black derives from an earthy humidity which prevents light from reaching vision. Black is the absence of light. It causes convergence of the visual cluster. At the opposite extreme, white is the manifestation of light in its full purity. For its part, it entails a divergence of the visual cluster. The other colours are intermediaries between these two extremes; each one being characterised by the respective part played by the quantity of white and of black which it contains. An object appears yellow when an obstacle prevents light from appearing pure. Red can derive from "putrefactive causes" (through excess of humidity) or from "liquefactive causes" (through excess of heat). Green draws near to black, in the sense that, here too, an earthy humidity is dominant, constraining the passage of light and of the visual rays. Blue belongs to the chromatic family of green. God made the air blue and the plant green to accommodate the souls and spirits that circulate within it. In fact, these two colours possess the virtue of being salutary for the vision. The colours of the rainbow are four in number: red, yellow, green and blue; each of these colours corresponds to one of the four primary qualities, namely, heat, dryness, humidity and cold; and to one of the four elements, namely, fire, air, earth and water. Finally, these authors reject the theory of emanations. Such a thesis, they declare, could only be supported by people having no "experience of the things of the spirit and of nature".

Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), like Aristotle, classed the psychology of the sensory apparatus among the physical sciences. He devoted an entire chapter of his Maqāla to the problems of vision and of colour. Light is a quality affecting diaphanous bodies: and colour, opaque bodies. The latter are coloured potentially. Colour can exist without being visible; but actual colour occurs only by virtue of its clarity. Colours do not exist, in fact, in bodies. A black or dark body, is potentially coloured. An object that is coloured when it is lit up, will be colourless in the dark: it is deprived of actualised colour. The actively transparent (air, water, the celestial sphere) is a diaphanous medium, and at the same time a vehicle. The illuminating body approaches the coloured body, without any change, any alteration, affecting the diaphanous medium. The existence of light makes the potential transparent an actualised transparent. As light increases, so the manifestation of colour increases also. Ibn Sīnā followed the views of Aristotle in regarding as absurd the theory of emanations in rejecting the theory that assimilated vision to a reflection similar to that transmitted by a mirror, and in distinguishing between darkness and blackness. He rejected the theory according to which only whiteness is a colour, and blackness is darkness, since, he tells us, black is illuminated, and it gives light to things other than itself. Consequently, colour is not whiteness alone. Absolute, generic colour, is not light; but the latter is the cause for the appearance of light, and for the transmission of its transmission. Light is thus a constituent part of the visible entity which we call 'colour'. Effective colour results from the encounter of light with potential colour. The intermediary colours result from the blending of black and white. White can turn into black in three different ways: (a) through grey of increasing darkness; (b) through red tending increasingly towards brown; and (c) through green and indigo. These diverse processes are the reflection of the diversity of composition of the intermediary colours.

Ibn al-Jayyam (d. 439/1040), in his Optics, took issue with those scholars who denied the real existence of colour, and declared that it was only an apparition situated between the eye and the source of light. According to him, if it is true that the appearance of colour is affected by the quality of the light which carries it, and that the same colour can be transformed according to the degree of light which it is given, it nonetheless remains a fact that colour has an existence of its own. His commentator Kamil al-Din al-Farisi (d. 720/1320) explored the fundamental connection between light and colour. In darkness, colours are presented, potentially, in coloured bodies. They are transformed into actual colours when light affects these bodies.

Ibn al-Fazam (d. 459/1064) devoted a paragraph of his Falsā to colour. Here we read that the air is invisible, because it has no colour; whereas water is visible, because it is white. Similarly, fire also is colourless in its sphere: the colour that we see in burning wood, in the wick of a lamp or in any other body that is consumed by fire, derives from the measure of humidity contained in these bodies. In burning, the latter is transformed into igneous air; and the colour which each of these burning bodies adopts is determined by the materials of which it is composed. It is also particles of humidity which give rise to the rainbow. The scholar of Cordova subsequently sets out to refute the theses of the "Ancients", according to whom white results from a divergence of the visual cluster, and black from a convergence of this cluster. According to him, black is invisible, because perception exists only through an extension of vision. Since the eye sees only that which is coloured, black is not a colour. It is, in fact, only darkness, the non-being, privation of colour and eye sight. When we believe that we "see" black, we are subject to an optical illusion. It is purely a matter of convention and metaphor when we describe a person, a crow or a garment, as black. In fact, each of these bodies has its own colour, which is not black. As for the difference between a matt black and a shiny, bright black body, this derives not from the black itself, but from the lustre, the brightness and the scintillation, which are distinct and constitute a colour in its own right, which affects all the chromatic nuances. We may recall that Plato counted
“the colour of light” among the four fundamental colours. One could, says Ibn Hazm, just as well say that the dull is a specific colour, since the vision perceives it. Such is also the case with brightness, with luminosity. It is evident that the Zahirī master was particularly aware of the sensory variants of colour. He goes on to establish a hierarchy in the vividness of perception of colours, whose order is as follows: white, yellow, red and green. It is to be noted that he shows a great deal of circumspection in the declaration of his statements, since he is careful to follow them, invariably, with the formula “God alone knows!”

Ibn Bāḍīja (d. 533/1139) elaborated a whole doctrine of colour in his Tercis on the soul. The influence of Aristotle, in particular of his De sensu et sensib., is evident; a fact which the author makes no attempt to conceal, as he quotes from the latter work on more than one occasion. The postulate is that the primary sensory element of vision is colour. The seeing soul (al-ma‘afs al-bâhîra) is the faculty which exists in the eye and which enables it to perceive colour. It is located in the vitreous humour, which the Arab philosophers called the glacial humour (al-naftha al-qafidyya). Colour is, in substance, a form. It is perceptible only through the intermediary of the air; and when a coloured object is placed directly before the eye, the latter is incapable of perceiving it. The air only discharges its function as a vehicle for colour when it is lit by a luminous source. Two hypotheses could thus be formulated: (a) colours, in darkness, are potential only, and have no effective existence; (b) the air absorbs colours only through the influence of the optical image in which these colours reside. For Ibn Bāḍīja, the potential existence of colour in darkness is in no doubt. Proof of this existence lies in the different tonalities of the same colour, depending on the quality of the surrounding light, which includes penumbra. He adds that this was demonstrated well by Aristotle (see De sensu et sensib., lliii, 4404, 7-13). As for the phosphorescence and the show of certain objects and animals, these are determined not by colour but by the air, as does the vision of the eye. The property of colour, endowed by the fact that it derives from the blending of the lighted with the coloured body, is that of being, itself, a disperser of light, and of moving the air. Colour therefore contains light. It promotes a movement in the lighted body, in that it is lighted; for this body is, itself, a vehicle for colour. In addition, colour puts the diaphanous into effect, by reason of the fact that the latter only accepts colour because it is lighted. Democritus was mistaken in declaring that vision in a vacuum would be pure rather than through the diaphanous. Just as colour cannot be perceived in the absence of light, so the latter is only perceptible when associated with colour.

The eminent commentator on Aristotle, Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), also undertook to expound a theory of light and of colour, as far as possible consistent with the spirit of the Peripatetic science, as transmitted through the intermediary of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Thomasius and Jean Philonius. He sets out his theory in his Great Commentary on De anima and his Epitome on Parvus naturae. Colour exists on the surface of a certain body. It is the entelechy (actualisation) of a limited transparency, in that it is a limited transparency, while light is the entelechy of an unlimited transparency. Resulting from a blending of fire with diaphanous body, colours find in the light, not the cause of their transmission of the visual organ, but a genuine essence and existence. We have seen that Ibn Bâḍīja supported the theory according to which colours exist, in potential, in bodies, whether the latter are lighted or not. Unlike his compatriot from Saragossa, the master of Cordova claims that they can exist effectively, even when they are not perceived. They only become visible under the effect of light. “It is evident that light is necessary for colours to be visible; whether because it gives to colours the form and the manner of being (malath benishitu) by which they impinge upon the transparent; or because it gives the transparent the form by which it receives the action of the colour, so that both can be achieved” (apud L. Gauthier, Ibn Rochd, 153).

For his part, Averroës maintains the following connection: light gives to the transparent the manner of being which enables it to be influenced by colour. Light and colour coexist in the diaphanous milieu. They derive, the former from a body which is luminous in itself; the latter from a body which is coloured in itself. Light brings about the actualisation of potential colour, in such a way that it is capable of moving with the diaphanous. In common with Aristotle, his Arab commentator believes that the blending of colours consists, not in a juxtaposition or a superimposition, but in a total union of constituent elements, in the event, of fire and diaphanous bodies. It is evident that, while the Arab theologians and philosophers did not neglect the subject of colour, they were concerned essentially with the manipulation of theories inherited from the Greeks and translated, since the 5th/11th century, by men like Yahyâ b. al-Bitriq, Husnay b. Ishâk, Išâk b. Husnay  or Bishr b. Mātī. There was, strictly speaking, no Arab-Muslim doctrine of colour, and, as far as we know, no monograph devoted to this question. A mystical vision of colour. It is hardly necessary to stress the universal nature of the spiritual experience of colour. In this sense, the works of H. Corbin enable us to appreciate the interest which certain Muslim mystics, like Naḏm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1226) and al-Sînmāni (d. 737/1336) took in the phenomenon of colours, and in the synchronism between them and the interior vision. Taking up the theory of “physiological colours” dear to Goethe, which the German master espoused in his Farbenlehre (1808), to refute the hitherto un-
of embracing two diametrically opposite meanings. This phenomenon is particularly to be noted in the case of white and black, which have common adjectives. To signify sin, the Arabs used a number of euphemisms, of the type "the fair drink", "the golden one", etc. It seems to have been the same reasoning that led them, superstitiously, to avoid the use of certain terms, and to evoke them either by sufficiently eloquent imagery, or by antiphrasis, in cases where the context rendered the sense unequivocal. Even today, in certain parts of the Orient and the Maghrib, in order to avoid presenting the word "black" (the accused colour, the colour of Hell), opposites are used. In Morocco, al-abyad sometimes denotes tar or coal. It has been observed, in addition, that some adjectives occasionally qualify two colours which, while being different, nonetheless present certain affinities. In the collective unconscious where humanity's roots are laid, it does not seem that our ancestors felt the need to establish a tight partition between colours which may be regarded as being close, as they offer similar attributes and functions of luminosity and of chromaticity, and as they can be distinguished, in the former instance, yellow and red in the latter. The same conclusion holds good for the Arabs. For them, the symbolic value of white, does not seem to have been much different from that which it was for the majority of peoples, for certain latent associations are universal. The colour of brightness, of loyalty, of royalty, sc. white, most often symbolises purity, joy, chastity and virginity in popular psychology. White, the confusion of all the colours, is unity, the very image of divinity. The body of the archangel Gabriel is snow-white. The white bird is the emissary sent from Heaven to tell good news. The white cock is held to be the incarnation of an angel. It was a white cock that Allah sent to indicate to Adam the times of prayer (Kasas, 15, 55-7, 125, 200). By reference to the white hand of Moses, when he accomplished the miracles recounted in the Qur'an, the expression jad baydd symbolises potency, power, authority. In the colloquial speech of Syria, "a white heart" designates a person of good compassion, of noble nature; "a white standard", a good reputation; "white tidings", a joyful message. In Egypt, a fine day is compared to milk or to a white flower. But, as in the Far East, and as in Europe for a long time, white can also be the colour of grief and of mourning. Death is vivid and white in contrast to the redness of life. The shroud is white. White hair is the forerunner of death. In Spain, in Morocco, in eastern Persia, white was also the colour of mourning (cf. Péris, Poésie andaleôsique, 298-9). The popular subconscious has, furthermore, also been aware of this affinity between white and death, and the end of life is characterised by rhetorical figures such as "white death", sudden and natural death, death in which human knowledge is powerless towards the unknowable.

Ashmud and sayyid present an etymological relationship that is loaded with meaning. The Arabs sensed that black was a dominant colour, exercising over them a fascination that was mingled with fear. Black, darkness, the night, mystery—all of these demand respect. The Black Stone of the Ka'ba is a pillar of spiritual influence. Black is the coat of "the unknown journey", of mourning and of all sadness. It is also the joint symbol of vengeance and revolt (cf. the black flag of the 'Abbassids). In the history of superstition in the lands of Islam, black occupies a privileged position. By a kind of homeopathic magic, it is used as a charm against "the evil eye". The black
cat is endowed with enormous magic power: it is a creation of Satan, and anyone who eats its flesh is immunised against illness: its spleen, when applied to a woman, stops menstruation. For the Muslims, as for so many other peoples, the black crow exercises a harmful influence; meeting the bird is an unfavourable omen, since the bird is the herald of separation; is it not assumed that the Prophet said that the crow must be killed, since it is wicked and perverse? The chains of Hell are black. A black cloud is a sign of divine wrath. Cain killed Abel with a black rock (Kiṣaṣ, 8, 108, 122, 157-67, 193-4, 298).  

Al-sawdā is the black bile, source of sorrow and fear. "Black liver" is a term applied to a sworn enemy. "The evil eye" is a form of vengeance and vileness for personal or political personality; "black news" denotes a calamity; "black life" is unfortunate; a "black face" belongs to a disreputable person; "black death" is reserved for that caused by strangulation.

Blue, at the opposite extreme from red, is a cold, fleeting, profound, immaterial colour. The sky and the sea are blue: anyone who plunges into them is lost to infinity, since their depth is immeasurable. Metaphysical fear is a "blue fear". The Arabs consider blue to be the colour of the body of Allah and the spirit of the dead. Blue eyes are a source of bad luck; and miscreants are depicted with them in the Kiṣaṣ al-ansābiyya (117, 121, 122). In Egypt, as a defence against the "evil eye", blue-coloured grains of alum (qabba) are hung at the neck of children and adults. Blue stone possesses a share of the sacred force, and is widespread in human psychology. For the Andalusi poet, the yellow of the nardesius is the symbol of the soul; for the Sufi, it is the symbol of the heart; for the Al-farabi, it is the gold of the heart; for the Arab, it is a symbol of the heart.
We see that the problem of colours, of their transmission and their perception, is quite complex. There has been a definite evolution in chromatic perception since the origins of humanity. In early antiquity, man was, apparently, above all sensitive to the light, and very little to colour as strictly defined. Gradually, psychism—and, consequently, semantics—learned to distinguish the nuances and to designate them. The infinite richness of the colours emerged slowly in the course of evolution of the species. The counterpart of this took place in the milieu surrounding each individual. Language and perception have interfered, without ever totally covering all aspects of the question. Symbolism has entered into the element of subjectivity and ambivalence inherent in every perception, how to nuance it.


**LAWSHA**, Spanish Loja, a small town of al-Andalus, 35 miles to the south-west of Granada, on the left bank of the Guadal, at the foot of an imposing limestone mountains, the Pugeques. It has now rather less than 30,000 inhabitants, but was probably more important during the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Ibn al-Din ibn al-Badr (g.a.), who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. The walls of the kasr which commanded the town during the Arab period can still be seen. It was repopulated in 1280/893 during the reign of the amir Abd Allah b. Muhammad. This “key of Granada” was besieged in 1286 by the Catholic kings, who captured it on 25 Djamád 1 891/29 May 1286.

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**LAYL and NAHAR** (Ar.), two antibellic terms which respectively designate night and day, but do not have exactly the same status and are not parallel.

Layl is treated as a collective noun without dual (except in poetry where the use of this incorrect form is justified by the requirements of metre, or plural; it possesses, as would be expected, a noun of unity, laylāna “one night”, of which the plural laylaits and the seldom used diminutive laylait, are something of an oxymoron, the Arabic idiom can still be seen. It was repopulated in 1280/893 during the reign of the amir Abd Allah b. Muhammad. This “key of Granada” was besieged in 1286 by the Catholic kings, who captured it on 25 Djamád 1 891/29 May 1286.

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fifty days later is always called al-layāli al-sādūd "the black nights", while the forty "mottled" days which, in two series of twenty, immediately precede and follow it and during which the cold is less severe, are sometimes called al-a'yām al-balt (e.g. in the Calendrier de Cordoue, sometimes al-layāli al-balt (especially in al-Layt) and al-maghari (Śuḥi, ii. 354).

Similarly, in the "distance which we experience in days' journey" are measured by the Arabs in stages (marhala, pl. marhāl) translated either as "days' (a'yām) or as "nights" (layālī, even in reference to a country where day-time travel is practicable). While the day of the month can be expressed by means of a'yām followed by an ordinal number up to 19, an ordinal and a cardinal from 20 upwards (al-ayyam "a'yām al-balt") and occasionally minor "safār = 23 Sā'ar") a calculation based on nights is used in preference, most often with elision of the word layālī or a'yām, but with the feminine form of the numerical noun (whereas a'yām or a'yām would demand the masculine, for example: li-ahra'sa bā'adi al-bahlākhulamīna min Muharram = "fourteen (nights) having elapsed of Muharram = the 14th of the month (not the 15th, since the official day begins at sunset), or: li-ahra'sa bā'adi bāthān min Muharram = "ten (nights) remaining of Muharram = the 20th of the month") in a context, in calculating correspondence with the Julian or Gregorian calendars, it is important to know if an event dated on a certain day happened before midnight, in which case the corresponding date indicated by the tables should be put back one unit.

Being accustomed to look to the sky for guidance while travelling at night, and to use the stars [see a'Wād] and the phases of the moon [see a'mak] for the measurement of time, the ancient Arabs divided the month into ten periods of three nights bearing names chosen for the most part as references to the different shapes of the moon or to the degree of its brightness: 1-3: ghurar (or ghar, burh); 4-6: mājāl (or dūjar, ḍubhi); 7-9: tawt (or zuhr, buhr); 10-12: 'yūsuf; 13-15: bid; 16-18: dāru (or dūr); 19-21: zulam; 22-24: ḍīdās (or ṣaḥa, ṣuḥa); 25-27: dā'ādī (or ṣuḥam); 28-30: māsīlubāh. These three last nights were qualified with, respectively, dā'ādī, ḍīdās and dā'ādī but the 30th also bore the names saḥār, nihāra, dā'ādī, fāla. The first and the last days of the month, in historical works and correspondence, are also designated by terms connected with the moon: ghara for the first and munsīlaḥ or sarār for the last. There also exists a different nomenclature in which nights from the 13th to the 21st bear the same names as those detailed in the scheme above, but the others are: 1-3: hidd; 4-5: bānūr; 7-12: mājāl; 22-27: ṣaḥās; 28-29: dā'āda'ī; 30: māsīlubāh (for all these names, see Ibn Kūtayba, ad-dus, v. 220, al-Ma'sūdī, Murūji, iii, 426-31 = §§ 1326-28; Calendrier de Cordoue, i, 16; al-Bīrūnī, Chronologie, 394; Ibn Sīdūh, Muḥammad, i, 30-1; Ibn al-Adjīdāš, al-Azimma wa-l-umūr, 85-7; M. Rodinson, Le lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam en Sources orientales, Le lune, mythes et rites, Paris 1962 103-4).

The ancient Arabs possessed a host of epithets to describe a dark night but it is scarcely possible to establish a gradation between them. The majority of these terms, some of which are quite expressive (e.g. mu'akhdh, mu'akkadhama), have fallen into disuse; we shall mention only the following: layāli zajuva māsimma, mu'hakhdhama, dayyûr, "very dark"; maw'arqhis, bakhim, "where one can see nothing"; ṣabayyya, ṣadisyā, "everest and meekless"; sadaf, ṣuffah

"penumbrale"; layālī mu'akkadh or mu'akkadh, "long night" (see Ibn Sīdūh, op. cit., ix, 37-41).

From the whole of this rich vocabulary, attested in ancient poetry or compiled by ruwāt and reproduced scrupulously, though without much enthusiasm, by lexicographers, only the most current elements (in particular those derived from the root ṣ-a-y) have been retained. It is only of this night light that are items of considerable importance; we may in fact count a total of 57 occurrences of nakhār, 79 of layl, 7 of ṣayl and 4 of laydālī (as compared with 36 of a'yām, 27 of a'yām and 69 of yawsā'a/sa'd) The day and the night, naturally created by God and put at the disposal of mankind (XIV, 37/39) are signs (XVII, 132, XLI, 32) of divine power; they are mutually concurrent (XXI, 28/29, XXXIX, 7/5, LVII, 6), and God brings forth the day from the night (XXXVII 37; see also VII, 52/54); complimentary (VI, 13, 60, XXXV, 49/47, XVII, 88/86, XXX, 22/23, XXXIV, 38/33, XXXVI, 40, XL, 63/61), they succeed one another regularly, with emphasis placed on this succession (šaydālī al-laylī wa-l-nakhār, LVII, 13, 154/152, 187/190, X, 5, XXXII, 92/80, XLV, 4/5). When it is divided into two creations, one "instantly fatal poison". The concept of the hour was, however, introduced into Arab literature at an early stage, for it was indispensable to astronomers, who distinguished between equal or average hours (ṣu'āt mawādīdī) and unequal or true hours (samāniyāt or mu'wa'd) and Islamical civilization was at quite an early stage familiar with various types of clock [see niyal, in Suppl] which were evidently not at the disposal of the majority of peoples. However, references in historical texts to events which took place "three days and a night", or the names of solar, lunar, sidereal, and diurnal, lead one to suspect that this notion was more widespread than is generally thought; it is thus possible that in a period which cannot be precisely identified, the day and the night were divided into twelve hours, the relative proximity of the equator making fluctuations in their duration according to the seasons a matter of small account. This method of reckoning is still in use in Arabia, where, now that the possession of watches is widespread, it causes a certain amount of confusion. The night begins immediately after sunset, which marks the start of the official day; this is why, when one talks of the previous night, the Arabic expression is al-layāla "this night", if the time is before midnight (but al-bīrūhā "the night that has passed") if the time is after midnight). The divisions of the night were not precisely defined, in spite of the rich vocabulary which is to be found, for example, in the Mupāyāt (i, 4-9) of Ibn Sīdūh who mentions, following Kutrub (ix, 37) five parts (a'gāf) which are, respectively: 1. yu'adda, mu'hita, ṣa'āha, ṣa'āha, and yu'addar; these expressions do not seem to have been in widespread use and, in any case, they are not defined in a satisfactory manner. However, the need to fix the hours of the three canonical prayers which take place during the night obliged the Muslims to interpret precisely...
the meanings of certain ancient terms and to establish with accuracy the times to which they apply. Among the many words denoting the beginning of the night, shafāṣ has been sanctioned by usage; in the Kurān (LXXXIV, 16), Allah speaks by the shafāṣ, interpreting it as meaning either "twilight" or "day", as opposed to the night which figures in the oath contained in the following verse, but it is agreed that this term designated "the evening twilight", the time at which the maghrib prayer should be performed [see μήκτηρ]. Some authors distinguish two twilights, of which the first is characterised by the redness of the sky and the second by its pallor (e.g. I. al-Aqqābī, in the gurā (LXXXIV, 16), the thādab which this distinction is secondary. The astronomical twilight lasts for as long as it takes the sun to descend 18° below the horizon (or 1 hour, 12 minutes, since 1° = 1 hour), and Muslim scholars adopt the average figure of 17°; it is however quite certain that the real duration of the shafāṣ varies according to latitude, season and meteorological conditions; this is why the calendars indicate it regularly to enable the faithful to perform the prayer within the required time; one might naturally ask on what observations are based the figures supplied for example by the Calendrier de Cordoue, where this duration (and that of the morning twilight, the fajr, which is reckoned to be identical) varies from 1 hour 17 on the 1st of January to 1 hour 8 on the 21st of June. As regards the maghrib prayer, it is said in the Kurān (XVII, 87): 6. dohima 6. l-douâhâ 6. l-dhamaa 6. l-dhambâ 6. l-halâyî, and the end of the shafâs effectively marks the start of the ghârâk (which was also known by other names: salâm, even if the moon was shining, shūrûm al-layâl, etc.). The beginning of the latter period is the time for the prayer of 6fâb, which some call incorrectly al-ṣikââ al-ghârîhâ, as opposed to a 6-fikââ ulâ = salât al-maghrib, and which the Bedouins were reproached for calling salât al-ṭawāmûs, after the first third of the night during which they customarily performed the milking (isti'mâr) of their camels. Although we know of a considerable number of terms designating any part of the night (see Muṣâbabs, i, 45), only a few words seem to be as all pervasive in spite of differences in interpretation; thus, 6dâa, lâwâ, 6. hażî and variants are 1/4 of the night; 6. bûbâ and variants = 1/3; 6. dhubâ and variants = 1/3 or 1/2; 6. bâdâ, basâdâ, masâdâ, matsbâh and variants = 1/3 approximately. The middle of the night was called 6aâma, 6. taâsamâ, 6. dhubâ, but astronomers rendered "midnight" simply by mizâ al-layâl (in the same way they called "midday" nisf al-nahâr) and the modern language uses the expression 6bûlâs al-layâl. The 6aâma precedes the third third, the sabâr or sabâr, which matches the ghârâk and is immediately followed by the morning twilight, the fajr; for the Muslim astronomers, this twilight begins at the moment that the sun is 19° below the horizon, but the real duration of it is indicated, as has been seen above, in the calendars. It is during this final part of the night that the morning prayer (fajr or subh) is performed. Since their territory did not extend as far as latitude 48°, the Arabs did not know that at the summer solstice there is no complete night (the layl alayl of the astronomers) at this latitude. Night travellers experienced a certain relief when they observed the first lights of dawn, and they tended to include the fajr in the nahâr; a reflection of this conception is also found in the works of lexicographers who normally place the subh (or sabâhâ or sabâh) at the end of the night and are furthermore inclined to make it the beginning of the day, calling

สาหัส or บูรษ the time which elapses between the fajr prayer and the sunrise (see Muhājjar, ix, 45-52). Although the prayers which punctuate the Muslim's life obliged the subhâ in order to fix with a degree of exactitude the times of the sukâr and of the 6âkâ (let alone the 6ulâ), the divisions of the day lack precision. The nahâr begins at the moment that the upper edge of the sun appears on the horizon, just as the night and the official day begin when the opposite edge, now uppermost, disappears. The first part of the day, up to the moment when the sun has traversed a quarter of the diurnal arc, is called 6ukâ; the period corresponding to the sun's progression over the specified quarter of the arc is called 6âkâ; it comes to an end at midday (sukâl), which is marked, for the astronomers, by the sun crossing the meridian and, for the simple faithful, by the displacement of the shade which moves from the west (where it is called the 6ifl) to the east (where it takes the name fajr). It is at this moment that there begins the period, varying according to the judicial schools (see μήκτηρ), during which the midday prayer (ṣuhr) must be performed. A number of terms referring to the heat which then reigns are employed (ṣuhr, isdâja, isdâr, isdâra, isdâjm), but this word tends to be employed, at a precise lapse of time. Some calendars indicate, at the beginning and the end of each month of the solar year, the altitude (istiff) in degrees of the sun at midday (e.g. the Calendrier de Cordoue), or, to enable the faithful to calculate for themselves the hour of the ṣuhr, the length of the shadow either in feet, as in the Risâla of Ibn al-Bânnî, or in height (kâma), once again as in the Calendrier de Cordoue, where the shade varies from a quarter of the height of an object on the 1st of June and the 1st of July, to one and five-sixths on the 16th of December. The period which follows that of the ṣuhr and also extends between limits determined by the length of the shadow, but variable according to the sukâl, is that of the 6âkâ (see I. Goldziher, in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, ix 293 ff.; transl. in Arabica vii/1 [1960], 26 ff.); this term is thus precisely defined in Islam, although diverse and much less definite interpretations are retained. Aslî was used in reference to the time which elapses between the 6âkâ and sunset, but this word tends to be employed in the contemporary language, for the evening twilight: mokâl, which had the same meaning, is today applied to the evening, as opposed to 6alâhî, "morning", and also comes to designate the period which begins at noon and encroaches upon the night; the word 6aţriendly (and variants) is also taken in the sense of "evening", although it used to be as much as mokâl and aslî, designated the end of the nahâr and was the opposite of 6ukâ (e.g. Kurān, LXXIX, 46; 6lâ 6aţhrîyâm wa-sukâl-ulâ). The calendars to which reference has been made often attach importance to the length of the day and of the night, which some of them indicate twice a month, either in degrees of the sun's arc, or in hours. Since the authors who supply these figures are not usually astronomers, they give the impression of borrowing these numerical data from their predecessors, without perhaps taking account of differences in latitude, especially in view of the fact that, when addressing themselves to their fellow-citizens, they do not take the trouble to establish the name, and the position relative to the Equator, of the place concerned. It would nevertheless be possible to calculate the latitude of this place if one could rely on the accuracy of the data relating to the length of the longest and shortest days and nights of the year, but in this
respect great uncertainty remains. It is furthermore to be noted that the geographers, hts to the Ptolemaic tradition, divide the zone reckoned to be inhabited in the northern hemisphere, as far as approximately latitude 50°, into seven climates [see 18A.2], of which the lower and upper limits are constituted by parallels separated one from the other by a distance corresponding to a difference in half-an-hour in the length of the day of the year.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

[C. W. E. PELLET]

LAYLA AL-ABHYALIYYA, Arab poetess of the xti/7th century of the tribe of the U'layl [A'mir b. Salih's] group whose nsba came to her from an ancestor, Abhíyál, or from Abraham, Al-bbíyál. Literary tradition attributes to her an elegy on the murder of Ummán and speaks of her as having been familiar, late in life, with the caliphs Mutawwiyá and 'Abd al-Malik, and the redoubtable governor al-Hajjádi; it follows that the pinnacle of her career should be placed at around 650-660 A.D. She is well-known for her romantic saga, of Udishde type, concerning her relationship with the bandit-warrior Tawba b. Hamuyyr, also of the U'layl tribe. He loved her, and although he was prevented from marrying her, he always maintained a chivalrous devotion to her. When he was killed in the course of one of his raids, Layla mourned him in a number of touching elegies, fragments of which are available to us from literary sources (as far as is known, they were never collected in a díndn) which show Layla resembling a Muslim al-Khafrá [q.v.]. In fact, these funeral elegies, like those of the most famous poetesses of the Dkhiliyya, are still imbued with a purely pagan spirit, lauding the warlike and beneficent virtues of their heroes (for al-Khafrá, her two brothers; for Layla, her sweetheart Tawba), without any hint of faith or Muslim piety. The genre of the ríthá [see MAQDIYYA], was henceforth perpetuated in an established form in the new milieu of Islam.

As with the poetess of Sulaym, the sincerity of Layla's experiences in the harem. This is a unique first-hand account of the life of a lady's maidservant which had entered the Ottoman Palace in the mid-1800s. She is the composer of two books, the successful one first published in Crete, Sérif Efendi (later Pasha, 1844-95), who served as governor in various parts of the empire. Layla Khamim, who accompanied him, included interesting travel notes in her famous memoirs (see below). She died in Istanbul on 6 December 1836. As a composer, she followed the classical Turkish tradition, although the influence of Western music was noticeable in her works. She is the composer of over 200 works to which she wrote the words, including some famous and very popular şkar and marâfá compositions. Her early works, published in the Khustayii-yi yasrakh in the 1880s, are in the diwán tradition. Later, she wrote in the manner of the Tanzimat modernists, particularly of 'Abd al-Jalíl Hamdi. She occasionally used syllabic metre and a simple language for her love poems, not particularly original. Only a small portion of her compositions and poems have been preserved, and not particularly the fire which destroyed her villa in Bottaní near Istanbul (see Mustafa Rona, Yirmiyci yusuf Tarik musihisti, Istanbul 1970, 25-31, where 45 of her compositions are given). Her scattered poems were collected and edited by her son Yüsuf Râdi in 1928 as Solmân Tâckîr ("Faded flowers"). They seldom rise above the average. Layla Khanim's most important contribution is her invaluable memoirs, which mainly cover her experiences in the harem, a unique first-hand report of Palace life from the inside. The memoirs describe in great detail everyday life in the Palace, its décor and furnishings, and particularly the harem, its customs, fashions, ceremonies, special occasions, training and life of princes, princesses and slave girls, etc., all mixed with character studies and sketches of interesting types. She began to write her memoirs in 1879 and completed them in 1920 at the age of 70; and she published the first part, on the harem, in the daily Yâhi (beginning 20 January 1921) and the second part, on women's life, in the 7ti century, in the daily İleri (from 25 April 1921). As Istanbul
was under Allied occupation at the time and the press under strict control, some passages were omitted by the censor. The memoirs were translated by her son and published under a pseudonym, that of Mme. Adriana Piazzi (Delcambre), and in 1932 Songs and Verses of the XIXth Siecle Cowteens, adapted by a Frenchman by the words of Yousef Razi, Preface by Claude Farrère, Paris 1925. Both parts of the memoirs have now been edited in one volume by Sadi Borak as Leyla Saz, Harem's iyyini, Istanbul 1974.

**Bibliography:** given in the text, but see also Ibnulfem M. K. Inal, Son sur Turk garle, VI, Istanbul 1936, 88-90.

Liv. ORIENT, cerning the works which have been written before the which they thought to have discovered in the first; whereas others speaking of the other words, just before the fall of the Barmakids of al-Khalil, according to some sources after the embellished by anecdotes, and we furthermore learn this view, especially in regard to the bulk of the actual author—and recent investigations confirm that he revised and completed the KUSb al-'Ayn of al-Layth, according to some sources after the latter's death. Al-Layth may have finished this work at the beginning of the eighties of the 2nd century afterward. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honored man (no doubt because of his fortune). He was credited with an annual income of twenty years, he was never seen lunching or dining in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily takdil. Al-Layth should be accorded the title of Imam, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but his measured on the scale of the umma (Ta'rikh Baghdad, see). Only fragmentary information is available concerning the career of al-Layth (cf. the article devoted to him in Ta'rīkh Baghdaḍ, xliii, 3-14). His training in the discipline of badḥīḍ was both Mecan (with Ibn Shihāb, Nālī and Ṭabāḥ b. Rabāh among others) and Medinan (Mālik). He travelled to Baghdaḍ in Shawwal 161/July 778, where his teaching of badḥīḍ was an outstanding success and earned him the patronage of Harun al-Rashid. His humility is said to have prevented him from soliciting honours and appointments of state. On returning to Egypt, he devoted himself to teaching and also to the management of what seems to have been a considerable fortune. He was credited with an annual income of the order of 25,000 dinārs, which he utilised with such generosity that he was left with practically nothing which could justify the payment of zaḥād. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honored man (no doubt because of his fortune). He was credited with an annual income of twenty years, he was never seen lunching or dining in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily takdil. Al-Layth should be accorded the title of Imam, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but his measured on the scale of the umma (Ta'rikh Baghdad, see). Only fragmentary information is available concerning the career of al-Layth (cf. the article devoted to him in Ta'rīkh Baghdaḍ, xliii, 3-14). His training in the discipline of badḥīḍ was both Mecan (with Ibn Shihāb, Nālī and Ṭabāḥ b. Rabāh among others) and Medinan (Mālik). He travelled to Baghdaḍ in Shawwal 161/July 778, where his teaching of badḥīḍ was an outstanding success and earned him the patronage of Harun al-Rashid. His humility is said to have prevented him from soliciting honours and appointments of state. On returning to Egypt, he devoted himself to teaching and also to the management of what seems to have been a considerable fortune. He was credited with an annual income of the order of 25,000 dinārs, which he utilised with such generosity that he was left with practically nothing which could justify the payment of zaḥād. Al-Layth was, throughout his life, a much-courted and honored man (no doubt because of his fortune). He was credited with an annual income of twenty years, he was never seen lunching or dining in a grand scale and knew how to enjoy his wealth. If such a life-style allowed him a certain amount of leisure for participation in public life, or for daily takdil. Al-Layth should be accorded the title of Imam, taking into account not only his piety and his virtues, but his measured on the scale of the umma (Ta'rikh Baghdaḍ, see).
The verdict of posterity is negative on this point; all that need be quoted here by way of a tribute is the opinion recorded by al-Khathth al-Baghdadī (d. 465/1071): "If Malik had not existed, the supremacy of al-Layth would have been universally recognised" (Ta'žīh Baghdadī, xi/ii, 2). Having been a pupil of Malik, al-Layth was in a position to assert his independence with regard to his eminent contemporary, while maintaining a relationship with him marked by courtesy and a willingness for intellectual co-operation (cf. his Risālah ilā Malik b. Anas, in Ibn Kayyim al-Jawziyyah, I İslam-ı ma'navi, xii, 94-100). If in the sphere of religious law (fiqh), the influence of al-Layth was in a way slightly greater, his name is only remembered by reason of his work which is concerned with the discipline of hadith, where the classical authorities unanimously attribute him to a well-proven competence and integrity.

Bibliography: Sezgin, GAS, i, 520, no. 7, where the work of al-Layth (r. Hadīth; 2. Madīth min fa'ālād al-Layth; 3. the above-mentioned Risālah) is to be supplemented by Kīthā nasab' il fi 'l-fiqh, cited in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm (199); al-Khathth al-Baghdadī, Ta'žīh Baghdadī, Cairo-Bagsaddā, 1960, xii, 3-94 (article no. 596); Muhammad b. 'Alī, Allāh al-Umarī al-Tabrīzī, Miḥbāl al-nasab, Damascus 1380-1390-2, ill., 745; R. G. Khoury, al-Layth ibn Sa'd (947/1347-75/171), grand maître et météore de l'Égypte, in travers quelques documents islamiques anciens, in Fessiskrift Nabia Abbott, JNES, x/l (1961), 189-202. (A. MERAD)

LaZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (here, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeastern corner of the shores of the Black Sea, in the region called in Ottoman times Lazistan.

I. History and geography. The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnic nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the coast of Colchis only stretching for a day's march to the south. The latest Greek writers do not mention the Laz.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz. The name Laz, Lazlo is only found after the Christian era (Piny, Nat. hist., iv, 4; Periplus of Arrian, x, 2; Ptolemy, v, 9, 5). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazoi or "ol. Lazik" which Arrian put 680 stadia (about 50 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Novorossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tuapse. Residing near the Laz in the south of the Black Sea, the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethno-crisis point of view, the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz.

II. History and geography. The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnic nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the coastal region of the Black Sea, the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethno-crisis point of view, the "Roman Pontics" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz. In 1209 with the aid of troops sent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is closely connected with that of the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous Periplus, Fragmenta historiae, v, 180). According to Constantinine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio, ch. 53, in the time of Diodostrat (284-301), the king of the Bosphorus, Saxumani, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halys (N. Marr explained this last name by the Laz word meaning "river"). The people subject to the Laz were the people subject to the Laz. Procopius (Bell. Got., iv, 2, 3) mentions the Abasgai and the people of Swania and Skymnia (= Lockhaim). It is probable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the 7th century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527-65) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, De aedificiis, v, 9), which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz and Georgians were united against the Persians (Procopius, Bell. Got., iv, 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors, who gave investiture to their kings, and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasion by the nomads from the north. On the other hand, the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gobazes sought the help of the Sassanid Yazdagird II against the Romans. The king of the Bosporus, Sauromates, who owned the suzerainty of Rome, had seized the "lands of Colchis and of the Lazes". In 485 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis, but their towns (Archanspolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Kanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mocheris) all lay to the north of the river, while on the left bank, which was desert land, the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south.
(Ewliyâ and the version of the Eshihîn-nûmî in Fällmerayer, Original-Fragmente, in Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. [1846]. Hâdîddi Khâlîfa and Ewliyâ Čebebi, deceived by the similarity in sound of two names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin), proposed a theory of the ideality of the name Lazgî and Laz. Ewliyâ calls Trebizond the ‘former Lazgî wilâyât’. Hâdîddi Khâlîfa, after enumerating the peoples of the district of Lazgî as Mingrelians (Mogrîl), Georgians, Abâzîs (Abaza), Čehez and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. In the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the Laz cannot be more than half the total population. Hâdîddi Khâlîfa and Ewliyâ do not agree on the number of the tribes of Trebizond; Ewliyâ only says that the value of the eysab has depreciated within the unruliness of many of its 41 vilâyât (Eshihîn-nûmî, 425; Ewliyâ, ii, 51, 83-5).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the Lewski of Lazgî was only struck at the beginning of the 19th century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond; but Koch, who visited the country after his expedition, still found most of the hereditary derokeys in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Buley, Artashîn, Wîse, Kazîpe, Arkahe, Kisse, Khopa, Maktîa (Makriâlî), Gomn, Batum, Maradît (Maradîlî?), Perleman and Cat. The lands of the three latter lay, however, on the Čorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazgî, in the strict sense. On the other hand, among the derokeys of Lazgî the lord of Hamshin, i.e. of the upper valleys of Kalopatomos and of Fortuna, inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Levond, tr. Chahbazar, Paris 1826, 162, the latter with their Sannoi/Tzannoi, and it survives in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780-97) (the old Tumbar was given the name Hamshin = Hamsaoun, ‘built by Haman’). It is evidently this region the Lazgî called (1105-6), ed. Szczesniarczyk, St. Petersburg 1881. He calls khâsim in the latter, as slow-witted rustics; a Turkish proverb stated that ‘a Muslim does not eat Laz jelly’, Lazian termnâmus Musliman venes oss (termnâ < Greek ὁμώμα). In fact, despite a long-established reputation for brigandage and for famine goods across the Turco-Soviet frontier, the modern Laz are highly intelligent. They are skilled tillers of the soil, and were, in the past often to be found in the towns of eastern Turkey as gardeners. Today they are to be found in towns all over Turkey in their traditional calling of bakers and pastrycooks; before the First World War many Laz went to Russia to work as bakers, and often returned with Russian wives who became converts to Islam. They are shrewd and enterprising businessmen, and have secured a large portion of the real estate market in Istanbul. When modern, educational opportunities are available to them, they readily respond to this stimulus. They are also excellent sailors, and form a large proportion of the crews of many Turkish vessels.

2. Language. The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian), but N. Y. Marr found in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Laz-Mingrelian group he believed that he could find resemblances to five more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern, and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Cîhula). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature, but there are local poets (Rashid Hilmî, Pehlîwa-öglî, etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pinsarev in Zapiski VOIKAO [1901], xiii, 173-201, in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in Stir, Tezis i: râzîkswagi, St. Petersburg, vii, 59).

The Georgians call the Laz Csan, but the Laz do not know this name. Csan is evidently the original of the Greek name Samoi/Tezenoi, and it survives in the official name of the sanjak of Samson (Djânalîk). From the historical point of view, the separation of the Laz and Csan seems to have taken place, in spite
of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C. Müller, in Geogr. græci minoris, ad Arriavi Perip., 8), he places the river of the frontier between the Colchians (Lazii) and the Sannoi (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak "a language of their own", and according to Marr, the people of Khoshkhilin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tranoni" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Corokh from the sea (the Pararodites, name, the range of which survives in the modern Pahlor/Bahkhor). Marr's researches showed that the Corokh (Sannoi) had at first occupied a larger area, including the basin of the Corokh and its tributaries on the right bank, which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (Kārt'ī). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Tranoids (Ciovçoq). The latter in alliance with the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348, and in 1377 were punished by the application of the name C'an to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes one of whom from its origins to the fifth century (Laiica, N. M. Ledbetter, of the word Lēbaran, the name generally used in Indo-Persian for the 'Id al-Fitr [7.1.], originally means "end" or "close", in this case specifically the end of the month of fasting is also celebrated in Indo-Persia for the 'Id al-Fitr; Muslims who are not amongst those restored to life by Jesus. Al-Ma'mūn relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: "Al-Tūri'= azīr died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came three (in the Gospel, four) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-"Azīz to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athir we read (V. Mi, 29; 30): "[The dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John, xi). The Rūr'i'īn mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (III, 4349). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. Al-Tabari in his Tahāmī talks of these miracles in general. According to him, 'Ismā'il b. Nāḥḥ is revived by Jesus (ii, 1571). Students of El'azar's name have multiplied their analyses, amongst those restored to life by Jesus. Al-Ma'mūn relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: al-"Azīz died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came three (in the Gospel, four) days after his death, went with his sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-"Azīz to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athir the resurrected man is called "Azīz", the father of Abraham in the Kurān, whose name Fraenkel derives from Eliezer. In Ibn al-Athir we find Muslim legend evidencing to increase the miracle; Jesus raises not only 'Azīz (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to him), and Sām (son of Nāḥḥ), the prophet 'Uzayr and Vahyā b. Zakariyyā (John the Baptist).
The term or the notion acquires its importance, however, from its prominence in the literature on the social and political organisation of the Berbers, notably in the work of R. Montagne, who extended it to the totality of North African, and eventually also to Middle Eastern societies, including even urban and minority ones; thus he later claimed to find similar institutions amongst urban Jewish communities in Morocco, and also in Arabia.

In the hands of those who made use of it, the notion of LEFF, an Arabic term used in the Berber-speaking regions of central and southern Morocco (a different term is used in a similar way in Berberophone regions of northern Morocco, and the term LEFF appears to be its equivalent in Kabylia) to denote a kind of political alliance or party.

The theory, which is based on the assumption that the political alliances in the Berber regions are essentially hereditary, and that they are based on shared religious beliefs and practices, was developed by R. Montagne and has been influential in the study of Berber societies. Montagne's work, which is heavily centred on the notion of LEFF, was published in 1931 and has been subjected to various criticisms, both empirical and theoretical. Subsequent researchers have not always found them even in areas where Montagne claimed they were most at home (e.g. J. Berque), or have doubted whether they in fact contribute to the maintenance of peace (e.g. A. Adam); or they have pointed out that the problem posed, that of order-in-anarchy, is only solved by the theory for those units which are of the size at which these leagues are articulated, whereas in fact the problem also arises at all other levels of size at which conflict is liable to occur (and at those other levels, the theory fails to be of any importance). There is also reason to suppose that in regions where groups were less stable, and territorial units less well-defined than in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas which inspired Montagne, LEFFs were more fluid and opportunistic than his work would suggest. Nevertheless, his work, which is heavily centred on the notion of LEFF, remains one of the high points of the political sociology of North Africa.

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LEFKOSHA, Grk. leukosia, the town of Nicosia in Cyprus [see above].

The town was under joint Arab-Byzantine rule from 608 A.D. to 915 when Neseburos Phocas seized it (R. J. H. Jenkins, Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, A.D. 688-956, in Studies presented to D. M. Robinson...; St. Louis 1953, ii, 1100-6). The Venetians occupied it in 1489, the Ottomans in 1571, the British in 1878, annexing it in 1914. The town was sacked by Mamluk forces of Sultan Baybars in 1426. The Ottomans captured the town after a fifty-day siege in 1799, after much suffering on both sides and thousands of casualties. There is a good account of this conquest in Türk salâhi hurreârî terbiyi. iii, 234 ff. (1922), and the senses described in the memoir of the French noble who ... in the state of slaves... The town was levelled.

Western visitors to Lefkosia during the Ottoman period report the town as being severely underpopulated and devoid of evidence of its former wealth and luxury. They attributed that plight to the tyranny and extortion of Ottoman officials whom the Porte would not or could not control, to plague, varunt fever, and to the depredations of Muslim and eastern Christians. Few knew that the town had reached the peak of its wealth and population late in the Lusignan period. Never under the Venetians or the Ottomans did it regain that fame and splendour, though both made sporadic efforts to revitalize and repopulate it. By 1211 the Lusignan capital had become a first-class town. W. von Oldenburg said "It has inhabitants without number, all very rich, whose houses in their interior adornment and paintings closely resemble the houses of Antioch" (C. D. Cobham, Excerpta Cyproia, 14). By the end of the 13th century the town had fallen behind Maghôsha [59] or Famagusta in wealth and trade, although the simple Westphalian priest Ludolf (1350) saw Lefkosia as "another great city... in a fine open plain with an excellent climate", where lived the king, bishops and prelates, princes and nobles, barons and knights who in Cyprus "are the richest in the world" (Cobham, 17, De Lusitana, 1513; Cobham, Remen de l'orient latin, i [1895], 175 ff.). The pilgrim Martoni (1394) judged the town larger than Avesa, with many gardens and orchards, some six acres in size (Cobham, 25; ROL, iii [1895], 634).

In 1435 the astute Pero Tafur attested that Lefkosia again surpassed Maghôsha: This is the greatest and most healthy city of the kingdom where the kings and all the lords of the realm always live" (Cobham, 31; Andanças à Índia...; Pt. 7, 67, in Colección de libros españoles sobre el oriente, viii, Madrid 1874). Lefkosia had become the trading emporium of the eastern Mediterranean; the Dominican monk Felix Faber (1483) admired the "... great city... surrounded by fertile and pleasant hills... Here are merchants from every part of the world, Christians and infidels. There are stores, great and precious, for the aromatic herbs of the East are brought here raw, and are prepared by the performer's art" (Cobham, 417; Evangelistas in Terrae Sanctae, ed. C. D. Hassler, in Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, iv [1845], 230).

The Venetian patrician Fra Francesco Surrani (1834) saw the town, "twice as large as Perugia", with palaces, houses, and churches, destroyed by a disastrous earthquake of 1489 (Cobham, 48; Il Trattato di Terra Santa, ed. P. G. Goloubowich, Milan 1900, 219 n.), but by then it had passed its economic and demographic peak; to Peter Măsencu (1590) only a quarter of the town appeared occupied (C. Enlart, L'arti gothique, ii, 539).

Savorgnan (1562) found empty tracts and dusty deserted streets with no good houses (Six George Hill, A history of Cyprus, iii, 813, 844 ff., 851 ff.). However, the nobles had not given up their prurigatives, as the pilgrim Fureti (1566) perceived: in that town, "of some size and beauty", lived the French nobles who "... keep their vessels, who are called furici, in the state of slaves... The nobles are greatly given to amusements, especially hunting and hawking... with solemn games and banquets with great cost and splendour" (Cobham, 76-9; C. Furici, Haimendorf, in Cobham, 78-9; Reise-Beschreibung, Nürnberg 1861, 300).

The Lusignans had fortified their capital expertly. Early in the 13th century, walls 4, 7 or 9 miles in circuit were built high to resist attacks in the style of Crusader warfare. In 1507, to resist the heavy pounding of Ottoman cannon, the Venetians had large sections of the walls dismantled and rebuilt them thicker and lower, with a circumference of only three miles, yet apparently still large enough to accommodate the existing population. A deep moat was excavated around the circular walls; all structures outside the new walls were methodically levelled, the rubble being used as fill for the new walls. Writing in 1572 just after the Turkish conquest, the priest Étienne de Lusignan celebrated a town he remembered with 250 to 300 churches, 80 of which had been destroyed completely when two-thirds of the town was levelled. "In this city lived all the nobility of Cyprus, Barons, Knights and Feudatories, nearly all of whom died in this affair [i.e. the fall], with townswfolk to the number of twenty thousand; all men devoted to the service of God most High, and of their sovereign. The remnant of the souls... were all made slaves." (Cobham, 1207; Description, 22, 252).

Local agriculture and commerce, as well as local and international trade, boosted the economy of the town. In good times it produced a marketable surplus of cotton, wood and hides, which were sold raw or processed or manufactured into a variety of cloths. As long as Cyprus remained close to the terminals of the silk and spice trades as the easternmost outpost of the western Christian world in the Mediterranean, Lefkosia would remain a centre of trade. Nevertheless, the town could not escape the changes in the international socio-economic order which saw the Mediterranean world gradually lose its commercial and cultural pre-eminence to northwestern Europe. Forcachchi (1776) reported that great quantities of camlet and cotton cloth were made in that "very pleasantly and beautifully situated" town "healthfully and pleasantly" supplied with running water. The camlets were good and the "cotton wools" the "best of the Orient", according to Sandys (1610) (Cobham, 104-5; L'isole...; Venice 1572, 22 f.; Fabrica 1620. Cobham, 208; A relation of a journey, London 1645, 230).

Pococke (1736), a careful observer of Cyprus, found the trade of Lefkosia still substantial: "There is a great manufacture of cotton stuffs, particularly of very fine damasks, and also half sattins of a very coarse sort: they have here the best water in Cyprus...". Cottons were sold to Holland, England, Venice and Livorno and "a great quantity of yellow, red, and black Turkey leather" to Istanbul (Cobham, 260, 268-9; Pinkerton, ed., A general collection of... voyages, London 1811, x, 582-3). According to
Marit, the covered market (bedesten), the former church of St. George next to Aya Sofya, was the gathering place of the chief Turkish, Greek and Armenian merchant guilds, of whom the last two were the richest. At large bazaars and bâhins local villagers as well as townspeople sold the cotton that they had spun; dyëling skins and stamping cloth were other major industries (Travels in the Island of Cyprus, tr. C. D. Cobham, 42-5). W. M. Leake (1809) was completely negative: "The flat roofs, trellised windows, and light balconies of the better order of houses, situated as they are in the midst of gardens of oranges and lemon trees, give together with the fortifications, a respectable and picturesque appearance... at a little distance, but, upon entering it, the narrow dirty streets, and miserable habitats of the lower classes, make a very different impression upon the traveller; and the sickly countenances of the inhabitants sufficiently show the unhealthiness of the climate"; but W. Turner (1875) reported that every house had a well-cultivated garden with fig, olive, mulberry, orange, lemon and pomegranate trees; all the houses were of mud and the streets, though clean, were unpaved (ibid. 356-7).

Since the Lusignan period, Aya Sofya, as cathedral and mosque, had been the centre of the city, with the main bazaars adjacent. In the 19th century the entire road from Tahia Kale and Baj gate to Baghis gate was lined with merchants` booths; the Friday bazaar of women has existed at least since then. In the 1870s there were 25 quarters inside the walls, 14 Muslim, 7 Greek Orthodox, 1 Armenian, 1 Latin and 2 mixed (Bazar and Phaneromene) (Jeffery, Cyprus monuments, 32-3, with maps).

Lefkosa, located near the centre of the island, lies on the Pediyas, the longest and largest seasonal river in Cyprus, only 12 miles from the perennial springs of Değirmencik, the largest on the island, from where water is easily brought by aqueduct. The immediate hinterland is fertile grauland; its villages produced grain adequate for the town's needs except when drought or, more frequently, hordes of locusts appeared. The Lusignan rulers built summer palaces in the northern mountains for relief from the intense summer heat; many Latin nobles took palaces in the northern mountains for relief from the intense summer heat; many Latin nobles took

Most estimates of the town's population between 1510 and 1560 range between 15,000 and 20,000 people (Hill, iii, 875). Visitors to Lefkosa during the Ottoman period have particularly commented on the population of the town. According to A. M. Graziani, 20,000 people were put to death in eight days of plundering when the town fell to the Ottomans; Porezachi reported that all the people were "cut to pieces" and Sandys wrote of "an incredible slaughter" (Cobham, 170, 207). Dandini, who visited there in summer 1596 and spring 1597, estimated that the large, well-built town had at least 30,000 inhabitants, of whom only 4,000 or 5,000 were Turks (Cobham, 182). J. Cotovius (1597-8) reported the town full of ruins; Sandys (1601) "defaced by the Turks"; for the latter, the town, once equal in beauty to the chief towns of Italy, is now half-destroyed (Cobham, 195, 207).

In 1683 de Bruyn observed that the population was almost half-Greek (Cobham, 239; Reisen van Cornelis de Bruyn, Delft 1698, 371). Cyprianos gives a fairly official estimate of 755 Christian families for 1777 (Cobham, 396). In 1868 Ail Bey estimated the town's population at less than 1,000 Turkish and 1,000 Greek families, although Lefkossa could easily hold 20,000 people (Cobham, 396). According to an official estimate of 1875 the population was 3,700 Greek Orthodox families, 2,000 Muslim families, 1,000 Greek Orthodox families, 40 Armenian, and 12 Maronite (Cobham, 417; Journey, London 1818, 190 ff.). An estimate of 21,000, including 6,000 Turks, 3,700 Greek Orthodox and 50 Armenians was attributed to the governor.
are discussed with illustrations by C. Enlsrt, 67-187,
1889-90, Cyprus Blue Book, smiths, and 5 distilleries (and silk stuffs. In 1889 the town also had a tannery, year 1889-90). Cotton anil silk remained the Book, imported by mosque funds and grants from the See also Statute laws of Cyprus, 1878-1

tvakfiyyes of recent Ottoman public health; extensive official English translations of economic systems, except in a few specific areas of serve the existing Ottoman political, social and economic systems, except in a few specific areas of public health; extensive official English translations of recent Ottoman tax registers and cadastral records were prepared. In 1893, £662 of the £1,130 in municipal revenues from Lefkosa were from slaughter house fees, £351 from market tolls and rents, and £246 from weighing and measuring taxes. The municipality established in 1884 even had a "censor of markets". Asafê still provided the water supply: 300 measures from the Arab Ahmet and 170 measures from the Siliktar aqueduct were sold annually, while another 100 measures were donated to mosques, churches and schools (Cyprus Blue Book, 2, 4 January 1893. See also Stadische laws of Cyprus, 1898-1923, 633-41, "Nicosia water supply"). Eleven Muslim schools, supported by Asafê, mosque funds and grants from the Porte, had 574 students in 1889-90 and 633 students in 1890-91, about 21% of these girls (Cyprus Blue Book, year 1889-90). Cotton and silk remained the major industries. Nearly every village in the district had cotton looms, and many houses in the larger villages had hand looms for manufacturing cotton and silk stuffs. In 1889 the town also had a tannery, 3 tobacco factories, 3 steam-powered flour and cotton mills, calico printers, copper, silver, and goldsmiths, and 5 distilleries (Cyprus Blue Book, 1886-90, 1892-3). The proposed railway between Lefkosa and Larnaca was never attempted, but in 1906 a railway connected Lefkosa and the new harbour of Maghîsha.

In 1946, 10,330 of the 34,485 inhabitants were Muslims, including 9,374 of 24,967 within the walls and 1,016 of 9,518 outside them. Besides 20,768 Greek Orthodox, there were 2,252 Armenians, 166 Maronites and 30 Jews; each of the 24 quarters was mixed.

Monuments. The Venetians levelled much of the Lusignian town in rebuilding the walls. Although the town walls are essentially the creation of the Venetians, the Ottomans repaired them extensively in the 1570s. Virtually all the monumental buildings date from the brilliant Lusignan period; neither the Venetians nor the Ottomans added religious or other public buildings, for many already stood empty after the population began to decline (these are discussed with illustrations by C. Enlert, 67-187, and pls. 1-121. Cf. G. Jeffery, Description, 18-109, and Cyprus monuments. No. 7, Historial and architectural buildings. The mosques of Nicosia, Nicosia 1935: F. Çuhadarofçu and F. Ofiu. Turkish historic monuments in Cyprus, in Kölen ve Rusumoyun Dergisi, iii (1975), 1-76; Oktay Aslanapa, Kibristan türk dervi eserleri, Lefkoşa 1965. The finest Ottoman constructions are the Mawlawi tekke inside Girne gate (pre-1800), the Büyük Han (pre-1600), and the small Arab Ahmed Pasha mosque. Many aspects of the Ottoman town are preserved within the walls of the Turkish quarter: narrow streets, overhanging balconies, stone-walled houses and gardens, and bazaars. The mosque, the citadel, and the main administrative edifices, survive from the Venetian period, as do several fine houses from the Ottoman period. Sadly, there is little appreciation of this cultural heritage, and they are gradually being eliminated.

Until this century, the town has been confined within the walls. The main buildings of the Ottoman period, like the Büyük Han and the so-called Kumbanli Kapı, date from early in the Ottoman occupation. Occupance of the town has been a conservative one, with few changes in the main centres and a preservation of old quarter names and locations from earliest times.

LEFKOSHA — LEH


LEH (đr or چ, the ancient Ottoman Turkish term for the Poles and Poland from Lech, Polish tribal name later extended to comprise all the nation, with the original nasal گ by as in Byr Azor, "the Poles" and *Ayez a Polei*). In Turkish, as also in Arabic, the Poles were also called *Leh miladi* (memelii), the Poles *Lahaj and the Polish language *Lahifje. From the 12th/13th century, the Turks also called the country *Lakistan* (Pers. *Lakistana* from which is derived Pers. *al-lukh* *Lahij and *Lahaj - *the Polish language*). In the hitherto unpublished Crimean Tatar documents from the late 12th/13th century, the word for Poland is *Leh* (the Ukrainian-Russian form of the Polish Lech) or *i-Lah(* from the 12th/13th century reconciled the two countries once again. The danger presented by the Tsarist empire to Poland and the Crimea in the 12th/18th centuries was practicable. The plans of King John III Sobieski for a Polish-Russian war against the Crimea and for a joint division of the khanate proved impossible. The Treaty of 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. With renewed Tatar support for Poland in her war in the Ukraine, Mehmed Girey III was to undertake diplomatic intervention in Denmark in her favour after the Swedish invasion into Poland in 1655 (J. Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen*, 1976). The treaty between B. Chmielnicki and Moscow in 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. With renewed Tatar support for Poland in her war in the Ukraine, Mehmed Girey III was to undertake diplomatic intervention in Denmark in her favour after the Swedish invasion into Poland in 1655 (see K. Pulaski, *Zaporozhian History*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1971). The treaty between B. Chmielnicki and Moscow in 1654 made the Tatars change their standpoint radically. 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With (ca. 1352-1430), Archduke of Lithuania, who played a prominent part in the domestic struggle which was going on within the Horde, then undergoing a process of disintegration, on his return in 1397 from an expedition to the banks of the Don brought a large number of Tartar families and settled them in his land. This gave rise to a strong Tatar colonisation in Lithuania, since 1385 united with Poland, and on Polish territory as well [see LIFK].

The diplomatic ties between Poland and the Ottoman Empire extend back to 1410. When King Ladislas Jagello died in 1419 (I. of Poland) and even though the warnings of his Polish advisers, the tragedy of the Battle of Varna (1444) ensued; it was to be a terrible event for Poland to remember, and to point to her future association with the Turks. By this time, she was no longer disposed to engage in elaborate plans for a papal-imperial attack on Islam; she was at peace with the Turks and had a good defence against the territorial ambitions of the hostile Hapsburgs. After the Turkish attack on Kaffa [see above] and again against Genoa (1475) and the Turkish-Tatar conquest of the Black Sea ports of Kilis and Akkerman (1484), which were so vital to Poland, a ceasefire was arranged between King Casimir IV Jagello and Sultan Bayezid II (22 March 1489). The Moldavian campaign of King John Albert (1497) and the subsequent Turk-Tatar attacks on Poland (1498) had shown that there was a military equilibrium between the two powers, and peace was again restored between them in 1499. Following the armistice of 1495 and that of 1528, Süleyman the Magnificent made in January 1523 a life-long peace treaty and alliance with King Sigismund I and his son Sigismund Augustus who, in 1529, was crowned as his father's successor. This treaty, which Sigismund Augustus had renewed in 1553 with the old sultan, in 1561 with Sultan Selim as the heir to the throne, and in 1565 had renewed with the Pâdişah Selim II, was the basis of relations between Poland and Turkey in the 16th/17th century. During this period, these relations were on the whole favourable and not without difficulties (C. Buclovic, La difficile coexistence pacifique entre Polonais et Turcs au XVIIIe siècle, in Milieux d'islamologie dédiés à la mémoire de A. Abel, ii, Brussels 1973, 123-51). Poland did not concur with the insinuations made by Süleyman and his Ruthenic wife Khurum Sultan [q.v.] against the Hapsburgs, and in 1559 Sigismund Augustus also rejected the Turkish plan for a Polish-Turkish alliance against Moscow. During the first two elections of kings after the death of the last Jagellon king, the Porte intervened vigorously to prevent the choice of a Hapsburg. Moreover, Süleyman already appeared to be favourably disposed to Poland when he heard to the false news of the death of both Polish kings in 1533 (Z. Abramowicz, Katalog dokumentów tureckich, Warsaw 1959, no. 39; K. Boydill, Die politischen Königswahlen und Interregnum von 1573 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischen Archivalien, Munich 1973). The Polish-Turkish War of 1620 (Poland was defeated at Cecora) and 1621 (the victory for Poland at Chocim [see above]) was used by Poland's attempt to force the Ottomans out of Moldavia but also by the strife stirred up by the excesses of the Tartars and Zaporozhians (R. Majewski, Cecora. Rok 1620, Warsaw 1970). It ended with the peace of 1623. The self-willed assault on Kamieniec undertaken in 1623 by Abaza Mehmed Pasha [see ANAS] did not lead to a deterioration of mutual relations. However, the borderland skirmishes steadily grew in number. This even led King Ladislas IV to construe, beginning from 1625, plans for joint Polish and Venetian attack against Turkey, with the support of the Zaporozyhans (W. Czermak, Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV, Cracow 1895). These plans did not come to be fulfilled, as Ladislas IV died in 1628, and the war of the Cossacks and Tartars against Poland broke out the same year. The Porte very much valued Poland's role in maintaining the balance of power in their struggle against the Hapsburgs, and in 1628, when Poland was defeated at Lutsk, there was no longer any hope of supporting the Zaporozyhans, it intervened on Poland's side, thus provoking the anger of the Tartars (Abramowicz, Katalog ... no. 339-41; Senak, op. cit., fol. 25-26). In view of her agreements with Poland, the Porte was also rather reluctant to adopt the plan suggested by B. Chmielnicki of placing the Ukraine under the sultan's patronage, even though this plan seemed to promise the liberation of Turkish lands from the threat of Cossack attacks. The theory of an alliance of the Porte with Poland, the Hapsburgs, and the Venetians against the Ottomans [see P. Przbylski, Die erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1645), in Oriens, ii (1953)] cannot be supported, considering the carefully-guarded attitude of the Turks towards him in 1611 (I. Ryk'a, Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmelnyzkyj), in ATO, ii, and Abramowicz, Katalog ... no. 344). Even when in 1655/1656 Sultan Mehmed IV had taken the Cossacks formally under his patronage, he hastened to declare to King John Casimir that he nevertheless wished to maintain his good relations with Poland (A. N. Kurat and K. V. Zetterstöm, Türkische Urkunden, Leipzig 1928, no. 1). In the years that followed, the period of the "Flood", Turkey lent Poland also considerable support against the threat to her by Carl X Gustavus of Sweden (1656) and George II Rakoczi (1657).

The balance of power was first destroyed by the Grand Vizier Körprüszádó Fádil Ahmed Pascha [see KPH 61.11] when, in 1669, he granted the Cossack Hetman F. Doroszenko, who since 1666 was in revolt against Poland, the supreme authority of the Pâdişah; as a result, the Grand Vizier directly attacked Poland in 1672. The splendour of his success included the capture of Podolia, compelling Poland to pay tribute, etc. But this faded quickly after the defeat of the Turks at Chocim in 1673 (J. Sobieski was still only Royal Chief Hetman) and then again at Zarnovo in 1676 (Sobieski was then King; the attack was repelled, the tribute imposed in 1672 was repealed and it was never paid by Poland).

The Porte was now involved in a difficult war with Russia over the Ukraine. The successor of the Grand Vizier, Merzifönda Karas Mustaфа Pascha [q.v.], adopted an inflexible attitude to his next treaty with Poland (1678), and an additional threat to Poland came from the south in consequence of his 1682 alliance with E. Thököly. He had occasion to deplore his rash step when, at the battle for the relief of Vienna on 12 September 1683 and in the subsequent war in Hungary, the Polish king "was the first one to drive his horse against the Muslims and then to draw his sword" and "caused so much harm that it was he who gave the greatest help and support [for the Emperor Leopold I] and had many Muslims taken prisoner" (Debegi Hasan Esiri, and eyewitness of the events of 1683, in TOEM, iii, 1916; in general, see Z. Wójcik, King John III of Poland and the Turkish aspect of his foreign policy, in Belleten, 28/b, no. 170 [1960]). The fruits of the victory of John
Sometimes for the purpose of trade. Serious plans for an anti-Turkish alliance with Persia were cherished - an anti-Turkish coalition in 1474 and of Ottoman society and the army. K. Borzceki, *Mużaffa Dżelil al-Ámin Pascha*, the first to raise a spirit of national identity within the Ottomans (B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, Oxford 1967, 28, 339). S. Ciebiesowski, court painter to Sultan Abd al-Áziz, painted a series of scenes from Ottoman history for the new Dolmabahçe Palace (A. Lewak, *Dzieje emigracji polskiej w Turcji* 1831-1878, Warsaw 1932). In 1832, Polish specialists and advisers even penetrated the intimate society of Kamal Pascha Ataturk. This resulted in friendly relations between the new Poland and the Turkish republic from its inception. In spite of its complicated political situation, Turkey gave Poland vital help during the Second World War. After the war, both countries developed their co-operation in economic and cultural fields. An active link between the two was Polonokcyj, founded in 1835 by Prince Adam J. Czartoryski, and thereafter called Adana in Polish. It is a colony of Polish immigrants on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus near Istanbul, who still maintain their national character.

Venetian-Persian attempts to win over Poland to the idea of an anti-Turkish coalition in 1474 and 1475 faced under the careful direction of King Casimir IV (J. Długosz, *Historiae Poloniae libri XII*, v, Cracow 1885, 601, 602, 626). Sigismund III Vasa (1566-1632) also remained dead to similar suggestions from Shah Abbas I; the dispute with Sweden and later with Muscovy was more important to him. The first delegation, from the Shah led by Sir Anthony Sherley had not been, incidentally, allowed by the Porte in 1699.

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influence on Polish national costume, domestic furniture, the conduct of war, and arms and equipment. These artifacts spread beyond Poland to other countries (e.g. Persian carpets were known in the West as "tapis polonais"), and they were later imitated in Poland (T. Mańkowski, Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku, Cracow 1935; idem, Le iapis paris est chevronien-parisien de la cathédrale de Cracovie, in RO, ahi [1953]). This attracted a number of Oriental words and terms into Polish (A. Zajączkowski, Studia orientalizacyjne z dziejów sztukistwa polskiego, Wrocław 1953). Polish museums contain authentic art treasures from Islamic countries, especially weapons, Ottoman standards, and Persian carpets, which were later seen as the "royal" Polish eagle which S. Murawski brought from Kăshăn for the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1602 and which are now in the Residenzmuseum, Munich. The activities of the art-loving Stanisław Augustus, the last Polish king (1763-95), of many Polish migrants in the 18th century as well as various Polish emigrants to the East in the 19th century, led to the formation of rich collections of Islamic art in Poland.

Moreover, Poland was not averse to the intellectual exchanges with the "Oriental" world. The most important work in this connection is the translation by Samuil Gwiazdowski of the Gulisti by Sa'di in the mid-17th century (following an Ottoman version; it appeared in print only in 1879). The 18th and 19th centuries, the Romantic Period, brought new oriental influences to bear on Polish literature. These traditions are maintained by modern Polish orientalists of the post-war period, who translate into Polish the literature and historiography of the Islamic world.

The travel descriptions by many a Pole journeying to the Islamic East of the 17th-18th century have contributed much to the knowledge of that world in Europe (A. Broniowski, J. Laski, Michalo Litwanus, A. Tarasowski, M. Radziwill). Similarly, the career of Fr. Mesgnien-Meninski as an Ottoman scholar in part stemmed from his stay in Poland where, for some years, he was engaged as court-interpreter.

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LEMINOS [see LIMNOIS]

LEO AFRICANUS, the name by which the author of the Descriptione dell' Africa is generally known, who was in fact originally called al-Hassan b. Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Zayyatu (or al-Fas). He was born in Granada between 894/95 and 901/902 and was taken to the East, whence he returned home by sea. In 921/1515 he sailed al-IJasan b. Muhammad al-Vazzan al-Zayyat al-IJasanb. Muhammad al-AlfItsI. He was born in Granada between 894/95 and 901/902 and 901/902 and 1495 into a family which had to emigrate to Morocco after that city's fall [see Yubanna al-Asad al-GhamSU; the editor of the Descriptione delle Africa, called him Giovanni Leone Africano, and current usage generally refers to him by the second of these Christian names).

Apart from the autobiographical details which can be gleaned from the Descriptione, we know little of his life; all that is known is that, before 1550, he went to Tunis, and probably spent the last years of his life in his ancestral faith.

During his stay in Italy, he learnt Italian, taught Arabic at Bologna and, in addition to his Descriptione dell'Africa, conceived the further plan of describing similarly the part of Asia which he claimed to have visited, and also Europe (see below, pp. 337-9). He certainly put together in 1524, for the French king, a Jacob ben Simon, an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, of which the Arabic part is preserved in the Esorial (no. 598; see H. Deroz, Cat. des manuscrits arabes de l'Esorial, Paris 1854, i, 410). He also left behind a treatise on proverbs (see A. Codazzi, Il trattato dell'arte matrica di Giovanni Leone Africano, in Studi orientalistie in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida, Rome 1956, i, 380-98), and the other, in 1527, which contains nine sections; (1) generali*-ties about Africa; (2) south-western Morocco (in particular, Marrakesh, with errors—see G. Deverdus, Marrakesh, Rabat 1959, p. xiv and index); (3) the kingdom of Fas (a very extended treatment, one more accurate and confident); (4) the kingdom of Tlemcen; (5) Bougie and Tunis; (6) southern Morocco, and the southern parts of Algeria and Tunisia, followed by Libya; (7) the land of the blacks; (8) Egypt; and (9) the rivers, animals, plants and minerals of Africa. This work remained for centuries a major source on the Islamic world, and is still cited by historians and geographers of Africa. Although it is not free from errors—certainly excusable if one takes into account the conditions in which it was put together—it provides first-hand items of information on the situation at the beginning of the 10th/11th century in the lands visited, on the ethnog-
were waiting in the river, the inhabitants of Lesh set with wives, children and property to the ships that an event described in detail by the chronicler Marin

empire, after the mid-of the river Drin not far from its estuary, and is an administrative centre in northern Albania, a minor port, military stronghold and administrative centre in northern Albania, 30 km. to the south of Shkoder/Scutari, which was part of the Ottoman empire between 1478 and 1912.

Lejh, the classical Lissus, is one of the oldest urban centres of the country. It is built on the banks of the river Drin not far from its estuary, and is overlooked by two isolated hills, each carrying the ruins of ancient fortifications. This setting largely determined the historical development of Lesh; it was a military strongpoint in periods of danger and a harbour in more peaceful times. During antiquity, both hilltops and the lower town on the river were surrounded by an enormous wall, parts of which still survive. This large city was destroyed during the invasions of the Barbarians (592 A.D.), and never recovered again. Anna Comnena mentions Lissus in her Alexiade as a strong Byzantine fortress and as fairly well-inhabited. In the 12th century, Lesh was included in the Serbian state, together with Shkodër.

In or around 1580, the old cathedral of St. Nicolas was destroyed, together with 50 shops, which were part of the self property of Kukli Beg’s foundations in Prizren and its surroundings. The Mufašal defter T.K. 63 mentions that a part of the inhabitants of Lesh were “outside the old register”, which means that they had moved in from elsewhere. They gained their living as workers in the harbour and had the Filuri status as concerned taxes and paid only a lump sum of 32 akce yearly. The register mentions 141 Christian households of them and six of Muslims, all living in the newly-founded suburb of “Vlakula” (Ishulli Lesh) which was formerly a meza’.

In 1648 the famous rebel against the Ottomans and national hero of the Albanians, George Kastrioti Skanderbeg, died in Lesh and was buried in the Gothic cathedral of St. Nicolas in the lower town, an event described in detail by the chronicler Marin Barletius. Ten years later, during Sultan Mohammed Fatih’s campaign against Shkodër (known to the Ottomans as Iskenderiyye), Lesh was captured and incorporated in the Ottoman realm. Before they tied with wolves, children and property to the ships that were waiting in the river, the inhabitants of Lesh set fire to the city. The conquest is related by Tursun Beg in his Ta’rij-i Abu ‘l-Fadh and by Sahd al-Din in his Ta’dal al-ta’rijik.

It was long before the ruined town recovered. At first, Lesh seems to have been included in the sanjâd of Elbasan, but later (after 1453 and perhaps after the Venetian interlude) it was added to that of Iskenderiyye. In 1501, during Bayazid II’s short war with Venice, Lesh was taken by Venetian forces, who kept it for a short period. When they retreated, they had the town walls destroyed. The Ottomans recaptured a totally wrecked town. They decided to rebuild the citadel on the hill, a site which offered better chances for defence than the place along the river. The work was finished in 1513, and is described in a Venetian inscription—now preserved in the Lesh Historical Museum—which mentions the name of Sultan Süleyman, the date in numbers and in the form of a chronogram, and the name of the architect as Derwisch Mehmed, the son of Skura. The latter must have been a member of the well-known Albanian noble family of that name.

The inner half of the 16th century, Lesh remained a small place. The Ilmâlâ defter no. 507 of 1530-3, preserved in the Haskabauk Arbivi in Istanbul, mentions it as a village in the liwa’ of Iskenderiyye, having 144 households. The Mufašal defter T.K. 63 of the liwa’ of Dukagin, preserved in the Tapu ve Kadastro Gen. Mül. in Ankara (fols. 53-6b), from 1595-1599-1 (dated by internal evidence), mentions Lesh as an urban settlement (nârâq) in the sanjâd of Dukagin. The latter was set up in the thirties or forties of the 16th century and had Pî (Ipek) as its châf-keu, although the sanjâd-beg resided sometimes in Lesh. Western sources mention in 1533 a figure of 80 houses of Turks in the castle on the hill (which is called “Castel Nova”). The lower town (il-Borgo) is described as a predominantly Christian place. The latter developed slowly into a centre of trade.

In the thirties of the 16th century, a strong impetus to this function of the town was given by the Ottoman governor of Shkodër (later also in Thessaloniki and Prizren), Kukli Mehmed Beg of Prizren. In his lifetime, the caravan road through the mountains from Lesh to Prizren in the interior was safeguarded by a chain of caravanserais. Two of them were built in Lesh itself, together with 50 shops, which were part of the self property of Kukli Beg’s foundations in Prizren and its surroundings.
thirties or forties of the century, and left in ruins for more than a hundred years.

In the last decades of the 18th century, Sultân Selim III concerned himself for the reconstruction of the building. At that time, it received the form it still had in our time (1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Lesh in the last decades of the 18th century as a place with a thousand houses.

During the administrative reforms of the 19th century (1862), the old sanjāg of Dukagën was dissolved and added to the new sanjāq of Shkoder. The Kâdî of the sanjāg of Zumë, v. 1914, describes it towards the end of the last century as a kädît with 5,300 inhabitants, 80 shops and four mosques. The Izgëodra wilâyet xulmëniet of 1810/1892 mentions Lesfa as being the chef-lieu of Ishkdrdra wilayet and four mosques. The town still had in our time (*1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Lesh in the last decades of the 18th century (1862), the old cathedral of St. Nicholas—Mosque of Sultan Suleyman has not been published adequately.

In the seventies of the 20th century, Lesh was a minor town. Its centre was modernised, it received the form of a huge, concrete-built memorial to Skanderbeg. The tomb of the legendary Skanderbeg was discovered in the old cathedral of St. Nicolas—Mosque of Sultan Suleyman, of which 1,500 were Muslims and 4,000 (Roman Catholic) Christians. The district contained 91 churches, and eight mosques but had only three schools, two for Muslims and one for Christians.

In the last decades of the 20th century (1978), mentions Lesh as being the chef-lieu of a sanjāq with 5,300 inhabitants, 80 shops and four mosques. At that time, it received the form it still had in our time (1978). The Armenian geographer Inciciyan describes Lesh in the last decades of the 18th century as a place with a thousand houses.

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The history of the town and the island are inseparably connected with each other. In Ottoman times, the town of Levkas (Aya Mavra) was the largest urban settlement in the sanjāq of Kairi-i-Il. In the second half of the 16th and most of the 17th century it was an Islamic centre of some importance, and possessed two of the largest works of Ottoman civil and military architecture in the Western Balkans, viz. the aqueduct of Sultan Suleyman and the castle, rebuilt by Sultan Selim III in 1571 under Selim II. The history of the town of Levkas goes back to the 8th century B.C., when it was founded as a colony of Corinth. In 1400, John I Orsini built a small castle on a small sandy island in the mud bay between the island of Levkada and the mainland of Acarnania in order to protect the settlement there, until that time an open one. In 1462 island and town were included in the possessions of the Italian ducal house of Tocco. Duke Carlo Tocco (1581-1403) made the town the capital of his dominions (which since around 1400 also included a part of the mainland). Carlo greatly enlarged the walled town. Open settlements are reported to have existed on both sides of the walled town. The open town of Levkas was an offshoot of the Italian origin. In 1571 the Ottomans placed most of Epirus under their direct rule. In 1449 they drove away the Tocces from the large city of Arta, only 50 km. from Levkas. The last Tocco, Leonardo, was maintained as a vassal of the Sultan and was connected...
to him by family ties because of his marriage with Milica Branković, a niece of the much-respected stepmother of Mehmed II, Carica Mara (widow of Murad II). Milica died in 1464. In 1477 Leonardo remarried, this time with Francesca Marrano, a princess of the Aragonese house of Southern Italy, the bitter opponents of the Ottomans. Two years later an Ottoman fleet under Gedik Ahmed Pasha, then Bey of Aykonya (Valona), occupied the islands of Zakynthos (Zante), Cephalonia and Levkas (Cephalonia and Zante were lost to Venice in 1481; in 1485 the Ottomans re-acquired Cephalonia by treaty, but lost it definitively to Venice in 1500). Leonardo and Francesca, bitterly hated by their Greek subjects because of their ruthless exploitation, fled to Italy, where King Ferrante of Aragon gave them their new possessions. Gedik Ahmed is said to have deported the population of the islands, or at least a part of them, to Istanbul as part of Sultan Mehmed II's policy of repopulating his capital Istanbul. Very likely there were also strategic grounds.

During the Ottoman-Venetian war over the last bases of the Signoria on the Greek shores [see KORON, MOTON, AYNAVISE], the Venetians under Bernardo Pesaro captured Levkas in August 1502. It was returned to the Ottomans as a result of the treaty with Venice, in which the Sultan recognised the Venetian occupation of Cephalonia. Levkas was to remain Ottoman for almost two centuries.

Ottoman Levkas (i.e. the town) became the seat of one of the two kadı’s into which the sandjak of Kärliull was divided during the greater part of the 16th century. The town was the largest of the sandjak, and possessed by far the most important castle, containing an aristocratic garrison. The kadı’s of Aya Mavra was relatively thin populated. Aya Mavra once was a register (Tepu defter 367 in the BBA) from the years between 1523-36 shows that the town of Levkas/Aya Mavra numbered 193 households, 28 bachelors and 20 widows, perhaps giving a total civil population of a thousand souls. The kadı’s had at that time two towns (the second town was Venitsa, with 90 households, 27 bachelors and 15 widows), and comprised 43 villages, five monasteries and a total population of 2,244 households, 302 bachelors and 223 widows (or a total population of about 12,000 souls). These notes from the census register make clear that the kadı’s of Aya Mavra not only comprised the island of Levkas but also a considerable part of the mainland of Arcadia. The bulk of the population of the sandjak of Kärliull lived in the kadı’s of Engili-kärli (= Angelokastro, Ottoman between 1486 and 1639), further inland. Engili-kärli itself, which was officially the seat of the sandjak beg, numbered according to the same register 244 households, but the kadı’s contained no less than 253 villages with 9,609 households, 290 bachelors and 934 widows (perhaps 46,000-47,000 souls). The register mentions that the garrison of Levkas town contained 111 soldiers and nine gunners. The castle of Engili-kärli, safely inland, had only 25 soldiers (merdani-i kadı’s). Venitsa, more exposed than Engili-kärli but less dangerously situated than Levkas town, had 25 soldiers and two gunners. Not a single Muslim household or individual is listed in the entire sandjak of Kärliull. There were only three mosques in this province, those in the three castles, serving the needs of the garrisons. The register of 1523-36 mentions in the entire sandjak only three imâms, two kadı’s and two mukaddisi. Thus Islam in Levkas was in the first half-century of Ottoman rule only represented by the military and administrative machinery. This was to change notably in the subsequent years.

Because of the constant lack of fresh water in the fortified town, due to its setting on saltings surrounded on all sides by the waters of the lagoon, the Ottomans were forced to carry out important hydraulic works. Good drinking water was brought from the mainland by means of an aqueduct of 3 kms. long, which was carried over the lagoon for almost a mile on an aqueduct with several hundreds of arches [Evlîya Celebi, viii, 556, gives 368 arches, Coronelli, MÉMOIRES, etc. de la Merve, Amsterdam 1686, 148, has 360 arches; Henry Holland (in 1822), Travels in the Ionian Islands, London 1825, 61, has 366 arches]. Over the aqueduct ran a narrow path offering a much shorter way to the island than that over the saltings. A note in Mihâime defter no. 6 in the BBA in Istanbul contains the extract of an order of the kadı’s of Engili-kärli and Aya Mavra that the aqueduct currently under construction in Aya Mavra had to bring the water firstly to the walled town and then to the open town on the island, and not to the walled town alone, as had previously been ordered. The inhabitants of the town had pointed out to the Forte that the open town (mareh) did not contain 200 houses, as was thought in Istanbul, but 700 to 800 houses. Hence the need for more water. The order states that the aqueduct was built by "His Majesty". It is dated 17 Rebi’ al-‘Evvel 972/24 October 1564, thus in the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. Mihâime defter no. 5, containing a part of the orders of the year 973 (sic), has an imperial order from 6 Rebi’ to the Bog of Kärliull and the kadı’s of Aya Mavra requesting the repair of the fortress walls and ordering the subject people from the nearby villages to assist the garrison in the work. An order of some months later (12 Ramadan 973) urges the kadı to begin the work and to finish it as soon as possible.

During the crisis of Lepanto (1571), the fortress of Aya Mavra was besieged but held out. After the siege the Ottoman government ordered the total reconstruction of the old fortress works. This work was carried out under supervision of Kapudan İBBE Âli Paşa between the years 980-1/1577-8. The Mu¬hâime defter of 966/1559 contains an order demanding carpenters and masons from Tir¬hala, Ayunabatüllâ and Yavrû to go to Aya Mavra, and Yûrûks and Tatars from Sêtînîk and Tirhala and timariots from Yskub (Shopje) to assist with the work. This new fortress has the form of an irregular hexagon which is at its longest 220 m and 150 m wide. It is strengthened by nine round bastions of various sizes, all equipped with domed and vaulted casemates for guns and an open artillery platform on top. The medieval castle of the Orsinis was maintained at the northeastern corner, as a kind of île folle.

The works of the Ottoman geographers contain little information about this outpost of Islam in the far west of the Balkans. Piri Reisi in his BÂHVÎ Yücey describes in a few lines the setting of the fortified town, as being situated on an island in a shallow lagoon and accessible only by two draw¬bridges that are opened to let ships through. Hadîji Khalîfâ (Remmel and Bosma geographisch beschryven, Vienna 1812, 128) merely copies this information. Muhâime âshîkî in his Menâmî al-xalîlîm does not discuss this section of the Balkans. A wealth of information, on the other hand, is found in the Seyyid-nâmé of Evliyâ Celebi (vii, 631-7). Evliyâ visited Levkas in 1058/1648-1, at a time when Islam
In the summer of 1684, the Venetian fleet under Morosini captured the town after a bombardment of 16 days. The garrison and the Muslim civilian population got a safe conduct to the Ottoman mainland. Morosini turned the walled town, denuded of its inhabitants, into a citadel and removed its houses. He also excavated and demolished the two suburbs just outside the castle and turned them into a glacis for the fortress. The deported inhabitants were building new houses on the island. Since that time the town was solely confined to the former Varosh (= Amaxiki) on the island itself. All the Muslim buildings except the fortress works and the aqueduct were removed by the Venetians.

The Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovo [26]) assigned the town and the island definitely to Venice, which in the first years of the 18th century modernised the Ottoman castle. On that occasion, the locality of 1000 disappeared and the east front of the castle, facing the mainland that had remained Ottoman, the ramparts and bulwarks, were replaced by modern works, including two bastions, a ravelin and a coavra-face in the wet moat and an envelope all around. Two separate works came to cover the flanks. Some Latin inscriptions mention the name of the commander under whom the work was carried out and the date of completion, viz. Augustino Sagredo, 1773.

During the Corfu campaign of the Ottomans against Venice (1716), the modernised fortress was strongly defended. It was captured by the Ottoman army but was to return to the Venetians a year later. The Venetian rule lasted until 1797 (Treaty of Campo Formio) and was only interrupted by a revolt of the Greeks in 1796, after which date the fortress was again repaired (long Latin inscription). In 1797 the island was occupied by the French, who kept it till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The French returned in 1807, but were driven away from these islands by the British in 1809-10. In the first decade of the 19th century, the mainland of Aca¬maria was controlled by Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, the able but treacherous Vizier of Yanya (Vanya), who in 1807 invested Levasis unsuccessfully. On a rocky foreland commanding the only road from the mainland to the island he erected in the year a strong fortress. This was the site of the Kehaliiye tekke of Dzadir Hasans, extensively described by Ewliya in 1670. Hence the name of that new work, Kastro i Tekkes. Six km. further south, on a cape commanding the southern entrance to the lagoon of Levkas, Ali Pasha constructed another, large, castle, now called "Castle of St. George." Both forts still exist today.

The mainland of Aca¬maria was included in the new Greek kingdom in 1832. In 1864 the British ceded Levkas and the other Ionian islands to Greece, till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The British in 1863, 24,000; in 1961, 26,000). The Greek islands were occupied by the French, who kept it till 1800, when after a brief action of the combined Ottoman-Russian forces the island became part of the so-called Republic of the Seven Islands. The British in 1863, 24,000; in 1961, 26,000). The great Ottoman aqueduct was wrecked during an earthquake in 1825, together with most of the town (Ansted, Ionian Islands, 144). It was not rebuilt, but served further as road until in this century it disappeared completely under the modern causeway. The town was rebuilt with wooden houses to minimise the damage of the very frequent earthquakes (list

The whole urban settlement of Levkas thus had 1,250 houses, or about 6,250 inhabitants. Six years after Ewliya, Jacob Spen and George Wheler (Itali¬enische, Dalmatische, Griechische and Orientalische Reise Beschreibungen, iv (1731), 135 [aitr. in English and French] noted that in the citadel and the suburbs together lived 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, mostly Greeks and Turks.

The strength of the garrison of Aya Mavra as given by Ewliya (633), is perhaps exaggerated. He mentions 1,085 haftle ussariten, but an official Ot¬toman budget of the same year as his visit (published by Ö. L. Barican in İhtisam Hakikat Mecmuası, xvii (1955-6), 278) has only 875 i present ve ruksa ve laskin ve suâyriyân-i haft-ye-i Avasma ("gunners, captains, soldiers and cavalry of the castle of A.") on the pay list.

The halcyon days of Muslim Levkas ended during the war of 1693-99 against the Christian coalition.
of dates in M. E. Enkykl., xvi, art. "Leukas"). The new decayed and deserted three Ottoman castles remain the only visible link with the Islamic past.

Bibliography: The Ottoman sources mentioned in the article are unpublished. A comprehensive history of Ottoman Levkas, based on Ottoman and Western sources, is still a task for the future. Fragment of information can be pieced together from inter alia, E. Kirsten and W. Krcrot, Griechenlandkunde. Ein Fiihrer zu Klassischen Griechenland, Budapest 1962, W. Miller, The Latin in the Orient, London 1968 (repr. 1954); idem, Essays on the Latin Orient, London 1921; idem, The Ionian Islands under Venice, in EHR, xlii (1928); F. Babinger, Mecmed der Eroberer, Munich 1933, 491-5; idem, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Karly-ehli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen (most accessible in Ausfiihrliche Abhandlungen, Munich 1962, 370-7); D. N. Nicol, The Despotate of Epius, Oxford 1937. For the confused accounts in the Ottoman chronicles, see karl już above. It should be added that the chronicler Orij Brg (German tr. R. F. Krcote, Der fremde Bayrd, Graz 1978, 512), has little-known details on the Ottoman capture of 1302. A Western travel account noncontemporary with Ewliya Celebi (1675-85) is J. Spon-G. Wheler, Griechische und Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung, Amsterdam, 1686); cf. also H. Holland, Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia, London 1825 (repr. New York 1971), 55-64; W. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, London 1835, i, 10 ff.; Leake has also accounts of the actions of Ali Pasha on the mainland, and his endeavour to capture Levkas fortress (with a good topographical sketch-map of the various parts of town, the forts and the aqueduct); D. T. Ansted, The Ionian Islands in the year 1863, London 1865 (Santa Maria on 125-226, with much on history, economy, topography, etc.). See also K. G. Machairas, I Levchs epis Ephrshchos (1845-1879), Athens 1942, and idem, Levchs, 1700-1844, Athens 1971; W. M. Leach, Essays on Byzantium, Istoria isi wiss Lefkadios, i, Athens 1960.

The first detailed plan of the Ottoman castle of Selim II and Kiliê All is given in the work of Vincenzo Coronelli. For an old drawing of the aqueduct, see A. Grasset St. Sauveur, Voyages dans les îles et possessions ci-jacent vénitiennes du Levant, Paris 1800, 337 ff. For details on the fortress, see Machairas, To en Levchos xorion ton Aigias Moraon, Athens 1935 (100 pages, but nothing serious on the Ottoman actions. Very good plans of the walled town before and after the Venetian reconstruction and large-size map of the area. For the Ottoman aspects of the castle, see for the time being, M. Kiel, Levkas/Santa Maria, een Turkse-Venetiaanse grenswacht, in Festschrift Stichting Menno van Coehoorn, 1976, 58-64 (with photographs and plan of the castle). For a modern survey of the history of the entire Ionian archipelago, see M. Pratt, Britian's Greek empire, London 1978. (M. Kiel)

LEWEND, the name given to two kinds of Ottoman daily-wage irregular militia, one sea-going (deniz), the other land-based (karlı), both existing from early times.

The word may derive in its maritime sense from the Italian levante (5th, 8th, Amorëz-i Türk), used originally by Venetians for soldiers recruited from their Levantine possessions, and then passing into Ottoman Turkish as a term for mercenaries recruited from the Mediterranean regions, especially the eastern lands and islands of Greece, Dalmatia and western Anatolia. Some claim its more common use as "a rough-and-ready cavalryman" came from Persia [cf. Redhouse, Turkish and English lexicon, a.s., and Uzunpalli, 46]. By 966/1558 the Ottoman government clearly distinguished mounted lewends from corsairs (muhîme defterî, iii, 65; and Silhâdar levendlî, i, 152).

1. Karlı lewend. In the hey-day of Ottoman maritime expansion, demands for unskilled labour could be met by hiring Muslim or Christian (Rûm) lewends for a period of the campaign, paid in early times by booty, in later times a daily wage through the admiralty. These lewends acted as rowers, guardsmen, marines for shore invasion, but above all as seagoing musketeers. Muslim deniz lewend wore distinctive blue baggy trousers with a yellow sash; Rûm lewend a cloak with cowl, a blue-and-white sash, and white baggy trousers. For those whose labour the Admiralty needed during the winter in the Bosphorus arsenal, special quarters (lises) were built on the Rûmeii side in the early 12th/16th century, known to this day as lewend ciftliği. By the mid-16th/18th century, Muslim lewend took over many of the specialised naval duties previously pursued by Rûm lewend (who no longer enjoyed absolute trust), to serve permanently as kalyonlî or galleon sailors. Their apparently excelling life as semi-official pirates, corsairs, and adventurers on the sea lived on into the modern Turkish language, in which lewend still means a bold, good-looking, dashing young man.

2. Karlı lewend. Trained musketeers, discharged from Ottoman armies or the fleet, acting in concert with other jobless and homeless personel (such as sonhkân, sâlah and saza [sâva], created mischief in Ottoman lands. Those who acted as cavalry were called karlı lewend. Any man with a horse might join one of the many official or outlaw bands which swarmed in Anatolia, particularly after the roth/16th century. Karlı lewend fell into three categories: (a) kaplî lewend: irregular cavalry attached and paid for by a sultan or provincial sultan, who, for special services in peace or war, such as guarding fortresses, civil police duty, and honour guards. Kaplî lewend generally followed Ottoman military rank-order, led by a bûlbûbash, and included Anatolians, sc. Arabs, Kurds (Rafeq, 37) and Turks, together with Rumclaus, sc. Albanians (Turan, 168), Hungarians (Orhonlu, 100) and probably many others. Kaplî lewend were colourful but not particularly uniform apparel, their respective employers supplying clothing suitable to their particular affection (Cecar, 194-9); (b) kaplî lewend (sometimes bolsîyî, "independent"); any lewend discharged from the service of his beylerbe or a provincial sultan, who, after returning to civilian pursuits, Anatolian social and economic conditions being in serious dislocation after the roth/fourteenth century, most kaplî lewend moved quickly into wandering groups of brutal marauders, many of whom took part in the Djalâl revolts [q.v. in Suppl.]; and (c) nîrî lewend; those hired by the government as musketeers or cavalry for a specific campaign and paid for by the central treasury.

To the end of the 12th/16th century, lewend found employment in Anatolia and Rûmeii, often terrorising rather than protecting those officially in their charge. In Dubrovnik in 1900/1552 they were "brigands" (chi-i fesad ve levendî); in Cairo in 1608/1559 a visitor called them "anunceruous scum"
employment with Ojazzar Abmad Pasha of Sidon, of the century. Others fled to Syria, where they found deserted Yegen Mebmed Pasha in his enrolment by eastern frontier governors until 1136/1137. A massive rebellion, crushed by Koprulu Mehmed and Maljmud II.

Modernised armies of the empire or had been absorbed into the kard Intends (Cohen, 282). By the beginning of the 8th/9th century, among the local Kurdish Muhammad Pasha al-'Azm of Damascus, acceptance absorbed into acceptable military units by the turn ordered the to be abolished; most were hard let re ruts

Volunteers in the 7th and 8th centuries. The final conditions of Anatolia (990-1020/1582-1607). The Lezghs inhabit for the most part the southeastern portion of Daghistan (Akhthi, Dobukpara, Kusemikent, Kurakh, Magaramkent and Rutul rayons) and contiguous northeastern Daghistan (Kuba, Nuhka and Shemakhya rayons). The 1970 Soviet census listed 325,829 Lezghs residing in the USSR. Of them, 50.2% lived in the Daghistan ASSR and 44.4% in the Daghastan SSR. Of the Lezghs, 93.9% considered Lezgh their native language, while 4.7% considered it to be Russian and 2.4% other languages (mainly Azeri). According to legend, the Islamic religion was originally introduced among the Lezghs by Arab conquerors in the 7th and 8th centuries. The final conversion of the Lezghs to Islam came in the middle of the 15th century with the conquest of the Lezgh territory by the Shah of Shirvan-Khali Ullid.
Although the bulk of Lezgfs are Sunni Muslims of the Sha'фи school, there is a sizable minority of Shi'fs in Aşhabbāydiyya.

As a result of the long influence of the Turkish Khānātes of Aşhabbāydiyya on the Lezgfs, a Lezg feudal polity (the "national poet of Dagestan"), Sulayman and the "Kārin"-wāns were formed in 1775 with its centre in Kurakh. This Khānāte, however, included only a relatively small part of the Lezg territory and exerted only a minor influence on the Lezgfs. The majority of Lezgfs continued to live in free societies, while others lived at different times under the Khānātes of Kuba, Derbend and Kazikumukh. In 1812 the Kārin Khānāte became a Russian protectorate, and in 1864, with its abolition, the Lezg territory became an integral part of the Russian Empire. In the mid-19th century, under the leadership of Samoil and his Murids, the Lezgfs took part in the Caucasian wars against the Russians.

Although a weak feudal structure had developed in the region of Kurakh, the majority of the Lezgfs lived in free societies made up of patriarchal clans and extended families. These free societies were ruled by the village 'ādat. Within the clan or extended family there was mutual help in work and family affairs as well as group responsibility in vendetta, which were under the jurisdiction of the 'ādat. The Lezgfs maintained a strict clan endogamic marriage system.

The traditional economy of the Lezgfs was based primarily on home industries (weaving, rug making, leather working, pottery, smithing, etc.) and transhumance sheep and goat raising. These activities still play a major role in the village economy. In the foothills and lowland areas, corncrops, gardening and horticulture are important. Winter pastures of the Lezgfs were found primarily in Aşhabbāydiyya, and there was a long tradition of seasonal (winter) migratory labour among the Lezg men to the cities of Baku, Shemakha and Kuba (all in Aşhabbāydiyya). As a result of this migration, as well as the long cultural and political ties with Aşhabbāydiyya, the Lezg culture and language have been profoundly influenced by the Aşhabbāydiyya; but this strong assimilative force exerted on them has been sharply weakened during the Soviet period.

The Lezgfs have a relatively long literary tradition, though little pre-Revolutionary literature was written in the Lezg language, since the dominant tongues here were Arabic or Azeri or Persian. Among the more renowned writers of Lezg origin are the theologians Sayfuliah Cobonzide, Emir Arslan and Nidalur of Kurg, the mystical poet Etim Kadzhul, commentator on al-Bukhari, Talhah, 25, at the beginning; al-Zurkān, commentary on the Munawrat, Bāb mā di'dā fi l-Īfān, at the beginning.

The following Kurānic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the l-īfān (XXIV, 6-10):

"As to those who accuse their wives [of adultery] without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is speaking the truth, and the wife and her sib, the freight from her and the man concerned shall swear four times by Allāh that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allāh may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allāh were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you...".

These verses belong to a part of the Kurān, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of XXIV, 1-10, 21-6; verses 1-5, which certainly belong to the year 5, were inserted later, so that our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nīdūke-Schwally, Geschichte des Qorōb, i, 210-11; H. Grimmer, Muhammed, ii, 27, puts the sūra between the battles of Badr (2 A.H.) and Uhud (3 A.H.).)

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Kurān XXIV, 4 (cf. also verses 23-5) for saddah and are therefore in the same way, first the time that the regulations regarding the l-īfān have no affinities in Arab paganism, in which an institution like the l-īfān had no place at all (contrary to D. Santillana, Istituzioni di diritto musulmano, i, 221 below). The word l-īfān, which comes from the Kurān, is unknown to pre-Islamic poetry.

The hadīth concerning l-īfān are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical, and proceed to give the occasion of the revelation of the Kurānic verses in question; they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurkān, commentary on the Munawrat, Bāb mā di'dā fi l-Īfān), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nīdūke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition, 5-7 [to 56 ult. may be added, Tir. 44, sūra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: (1) the husband (announced) laments his sad case to the Prophet in covert language, whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); (2) the Prophet asks in the same way, first the time that the middle of the interlocutory of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); (3) Hārith b. Umayya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with saddah for this, when Allāh saves him at some point by the revelation of the verses (this type, probably a development of the first, in which Sa'ūd b. 'Uzāda also
is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and original appearance; and (4) someone marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin, while she disputes his assertion; the Prophet therefore orders i'sān (not exegetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the hadith yields nothing new about i'sān, this brief outline is sufficient; they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Kur'ānic institution.

The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon the Kur'ān, whether i'sān makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many hadiths this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the i'sān. The statement that al-Murāb b. al-Zubayr is said to have held this view (Muslim, Nasa'ī) is, however, based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another hadith. It held the third point entirely. On the other hand, that Uṣāman al-Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurkānī on the Muscellāh). Among the oldest representatives of the other view, which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after i'sān, may be included with some probability 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and with certainty al-Zuhīrī, in whose time it was already sunna, and Ibrahim al-Nahāghī (Kitāb al-At'ār), the tracing of this opinion back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, which is found in the hadiths, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of i'sān is to be carried through, whether by a triple tahlīl, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife, or by the decision of the judge before whom the i'sān is taken, or by the i'sān itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in the sense of the second view (cf. the hadiths of al-Zubayr in al-Taba'īr, Tāfīr and al-Buhārī, Tāfīr, Sahih 59 and Ḥudād, Sahih 43); the tradition in Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 330-1, forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Tayālīsī, no. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal abṣūlātī; apart from the amply testify to it in hadiths, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar; al-Zuhīrī, in whose time it appears as sunna; and Ibrahim al-Nahāghī (Kitāb al-At'ār); its ascription to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the madhāhib. We seem therefore to have a tendency to develop in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about i'sān in tradition going beyond what is laid down in the Kur'ān, are of less importance. Thus when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can marry the wife again at a later date, that a i'sān may take place during pregnancy (legal tahlīlī is in later attached to their interpretation of this hadith), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance, i.e. is considered illegitimate. Other hadiths say that the i'sān must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the hadīt to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the latter kiflīlī by a tradition; according to which the Prophet did not allow i'sān unless the husband and wife were on equal terms in this Islam and freedom; a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the Muscellāh.

Details of the further teaching of Ḥalīlī al-Nakhrī on i'sān is given in the Kitāb al-A'zār. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfī'ī bring us to the period of the rise of the madhāhib. Mālik states definitely that it was the sunna of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, about which there is no doubt and no kiflīlī, that the husband and wife after the i'sān has taken place could marry each other; but al-Shāfī'ī says that with i'sān, divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was sunna of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate madhāhib develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e.g. from the Mālikīyah: it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in i'sān which annulled the marriage (cf. above), while his school later held this view). The most important regulations of i'sān regarding i'sān that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows: if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally-prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of i'dān. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formula prescribed to him, he is punished with the hadīt for i'dān; according to Abu Hanīfī, however, he is imprisoned until he pronounces the formula, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereas he is liable to hadīt. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formula, she is punished with the hadīt for adultery; but according to Abu Hanīfī and the better tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal, however, she is imprisoned until she pronounces the formula, whereas she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to hadīt. On the question whether i'sān is possible if one partner is or both are not free, or not free but not i'dān, there is no kiflīlī, while i'sān by a tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 330-1, forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Tayālīsī, no. 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal abṣūlātī; apart from the ample testimony to it in hadiths, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar; al-Zuhīrī, in whose time it appears as sunna; and Ibrahim al-Nahāghī (Kitāb al-At'ār); its ascription to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the madhāhib. We seem therefore to have a tendency to develop in a particular direction. Other prescriptions about i'sān in tradition going beyond what is laid down in the Kur'ān, are of less importance. Thus when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can marry the wife again at a later date, that a i'sān may take place during pregnancy (legal tahlīlī is in later attached to their interpretation of this hadith), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance, i.e. is considered illegitimate. Other hadiths say that the i'sān must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the hadīt to the Prophet. We are also
confirmation), which was also held by al-Awazzâ and Sufyân al-Î-Thawrî. Finally, it is a disputed question whether the îsân can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Buhbûrî devotes ch. 25 of his Kîdîb al-Talabî to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude. 4. It is easy to understand that the resort was only had to the îsân in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the 4th/10th century pronouncing the îsân against his wife simply in order to revive this sunna of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (1. Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, ii, 21, Eng. tr. ii, 33). But it has only begun to fall into disuse with the introduction of modern legal codes into the Islamic countries and the creation of legal mechanisms for the adjudication of disputes over paternity. Thus the natural substitute for it, proof of non-access at the time of the child’s conception, was introduced into Egypt in 1929 by the device of restricting the competence of the Sharî’î courts in questions of maintenance and paternity; hence the courts were forbidden to entertain disputed paternity suits where either non-consummation of the marriage, or the birth of the child more than one year after the last physical access between wife and husband, could be established. In some countries, e.g. Tunisia or Morocco, procedures have been introduced whereby a husband can repudiate a wife who claims to have been falsely accused of infidelity by her husband can go to court and claim dissolution of the marriage.


J. Schacht}

LIBÄS (a., pl. lubus, abbas) like its cognate counterpart in most Semitic languages (cf. Akk. lubbas; Heb. and Aram. IUBS: Syc. loobs), is the general Arabic term for clothing or apparel. The dictionaries define it as “that which conceals or covers the pudenda”, for which the Koranic verse is cited, “O Children of Adam! We have revealed to you garments of clothing and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best” (VIII, 29). In addition, “it is for self-beautification and adornment and for protection against heat and cold” (Kîdîs TA, s.v.). In addition to the form lubas, one finds labas, matbas, matbas, labas and labasa also signifying clothing.

A detailed history of Islamic costume has yet to be written. There have been of late ever-increasing studies of modern and late pre-modern attire for various Islamic countries (cf. Bibliography), but with the exception of R. Dozy, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, it has been solely on literary references which were mostly in manuscript at that time. His literary references were somewhat supplemented by R. Levy, Notes on costumes from Arabic sources, in JRAS (1935), 378-38. R. B. Serjeant’s monograph Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest (Beirut 1979), although not dealing specifically with costumes, has brought forth a great deal of important ancillary material. Recent attempts to coordinate literary, sources with representations of costume in Islamic art and with actual relics of garments preserved for specific periods are those of L. A. Mayer, Mamluk costumes, Genoa 1932, and Y. K. Stillman, Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the troussan lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza, unpbl. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1951.

We shall limit ourselves here to a general survey of costume history in the Arab world during the classical period, with some brief notes on pre-Islamic and modern times.

1. — In the Central and Eastern Arab Lands

1. Clothing of the pre-Islamic Arabs

Despite numerous references to the Arabs in classical geographical and historical literature, there is only scattered and somewhat fragmentary information concerning their attire. Herodotus mentions that the Arabs wore the Îsân, a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt (Hist. vii, 66). This most certainly is the ûsar also found in the forms asr, mîsar, and in Middle Arabic texts and vernaculars ûsar), a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth (comp. late bibl. Heb. ûSer). This is corroborated by Strabo, who says that the Arab Nabataeans that “they go without tunics, with nothing but a belt and their loincloth” (Hist., vi, 195). This is amply supported by the Muroch’s theorizing that the Arab women in this period wore nothing but a belt and a veil covering their head, and with slippers on their feet” (Geog. vii, 1, 50). The mode of wearing the ûsar by the Muslim pilgrim in a state of ihram (q.v.) reflects this ancient fashion.

The earliest evidence for the clothing worn in ancient Arabia is the room-paintings of a prehistoric Arab (second and first millennia B.C.). These show men wearing relatively little clothing aside from a cloak and a variety of headdresses (see E. Anati, Rock-art in Central Arabia, i, Louvain 1968, 155, 163, and passim). Already at this very early time some women are depicted in enveloping wraps (ibid., 193). Some sort of slippers or sandals were also worn by both sexes (ibid.).

Those Arabs who lived within the cultural sphere of one or another of the great empires could not help but be influenced by the fashions of the higher civilizations, clothing being a manifestation of culture, no less than art, architecture, literature, etc. Thus the fashion of the Arab rulers of Hatra in Mesopotamia which depicts them wearing Parthian-style dress. Some wear a sleeved mantle and chiton, and others Persian trousers and military festoons (see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der alten Welt ii, Berlin 1965, 227). Those Arabs who inhabited the oasis towns of the Syrian desert apparently dressed in the fashion of the eastern Hellenistic world (see
Because of their conservative existence beyond the pale of sedentary civilization, the Bedouin have maintained a fairly constant style of dress from pre-Islamic times down to the present. Throughout the Muslim world loose wraps have always been an extremely common feature of dress for both men and women. Ibn Khaldun noted that wraps, as opposed to tailored or fitted clothing, were the mark of non-urban dwellers (Muqaddima, repr. Beirut 1900, 421). Ibn Khaldun’s observation, of course, needs some modification. City-dwellers wore wraps also. To be sure, these were of finer quality, often ornate, and were worn over fitted clothing. The Bedouin have always shown a preference for dark garments. The Babylonian Talmud cites the dark garments of an Arab as an example of a blue-black colour it is trying to define with precision (Niddah, 20a). Clothing is frequently mentioned in Dhibi poetry, especially the many kinds of outer mantles such as bard, idr, rid, and shamla (apparently similar to the bibil. livid). Turtulian mentions that Arabian women appeared in public totally enveloped in their mantle in such a way that only one eye is left free (De vrg. vid., 17). This fashion continues in places as far apart as Iran and southern Algeria and Morocco.

The use of footwear in Arabia goes back to prehistoric times and was certainly necessitated by the harsh landscape. Many of the figures in the ancient rock engravings wear some sort of distinctive shoe or sandal (Anati, Kuch-art, passion). The Talmud specifically mentions that the sandals worn by the Arabs are “close-fitting” (Yevamot, 102a) and that they “are knotted tightly by the shoemakers” (Shabbat, 112a).

The time of the Prophet and early Islam. The fashion of dress of the earliest Muslim community was on the whole an extension of the preceding period, with certain modifications for the new moral sensibilities. It is interesting to observe that many of the garments worn by the Prophet and his contemporaries continued through the centuries as the basic clothing of villagers and Bedouin, being simple, functional, and suitable to the ecology. The urban dweller, though perhaps far more conscious of suuna (q.v.) than his rural or nomadic cousins, has since Umayyad times been constantly modifying his wardrobe. Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the Islamic vestimentary system have remained remarkably constant even in the city.

The basic articles of clothing at the time of the Prophet for both sexes consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an overgarment such as a mantle coat, or wrap, footgear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. A person might wear many garments or only one depending upon a variety of factors including weather, occasion, economic means, etc. Many of the items of clothing worn by men and women were identical. In fact, many of the articles were simply large pieces of fabric in which the wearer wrapped himself. What must have set off male from female fashion in many instances was the manner of draping the accessories (jewelry, head-, and footgear, and veils), as well as colours, fabrics and decoration.

The principal form of armour was the coat of mail known as disarm or dirās which Noldeke thought to be of Ethioipic origin (Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft, Strasbourg 1910, 53), but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia (cf. Iran and the Arabs, in Cambr. Hist. of Iran, iii, ed. E. Yarshater, 1923, 511). The term was first used by the Muslim poet Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥafidh (d. 1022). It was a form of leather cuirass with the breast and back pieces fastened together by a wooden bar or by small nails. It was often worn over a shirt or tunic and was considered to be a sign of prestige and military prowess.

The custom of wearing several layers of tunics and robes continued through the Middle Ages and still persists in traditional areas today. In Morocco, for example, one frequently sees a man wearing two and even three jilbāb (hooded outer robe) over two or more tunics. The principal form of armour was the coat of mail known as disarm or dirās which Noldeke thought to be of Ethioipic origin (Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft, Strasbourg 1910, 53), but as Bosworth has shown, was borrowed from Persia (cf. Iran and the Arabs, in Cambr. Hist. of Iran, iii, ed. E. Yarshater,
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excellence, and for the man of honour, in the
sort of high cap or bonnet. Already at this early time the buruma must have also designated by extension a cloak with hood, despite Björkman's view to the contrary (act. "Turban", EI, iv, 890) since 'Umar's assassin was prevented from escaping by a Muslim who threw a buruma over him (Bukhārī, Šahīd, ii, 8). The word kalansūra apparently also could designate a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned along with the Ša'ma as one of the garments the Prophet revealed the ground was too hot (ibid., viii, 25). The high cap known as tafsira or turfar, though not mentioned in the early traditional literature, appears already in a 7th-century papyrus (J. von Karabots, Abrahānische Künstler im Konstantinopel, in Denkschr. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Bd. ixi, Abb. i, Vienna 1918, 67). The 10th-century traveller Belo suggested a connection between this cap and the ancient Egyptian head covering called by the Latin writers turbanum capitis orumnumonit turbinum coronam (cited in Leibnitz, T. van der Aa, Breve et Smyrni, Venice 1703, 140). It is still worn by married women today amongst the Sinai Bedouin. 'A'isha wore neither of these veils when she was a youth (ibid., 8). The word mai as-ṣīrī is still used to indicate one who was wearing the face veil known as mutāfranni, ridd, etc.) in such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing a hood or cowl, since it is mentioned with the Ša'ma as one of the garments the Prophet revealed when appearing in public. In addition, they were attached to the sides of the headband (īshāb) to cover the face. The lower corners of the buruma were attached to the sides of the headband by a string creating a mask-like effect. The buruma is still worn by married women amongst the Sinai Bedouin. Āfīna wore neither of these veils when she was a maid (lā talat šahamu wa-l tabahsu). Another veil worn by women at this time was the ṣāhib. Oddly enough, there is no mention of any sort of hats or head-dresses for women at this early period, despite a veritable plethora of such items from the High Middle Ages to modern times.

Men did veil occasion, normally by wearing the outer mantle (tīrī, ridā', bird, yunafak, etc.) in such a way as to cover both head and face. The Prophet is described on more than one occasion as being mutāfrānni. This does not necessarily imply that he was wearing the face veil known as āndā or mithna (cf. for example, Bukhārī, Šahīd, lxvii, 16). Very handsome young men sometimes veiled their faces, particularly at feasts and fairs, in order to protect themselves from the evil eye (A. Č. vI, vi, 33; xi, 28; xii, 137; xv, 157; also J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischer Handschriften, repr. Berlin 1961, 196). The free end of the turban cloth frequently served as a face veil to protect the wearer against dust while riding. It was used in this fashion that al-Hadīdī (q.v.) entered into the mosque at Kāfūn, mounted the pulpit, and dramatically barred his face as he began his famous sermon with the words: 'I am the son of a great man, the sceler of the high places. When I take off my turban you know who I am'.

Footwear for both sexes fell into one of two categories—the sandal or sandal which could be of palm fibre, smooth leather, or leather with animal hair, and the ādīf, a sort of shoe or boot made of leather. The various kinds of slippers which are popular throughout the modern Islamic world under a variety of names (dīghā, liuAs, surmaqta, burku, etc.) came into vogue after the conquests.

2. Early Islamic laws and customs regarding clothing. The austere nature of the early Medinian umma did not encourage luxury of any kind. The Kurān promises the righteous garments of silk (see gāzāh in Paradise, but the Prophet felt that such clothes were inappropriate in this life for men, although apparently not for women. According to a frequently-repeated hadīth, Mu‘āmmad forbade seven things: silver vessels, gold rings, garments of harrī, dibdūd (brocade), ṣa‘īsa (a striped fabric from Egypt containing silk), takliāb (Latin), and nādirīs (frowned upon). There are many more fabrics mentioned in the traditional literature which he supposedly proscribed. It would seem that he did make exceptions in the case of individuals suffering from some pruritic skin condition or lice. With the development of the empire and the rise of a leisured class, there came into being a wealth of counter-traditions expressing the permissibility of wearing clothes of silk and other luxury fabrics.

Many of the earliest and most reliable traditions regarding clothing deal with āndā and questions of ritual impurity caused by menstrual flow or the ejaculation of semen. Each of the Prophet's wives had a special menstrual garment. Garments defined by menstrual flow need only to be washed to be worn for prayer (e.g., Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, i, 130), and if not stained, a menstrual garment may be worn for prayer without washing. For these and related laws, see gāzās, gāzāh, ṣāhib, and ṣāhibah. It is not certain whether or not women in the early umma had special clothes for mourning. During the Dāhilīyya, a woman wore her worst clothes when in mourning (wa-lhubaa gharra ḍhīṣīdī—Bukhārī, Šahīd, lxvii, 46, 47). The Prophet forbade women in mourning to wear dyed clothing except for garments of āndā, a Yemenite fabric with threads dyed prior to wearing (ibid., 45, 49). The technical term for "mourning garment" (abdāh al-ḥida) only appears in Ibn Hānbal (Musnad vi, 438) and seems to be a later development. The name implies a garment dyed to a dark iron black.

As already noted, many of the garments worn in early Islamic times were the same for both men and women, especially tunics and wraps. There were, nonetheless, distinct stylistic differences. Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, strictly condemns transvestitum (Bukhārī, Šahīd, lxvii, 61). However, in Islam this prohibition clearly refers to overall conduct as much as dress.

Clothes have always been considered objects of significant material value in the Middle East. They
are mentioned as valuable gifts, a medium of payment, and items of booty. A man who had worked in the Prophet's baggage train supposedly went to Hell for having worn a black cloak (jubba) (a sleeveless robe) from the al-Barm of the Prophet (Buldari, Sahih, iv, 90). Garments could also be used for the payment of the zakah (ibid., xxiv, 33). As had been the custom of oriental rulers since ancient times, Muhammad bestowed valuable garments upon members of his entourage as a mark of favour (cf. e.g. Genesis, xxxvii, 3 and xii, 42).

Many customs were associated with clothes. Then as now, pious wishes and felicitations were appropriate for someone with a new garment. Muhammad wished Umm Khalid abd u-nas-ab:abi ("wear it out and exchange it!") when he presented her with a small black abranja (Buldari, Sahih, ixxvii, 22, 1). In more recent times, the wishes have become less eloquent, and one simply says wdbala ("congratulations!") or sawlimun ("how nice!"). In accordance with an ancient custom going back to pagan times, the Prophet reversed his riba when he went out to make the prayer for rain. He did not reverse his sandal because it might be confused with the sandal of Jesus. He would put on Friday (Ibid., vx, 11). The act of reversing the garment was apparently symbolic of the change in weather sought. It was still practiced in Tunis at the end of the 19th century (Wellhausen, Reste, 197). The custom of barring the head in extreme humidity during the ishtad ritual also probably goes back to this period, though it is not mentioned in the literary sources until the later Middle Ages (see I. Goldziher, Einlassung des Haupts, in Isf. vi [1916], 391-76, esp. 394).

Many customs regarding clothes which most certainly have their roots in ancient Near Eastern superstition and are found also in the Talmud are ascribed to Muhammad in the Muslim traditions. Thus the believer should always put the right shoe on first. He should not go out with only one shoe on—either both or barefoot (cf. the ill omen for Pelias of the myth of Jason). Furthermore, shoes should never be left with the soles facing heavenward.

The Umayyads and 'Abbāsids and the jird system. Judging by the rather scattered and scanty literary evidence, most of the Arabian garments of early Islamic times continue into the Umayyad period, although some items become more and more restricted to Bedouin use (e.g. the mir). The most significant change that came with the rise of an Islamic empire is the use of clothing made of luxury fabrics by the Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers. Abd al-Malk is reported by al-Majdul to have worn embroidered garments (e.g. E. Blochet in Revue de l'Orient Latin, vii [1900-1], 175). Sulayman and his retinue were only garments of waghi or variegated silk, including the dubb, riq, sara:ul, 'imama, and kalansua (Masudi, Mushid, v, 400).

There is one report specifically mentioning the so-called "caliphal garments" (ijiwad al-khāflim) being worn by al-Walid I (Aghdnl I, 73). Later under the 'Abbāsids, the caliph wore special robes of office with embroidered borders and which were called by this name. It is only stated of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun that they were white. The 'Abbāsids' robes of state were normally black. Their custom of wearing black garments on official occasions was established by al-Mansur and was only abandoned for a brief period in favour of 'Ali's green under al-Ma'mun (Tabari, iii, 1022 f.).

Two of the most significant phenomena of Islamic costume history originate in the Umayyad period—the sumptuary laws requiring distinguishing clothing for the non-Muslim subject population, and the production of regal embroidered fabrics for clothing.

The laws of differentiation or qiyār (q. u.) most probably do not go back to the time of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, since at that early period the abd al-dhimmā (q. c.) and the Arabs did not dress alike anyway. Although these laws were to be minutely detailed only in later centuries, they go back in general outline as well as in spirit, at least, to the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz. Dhimmās were forbidden to wear Arab-style headgear, including the 'abila, 'abbasa, and 'ayyasa, Arab military dress, and certain robes, as for example, the 'kafa. They also had to wear a distinguishing belt called misbat and more frequently samur (cf. G. Constantin). This ordinance may have applied at first only to Christians. By the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid, these rules governing dhimmās' dress were well-refined and were ascribed back to 'Umar I (Abū Yūsuf, K. al-Kharajī, Cairo 1382, x37 f.). For a detailed discussion of the restrictions on dhimmīş dress and the cases in which they were relaxed, see A. S. Tritton, The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects, repr. London 1970, 115-26.

The production of special embroidered fabrics in palace textile factories also began in Umayyad times and became a standard feature of mediaeval Islamic material culture. The fabrics were known as jirds (q. f.), which in its narrowest sense meant "embroidery", especially embroidered bands with writing in them, and in a wider sense, indicated an elaborately embroidered robe, such as might be worn by a ruler of his entourage. Jirds' garments were bestowed as tokens of royal favour and were among the standard gifts brought by diplomatic embassies to other rulers as part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establishments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes (e.g. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, Catalogue of dated tiras fabrics, Washing¬ton, The Textile Museum, 1938, 34. Part of foreign policy. In the view of many scholars, the Umayyads most likely took over Byzantine state factory establishments and adapted them to their special needs and tastes (e.g. E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, Catalogue of dated tiras fabrics, Washing¬ton, The Textile Museum, 1938, 34). In any event, it is clear that by late Umayyad times the jird system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the 'Abbāsids, Būyids and Sādiks. The production of such luxurious fabrics was a highly profitable business, and there was considerable government control. The state was also responsible for the prices in Ashur's view (E. Ashur, "Umayyad textile industry at Basra", Revue de l'Orient Latin, viii, 197). However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of jirds garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sassanian times (see S. D. Goitein, Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza, in JQR, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34 f., where Talmudic evidence is cited). The truth as to the origins of the jird system would seem to combine both views.

The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had jirds'factories was Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Malk (al-Djahslji, Cairo 1938, 50). In any event, it appears that late by Umayyad times the jird system extended across the caliphate, and continued to flourish under the 'Abbāsids, Būyids and Sādiks. The production of such luxurious fabrics was a highly profitable business, and there was considerable government control. The state was also responsible for the prices in Ashur's view (E. Ashur, "Umayyad textile industry at Basra", Revue de l'Orient Latin, viii, 197). However, most mediaeval Arab historians believed the production of jirds garments to be derived from a Persian institution, and there is some evidence that garments with royal insignia were worn in Sassanian times (see S. D. Goitein, Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza, in JQR, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34 f., where Talmudic evidence is cited). The truth as to the origins of the jird system would seem to combine both views.
formed an important element of the state's assets. Thousands of garments are listed among the annual treasury receipts under Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Dhahabī, K. al-Wasāsī, 179-182). In addition to their socio-economic importance, garments of ûrds fabrics were of great sociopolitical significance. The 'Abbasid caliphs and, at a later date, other Muslim rulers, were wont to bestow robes of honour (khiša), sing. khiš'a [q.v.] upon those of their subjects—Muslim and non-Muslim, male and female—whom they wished to reward or for some reason mark for distinction. The khiš'a was often not a single robe, but an entire outfit. This suit consisting of two or more garments was known as a lāli (The word lātil today means a "western suit of clothes"). The vīza' Hābd b. al-'Abbas (d. 512/1223), for example, received two such outfits each consisting of a lined coat (mubātāna), a sleeved robe (dharrā'a), a body shirt (kamī), drawers (kandalū), and turbān (lūmāna) (Hūlī al-Sibī, Tarīkh al-wasāsī, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176).

With the rise of the bourgeois period during the 'Abbasid period and the dissemination of the polemic educational ideal of adād [q.v.], the number of many new garments and fabrics came into use, and people became ever more fashion-minded. The early aversion from silks and satins was forgotten or ignored by all but a few few, and only the most ascetic and the poor wore the rough woolen robe known as the khiša [q.v.]. (The latter use of this word to designate "rag" or "dishcloth" is instructive.) Another wool garment worn only by the very poor was the sleeved tunic known as nīdira. Cultured gentlemen and ladies, on the other hand, were very much concerned with their appearance. The adj-d al-Wasāsī (q.v.) (d. 325/936) devoted several chapters of his book On elegance and elegant people (K. al-Muwaṣṣaṣ aw al-qarij wa l-murāj, ed. Brunnow, Leiden 1866; ed. cited here is that of Cairo 1362/1953) to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries, as well as the acceptable campus of taste. The fashionable man, according to al-Wasāsī, outfitted himself in several layers of clothing; beginning with a fine undershirt (khilīla), over which was worn the heavier, lined imajāla, and both (variant of this word to designate a cuirass). The caliph al-Muktadir, in a portrait bearing his name, supposed to have worn such a hat inscribed on one side with the word bālī and on the other with ḥūš in the duties which he undertook on alternating years of leading the pilgrimage and the war against Byzantium (Tabari, iii, 709). Another Persian garment which was introduced at this and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the ḡūšdān, a robe with sleeves that butted down to the fingers, the term which designated a cuirass. The caliph al-Mu'ūtadī wore a ḡūšdān of Tustari silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Mu'min in 320/932 (Dozy, Vêtements, 162 f.; Levy, JRAIS 1935, 331-2, and the sources cited by both). Since the later Middle Ages, the form ḡūšdān (variant bagfand) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic-speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish.

Fine garments were brought to Baghdad from all over the Muslim world, as well as being imported from abroad. From India came the fifa, a long piece of sarī-like cloth which served a variety of functions: as a hinkloth, apron, and a variety of headgear (Stillman, Female attire, 214 ff.). From China during this period there came oilcloth raincoats (minjarā) (Tha'alibī, Lusi al-muṣawwīr, Cairo 1960, 227; Eng. tr. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1968, 141: Mez, Renaissance, Eng. tr. 190). Fine garments for men in 3rd/9th century and 6th/12th century Iran were priced from 1-3 dinars to 15 dinars each for the same garment (cf. e.g. Bibl. Nat, Paris, ms. arabc 3929, f. 59). Hārūn al-Rashīd is supposed to have worn such a hat described on one side with the word ḡūš in and on the other with ḡūš in the duties which he undertook on alternating years of leading the pilgrimage and the war against Byzantium (Tabari, iii, 709). Another Persian garment which was introduced at this and which became extremely popular throughout the Arab world is the ḡūšdān, a robe with sleeves that butted down to the fingers, the term which designated a cuirass. The caliph al-Mu'ūtadī wore a ḡūšdān of Tustari silk brocaded with silver when he set out on his fatal march against the rebel Mu'min in 320/932 (Dozy, Vêtements, 162 f.; Levy, JRAIS 1935, 331-2, and the sources cited by both). Since the later Middle Ages, the form ḡūšdān (variant bagfand) has been used exclusively throughout the Arabic-speaking world, due to the influence of Turkish.

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the Middle Ages clothing was very costly in comparison with the other necessities of life.

5. The Fatimid and the Ayyubid Empires. The Cairo Geniza documents reveal that in the Cairo Geniza era (969-1076) there was a definite concern for clothes-conscious than that of the Fatimids. Fatimid pomp and ceremony exceeded anything known in Baghdis, and clothing played a major part in creating the splendid effect.

The first Fatimid caliph in Egypt, al-Mu'tizz (d. 365/975), founded a special government costume supply house known as the al壮观 of Khlis al-masri and the нетуи al-masri with an outlay of 500,000 dinars. An official bureau (khuṣān) oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of costumes. Every official and functionary from the caliph down to government clerks was supplied with a ceremonial costume (badia mabābīyya) for public occasions. According to al-Maqrizi, who is the almost exclusive source of information for Fatimid ceremonial costumes, each person was provided with an entire wardrobe "from the turban to the underdrawers" (Khilaf i, 409). The kisama provided different weight cloths for summer and winter. A complete costume (badia munaša) could consist of as many as a dozen articles of clothing, of which have been mentioned in the preceding sections.

Naturally, these ceremonial costumes were made of the most costly fabrics. The most popular were karir (fine silk), šīsī, ṣubkī, šarīḥ, dīmūṣī (all linens), ṣabūrsanādī (kingly brocade), and sīlaštān (siglaton). Most of the ceremonial costumes were white and embroidered with gold and silver threads in accordance with the official Fatimid imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The selection of the caliphal costume was itself a ritualised event before every holiday.

Each rank and office was distinguished by its costume. The most outstanding item of the caliph's attire was his enormous turban which consisted of a cap (thāšāthu) around which was wound a caliphal turban was called "the winding of majesty" (šiš atyūn). This special manner of winding the turban was unique for the ruler in the shape of a "noble crown" (al-tūf al-ṣagīr).

The rest of the imperial retinue wore a variety of less splendid headaddresses. The chief emirs of "the court who were the anwar of the palace, all wore turbans which were ecstatically wound under the chin — the so-called tašāth al-tamās or simply al-tamās. Thus, they were known as al-ṭalāṣhīn al-muḥamman-ān. The caliph al-ʿAzīz became the first ruler to appear with the banāk (Khitaf ii, 285) and eventually so did the vizier and the anwar (ibid., i, 449, 449). This fashion was introduced into the east by the Fatimids from the Maghrib, where it still may be seen, especially in southern Algeria and Morocco.

Another head covering which is first mentioned during this period is the kalasa or kalīta (cf. Lat. calasita, Fr. calotte, Pers. gālīta) which was a kind of cap (Khitaf i, 431). It became to be a standard item in Ayyubid and Mamlūk times (see e.g. al-Kalâshandi, al-Īdārī, i, 20, 25-2; al-Maqrizi, Khita i, 108).

The various modern studies dealing with Fatimid ceremonies draw mainly upon al-Maqrizi and to a lesser extent, on al-Kalâshandi and on Ibn Taḥfīz-Birdi, all three of whom depended upon the lost work of Ibn al-Tawārī. See K. A. Ineustratev, Torosovcvit vizečy Fatimidšták kňažiat ("The solemn entry of the Fatimid caliphs"), in Zapiski Pust. Otech. Imp. Russ. Arheol. Obschestva, xvii (St. Petersburg 1904); M. B. Zaki, Kunse al-Fatimī, Cairo, 1937. M. Canard, La cérémonie fāsimite et le ceremonial byzantin: essai deComparison, in Byzantion,.xxii/2 (1951), 355-420; idem, La procession du nouvel an est le chasr Fatimid, in AIEO, x (1955), 364-98; ʿA. M. Mājid, Ṣuṣur al-Fatimīyyin wa-rasūlmūkum fi Miṣr, ii, Cairo 1955.

6. The Geniza as a source for mediaeval Islamic attire. The Cairo Geniza manuscripts are an important and till recently, untapped source for the dress and ceremonies of the Fātimids, Ayyubids, and — to a lesser extent — Mamluks. In particular, the some 750 trouseau lists from the Geniza, in combination with ancillary Geniza records, offer a wealth of information on the attire of Jewish women in mediaeval Egypt, and by extension, the attire of Muslim women as well. Information for male costume comes from commercial documents, but is by no means as extensive or as detailed.

One fact stands out clearly—that Jewish and Muslim women dressed alike during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. The Geniza trouseau lists give every indication that the restrictive laws of qayār were not enforced. The same garments are mentioned as in the Islamic sources. There is no limitation in the Geniza as to colour and textile, rather there is the greatest variety of hues and diversity of fabrics. Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts (and most likely Copts as well) went veiled.

The Geniza documents show that the bourgeoisie consciously or unconsciously tried to imitate the modes and mores of the ruling class. Merchants, for example, bestowed khītā and firās garments upon relatives and friends. People of means wore all the precious fabrics known to us from the descriptions of the Fātimid ceremonies. Over sixty fabrics are mentioned in the Geniza. Of these, forty-six are known from the literary sources collected by Serjeant. Under the Fātimids and Ayyubids, the mercantile class indulged itself in many types of garments. The Geniza trouseau mention almost seventy items of women's clothing.

The Geniza has revealed the names and considerable data for more than two dozen garments which were hitherto unknown or only mentioned in isolated literary sources without any explanation or description. Among these are the ḥākānīyya and maḥādīma, both fine dresses; the ṣuṣur, a dress which first appears in late Ayyubid trouseaue and became popular in Mamlūk times, after which it seems to have disappeared; the ṭabāba, ṭari, muḥalaf, and ruba, all head scarves or shawls; and the waṣṣūn and ḥaṣī bi both belts or cummerbunds.

In addition to new names of garments and textiles, the Geniza has provided an entirely new vocabulary of patterns and adornments. Many of these designs can be correlated with those in manuscript illustrations (see Stillman, The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of mediaeval female attire, in IFMES viii (1976), 578-85).

There is also considerable new information on garments already known. For example, the saḥfī and the barakkān, both mantles, which have been in attested use in the Maghrib from medieval to modern times (al-Īdārī, Nushāt al-mugādī, ed. Dory and de Goeje, Leiden 1886, 59; al-ʿUmari, Maḥādīth al-nbhr, tr. Cadocrey-Demobynes, Paris 1927, 123) are shown to have been worn in Fātimid and Ayyubīd Egypt as well. No doubt they were brought
into the east after the Fatimid conquest in 969. The baday, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula (Dossy, *Fétehanc"s* 36-8), is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in medieval Egypt.

For the information provided by the Geniza on costumes, see W. K. Stilman, *Female attire of Medieval Egypt*; idem, The wardrobe of a Jewish bride in medieval Egypt, in *Studies in Marriages Customs*, ed. Ben-Ami and Noy, Folklore Research Center Studies, iv (Jerusalem 1974), 297-304; idem, The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire; idem, Ketubot ha-Gedolah ha-Makor ha-Levush ha-binat ha-Britayin, in *Histot Gedolah Kiihish*, ed. M. Friedman, Tel Aviv 1980, 149-60.

7. The early Turkish dynasties: Sabi'daks, Ayuybids, Mamluks. The Turkish military dynasties that controlled one part or another of the Middle East from the late 5th/11th to the early 10th/16th centuries brought with them many Central Asian styles, particularly in military and ceremonial attire. These, however, were the distinguishing costumes of the military elites. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected by these, tho these were the distinguishing costumes of the military elites. The fashion of dress of the native Arab population was little affected by these, tho these were the distinguishing costumes of the military elites.

Throughout much of this period, the typical outer garment for a member of the ruling class was any one of a variety of coats (shar'biyya). These were worn over the usual layers of under-shirts, the most common of which was the kandil'i. The undershirt was normally hidden by the outer garments, except in southern Iraq where it was cut long to extend below the coat above it.

The Sabi'daks and Ayuybids preferred the so-called Turkish coats (al-ab'biya al-turkiyya), the hem of which crossed the chest in a diagonal from right to left. The Mamluk amirs wore the Turan coats (al-ab'biya al-turkiyya) with the hem crossing the opposite way. Over the coat was worn a belt of metal plaquettes (huyasa) or a sash (hidual). Al-Mas'udzi (*Khamar ii*, 99) identifies the huyasa with the ancient minfaka, and states that there was a special market in Cairo (sak al-huwasa 'yu) devoted to the sale and manufacture of these belts. (For a finely preserved specimen of the huyasa, see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, pl. IX.)

For members of the upper classes, the sleeves of their coat were frequently indicative of rank and social status. The longer and more ample the sleeves, the higher the standing of the wearer.

The illustrations from Makmun, K. al-4-ladCD, and K. al-Diryak manuscripts from this period attest a wide variety of caps and turban styles. The normal headgear of the military class was a stiff cap with a triangular front. It was sometimes trimmed with fur (shar'biyy), and sometimes had a small kerchief bound around it to form a sort of turban (tafshziyya). The other most common cap was the kalawwi which was usually yellow under the Ayuybids, and red under the early Mamluks, and later red only (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 29).

The kalawwi and the shar'biyy were so much the distinctive mark of a Muslim knight that even a Crusader was prepared to wear them as a gesture of friendship to Salih al Din (Ibn al-Ashir, xl, 51-2).

Under the Mamluks, two other popular short sleeved coats were the hughalash (also huchalash) and the salardiyiya. These were made of a variety of fabrics and frequently were lined with fur. Such a coat was sometimes worn under an ample outer robe (faradjiyya).

Eventually, some of the garments which were at first the mark of the military aristocracy were imitated by the middle classes. The hughalash, for example, appears in several Geniza documents.

The only comprehensive study of the attire of any of the dynasties of this period is L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, where there is an extensive bibliography.

Shorter, general studies include: Mayer, *Al-Asyut fi l-huyasa al-asar*a, in *Al-Kulliyya* (1932), 438-69; idem, *Saracen arms and armor*, in *Ar. X* (1943), 1-12; M. V. Gorelik, *op. cit.* (men's dress only). A. M. Madijd, *Nusma dawdul sabti' al-Mamlah wa-nusma dawdul Confroi*, i, Cairo 1967, 64-87, has a chapter on Mamluk attire which, however, adds little to Mayer's work.

8. The Ottoman period (to early modern times). As far as the costume history of the region is concerned, the Ottoman conquest of the Arab East in the early 10th/16th century marked a continuation of the preceding period, rather than an abrupt change. Ceremonial and military dress remained Turkish (see below, section iv). Some Ottoman fashions were adopted by members of the urban elite, as for example, the Turkish-style khatun for men and the long, tightly-fitted coat known as the yelek for women. Turkish synonyms came into common use for certain items of clothing alongside, but not necessarily replacing, the native Arabic equivalents (e.g. eshkab for sinawd and yashmak for faradj). But on the whole, Arab styles and Arabic terminology prevailed. The vestimentary system remained essentially the same.

Outside of the principal, metropolitan swaths of administration, distinct regional styles predominated. These regional distinctions were—and this remains true today—in those places where traditional costumes are still worn—most striking in female attire. Men's clothing was more or less uniform throughout much of the Middle East during the Ottoman period. This was due in part to the fact that men were physically and socially more mobile than women and came to have a more pan-Middle Eastern style of dress. Thus when a plate from E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (London 1836) appeared in a book on Syria with the added caption "A Syrian gentleman with pipe and inkwell, ca. 1860", the inaccuracy was only minor.

9. The last one hundred years: the impact of the West on traditional Middle Eastern
dress. The ever-increasing Western economic, political, and cultural penetration into the Middle East in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century had a marked impact on the costume in the preceding centuries (see K. A. Stillman, *The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco*, *in Aspects of Jewish folklore*, ed. D. Noy, Cambridge, Mass. 1979).

By the end of the 19th century, the "to veil or not to veil" question had become one of the burning issues for modernist reformers such as Khin Am in (his *Tabbiris-murāt*, Cairo 1901). It also became a burning issue for the small but growing Egyptian feminist movement. Huda Sha'rawi, the famous Egyptian feminist, is supposed to have solemnly cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she returned home in 1923 from a woman's congress in Rome (see H. A. Hourani, *The vanishing veil: a challenge to the old order*, in UNESCO Courier [January 1956], 37). Her symbolic action was soon followed by many upper and upper-middle class women, but not by women of the lower-middle class, which remained the last stronghold of tradition (see Y. K. Stillman, *Attitudes toward women in traditional Near Eastern societies*, in *S. D. Goitein Festschrift*, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami and N. A. Stillman, English-language volume, Jerusalem 1981, 345-60).

Muslim men abandoned traditional attire more rapidly than Muslim women. This is due to the male's greater physical and social mobility, as noted above. The first Muslim men to adopt the European costume were members of the bureaucracy and the upper class who were in direct contact with westerners and who, in many cases, had visited Europe. Such individuals were referred to as "westernizers" (Ar. mutafarif) and "westernised gentry" (Tur. alfarzga Erlebiyer). Throughout the 19th century they remained a small minority. However, after the First World War the change became rapid (see e.g. R. Tresse, *La révolution du costume des clôitres en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; Idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrobalans depuis un siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lxx-1xxi [1939], 259-81, 259-84).

One aspect of the male wardrobe that has resisted change even where the transition to Western attire has been more or less complete is the headgear. It is still common to see men dressed in a Western suit, wearing a fez zeyt, a torbaj, or a kššyya. This is due to the traditional importance of covering the head and to the fact that the headcovering (originally the turban) was considered a badge of Islam. The kššyya, which was in the last century most commonly worn by Bedouin and peasants in many parts of the Middle East, has in recent years taken on a nationalistic connotation comparable to that of the fez in Ottoman Turkey under the Young Turks. The chequered kššyya is today the badge of the Palestinian commandoes (see Y. K. Stillman, *Palestinian costume and jewelry*, Albuquerque 1979, 16). The traditional *üzama* is now worn almost exclusively by members of the *idāma* in the Middle East (although in the Maghrib, and in particular in Morocco, it is still commonly worn even by men who have adopted Western dress. See below, section ii). However, after the First World War the change was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries (see e.g. R. Tresse, *La révolution du costume des clôitres en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; Idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrobalans depuis un siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lxx-1xxi [1939], 259-81, 259-84).

Most Christian and Jewish women abandoned the veil a full generation or more before their Muslim counterparts. One factor which facilitated their abandoning the veil so much earlier was that the segregation of women in the non-Muslim communities was never as strict as it was among Muslims, nor was the non-Muslims' style of veiling quite as total even in the preceding centuries (see e.g. R. Tresse, *La révolution du costume des clôitres en Syrie depuis le XIXe siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lx [1938], 1-16, 76-82; Idem, *L'évolution du costume des citadins syrobalans depuis un siècle*, in *La Geographie*, lxx-1xxi [1939], 259-81, 259-84).

Outside the major cities, traditional costumes are still commonly worn, but they are losing ground rapidly in many places. Even among some Bedouin, European garments are gradually displacing traditional clothing (see L. Stein, *Beduinen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* (1952), 41-2). The one area which has successfully maintained its traditional style of dress in all levels of society is the Arabian Peninsula. Any sort of country-by-country survey of the traditional garments still worn—or worn until recently—in the Arab East would be outside the scope of this article. Western travellers to the Middle East over the past two-and-a-half centuries have provided lengthy and detailed descriptions of native costumes. In addition to these, there have appeared in recent years a number of scholarly monographs on various aspects of Middle Eastern costume (see Bibl.). What follows is the alphabetical glossary of some of the more common articles of clothing still worn in the Arab East in the 20th century:

**GLOSSARY**

*šāhā*: coat, shoulder mantle, worn by both sexes (Arabia Peninsular, Egypt, 'Irāk, Syria-Palestine)

*šāhā*: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, worn by men (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

*šāfā*: a lined vest ranging from short to knee length, worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

*barkaz*: a narrow, diaphanous sort of veil, often embroidered, worn by both sexes by itself or under the head-dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.); called *šarādham* in 'Irāk

*bāq*: folded scarf worn by women (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

*bābū*: Oriental slippers of soft leather (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

*bādan*: cotton or silk man's gown (Ar. Pen.)

*bāgh*: a wide-sleeved man's coat (Ar. Pen., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

*bāgh*: mantle, jacket, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

*bāb*: ringed cord or rope to go over the head scarf, syn. with *šāhā* (Syr.-Pal.); banding for loin cloth, syn. with *hāne* (Ar. Pen.)

*būرد*: heavy, woolen hooded cloak worn by men, imported from the Maghrib (Eg.)

*būrā*: woman's face veil (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

*būrg*: variety of *šāfā* made in N. Syria (Syr.-Pal.)

*būl*: black face veil worn by women (Ir.)

*bāshā*: Turkish-style pantaloons, underdrawers, worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

*dāmir*: a woman's jacket with short sleeves, syn. with *tahrira* (Syr.-Pal.)

*dīfya*: a heavy winter cloak for men (Eg.)

*dīla*: the patched garment of *Ś̱ stamina* (Syr.), also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

*diffiya*: a heavy winter cloak for men (Eg.)
Alālīyya: the loose body shirt still commonly worn by men in Egypt.

Alālīyya: embroidered Alūbba, a wedding costume may be a dress or a coat depending upon the region, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.); a man’s narrow kāﬁūn (Yemen)

Alūbba: a coat-like outer garment worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Alūzā, Alūžā: a wide-sleeved coat worn by men (Syr.-Pal.)

Arūra: a woman’s outer coat, open in front, sometimes syn. with Alūbba (Syr.-Pal.)

Arūlānīyya: a long-sleeved man’s robe (Eg.)

Arūlīyya: a woman’s dress (Syr.-Pal.)

Alīdānīyya: a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with jewels, worn on top of a woman’s headress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Alḵa: veil, head scarf, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.) also syn. with dilm of Śīna.

Aluﬀ: short boots or leather outer socks (Ar. Pen., Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Alowr: a man’s belt (Ir.)

Alīr: a variety of Šaﬀ (Syr.-Pal.)

Alāmūn: a jacket with long, wide sleeves, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

Alūnūb: overgarment, gown, made of striped silk, worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

Alūr, Alūrā: a metallic cap or crown, often studded with jewels, worn on top of a woman’s headdress (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Alūfja: man’s turban cloth (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

Alūfī: long bands of cloth attached to a hat and in which woman’s hair is wrapped (Syr.-Pal.)

Lūā: a woman’s head scarf of white silk or cotton net into which flat metal strips have been decoratively hammered (Syr.-Pal.)

Liūb: pants, underpants, worn by both sexes (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

Liūbba, Liūbba: a belt cap worn by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Mātul: a variety of Šawb worn by Jordanian women (Syr.-Pal.)

Marīnā: head scarf worn by Bedouin women (Ar. Pen.)

Mandil: a woman’s head scarf, veil (Syr.-Pal.); an embroidered kerchief hung from the waist sash by men (Ir.)

Mawās: syn. with Šarrāhiyya (Ar. Pen.)

Morāhīb: pointed man’s shoes of thick red Morocco (Eg.)

Māhīla: a variety of Šabā‘ made in Baghdad (Ir.)

Māst: long stocking of soft, yellow leather, inner shoe worn by both sexes (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Muṣ‘ūm: a fine Šabā‘ of white wool for men, produced in Baghdad (Ir.)

Mīṣūm: a general word for shoe used throughout the Middle East.

Zabīla: a loose gown worn by women, synonymous with Šarīb (Eg.)

Saffa: a small embroidered bonnet trimmed with coins, worn by women (Syr.-Pal.)

Sabhā: a woollen or velvet coat for women (Syr.-Pal.)

Salfa: a jacket worn by both sexes (Syr.-Pal.)

Kāfiṭaṭṭa: a variety of Šabā‘ made in Hasbaya (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Kabūḍa: a man’s leather belt (Syr.-Pal.)

Kabīr: a man’s shawl, usually of wool (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

Kabīna: synonymous with sīrādī (Ir.)

Kambar: a large veil common to the Hebron area and southern Palestine

Kasīriyya: a black face veil of goat’s wool or horse hair, worn by women (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

Kabīth: the winding cloth of a turban (Syr.-Pal.)

Kasīriyya: a variety of Ḍalīb (Eg.); a skull cap worn beneath the Ḍalīb (Syr.-Pal.)

Kawwā: Bethlehem married woman’s hat

Kawwār, Kawwār: a black, enveloping outer wrap for women (Ar. Pen., Ir.)

Kāntīyān: woman’s pants or pantaloons (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Khafūf: a head scarf of Bedouin women (Ar. Pen., Syr.-Pal.)

Khuṣṣa, Khuṣṣa: woman’s hat, usually woven of goat’s hair, quite ornate, worn mainly in Southern Palestine

Khuṣṣa: sleeveless vest worn by both sexes (Ir., Syr.-Pal.)

Kāmādū: a variety of Šawb made by men (Eg., Syr.-Pal.)

Kuﬀa: a short, sleeveless vest, worn by men (Eg.)

Kibīyya: the common skull cap worn by both sexes alone or under the head dress (Ar. Pen., Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)
The Muslim West, which in the Middle Ages included Spain and Sicily as well as North Africa, became generally the Arabo-Mediterranean vestimentary system, whose common unifying factors are rectangular tunics and loose outer wraps. Within this system, however, there has always been a great deal of regional, ethnic, and socioeconomic variation. The Maghrib has been noted since the time of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 7th century for its own particular styles in dress, as in other aspects of material culture. The reasons for this can be conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the physical distance of the Maghrib from the Muslim-Arab heartlands; (2) the indigenous Berber element, which always remained strong; (3) in the case of Spain, the large native Iberian population and the propriety of Christian territory; (4) the absence of the Persian 'Abbāb class; and (5) the very late arrival of the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria (and their total absence from Morocco).

Since much of the information concerning medieval Arab costume—nomenclature, style, customs and institutions—applies to the Maghribi centres of urban culture in the Middle Ages, this article will deal only briefly with this period, concentrating on the uniquely Maghribi aspects of its costume history. Most of the article will deal with the period extending from the last Middle Ages to modern times, or approximately the last 700 years, which, it should be pointed out, has been the subject of more study than that devoted to Middle Eastern costume history for all periods combined. A glossary and an extensive bibliography by country follow at the end.

1. Pre-Islamic foundations of Maghribi costume. When the Arab conquests reached North Africa, Punic and Byzantine influences were still alive in the cities and towns. The countryside may also have had some Punic elements, but was overwhelmingly—if not exclusively—Berber. Even in Classical times, North Africa was noted for its distinctive style of dress. Greek and Roman authors considered the natives to be barbarians because they wore only an animal skin draped over the left shoulder covering the front and back. Garments of soft leather reminiscent of the soft leather from goatskin (which in European languages is called morocco, maroquin, etc.) were also mentioned as being worn, and indeed, some archaeological remnants have been found (see S. Geigel, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, Paris 1927, 22-35, where numerous sources are cited). Both this simple style of draping and the use of leather garments continued among the Berbers well into modern times.

The most striking feature of North African clothing in Roman times was the flowing, unbelted tunic. Roman and Byzantine sources mention the uncincted tunic frequently and in the same attributional way that they note the trousers of the European and Asiatic barbarians. Thus, for example, Virgil speaks of his nomadum genus et disiectas Miletii Aegypti (Aeneid, viii, 724), and Corippus, the 6th-century poet of the Byzantine reconquest, says even more explicitly: Nauca tunicae manuere ornant sua brachia Mauri! Invita non ullos stringuntur cingula bullifer Distinctaque . . . (Johannides, ii, 130-1). The basic Maghribi tunics such as the Tunisian kandah, the Algerian 'adhya, and the Moroccan gandora all fit this type. Though ample and uncincted, the tunics of the pre-Islamic period seemed to have been short, not falling below the thigh. Similar short, simple garments were common in Berber areas such as the Moroccan Rif and the Algerian Mzab into the early 20th century.

Another distinctive feature of North African attire which continued to be a hallmark of Maghribi style in the Islamic period is the hooded cloak, called burnus (bordes) in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and anfal and abhif and less commonly burnus in Morocco. Geigel (op. cit., p. vi, 24-6) sees the origin of the burnus in the zugen, the simple wool cloak worn by the
Roman legionaire, E. F. Gauthier (Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs, repr. Paris 1952, p. 1) pointed to an even more similar garment, the *barani*, a travelling cloak to which a hood (excusul) was generally attached. Philologically, the word *burnus* is probably derived from Greek and Latin *burnus* (S. Faenel, Die arabischen Kleiderformschriften im Coptic Museum in Cairo, H. Helb, 1962, 50 f., where an interesting connection is made with *sawm* on p. 51, n. 2). The term *burnus* existed in early Islamic Arabia, where it usually designated a bonnet (see Libās, 1). The North African *burnus*-cloak was palpably different. When the Arabs invaded the Maghrib, they distinguished between two great Berber groups, whom they called the Barbiris and the Butûn (Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, vi, 89 f.). W. Marpáis (Articles et conférences, Paris 1961, 74) has suggested very plausibly—albeit with caution—that these names might reflect not genealogical or ethnic groups, but rather physical appearance; i.e., those Berbers who wore hooded garments (*barânis*), and those who wore short garments (*butûs*), most likely without hoods. The ubiquity of *burnus* in the Maghrib may originally have been due to the fact that the Barbiris in Antiquity and for the first few centuries under Islam wore no caps or headcloths (e.g. Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, vi, 89; see Marpáis, *Ibar*, vi, 89-90, 92 f. *et passim*). Furthermore, some Berbers shaved all or part of the head (Gsell, *op. cit.*, 16-18, for classical sources; cf. also Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, vi, 89). *BarUtility, yata'khadhinâ bi l-bali*.

One last distinctive feature that may be traced back to pre-Islamic times is the large wrapping cloth used as an outer garment by both men and women (albeit in quite different ways) from Libya to Morocco. This wrap which is known by various names, the *milbâfâl*, *kisda*, *zhudâk*, and *ribkâm*, is probably derived from Greek and Latin *cucullus* (see W. R. Waddell, Ithaca, 1967, 241-71). The 4th/10th-century geographer Al-Makfarî observed that Maghribis dressed in the Egyptian fashion (ma-ši 'I-Maghrib rusumunum mi'mirîya—*that which here refers to custom in the fashion of the place*). The many references to clothing in *Ifrîkiya* collected by H. R. Idrîs for the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries correlate fairly well with what is known of Middle Eastern attire during that period (Idris, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, ii, 394-600).

The only items that were distinctly Maghribi were the *kisda*, the *kurîziya* (from *erb, takîzat*; see Dozy, *Véténements*, 338-20) which was a simple winding cloth for the head, and the *hâbî* (sing. *hâbî*), native cork-soled sandals (Dozy, *Véténements*, 352 f.; I. S., *Suppl.*, ii, 334; Idris, *op. cit.*, 597; cf. Sp. *alcorque*). According to al-Muqaddasî (*op. cit.*, 239), even the traditional Arab *ribâl* was worn draped like a *kisda* or *burnus*.

The early Umayyad *amîr* in Spain tried as best they could to maintain the material culture of Syria, and it may be safely assumed that the dress of the small Arab elite and their epigones (musta'ribûn) remained generally faithful to the styles of the Damauscs capulhats. The newer Islamic styles with their oriental influences became the fashion of the upper classes when the Idrîd singer Ziryûb [cf. *zir*] arrived at the court of Cordova in 970/1082, where he established himself as the Andalusian Petronius. He was not only the arbiter elegantiarum in regard to the cut, colour, and fabric of clothes, but established the proper season for each outfit (al-Makkarî, *Anecdotes*, ii, 68, citing Ibn Hayyân). It was he who established the *ghûbâ* as the standard robe for both sexes. One eastern fashion which only took limited root in Spain was the wearing of the turban (*jâmidâ*), which was reserved mainly for the *fukâhê*. Bare heads or heads crowned with a red or green wool cap (*ghâdira*) were commonplace for much of the Spanish population of all classes. Most of the figures that appear in the genre scenes on carved ivory pyxes from Umayyad Spain appear to be bareheaded (see E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, Pl. 22; W. M. Watt and P. Cauhan, *The history of Islamic Spain*, Edinburgh 1955, Pls. 1-7) and the *fukâhê* and the *jâmidâ* were also in vogue after the arrival of Ziryûb (for details on both, see Libās, section 1). The last *Amrâd* *hâdîb* 'Abd al-Rahmân. Sanchesco increased his already great unpopularity in 997/1099 by ordering courtiers to wear turbans in the style worn by the Berber military (Ibn *Ibarri*, iii, 48). The style was soon abandoned when two months later his rule came to its violent end.

There was with the passage of time considerable intermingling of styles between the Christian North and the Muslim South. The Spanish peasant's frock, *s⁄or* in *Ar. shuraba* (from *Lat. sagum*) was commonly worn in the countryside (*Lêvi-Provencal, Hist. Esp. mus.,* iii, 425; Dozy, *Véténements*, 212 f.). Soldiers were a scarlet cape (*hâbî*) similar to that worn in Christian territory (*Lêvi-Provencal, op. cit.*, iii, 429; Dozy, *op. cit.*, 360; obviously derived from Sp. *capa or capas* and not from Pers. *hâbî*, concerning which see L. S. and V. D. sections 1 and 7 of the Oriental fashion). It progressively gave way—perhaps as a partial corollary to the Reconquista—to a uniquely Andalusian style or cut (*lafs*). By the 7th/11th century, an Easterner in the turban and robes of the Levant was regarded as a curiosity (*Lêvi-Provencal, op. cit.*, iii, 492).

It is interesting to note that although Muslim
women in Spain wore the various veils used in the Middle East, such as the biyaa, burha, mizaa, and i'ad (see e.g. H. Perès, *La poésie andalusoise, en Arabe classique au XIIe siècle*, Paris 1953, 129, 180, 237), they were not always too strict about it. They knew that Al-Muhtasib, a popular gathering place for women in Cordova, and fell in love with her at first sight. Although she was unveiled, he did not know whether she was slave or free (Ibn Hazm, *Ta'li al-banama*, ed. H.K. al-Sayyafi, Cairo n.d., 224). The rogueish Ibn Khuzaima [q.v.] tells of a married Berber woman he met and with whom he had an affair. She is described as wearing only a garland on her head (J. T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974, 256). Jurists complained of the heretical innovation among the common people whereby a man allows his wife or fiancée to unveil in front of someone other than an immediate male relative (Ibn Abd al-Rahman, *Risala fi idds al-bisha wa al-mi'athis*, tr. R. Atiyeh, in *Hesp.*/Tunisia, 103; op. cit., para 56; also Ibn 'Abdun, *Risala fi al-bayhaq wa al-bisha*, tr. Lévi-Provençal, *Scènes musulmanes au début du XIIe siècle*, Paris 1947, 59, para. 53).

3. The Berber Empires and their successor states. Middle Eastern influences in Maghribi dress—as in other aspects of material culture—declined greatly from the late 5th/6th century onward. Indigenous Berber and Spanish influences became stronger than ever. The major factors in the increasing instability, and the overall decline of Muslim sea power, Lastly, the urban centres of high culture in Ifrikiya which had set the fashion for much of North Africa were in ruins after the invasion of the Banū Hild Bedouin. Further west, Morocco was a centre of power and Spain a centre of culture. Once united, they would become the focal point of style for the rest of the Maghrib.

The rise of the Almoravids paralleled in a sense a contemporary phenomenon in the East. They wore a non-Arab ruling elite who wore their own distinguishing uniform. They dressed in Saharan Berber fashion, and are described as being unrecognized by Mediterranean civilization (al-Bakrî, K. al-Maghrib al-'ilmi bi'dil Ifrikiya wa al-Maghrib, ed. de Sane, Algiers 1857, 164 f.; also Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi, 181). The main feature setting the Almoravids apart from their subjects was their face veil (biyaa [q.v.], which masked the lower half of their face, hence their nickname of al-mu'mināt huma. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi, 197 f.) notes that many Saharan people were mutilated even in his own day. The style was essentially the same as that of the modern Tuaregs. Almoravid dress was not for the subject population. In fact, Ibn 'Abdun (op. cit., 61 f., para. 56) warns against permitting even the other Berbers in the service of the Almoravids to wear the biyaa in the streets of Seville because of the fear it struck in the population. The Almoravids also wore the sa'īda and harīrī. There were some Andalusians who donned these items in order to ingratiate themselves with their new masters, even though their own compatriots laughed at them (Ibn Abdur-Rahman al-Sayyafi, in *Doxy*, Recherches, i, p. 105).

The Andalusians found little to copy from the Almoravids. However, the latter found a great deal worthy of emulation in Spanish civilisation. Under Almoravid rule, Andalusian culture spread into Morocco together with, certainly, Andalusian fashions. This movement of styles across the Straits of Gibraltar mostly from north to south would continue under the Almoravids and in varying degrees under their successors.

The rise of the Almohads had a more direct and lasting influence in Maghribi costume history. The Mahdi Ibn Tûrât's [q.v.] purification extended to matters of dress. His biographer al-Baydak relates that on his return home from the East, the Mahdi upbraided the people of Ifrikiya for wearing sandals with gilded laces (al-abrawr al-sarrariyya) and turbans not in the Muslim fashion (manki'm al-'alihliyya) and for men wearing fudhliyya, which was apparently a tunic normally for women (al-Abbâr al-Ma'mūriyya, ed. in Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 52, Ar. text). The prudish Mahdi had to cover his face when passing among and unveiled female lūbun vendors in the streets of Tucen (ibid., 61). His full wrath was heaped upon the Almohad rulers themselves. In the Friday mosque of Marrakesh, he called the veiled amir and his retinue "veiled slavegirls" (ibid., 68; qari'm al-mahashabha). When he encountered the princess al-Suhr unveiled as customary among Almoravid women, he reproached her so severely that she went crying to her brother the amir (Ibn Khaldûn, *Ibar*, vi, 227).

Like all Berbers, the Almohads wore the burrias (also burjâ'a) and the kisî' (al-Baydak, *Op. cit., 72 f.). They normally wore the form of turban known as kuziyya (ibid., 81). Under the Hafidhs, the descendants of the great Almohad families were the bayâqun with the ends criss-crossed in front like the Arab letters ka'f and fâd watching the Almoravids. *La Berbérie* (R. Brunschvig, ed. in Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1927, ii, 278). It was not long before the early Almohad simplicity in dress gave way to the luxuries of al-Andalus. They bestowed magnificent robes of honour (châila samiyya) upon their favourites (al-Marrakushi, K. al-Ma'ullâj fi talka'a akhbar al-Magrib, ed. Dozy, *Lettres 1851, 175, 184, 230*).

From the Almohad period onwards, veiling for women was more strictly observed throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain. The Almohads also instituted one of the most unusual applications of the laws of *ṣiyyah* [q.v.]. Suspecting the sincerity of the large number of Jews who had converted to Islam under duress, the caliph Abû Yusuf ordered that all these neophytes should wear distinguishing clothing consisting of blue-black garments (ṣiyāh kuhliyya) with exaggeratedly wide sleeves (akmdtn mufrifat al-safâ) which reached to the ground, and ludicrous caps (ka'lbâiti 'all adhama 'ghirra) that resembled peak saddles and were worn among Almohads by even the ears (al-Marrakushi, op. cit., 223). His son and successor Abû 'Abd Allâh changed the uniform to yellow garments and yellow turbans (ibid.). It may be considered part of the Almoravid heritage that in Morocco throughout the later Middle Ages and until modern times, the dress code for Jews was one of the most strictly applied in the Muslim world (see N.A.

There were no great changes in Maghribi fashion with the passing of the Almohads. The Hašids in Tunisia, the Zayyáns in Algeria, and the Marinids in Morocco were all in a sense successors rather than suppliants of the Almohads. The information on Tunisian dress culled by Brunschvig (Dafâ'sides, ii, 376-82) correlates well with what is known from the preceding period. Local names for special varieties of garments appear more frequently now, as for example, bâarâkân, the heavy wrap for men and the safâr, the light wrap for women. Both are mentioned as being commonly worn in Tunisia (ibid., 276, 280), and both are known from earlier centuries as well (see Y. K. Stillman, Female attire of medieval Egypt, 42 f., 62 f.). Leo Africanus's [q.v.] description of clothing worn in Marinid Fez also shows considerable continuity in the general outlines (Description de l'Afrique, tr. A. Epaudard, Paris 1936, i, 207 f.). He does note that the learned doctors and gentlemen wore jackets with large sleeves like upper-class Venetians. He also mentions that women's trousers for outdoor covered the entire leg. Furthermore, he notes that the latter are always veiled with a large wrap covering the head and the entire body (bêtâk) as well as with a face veil (lîkànû) covering all but the eyes (ibid., 208).

Clothes are mentioned by the Marinid historian Ibn al-Nadim (Rawdat al-âlâm fi dunâd Bani Martin, Rabat 1382/1962, 25) in connection with the popular Moroccan belief in barâk, the blessedness of a charismatic individual. The Amir 'Abd al-Hâjs b. Mahdâw was considered by the Žâdâtta to be a possessor of barâk and a muhaddih al-dâ'î (one whose prayers are answered). His kalâmsûwa and sârêti would be sent to women in difficult labour to ease the birth.

With the passing of the Almohads, the Muslims of Spain abandoned the turbans they had briefly worn (al-Umâri, Masâlik al-âlâm fi masâlik al-umâm, tr. Gauldroy-Demonvalls, Paris 1929, 234). Multicoloured garments were popular. The wealthy wore garments of the fine gilded silk (al-mâzâk al-mâhâfiz) produced in Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga or special silk cloths (al-âlibîs al-umâharrû) called mulâshâd mulâshâtan ("felted, checked") made in Granada and Basta (al-Mâkârî, Analectes, i, 123). R. Arie has noted that fashion of the neighbouring Christian kingdoms also influenced the mode of Andalusian dress in the early days of the Nasrids (L'Espace musulman au temps des Nasrides, 382).

The sâbî (Ar. âshâ) mentioned above was worn not only by peasants, but even by the Nasrid monarch when out riding (ibid.). The marloû (Ar. mahâlû) a sleeved outer garment whose precise details are vague, and the capellûs (Ar. kâhilû), a hooded cloak shorter than the bârâns, were among the new fashions (ibid., 356).

4. From the end of the Middle Ages to modern times. The basic outlines of Maghribi costume remained quite constant from the end of the Middle Ages up to and well into the period of colonial domination. Certain new fashion elements were brought into the region by the Turks in Tunisia and Algeria and by the Moriscos and Jewish refugees from Spain in these countries and Morocco as well. Most of the clothing innovations which they introduced remained particular to their own ethnic group. Thus, for example, the dîjâlûs (Sp. pirâdetas), a whirling skirt, was worn in Morocco only by Jewish and Andalusian women (see Y. K. Stillman, The costume of the Jewish woman in Morocco, in Studies in Jewish Folklore, ed. Talmaige, Cambridge, Mass. 1980, 350, 355, i, 30). The high, brimless hats known as jâfârû and jâfârûta in Algeria were part of the uniform of the Turkish military elite (Marçais, Costume d'Algérie, 35â), and as late as the 18th century, the Turkish-style dâilûs was not permitted to native North Africans (ibid., 53). Nevertheless, Ottoman modes of dress did make themselves felt in the urban centres of Algeria and Tunisia. The jâlûko (Turk. jaleko) was very popular in Algeria, and the high, split cone, metal head piece, known as the şärma, became a general fashion for women in Algeria and Tunisia (ibid., 116-119, and Pls. xxix, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii). Likewise, the gâbûdû, or dâshûfû, a short coat brought by Jews and Andalucians became widespread in the cities of Morocco and Algeria, and in Morocco was manufactured exclusively by Jewish tailors (see Brunot, Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat, in Mélanges René Basset, i, 97 f.).

Most remarkable is the conservative nature of draping patterns in men's clothing, which as we have seen goes back to the world of Antiquity. Also interesting to note is the widespread use of fibulas to fasten garments. The Maghribi fibula, called lîsâmûna, nhâllû, bâjîfûya, and in Berber bâsûmnû, lîzâsû, and later, has been shown to go back to Antique prototypes (H. Camps-Fabrica, L'origine des fibules berbéres d'Afrique du Nord, in Mélanges Le Tourneau = ROMM, nos. 13-14 [1973], 217-30).

However, traditional attire is—as in the case of the Middle East—losing ground rapidly to Western dress, particularly in the major cities and towns where more than half the population now resides.

GLOSSARY

al-âhân: large outer wrap for Berber men (Mor.)

alâbû: a sleeveless, long overblouse for men; a sleeveless, flowing dress for women (Alg.)
al-âbrâ: bandana for women (S. Mor.)

al-âkhûsir, kâsîf: Berber cape, hooded for men, unhooded for women (S. Mor.)
al-âlîsûya: skull-cap for men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
al-âlûdû: flat slippers for both sexes (entire Maghr.)
al-âlûwûdû: embroidered head shawl for women (Tun.)
al-ârâhân: large enveloping outer wrap for both sexes (Lib.)
al-âlûîya: sleeveless vest for men (entire Maghr.); a sleeveless kâtûfûn for women (Mor.)
al-âlûsîa: flat slippers, usually pointed at the toe, but sometimes rounded, worn by both sexes (entire Maghr.)
al-ârâsû: large hooded cape for men (entire Maghr.)
al-âbûkû: woman's hat (entire Maghr., but different in each country)
al-âbûsû: body shirt for both sexes (Mor.)
al-âdûsû: jacket for men (Alg.)
al-âdîsû: a vest (Lib., Tun.); an old threadbare garment (Mor.)
al-âdîja: a pair of men's leather leggings (Tun.)
al-âdîkûs, al-âdîshûsû, al-âdîbûsû: Hooded outer robe with long sleeves; originally worn by men only; now by both sexes (mainly Mor., also W. Alg.)
al-âdîsûsû: full-length, sack-like chemise without sleeves (Tun.)
al-âbûkû: a long, woollen outer robe without sleeves or collar which is closed by a single button at the neck; worn by men (Mor., Alg., Tun.)
al-âbûkû: a pointed bonnet for women (Tun.)
**Veil**: a light gauze with a deep slit at the breast which may or may not have sleeves and is worn under the *hijab* or garment by both sexes (Mor.). It also comes in a half-length version called *niqab*.

**Hijab**: a garment similar to the *farajiyaa* for men only (Alg., Tun.).

**Furka**: vest for elderly men (Alg.).

**Hijab**: a white cloth wound about the head leaving the crown uncovered (Mor.).

**Kabīda**: a simple, wide tunic consisting of a hole over other clothing (Mor.).

**Kabīda**: a sleeveless outer robe for women (Mor., Alg.).

**Belt**: a man's waistcoat with long, straight sleeves (Mor., Alg., Tun.).

**Niqab**: face veil for married women, often synonymous with *hijab* (Mor., Alg.).

**Ribiyaa**: flat leather slippers worn by both sexes (Mor., Alg., Tun.).

**Rasa**: a small, rather flat turban (Mor.).

**Safrani**: large outer wrap for women (Tun., Lib.).

**Ayesa**: a skirt (N. Mor.); a dress (S. Mor.)

**Sibniyya**: a berber scarf for both sexes (Mor., Alg.).

**Kabīda**: a man's jacket with long sleeves (Mor.).

**Sibniyya**: a man's headscarf (Mor., Alg.).

**Sibniyya** (= *sadrīyya*): a man's waistcoat (entire Maghr.).

**Sibniyya**: a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth (Mor.).

**Djarība**: a jacket for both sexes (entire Maghr.).

**Djarība**: a simple, sleeveless, square-cut men's tunic (Alg.).

**Fajil**: a man's waistcoat with long sleeves (Mor.).

**Biet**: a Berber turban consisting of a white cloth (Mor.).

**Kasiba**: a man's jacket with long sleeves (Mor.).

**Kasiba**: a simple, sleeveless, square-cut man's tunic (Alg.).

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AU Andalus, *Quercus* Hist. lxxv (1934), 43.


II. - IRAQ

Iranian costume belongs to a completely different vestimentary system than does Arab costume. The most salient features have shown remarkable con-
sistency from pre-Achaemenid to modern times. Whereas Arab costume (see i. above) is marked by rectangular tunics and loose wraps, Iranian clothing has traditionally featured tailored garments that include a sleeveless coat of varying length and ample-
ness (khâl), long, straight trousers (zhafar) or leggings (pây-dabâ or râm), close-fitting boots (mûsâ, khaʹlî, ṣâfâ, or ça:bâ), and a high or medium high soft cap (khâlî or ṣafânid, the latter perhaps a descendant of the ancient kyrbahis). This type of attire is typical of other equestrian peoples from the steppes of Inner Asia, such as the Scythians, and also of the Phrygians, and is consistent both with the harsh arid climate of the ancient Parthian and their pastoral way of life. It also shows strong affinities with the clothing of other Indo-Aryan peoples who moved further west, such as the Germans. This sort of clothing was also convenient to the calvary warfare practised by these peoples. Floving robes were also worn, but mainly as royal or priestly dress for ceremo-
nial occasions. Women, like men, wore coats or jackets (haḵûb or nîn tan) and trousers or a skirt (dêmân), with however, a chemise (pirhân) or tunic (dêmân), a word which like Ar. tâqit also designates an underskirt or jacket without a close fit. (See also ii.)


1. The Umayyad and Abâbids periods.

During the Umayyad period (747), which had for centuries been part of the Persian cultural sphere, became arabised. Traditional Persian modes of dress remained in the Iranian heartlands and in Trans-
oxania. Despite the fact that Umayyad rulers adopted elements of Iranian costume for themselves and their court (see e.g. R. Fittinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Laden 1972, 21, 30-3), they did not permit the Arab fighting men on duty in the Persian territories to don Iranian clothing.

Soldiers who put on the Persian-style cuirass (tëshâb) and leggings (mûsâ) were punished (B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 351). However, by late Umayyad times the Arabs settled in Khurasân were becoming increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and it may be assumed, had adopted many elements of native attire.

The rise of the ‘Abbâbids, the founding of Baghdad, and the increasing importance of Persian modæ in the civil service, made Irãk a zone of assimilation where Iranian and Arabo-Hellenistic styles fused, with Iranian elements passing westward and Arab styles and terminology eastward. There is a frequent over-
lap in the New Persian vestimentary vocabulary of Arabic and Iranian terms (e.g. Ar. ūdâ becomes a common synonym for Pers. pâshâ). Nevertheless, native Iranian styles remained distinctive well into the ‘Abbâbids period, as noted by the Arab geographers (e.g. al-Mukaddasî, 356-7). For other sources, see P. Schwartz, *Iran in Middle Ages*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 140-2, 404-5, 424-6, and 834-5. Among the more particular Iranian fashions in Arab eyes were the wearing of boots (khârûf) in summer as well as in winter (al-Mukaddasî, 357), the unique cold weather clothing (ibid., 325), and the extensive use of the jayâlsân, or headshawl worn over the turban, by religious scholars and notables in the northern and eastern parts of Iran and even by the common folk in Fârs (ibid., 337, 440).
Throughout the Abbāsid period—as in earlier and later times as well—Iran was noted for its fine textiles. For a thorough survey of Persian textile production in this period, see R. B. Serjeant, Islamic textiles, Beirut 1970, passim. Iran was also noted for the special garments worn there. Amal and Kātār Khān were famous for their wool towṣalāt (pamela, K. al-Tabāsbur bi 'l-tīdāra, ed. J. X. H. Abūl-Wahhāb, Cairo 1953, 31), Gurgān and Rayy for their excellent variety of soft wool cloaks known as nanma (from Pers. narm "soft", ibid., 29-30), and Bam for its fine kerchiefs and turbans (datār-i bānī, ibid., Huddūd al-Salām, rev. ed. V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth, London 1970, 125).

Adharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān produced the best quality trowser cords (gafrāt barād, Huddūd al-Salām, 142-3). Bāth, the capital of Ḵᵛārazm, was noted for its quilted jackets (bashqārāst, Huddūd al-Salām, 21). Artistic representations from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries invariably show both men and women in a full-length sleeved coat (kāhād) with arm bands (bizā band) either with or without jirād inscriptions. In a 6th/12th century stucco relief from Rayy, each of the women in the courtly scene is depicted in a brocaded coat (kāhād-yi dārya) with a bordered edge (bāhā-yi dār). Each woman wears a fillet (pāyān band) in the centre of which is an agrette (dīvāh). Most of the women wear a necklace (gardān band) and earrings (gūrūsārāhāth) (the relief is included in Pope, Survey, v. Pl. 517 and Dīyā' Pūr, Pārlīk-i zanān-i Īrān, 1906, 106 and 107. For a survey of Persian jewelry during this period, see Bj. Piyi' minorsky and C. E. Bosworth, London 1970, 125).

The Saldjuk period did not mark for Iran the introduction of totally new styles of dress as it did in the Arab East (see section i, above, 8) since the Saldjūk were themselves under the influence of Persian culture. There were, however, some new fashions that were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, all of Inner Asian, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings. At least three distinctive caps were introduced at this time, particularly in head coverings.

The illustrations of the "World History" of Rashīd al-Dīn, Edinburgh 1976, 21, Fig. 100-b). Military attire was also of the Far Eastern variety, consisting of long coats of link mail arranged in horizontal folds (dāwiwār, dāwiwār, sīra of mail (Diuwār, Taqābīh al-Dābīghā?ed, Kaswān, v. 188, 176. For examples of the Mongol long mail coat, see Ricc, Illustrations: of Rashīd al-Dīn, P. 38, 44, 48, 49, 53. For the mail cuirass, see Pope, Survey, v. Pls. 834E, 839, and 842A). The latter could be worn under a robe (sīra dar str-i dīgāna, Rashīd al-Dīn, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, ed. tr. E. Quatremère, repr. Amsterdam, 1968, 122).

Also typical of Mongol armour were their close-fitting helmets with ear-flaps and a small spike at the top (for examples, see Ricc, Illustrations ... of Rashīd al-Dīn, P. 22, 38, 39, 40, 43).

During the Ilāhīān period, women's clothing seems to have undergone any major change, except with respect to the head gear. The head-scarf (sar band) was worn for the most part as a wimple (see e.g. Pope, Survey, v. Pl. 836B) by non-Mongol women. The Mongol princesses, however, wore a special bonnet consisting of a long white cloak covered with silk and from the top of which protrudes a long feather (see Goets, Persian costume, in Pope, Survey, iii, 224, Fig. 74a-b). This bonnet is frequently mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (Histoire des Mongols, ed. Quatremère, 202, 106, 107), and is called bugdāhā. The bugdāhā could be ornamented with gold and precious stones and sometimes had a long train (dāwiwār bugdāhā) which hung down behind. According to Ibn Bīshār, the girls who attended the Mongol ladies wore "a kuldh that looked like an arīfāf (fez) with a gold band encrusted with jewels around the upper part, topped with peacock feathers" (Ibn Battūs, ii, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, Cambridge 1958, 485).

Despite Timūr Lang's partiality to Mongol ways, there is a noticeable decrease in Mongol influence as far as Persian costume is concerned under the Timūrids. The bulky mandarin robes gave way to close-fitting garments which follow the body's own lines. The outer kāhād was often left entirely open or was left partially-open at the neck and below the waist revealing another coat below, beneath which a long body shirt (bānd or Ḵᵛāari) was worn. The kīnār band which, except for a military belt over the armour, had all but gone out of style in the Ilāhīān period, became once again a regular part of male attire, worn on either the inner or the outer coat. The distinctive caps and hats of the Saldjūk and Mongol periods were gradually replaced during the Timūrid period by turbans, which at first were small, but became progressively larger throughout the 9th/15th century (for examples of the caps and turbans of the period, see Pope, Survey, v. Pls. 851, 860, 864, 878, 880, 882). The reason for the gradual disappearance of the Mongol caps is that they came to be considered as symbols of paganism, in contradiction to the Ḟarār which was symbolic of Islam (e.g. Muhammad Haydr, A history of the Maghāz of Central Asia, tr. E. D. Ross, repr. New York 1970, 58). One new head-covering that appears at this period is the kalpād, a fur-trimmed cap of Turkoman origin. As in earlier periods, both men and women wore fur cloaks (ḵāstīn, Ḥāfīz-i Ābrū, Dīyā'ī Kūthā-i Zafr-i-nāmeh, Tehran n.d., 25) and fur-trimmed robes (Ḵāstīn, Sa'dī, Įalī, in Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī, 119) and idem, Ḥāfīz-i, in Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī,
Female attire during the Timurid period also consisted of several layers of long, close-fitting robes. The *pirakan* covered the entire body down to the feet and was long-sleeved. A wide variety of outer coats were worn by women at this time. Although some had long, narrow sleeves, most were short-sleeved (*dastani-küdah*), and some were sleeveless. The woman's *babai* depicted in Timurid paintings all but long and three-quarter length versions (for the Timurid *babai* in all its variety, see Dīyāʾ Pūr, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-153). The short coat is perhaps the *babai* mentioned in earlier literary sources (e.g. al-Kāthīr al-Ārdājamānī, *Samā'ī šayārī*, Tehran n.d., i, 50), but does not appear in artistic representation until this time.

Most of the women's head-dresses depicted in Timurid paintings are white, consisting in the main of a white *sarband* worn in the simple fashion of the preceding periods or allowed to flow down behind. Some women are depicted wearing a close-fitting bonnet-like cap which is usually dark in colour. The bonnet has wide flaps that come down in front of the ears, and is held in place with a chin strap. On the top of the bonnet is a small flat plaque to which the face veil is attached (see Dīyāʾ Pūr, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20; also J. M. Scarce, *The development of women's veils in Persia and Afghanistan*, in *Costume*, v (1973), 6, Pt. 1, where, however, this headdress is interpreted somewhat differently).

European travellers report that women appeared in public at this time in an all-enveloping white wrap (*cadder-i safās*), their faces hidden behind a black net of woven horsehair (*piša*) (e.g. Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassies to the court of Timour*, London 1859, 8g). Another sort of face veil worn at this period was a small, white mask covering only the mouth and chin (*dahāni band*, Dīyāʾ Pūr, *op. cit.*, i, 153, 212).

3. The Safavid period. The establishment of the Safavid dynasty marks not only a watershed in Iranian political and religious history, but a turning point in its costume history as well. During this period, Far Eastern influence in Persian costume ceased to be important, and there is a reassertion of native Iranian styles.

The most immediate change came in the man's turban (*dul band*), which was wrapped around a cap with a high, spiked protrusion that extended straight up through the middle of the headdress (see e.g. Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 893A, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901A). The cap which forms the centre of the turban was known as the *tādī Safavi*. It was normally red, although occasionally blue. Because of the red caps which distinguished the Shi'i Safavids and their followers, they were referred to by the Sunni as *kašāb-i sūrī*, or "red caps" (see Abu l-Fazl Bahādur Khān, *Histori des Mongols et des Tatarses*, ed. and tr. F. L. Desmoulin, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 209, n. 1), which was the Persian equivalent of Tk. *kērīl hād* [*qari*]. The symbolic importance of the Safavi *tādī* was such that it even appeared in painting showing scenes from the religions of the world, the *Sīyās*, as well as Muhammad, "Alla, al-Hasan, and al-Husayn are all depicted wearing it (the illustration is in the Houghton *Shāh-nāma*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and is reproduced in B. Lewis (ed.), *The World of Islam*, London 1976, 250).

Safavid costume became extremely sumptuous with the reign of Shah Tahmāsp (1508-87/1524-70). Clothes were more closely-fitted than ever before. The *babai* for both sexes became somewhat shorter. It was now fastened in front by a row of shiny buttons or golden frogs. The *wāstā* was cinched with a narrow belt decorated with large bejewelled gold discs spaced at equal intervals (for surviving examples of such belts, see Dīyāʾ Pūr, *Ziwarāt-i ša'bāni Iran*, 365, Pl. 274, and Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pls. 1894B-C; for detailed depictions in miniatures, see *ibid.*, v, Pl. 901). The most outstanding feature of the Persian wardrobe for the next century-and-a-half is the great richness of the fabrics in both colour and pattern (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 826, 858-900, for illustrations; *ibid.*, vi, Pls. 1015, 1028, 1034, 1041, 1042, 1046, for actual textiles and garments).

Safavid costume reached its most distinctive development in the 17th/18th century. The *babai* remained close-fitted about the trunk, but was now often flared below the waist. Over the *babai* was worn an overcoat (*bālāf-pāh*), which could be short and sleeveless (*bānī*) or long and with sleeves (*küdah*). The turban (*sandīl* or *dāl band*) was perhaps longer than before, but no longer had the long stick protruding from the top. A large scarf or sash replaced the belt with roundels. It was usually tied with a large knot in front (for surviving examples of such silk sashes, see Pope, *Survey*, vi, Pl. 1074A-E). Safavid clothing has been described in detail by the European travellers Herbert for the first half of the 17th century (T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 1627-1629, London 1928, 79-80, 230-3) and Chardin for the second half (Sir J. Chardin, *Travels in Persia*, London 1727, 212-15, and the engravings between 212 and 213).

Female attire during this period was very sensuous. The dress (*kabān*) was buttoned or tied below the neck, but slit open down to the navel to expose the bare flesh (Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, v, Pl. 918A). The items of underwear (tūbbān) were straighter than male drawers and were often decorated with flower motifs. Over these were worn embroidered leggings (mangār) that went from several inches above the ankle to slightly above the knees (see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pl. 928A, where a reclining female is shown with her dress rolled up to expose her underwear). A loose shawl (*dārād*) which was held on the head by a tiara, an embroidered band, or a pointed *hulā* fell down on to the back and shoulders (see e.g. J. M. Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, in Metropolitan Museum Studies, ii (1929-30), 206, Fig. 2; 214, Fig. 13; and 219, Fig. 21). As in the previous period, the favoured *cādūr* for outdoor was white. One new innovation that came into use at this time was the *ru band*, a rectangular white veil that was fastened over the *cādūr* and fell down over the face. The *ru band* had a small slit covered with netting over the eyes to permit vision (Scarce, *Women's veils*, in *Costume*, V, 7, Pt. 7).

Two major trends can be detected in Persian costume during the 17th century. One is a bohemianism that appears in the increasingly casual and suggestive style of dressing, at least in the court circles (for surviving paintings see Pope, *Survey*, v, Pls. 927A, 928A, 929B, 930A-B; and Upton, *Notes on Persian costumes*, 217, Fig. 16). The other is a noticeable, albeit still minor, Western influence in clothing styles. At first this influence was more Georgian than truly European (Chardin, *Travels*, 212), but later the influence of the clothing of European traders and diplomats become stronger (Upton, *Notes on Persian costume*, 217).
The Kāḏār period. There was little discernible change or development in Iranian costume during the half-century of instability between the end of the Constitutional era and the establishment of the Kāḏār dynasty, except for a decrease in the elegance of upper-class attire and an increase in words of Turkic origin in the vestimentary vocabulary.

The second ruler of the Kāḏār House, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1822-34), attempted to recreate the glories of the Iranian past with a revival of ancient artistic traditions and styles, including in court dress. He adopted for himself a modified version of one of the Sāsānids winged crowns (see Lewis, Coinage of Islam, 270, Pl. 27, and 272, Pl. 35). Wide shoulder capes and diadems in imitation of Timurid prototypes were also revived for a short while (Goetz, Persian costume, in Pope, Survey, iii, 2254). However, under his successors this artificial renaissance came to an end.

There was growing European influence in Persia already during the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. During the 19th century these influences became increasingly dominant in court and military dress. Popular costume, however, was influenced more slowly. The many European travellers, missionaries, and diplomats who visited Persia in the 19th and early 20th centuries have left detailed descriptions of clothing of the period. Male costume was composed of loose drawers (šār ḍīrma or ṣaḥālūr) of white, blue, or red cotton, a collarless tunic (ḵānār or kāmār), a turban (ḵaṃrārīn), a vest (ḵusūja or ḏūrā), one of a variety of outer coats (bāšāpār, bīrānma, ḏūb, ḍīnba)—the latter favoured by government secretaries—or jackets (mīn ḵaṃra). The principal hat for all classes was the high ḍūlāh of felt (namād) or lambskin (pištī) which was draped on one side. Footwear consisted of boots (ṣāṣmōsa) of Russian leather (būlgār) for the upper classes, and leather sandals (tāhār) or cotton shoes (gūn) for the common people. The belt for all classes was most commonly a large shawl tied round the waist (ḵāl kamar). The maulās commonly wore the ṣaḥī (see section i, above), and anyāyīs the green ʿannāma (among the numerous descriptions of male attire, see J. F. Goetz, A Winter's Journey. Costumes and costumes of the 1860's; J. B. Fraser, In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or modern Persia (1866 to 1871), London 1893, 127-22).

Female attire for the upper and middle classes consisted of a transparent pīšāman of gauze and pantaloons (tājārā). Over these were worn a short frocked coat or jacket and a pleated skirt (šūla). The head was normally covered with an embroidered scarf of cotton, silk, or cashmere (tārā). Upper-class women are depicted in contemporary paintings wearing a jewelled tiara (ānim ḵūd). Out of doors, women wore a white or black šādūr and one of a variety of face veils (ri ṣan bā, šīla, ṭūq). (see Fraser, 322-5; E. C. Sykes, Persia and its people, London 1910, 269-203).

Recent years. Urban dress is overwhelmingly that of the modern West. Recently, however, there has been a return to the šādūr even among educated women for political as well as religious reasons. Outside the major cities, and especially in tribal regions, traditional costumes are still worn (for a comprehensive survey, see Dj. diyā ʿPūr, Fāḥshūr tāhā, Duroṣūpūn meydānī vārāmanī di ṣuṣānūkh-i Shāh-nūr-ah-yi Muhammad Ṣāḥih-i Pahlavān, Tehran 1346/1967).


(Y. K. Stilman and N. A. Stilman)
experts; the descriptions left by European ambassadors; as well as the documents of Turkish archives speaking of the organisation of corporations of tailors, of sewing workshops and of registers of costumes.

The classification of costumes can be established according to the use for which they were destined. We may distinguish: (1) the civilian costumes, (2) the military ones, and (3) the religious ones (of "duanites" and dervishes). The civilian costumes are divided into (i) costumes of the court (costumes of ceremony, state, household) and (ii) costumes of the bourgeoisie, each having its masculine and feminine variants.

A complete costume is composed of some basic elements (whose number varies in accordance with needs and whose importance is not always the same): (a) head-gear, (b) outer garments, (c) inner garments, (d) belt, (e) shoes and (f) accessories.

In Ottoman Turkey, there were registers of laws which also contained the precepts of etiquette. These laws regulated notably dress, i.e. head-gear, clothing, the kind and colour of the material, the shoes, all in accordance with the rank occupied in the social and administrative hierarchy, of the religion or race of the person in question. The most important regulations of this kind date back to the period of Sultan Selim I (1520-66), Ahmed III (1703-30) and 'Abdulhamid III (1774-7). The classification of costumes can be established in accordance with the kind and colour of the material, the shoes, all in accordance with the rank occupied in the social and administrative hierarchy, of the religion or race of the person in question. The most important regulations of this kind date back to the period of Sultan Selim I (1520-66), Ahmed III (1703-30) and 'Abdulhamid III (1774-7).

Head-gear. It was the head-gear, masculine as well as feminine, which, in Turkish costume, was characterised by the greatest diversity and mobility of forms.

a) Masculine turbans. The Turkish kavuk, of cylindrical shape, was a head-dress of felt or woollen cloth of different thickness around which was wrapped a turban (a long band of material) called in Turkish sarlk or sofiewn (current pronunciation sifien). It is from the form of the kavuk and the way in which the turban was tied that there derive different types and names of head-gear known in Europe as turbans. The kavuk, whose height varied, normally had the form of a contracted or enlarged cylinder, flat or bulging; but there were also those which resembled a truncated cone or a cupula. The highest kavuk (45 to 50 cm.) were kept rigid by means of a construction of metal bars or a kind of basket. They had a smooth or quilted (terki) surface and were trimmed with cotton to give the effect of relief or a dome shape with the quilting (sfina). To make the turban, lengths of material (sarlik) were used which were folded or made into rolls (burma). Fine materials such as cotton, gauze, muslin, fine wool, silk or brocade were chosen for this. Under the kavuk was placed a skull-cap (lakhe) which could also be worn alone. Sometimes small braids (nastroj) or pendants (paskall) were attached to the kavuk, allowing the end of the sarlik to fall on the back or the shoulders (aygalas). To give protection from the rain, a kind of small umbrella or covering (yagmurus) was carried.

Kamer included: Kordas, of cylindrical shape, growing broader at the top, worn with a white turban rolled slantwise on two sides; selimi—of cylindrical shape, introduced by Selim I (1512-26/1521-30), sometimes high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around and bulging at the sides; kubeki —also called pashali kavuk, is the most widespread type of turban, worn from the 18th century by functionaries and civilians. It is a kavuk of cylindrical shape, quilted, worn with a white turban not too long, rolled at the base and tied in front; midegemanate

— a head-dress reserved for the Sultan and the highest dignitaries, a kavuk of cylindrical shape, growing slightly broader towards the top, about 45 cm. high, flat on top, worn with a white turban rolled around; the end of the turban was fastened with a small turban (mu'adad) rolled around; the kubeki, a head-dress reserved for dignitaries with the rank of pasha, which, from the 18th century, became official head-gear, a kavuk with the body of a cone, worn with a white turban rolled around, draped and bulging in four places, decorated with a gold band; batnik, worn from the 18th century by the religious classes, a large, dome-shaped kavuk, worn with a white turban rolled around and which, draped, formed harmonious folds; kili, kili (kubeki kili), worn from the 17th century by the functionaries of the Deffer, a dome-shaped kavuk, worn with a long turban forming folds fastened towards the base with a fine thread or pin; and kharitaki—worn from the 17th century, a high, pointed kavuk, worn with a turban rolled around whose end was often left free.

Another quite widespread head-dress was the turban worn on a small skull-cap (lakhe), often folded in large rolls (burma) or particularly the kavuk worn with a small turban (mu'adad) rolled around; the kavuk without a turban was called del kavuk or del kubeki.

b) Kullak (cap, hat). Kullaks were a very widespread masculine and feminine head-gear, worn by soldiers, dervishes, functionaries and civilians. This head-gear, of which several dozen variants existed, could be made from felt or woolen cloth combined with other materials such as cotton cloth, fur, small turbans, scarves and trimmings. As to their shape, the most common were a round or square head-dress of a dome, cone, cylinder broadening towards the top, tube, helmet, brimmed hats with flaps and straps. Among the kullaks most frequently worn by servants of the court and soldiers there were: the zarina tas, worn by the pages; a high, cylindrical kullak trimmed with brocade and decorated with sulqaf; the bork, which was the most widespread head-gear, in a cone or helmet shape, raised in front, decorated at the base with gold braid; officers wore it decorated in addition with a plume; the akhef (hediç kullak) of the Janissaries, a high kullak whose rear part fell in the form of a covering (yavurma) on the back, a ribbon ornamenting it at the base where a metal case for the officer's spoon or plume was also fixed; and the harata of the palace domestics, a kullak of woolen cloth in the shape of a sleeve whose rear part fell on the back.

The kullak worn by the dervishes most frequently had the form of a cone, a helmet or a cylinder widening towards the top and they were normally quilted (each order or tarxia had the right to: a defined number of tarxia). There were also kullaks bordered with fur (mihizqarni). Only shaykhs had the right to put a turban on the kullak. The kullak worn by dervishes also had other names: sikke, tadj and nifii tadj.

In the 19th century, the jec became a current head-dress, as did the gubara in the army.

c) Safa (busby), a kind of bonnet of lamb's fleece or cloth, was worn with decorated with lamb's fleece, worn by men and women.

d) Feminine head-gear: kullaks of various shapes, scarves with a flap or a peak (pisær); a veil (lakhe); a scarf called a yagmuras; and the khibot, the most popular head-gear, in the form of a conical kullak or hood decorated with a fine scarf or shawl.
and trimmed with feathers, precious stones and ribbons.

Outer garments. The most characteristic and widespread outer garment in Turkey (known since antiquity in Central Asia and the Near East) was the khatib (caftan), a long, full robe with sleeves. Its cut varied according to the period and area. The Turkish caftan had several variants which were distinguished from one another by the length and width of the skirts and sleeves, the buttoning, the use of slit or supplementary sleeves of a decorative character. It was these elements and the cut which decided the type of caftan. The bihál, for example, was a ceremonial caftan, made with sumptuous materials, quite full, with skirts side by side or crossed over. Caftans had skirts descending as far as the ankle, covering the knee and fastened at the front; the setre, a military garment; the short caftan with sleeves; the hayderl, a kind of short garment, without sleeves; the entari, a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist; and the entari, a long robe without sleeves, stopping at the waist; and the entari, a long, full robe, with rather wide, short sleeves, sometimes edged with sable, sometimes with a collar; the jebbe, a kind of full caftan; the kerde, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves; thedjiba, a full, short caftan with sleeves; the fâbi (really the name of a thick material), a garment of thick woolen cloth, stopping at the knee; the setre, a military garment, covering the knee and fastened at the front; the gelben (or etek), a short caftan with sleeves, buckled and bordered; the safa, a kind of etek worn by the working classes; the yelik, a waistcoat without sleeves formally worn by men in the nobility; the gækmeddæn, a short, trimmed waistcoat without sleeves; the minik, a short caftan without sleeves, stopping at the waist; the bisich, a kind of very full caftan with wide sleeves, worn most frequently as a travelling or riding garment. Dervishes' garments: the tafrun, a long robe without sleeves; the kâderli, a kind of short garment, without sleeves, stopping at the waist; the hahba, a short caftan with flared sleeves; the etuk, a skirt; and the minik.

To go out, particularly in the rain, the kind of cape was put on, called a karsmfenk, the barsi, the kâpedi or sugnmsiok. Furs were an important element in the costume worn at court. Fox, squirel, ermine, sable, lynx and marten furs were covered with the most varied materials (brocade, wool, velvet, silk, cotton satin and satin). They were characterised by a great diversity of styles, but the caftan was also dominant there. The most sumptuous fur was the karsmfenk of the sultan, with a large fur collar, narrow or short sleeves, decorated with fur below the shoulders, with no supplementary sleeves, laced with frogs and loops in front; the kâpedi was a fur of white sable covered with green cotton satin; and the kâpedi, a fur (or caftan) with straight sleeves, with a collar. Full furs edged with fur in front and in general with a collar were worn during ceremic receptions, etc. These were the ust kürk, the divanim kürk, or the dort boks kürk (when they had supplementary sleeves), or further the bol yelik kürk (when it was a fur with wide sleeves).

The outer garments most often worn by women were: the ferdjâje, the entari, the yelik and cloaks (harnâmsiyej); the ferdjâje, a kind of full cloak with sleeves and a collar, sometimes with cuffs; the entari, a long robe whose most varied, normally with a low neckline, fitting at the waist and flaring from the hips, buttoned in front as far as the waist, trimmed, laced with frogs and loops, with narrow sleeves, sometimes long or turned up. Women also wore short caftans or short entâris stopping at the hips with wide skirts. Their furs had long sleeves or short ones or were without sleeves. They put a long robe under the entari or over baggy trousers.

Inner garments. Among these are counted shirts (gümik, pörtük); a long robe worn under the entari or caftan, доллama or silik; baggy trousers (kayesindir) of varying fullness, Fuller and in finer materials for women; men's trousers (çakbihir), reaching down to the ankle or below the knee: the potur, full trousers as far as the knee and straight from the knee to the ankle: the teizik, breeches worn by men as an outer garment; pants (ton). All the parts of the trousers were held with a special belt called anciur.

Belts were an indispensable element of old Turkish costume. They were of two kinds: material belts (kâğıld), supple, knotted, with the ends hidden under the trousers; and leather belts (kemri) fastened with a buckle, often decorated, gilded, in hammered leather, embellished and encrusted with precious stones.

Shoes were divided into indoor shoes with a supple sole and outdoor shoes with a thicker sole, the most widespread shoes for several centuries, with a high leg reaching up as far as the knee and a supple sole; women's boots bore the name pașh-mush: the ên (an older form of ên), with a low leg, most often made in yellow Moroccan leather, with a supple sole; the mest, a kind of ên; the tespàh, a niple without heels with the ends slightly raised and a supple sole; the teizik, the most popular shoes, worn by men and women, without heels or quarters; the potur, slightly raised at the end, in leather or material, often decorated; shoes for women had a low heel.

To go out in the town the pabuc was slipped on over the supple shoes (ên, mest). Sandals with a compensatory sole called nali were also worn. The shoes of the sultan, dignitaries and women were often richly decorated, in accordance with various techniques, with plant motifs (appliqués, embroidered, hammered leather).

Accessories decorating the head-gear: the kirmik, the çitâr, the sorgu, the sugîrê, the câltênk, feathers, ornaments, scarves, shawls, ribbons, tassels, small braids and plumes. Accessories decorating outer garments: shawls, trimmings, buckles, small buckles and metal badges. Jewels and side arms completed the costume.

2. The modern period. In the 19th century, in the period of the army reforms, a new military uniform was introduced, combining modified forms of old Turkish costume with some elements of the European uniform. This new uniform became common during the second half of the 19th century. Later on, modern European uniform was introduced.

Regional costume is not made the object of this study: there only exist a few studies in depth on this subject (see Hanly Pey and Marie de Launay,
Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873. Constantinople (1873).


LIBERIA, an African republic in which, according to the sources, Muslims account for no more than 15 to 20% of the population. They are concentrated mainly between Monrovia and Robertsport on the frontier of Sierra Leone as well as on the frontier of Guinea. Their number is estimated at 300,000, but because the censuses take no account of religious allegiance, there exists no precise figure for a Muslim population whose Islamic culture was until recently extremely primitive.

Islam was a late manifestation in Liberia. Certain groups related to the Mandingo peoples and arriving in the 17th century, from the region of Kankan were probably the first Muslims to penetrate what was to become Liberia. After the Vai, other Mandingo groups like the predominantly merchant tribe of the Gbande were totally Islamised, while the Loma (or Brou) the Kpelle, the Mano and the Sumba were only partially converted. These peoples, impelled by military and commercial forces, included in their ranks Islamised elements. But the expansion of Islam could only begin to take shape from the 19th century onwards when the Afro-American explorers had crossed the forest zone.

Since Liberia was governed until the coup d’etat of 12 April 1980 by Liberians of Negro American origin, mostly of the Protestant faith, Muslims enjoyed no political representation. Moreover, the Liberian constitution of 1847 had a significant preamb. “Our People recognizes with pious gratitude the goodness of God who has accorded us the blessings of the Christian religion and granted us political and religious liberties...”; but the first clause declared that all religions would be tolerated and that no religious conditions would be attached to the holding of public office.

In 1951, President Tubman enacted a law pledging to the Muslims of Liberia full recognition of their rights. In 1965, the same president attended the inaugural ceremony of the Muslim League of Ramadân and delivered in the address. It was his government which, after consultation, gave to the leading Imam the title of Muslim Bishop.

Since 1974, the National Muslim Council of Liberia has united the principal groups. It comprises the following organisations: The Council of the Muslim Community, founded in 1949 by Alhaji Varraunych Sharif who, in 1953, built the capital’s first mosque inaugurated by President Tubman; The Muslim Congress of Liberia, founded in 1953 for cultural and scholastic objectives; The Muslim League of Safetya; and The Liberia Muslim Union, established in the north, in the province of Nimba, and providing bursaries for academic students to be educated abroad.

The majority of the Muslims are orthodox Sunnis of the Mâlîkît rite. Since 1937, the “Caliph” Mirzâ Nâşir Ahmad, who came in 1970 from Pakistan, has united the principal groups. It comprises the following organisations: The Council of the Muslim Community, founded in 1949 by Alhaji Varraunych Sharif who, in 1953, built the capital’s first mosque inaugurated by President Tubman; The Muslim Congress of Liberia, founded in 1953 for cultural and scholastic objectives; The Muslim League of Safetya; and The Liberia Muslim Union, established in the north, in the province of Nimba, and providing bursaries for academic students to be educated abroad.

In a land where the level of literacy is low (15 to 20%), the contribution made by the Muslim schools is feeble. The National Muslim Council sponsors one primary school in Monrovia and three high schools of which one, at Kakata, comprises 300 pupils. There is one elementary school at Robertsport (province of Grand Mont) and a secondary school in the province of Bong (40 pupils). Instruction is given partly in Arabic, partly in English.

Some rare Arabic books feature in the libraries of the capital, including some that have no religious content. There are certain Lebanese newspapers, of no interest other than to nationals of that country. The Ahmadiyya broadcasts a five-minute television programme every Friday.

Each year, between 100 and 200 Liberian pilgrims make the journey to Mecca. Only al-fâd al-habir at the end of Ramadan is celebrated with any kind of vigour. Despite these modest activities, the role of the Muslims seems to be steadily growing.


LIBYÂ, an Arab state located on the Italian Libia, which in turn derives from the ancient Greek Ἀφρική/蕊βική.

r. The name. The name first appears in ancient Egyptian writings in the form RBW or LBW, perhaps representing Lebu or Libu. It was also known to the ancient Israelis and occurs several times in the later books of the Old Testament in the form Lubin.
PLATE XXXVIII

3. Egypt, 1007–21. Tīrās silk fragment inscribed with the name of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim and decorated with birds (mufayyar). (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

4. Egypt. Fatimid period. Dancing girl in what appears to be a Sirwāl. She holds a mandil kumm in each hand. (Courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo).

6. Syria (?), ca. 1300. Group scene: The seated figure on the right is wearing a faylasūn or farha over his turban. The fourth figure is wearing a printed robe (makhfūmah), the woman standing below him is veiled by an 'īsār, and the man on the left wears a turban wrapped around a balansoula. From the Madhāmī of al-Haritī. (Brit. Mus. Add. 22,114, fol. 15).
7. ʿIrāk, ca. 1218-19. Ruler wearing a ẓalā al-turāb with żirdž bands. On his head is a sharbīq. His attendants also wear Turkish costs. Most wear the cap known as kalayt. From the frontispiece of the K. al-Aḥbābī (Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 16, Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul).
8. Syria. Two women of Lattakia: The standing figure is veiled with a burka and šahrta, the reclining figure with a yawmāţ and malat'a. From Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1884, plate facing p. 48.

9. Tripolitanian merchant. From Hamdy Bey and Lanos, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Constantinople 1875, Fig. XLII.

11. Transjordanian villager wearing a thawb, kibr, and 'abā'ī. On his head a kāfiyya and a 'abhil. From Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, fig. 29.


14. Syria, early 20th century. Lebés or sirwāl for a woman. (Courtesy of the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

PLATE XLV

LIBÁS

(Courtesy: Moroccan Ministry of Tourism).

[From E. Doutté, Marrakesh, Paris 1905, 254].

19. Algerian mufti wearing long Andalusian *sarawī* and a *kafīdān* over which is a *kabā'ī* and a white *sīlādīm*. On his head is a Turkish-style turban called *šāmāra* *mbarīdā* over which is the scarf known as a *mūḥānnakā*, similar to the ancient *ayyāli*. (From G. Marçais, *Le costume musulman d’Alger*, Paris 1930, Pl. XIII-Bibl. Nat. Estampes O 1 2 a)

20. Tunisia. Woman’s wedding dress known as *bendīlijā habīra* from Naheul. (From S. Sethom, *La tunique de mariage en Tunisie*, in *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions populaires*, no. 3 [Tunis 1969], fig. 9).

23. Iran. Scene from the Khamsa of Nişârî depicting Alexander meeting the Khalifâ of China. All are dressed in Safawid attire and wear the distinctive turban with the protruding spike known as the ʿAbbâsī safavouri (from a ms. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, painted in Tabriz, 932/1524-5).


27. — Turkey. *Cevâb hashì* (chief of the Janissaries). (Library of the University of Warsaw).


The Lehmin of Genesis, x, 13 may possibly represent the same name. The term passed into later and modern usage through the Greeks and subsequently the Romans. In Greek geographical writings, it was most commonly used—along with Africa, which later replaced it in this sense—as the name of one of the three continents or, occasionally, as the name of the region in North Africa west of Egypt. Transmitted by the Greeks to the Romans in both senses, it was first made the name of a specific political entity by the Emperor Diocletian, who established the adjoining provinces of upper and lower Libya west of Egypt. The authenticity of a hadith quoted by al-Bakrî (Description de l'Afrique septentrionale), ed.—French tr. M. G. de Slane, Paris 1965; Ar. 8, tr. 23 according to which the Prophet is supposed to have said "He whose sins are numerous must place Libya (Lūbiya) behind him", i.e. go to fight the infidels in Urikiya, is doubtful; moreover, the same author (Ar. 21, tr. 49) states that Urikiya is really called Libya, from the name of the founder of Memphis, who reigned over the land.

The term passed, along with much other Greek geographical knowledge and terminology to the Arabs, who normally wrote it in the form Lūbiya (Lūbiyā or (Lūbiyya). The earliest Arabic geographical writers name Lūbiya as one of the four quadrants into which the world is divided, the others being Europe, Ethiopia and Scythia (al-Ballāṭ, Opus astronomicum, ed. C. A. Nallino, text iii, Rome 1899, 27, tr. 10; ibn Khurradākhīb, 135, ed. ibn al-Fakīḥ, 67, 1971: Asqum of Manṣūkhī, K. al-Uṣūn, ed. A. Vasiliev in Fvatrologia Orientalis, v, Paris 1910 12, 612; al-Ḥaṣād, Sifāt Djarār al-Arāb, ed. D. H. Müller, i, Leipzig 1884, 52; Yāḥḳūt, s.v., citing al-Bīrūnī who ascribes this classification explicitly to the Greeks). Lūbiya consisted of "Egypt, Kūsim, Ḥabash, the lands of the Berbers and adjoining countries, and the southern seas." In addition to this vague use as the name of a quarter, Lūbiya also occurs, more specifically, as a place-name in northern Africa. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (Fatḥ al-Mīr, ed. and partial French tr. A. Gateau, Congue de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne, Algiers 1947, 35, 77), probably copied by ibn Khurradākhīb (ed. and partial French tr. M. Haïl-Sadok, Description du Maghreb et de l'Afrique au sixième siècle, Algiers 1949, 13 and n. 172) makes Lūbiya a province of western Egypt. Al-Maṣūḍī (Manṣūkī, iii, 424 = § 1106), copying in his turn ibn Khurradākhīb, speaks of a place (beṣ'at) named Lūbiya which was Marākisīya (Maramida) and cites in the Tunb (20) the region (nabiya) of al-Iškandariyya, Lūbiya and Mūnṣūkī. Ibn al-Fakīḥ (Buddān, 74, French tr. Massé, 90) makes Libya a locality of Egypt. Al-Yaḥḳūt (Buddān, 339, 342, tr. Wiet, 197, 201) speaks of Lūbiya as one of the districts (ḥira or cemal) dependent on Alexandria, while Yāḥḳūt (iv, 368) places Lūbiya between Alexandria and Bārka. Most of the mediaeval Arab geographers see North African Libya as administratively part of Egypt (al-Maṣūḍī, Khiṣāf, ed. Wiet, i, 56, 309, 311; ibn Dukkak, ed. al-Kalkashandī, Subh, iii, 348-50, 390-1, citing the Rawd al-musdar and al-Ḥudūf; see further J. Maspéro and G. Wiet, Mèmèra pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte, Mém. IFAO, xxxvi, Cairo 1919, 169; A. Grohni, Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung der frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten, Vienna 1939, 8-9). The name also occurs as that of a mountain vaguely situated west of the Nile Valley. The passage in al-Bīrūnī, (K. al-Djamālī fī maṣ'īfa al-ḥadīth, Hyderabad 1335, 100 naming Lūbiya as a source of precious stones south of Egypt, is certainly a misreading for Nubia. The form Lūbiya is used, exceptionally, by al-Maṣūḍī (Khiṣāf, ed. Wiet, i, 52), citing the Arabic version of Orosius, and therefore following the Latin form of the name. Sometimes, the name Lūbiya seems to have passed out of use in Arabic. It reappears in the 19th century when it is clearly derived from European sources. A late Ottoman work of reference, the historical and geographical dictionary of Ahmed Rifāt (Lugāt-i ta'māniyye ve δiğniyye, vi, Istanbul 1300, 1313 lists Libya in the form Lūbiya, obviously transcribed from the French, and defines it as "the Greek name of Africa". The entry goes on to explain the different senses in which the word was subsequently used by noting that, in the writer's own day, the term was confined to the regions "beyond Tripoli, Tunisia and Egypt and northeast of the Great Sahara Desert." "Ahl Muḥāfrāk (Khiṣāf, xv, 41), no doubt following European practice, also uses the form Lūbiya for the region west of Egypt.

The name Libya continued in occasional use in Europe, mainly in the context of ancient history. It was given greater precision and popularity by the Italian geographer F. Minutulli, whose Bibliografia della Libia was published in Turin in 1903, and who applies the term specifically to the two Turkish sandžaks of Cyrenaica (Barka [q.v.]) and Tripolitania (Tarabulus al-Ǧārb [q.v.]), the only parts of the North Africa littoral that had not yet fallen under European control. Libya remained a geographical expression until the Italian invasion and the Italian decree of 5 November 1911, proclaiming Italian sovereignty over the two Turkish sandžaks. It was made the official name of a country—for the first time since Diocletian—by the Italian royal decree of 1 January 1934, which created a new colony, formed by the union of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, and called Libya (Arabic Liḥbiya). This form was retained by the independent state established after the ending of Italian rule.

Bibliography: For the earlier history, the reader is referred to the articles BARBA, FASAN and TARABA, LANGUAGES: On the Arabic spoken in Libya, see SAKARĪYĀ, iii, 3. The Western dialects. On Berber, see BERBERS, v, as well as A. Basset, La langue berbère, in Handbook of African Languages, i, London-New York-Toronto 1954, 69-70. (Ed.)

2. Liḥbiya-Berber inscriptions. The Maghrib and the Sahara possess a large number of inscriptions using a script peculiar to the North-West of Africa, which was given the name Numidian and later Libyan. The first name, which has fallen out of use, was, however, to be preserved to designate one of the forms of this script, known as Eastern, which is widespread in Tunisia and Eastern Algeria. The Libyan inscriptions published up to now and regarded as ancient, let us say pre-Islamic, can be estimated at some 1,200, but the Sahara possesses thousands of more recent graffiti and inscriptions carved on weathered rocks in the same script, still used by the Touareg, who call it Tefsarūk (See BERBERS.).

Those inscriptions, whether the monumental texts of Dougga from the 2nd century B.C. or the simple Touareg graffiti, use only signs of a strictly geometrical form, based for preference on the straight line. Also, the alphabet of Dougga which contains 24 or 25 signs only uses the circle for two letters: 0.
The Libyan inscriptions, the ancient Libyo-Berber or Tifinyagh and the modern Tifinyagh inscriptions, occupy a vast area which seems to correspond to the ancient domain of the Berber language. Roughly, the signs of this script are to be found in use from the Mediterranean as far south as the Niger and from the Canary Islands to Libya. It is towards the east that the limit of this script's use is best known.

In Libya it was in common use in the Fezzan and Tripolitania. Recently, at the time of his excavation of Bu Njgu, R. Rebuffat noted that the Libyan inscriptions and graffiti there were influenced by Latin writings. Beyond there the evidence is less certain; nevertheless, graffiti inscription found at Khor Kilobsera in Nubia was published recently. The signs of this inscription are sufficiently close to ancient Tifinyagh for Alvarez Belgade to suggest a transcription and translation. Another author, Zawadowsky, even considered recognizing in it a contamination of Merotic script by Libyan, but this hypothesis was rejected by the majority of specialists.

In this vast area, the density of inscriptions is highly variable and they are, furthermore, of different periods. The zone with the highest concentration of Libyan inscriptions, their locus classicus, is undoubtedly North-West Tunisia and the part of Algeria adjacent to it; of the 1,124 published by J.-H. Chabot in his Recueil des inscriptions libyques, 1,073 come from this region. It is in fact the land of the Numides-Massyles, cradle of the Numidian kingdom, where the Libyan language and script remained alive for a long time. In the district a large number of inscriptions are, moreover, from the Roman period. The rest of Algeria, as well as Northern Morocco, contains a lower density of inscriptions. Despite the discoveries made since the Recueil of J.-H. Chabot appeared in 1940-1, the number of these inscriptions has only risen to 27 in Northern Morocco (L. Gainful), and those in Algeria to the west of Seif can be estimated at around fifty, of which about ten are in Kabylia alone.

Things are less clear on approaching the Saharan regions. Exploration is incomplete and above all very unevenly conducted. Furthermore, geological and topographical conditions are very influential factors in distribution. It is quite understandable that the flat regions, such as the Hamada or the basins occupied by dunes like the Western Great Erg, the Edèyen of Marzouk, contain very few inscriptions, while the rocky regions are infinitely richer. In the present state of our knowledge, which does not necessarily reflect the reality, the richest Saharan regions are the Hoggar and Tassili n’Ajjer, as well as its Libyan extension formed by the Azacus, the Air, the Touaregs, who are the heirs of the Therian tribes in the torso of the Atlas chain, particularly the south of the High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas and the Rio de Oro.

Inscriptions whose signs are close to the Saharan alphabet are not exceptional in the Canary Islands. Periodically, "Libyan" inscriptions are mentioned outside the Berber domain, such as those of the Grotto Regina at Palermo, which, if their relationship to Libyan is confirmed, can be explained by the presence of Numidian mercenaries in the Punic contingents of Sicily. Others have been shown to be bad readings of Latin inscriptions (au inscription of La Garde Freinet, Var, attributed to the "Sacaens") or the most fantastic interpretations, such as inscriptions found in Mexico or even Chile.

Traditionally, there are several distinguishable "alphabets" in the Libyan script. Some are contemporaneous with each other, such as the so-called Eastern and Western alphabets. The Libyo-Berber scripts of the Northern Sahara and the ancient Tifinyagh preceded the Tifinyagh used at the present day by the Touaregs, who are unable to read the ancient Tifinyagh. Modern Tifinyagh can undergo regional variations which are still little known.

The Eastern alphabet covers the north of Tripolitania, Tunisia, and Eastern Algeria; the western limit of its use is to the east of Sielf, although two western-type inscriptions may be seen at Xumida, and some eastern-type inscriptions may exceptionally be found in Kabylia such as the case of the decorated stele featuring a person standing found at Lakhdaria (ex-Palestrina), which bears on its main face, on either side of the person, an inscription with eastern signs. This inscription mentions offices and titles similar to those in use in Douiga in the 2nd century B.C. This detail allows us to put forward the hypothesis that it may well be an official inscription of the Numidian Mæsæylian kingdom and somewhat "foreign" in a land that was in ancient times Mæsæylian and the later Mætænania. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the existence on the reverse of the stele of graffiti using the Western script, which is that of the other inscriptions of the region. In the present state of our knowledge, the stele of Lakhdaria is the westernmost evidence of the Numidian or Eastern alphabet which seems to us to be more precisely Mæsæylian.

The Western Libyan alphabet covers the lands peopled by the Mæsæylians and Moors. It contains a greater number of signs than the Eastern, but also presents more variations; some signs known in Algeria are unknown in Morocco, and vice-versa. This script thus occupies a vast region, for all the Libyo-Berber inscriptions of the Northern Sahara and the Atlas belong to it to a greater or lesser extent. A great many of the Canary Islands inscriptions have the same signs, whose value is unfortunately not known with any certainty; besides, it is hardly likely that the Western script and that of
the Libyco-Berber inscriptions can be transcribed in the same way everywhere. This does not prevent there being signs $JFV$ (read from right to left) being found throughout the western area, from Greece to the Atlantic, and is evidence of a certain unity.

Modern Tifinagh signs, current or sub-current, whose use goes back at least to the 5th century A.D. (tomb of Tni Hinna in Hoggar), are known throughout the Touneg world and go beyond it on the north-west, to Touat and Gourara, where they were even in use among the Judaised Berbers.

In some regions such as the Anti-Atlas, particularly in the Tinsouline, the signs of the Eastern script are found alongside with small animal figures (horse, dog, oryx) which appear to act as pictograms; they are so closely linked that it makes it hard to believe that they do not have the same semantic content. The presence of dromedary figures in the same scenes prevents these inscriptions from being regarded as very ancient. These pictograms, if they really play this role, cannot serve to support the hypothesis of the Libyan alphabet coming into being through the combination of marks of ownership and other traditional drawings, such as those which still figures in tattoos.

However, it should be noted that Tifinagh has two signs: $\text{J}$, a sign which has the value $\text{D}$, and $\text{X}$, which has the value $\text{Z}$, the two of which seem to be derived from signs of a figurative, more or less anthropomorphic, character. More frequently, Libyan Tifinagh is written in horizontal lines, but the meaning of the reading is highly variable; sometimes it is from right to left, sometimes from left to right, from top to bottom and in boustrophedon.

K. Prasse noted that the use of a movable support, such as a sheet of paper, actually favoured this tendency. There are even some inscriptions known which describe almost closed curves.

Only the current form of Tifinagh and the Eastern Libyan alphabet can be transcribed, the former because the script and language are still in use among the Touneg, the latter because we have at our disposal several Libyco-Punic inscriptions, in particular that of Dougga, where the Libyan text corresponds quite closely to the Punic text. This last has also transcribed, without translation, some Libyan titles or municipal offices, such as LOGMI, or GZB, which, it seems, had no equivalent in the Punic towns.

Unfortunately, while the value of the signs is basically known and only requires some verification or points of detail, the language of the Libyan inscriptions is still unknown to us: The little that is known of Libyan, some elements of vocabulary and some presumed grammatical functions, show clearly that this language belongs to Berber; an ancient Berber, certainly, and imperfectly transcribed by a strictly consonantal alphabet, but which cannot be fundamentally different from the numerous current Berber dialects.

However, since the composition of the famous Rennell of Chabot, the very few specialists in this field have in general refused to suggest any translation of the texts, which are indeed very short, of the majority of the Libyan inscriptions; some even go so far as to pose the question of whether Libyan belongs to Berber. This carefunesse contrasts with the adventurous attempts of G. Marcy, who, relying on Berber, particularly Moroccan Tamasghit and Touneg Tamahak, suggested a translation for most of the Libyan inscriptions known in his time. This attempt was followed by M. Alvarez Delgado, who extends it to some Canary Islands inscriptions. Between the possibly exaggerated carelessness of the former, and the certainly dangerous enthusiasm of the latter, there has to be a middle position which accepts at the same time both the most serious checking and control and the minimum of hypothesis indispensable for the progress of all knowledge.

The Western alphabet contains some supplementary signs which are absent in the Eastern and whose originality has been demonstrated by L. Galian in his Inscriptions antiques du Maroc. The use of these two ancient alphabets was certainly contemporaneous. If it would be a mistake to believe, following a historical logic, that the Eastern alphabet is the older because the script came from the East. Personally, adopting a hypothesis of J. Février, the author of the present article would carry it so far as to think that the Eastern form of the Libyan script (Numidicum or Massyllican alphabet) is a recast and simplified form of the original script due to contact with Punic, whereas outside the Massyllic territory the old forms continued to be employed and to evolve until they became modern Tifinagh, which itself affords variations. His only disagreement with the hypothesis presented by J. Février is over the age of this adaptation, which Février placed in the 3rd century or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., whereas it seems to be much earlier.

Among others, the hypothesis has for long been prevalent that the Libyan alphabet derived directly from the Punic alphabet, as the name Tifinagh given to the present form of this script implies. But it is widely recognised that an origin derived from etymology can be fallacious. Nevertheless, the Libyan alphabet has several signs in common with the Punic script where they have the same value ($\text{G}$, $\text{T}$, $\text{SH}$). S. Gsell, however, raised considerable objections to this opinion. The writing of the Punic characters, as they are transmitted by numerous steles from Carthage, Utica, Hadrumetum and Cirta, is radically different from those of all the Libyan alphabets. Not only do nearly all the Punic signs have a cursive form, while the Libyan signs are angular and geometrical, but even the meaning of the script differs. All the Punic inscriptions, like every Semitic text, are written in horizontal lines from right to left, while the Libyan inscriptions are generally written from bottom to top in vertical columns, particularly those which we have every reason to believe the most ancient. It is only at Dougga for several decades, during the reigns of Massinissa and Micipsa, that some inscriptions of an official character were written in horizontal lines. Those inscriptions number eleven, which represent a hundredth of the texts gathered by J.-B. Chabot. This proportion would be even smaller if we were to take account of the inscriptions discovered since the case. The text of the inscriptions recorded at Dougga is thus highly original and denotes a very powerful Punic influence, but this appears to be only a factor of modernisation and not as an especially determining original element.

If we are to look, as is most likely, among the Near Eastern scripts for the forms from which the Libyan alphabet derives, it is not to the Phoenician of Africa as it is known at Carthage, but to a more archaic script that we should turn, which would explain the similarities remarked with the South Arabian scripts (Himyarite, Sabaeant), but also with the Turdetan alphabet of Southern Spain.
The script did not necessarily penetrate Africa by sea, and it is actually more likely that it crossed the continent and that the Numidian Massiliya form (the most recent of the ancient Libyan alphabets) may have arisen out of a transformation of the archaic forms in contact with the Punics.

As far as this alphabet itself is concerned, two old hypotheses may definitely be rejected. The first is that of Meltzer, according to whom the Eastern alphabet was wholly invented by Massinissa, for we know today that some Libyan inscriptions are earlier than this king and, further, that the Numidian royal administration employed Punic exclusively in its official inscriptions, as it did in the legends on its coins. The other hypothesis, that of Lacharzi, who wanted to link Libyan with Neo-Punic, is even more improbable, for it is based on a totally outdated chronology of the Neo-Punic script.

If the origin of the Libyan alphabet poses some insoluble problems, it is even more difficult to date its invention or introduction.

Contrary to the views of several authors (J. Blanchet, S. Gsell), the Libyan inscriptions or signs which are found on some rock carvings as at Set Mektouba, Chibla Nafna and Khamouet el Hadjar, cannot be contemporaneous with these later. It is now known that these carvings are for the most part Neolithic and thus very much earlier than every script. Careful examination reveals in every case that the inscriptions are superimposed on the carvings.

However, this is not the case with the inscription from the Aziz n’Tikis (High Atlas, Morocco). This inscription occupies a vertical cartouche delimited in an anthropomorphic figure of which it forms an indisputable part. It is certain that this inscription, which contains fifteen or sixteen signs not belonging to the Saharan alphabet, is contemporaneous with the carving. The technique of the lines, the patina, style and details such as the representation of the sex and the lateral fringes, which accompany the figure, are identical with other carvings which are usually attributed to the Old Berber civilization in Spain. Even assigning it as late as possible within the archaeological context, this inscription seems to us clearly earlier than the 6th-5th century B.C.

In Morocco, we also have the inscription of Sidi Slimane of the Libyans which refers to the tumulus that it adjoins and with which it is consequently contemporaneous; the funerary furniture of this monument belongs to the 4th-5th century B.C. In Eastern Algeria the baula (Punic-dry-stone burial chamber) at Tiddis contains pottery, a piece of which has these Libyan letters painted on its belly. The bones contained in the pottery of this tomb have been dated from 2200 ± 100 years to 250 ± 100 B.C. So this inscription is quite likely to be older than the bilingual dedication of the Temple of Massinissa at Dougga, dating from the tenth year of the reign of Micipsa, i.e. 138 B.C. This inscription was for a long time the only Libyan text reliably dated and there was also an unconscious tendency to regard it as the oldest.

A study by J. G. Févier of the inscriptions of Dougga, mentioning municipal offices, allows us to reconstruct the genealogy of an important person, Setot, who was twice (during one year?) prince of the city. Taking account of this genealogy, it is possible to date back two other inscriptions (RH, 16, 23) to a generation preceding the dedications of 139; these inscriptions would date from the decade 170-160 B.C.

In the Sahara, the datable documents are rarer, but a preliminary investigation has shown that Tifinagh is very much older than the historians, who believed that the Berbers only conquered the Sahara in the 3rd century of our era following the pressure exerted by Rome on the land routes of the north, formerly thought. In Fazzan, some Tifinagh scripts are carved on amphora found at Germa which date from the 1st century of our era. Among these graffiti figures sign 22, which exists only in the Saharan alphabet, proves that in the 1st century of our era, Tifinagh was in use in the heart of the Sahara.

In the massif of the Hoggar, the site of Asserkou, whose inscriptions and carvings appear very ancient (H. Carpent-Fabre), is worth citing, and especially the carved blocks of the funerary monument of Tin Hinar at Abelesse. These blocks which bear Tifinagh script have been cut so as to form part of the construction of the monument, of which they constitute the lower courses. The cutting has mutilated or interrupted some carved texts. This Tifinagh, which belongs, however, to the modern alphabet, is thus at least contemporaneous with the monument and probably older; the funerary furniture and the isotopic date calculated from the wood of the bed or stretcher on which Tin Hinar reposed, date the construction of the monument back to the 5th century of our era.

Such are the chronological pointers which allow us to assert the great antiquity of the Libyan script in the Maghreb, where it is clearly earlier than the reign of Massinissa, i.e. at the emergence of the Numidians and Moors into history. As for the Sahara, the use of Tifinagh goes back to at least the beginning of our era and probably much earlier.


Cyrenaica. The onset of World War II impeded further Italian development plans. After severe fighting in the coastal strip due to stiff resistance by combined forces, Libyan resistance did not subside. During World War II the Italians were virtually besieged in their coastal strongholds. In Cyrenaica, Fazzan and the Sirtica, resistance was led by Ahmad al-Sharif (1873-1933), head of the Sanusi order, with support from Turkey and Germany. It was under their influence that he decided to attack British Forces in Western Egypt in November 1915. Defeated, he was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations, though briefly joining the Arab oil emirate under the Sanusi flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

After World War II the future fate of Libya was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. On 21 November 1949 it was decided that Libya should become an independent state before 1 January 1951. A UN Commissioner, the Dutchman Adriaan Pelt, was appointed to supervise the powers transfer from British and French military governors and publicly hanged on 29 September 1931. Full-scale war in Libya was resumed after Mussolini's take-over in Rome in 1922. Due to its internal divisions, resistance in Tripolitania was soon crushed, but in Cyrenaica the charismatic leadership of the Sanusi representative Umar al-Mukhtar inspired Bedouin resistance for almost ten years until at last he was injured in battle, imprisoned and publicly hanged on 10 September 1931. Pacification of Libya being completed, territorial adjustments started, extensive agricultural colonisation schemes in the fertile coastal plains. In 1935 they completed the strategic coastal road connecting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The onset of World War II impeded further Italian development plans. After severe fighting between Germany and the Allied Forces, in January 1943 all of Libya was occupied by British and Free French Forces. Idris al-Sanusi had assisted the British war effort from Cairo, and an army of Libyan exiles under the Sanusi flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

On 1 September 1951, Idris was deposed. In spite of an initial wave of popular enthusiasm, the revolution remained entirely an army affair. It had been planned and implemented by a movement of "Free Officers" modelling itself on the Nasserist revolution. A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) took control of affairs. It consisted of twelve officers and technicians; petroleum and dock workers started to organise in trade unions. The new social groupings were denied political expression. Subsequent tensions were heightened by foreign politics. During the Suez crisis (1956) and again in 1967 there were violent outbursts of Arab nationalist feelings. But Libya, a member of the Arab League since 1953, was tied to the West in its foreign policy by the presence of British and US military bases. The government, though briefly joining the Arab oil embargo of 1967, had no means adequately to meet widespread popular support for a Nasserist policy. This undermined the King's authority.

On 29 September 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey and started its long-planned invasion of the Libyan littoral. Italian troops did not succeed in penetrating beyond the coastal strip due to stiff resistance by combined Turkish-Libyan Forces. Negotiations between Italy and Turkey resulted in the Peace Treaty of Ouchy (17 October 1912). On the battlefield, however, Libyan resistance did not subside. During World War I the Italians were virtually besieged in their coastal strongholds. In Cyrenaica, Fazzan and the Sirtica, resistance was led by Ahmad al-Sharif (1873-1933), head of the Sanusi order, with support from Turkey and Germany. It was under their influence that he decided to attack British Forces in Western Egypt in November 1915. Defeated, he was put before the General Assembly of the United Nations, though briefly joining the Arab oil emirate under the Sanusi flag had participated in the liberation of Cyrenaica.

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Libya

4. Ethnography and demography. Since the early 1800s, when Libya began to export oil on an international scale, the social and economic structure of its population has been undergoing a continuous process of accelerated and extensive change. Nonetheless, studies of Libyan culture and society and its institutionalised forms—the family, kinship systems, political organisation, legal procedures, religious beliefs and practices, etc.—must still take into account geographical and historical diversities within the country and among its inhabitants. The three regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica (Barqa), and the Fezzan have had different economies, varying external connections, and experienced specific historical and cultural influences; and internally, each of these regions has been diversified in particular ways.

Along the Mediterranean coastline of 1,200 miles lies a fertile coastal strip nowhere broader than 50 miles. The barren Gulf of Sirte, an arc of some 300 miles where the desert comes right down to the sea, separates the settled coastal areas of Tripolitania from those of Cyrenaica. These areas are well-watered, enjoy a Mediterranean climate and contain the principal cities, towns and villages inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the country's population. The western coastal zone includes the capital city of Tripoli; the inland hills of Djabal Nafusa, with sufficient rainfall for habitation, and ancient olive groves surrounding small Berber-speaking towns and troglodytic settlements formerly inhabited by Libyan Jews; and, between the fertile coast and the hills, the arid plains, forming the country's second largest city, Benghazi, and the Djabal Akhdar mountain range which runs in an arc parallel to the coast from Deren to south of Benghazi and whose uplands, rising to 2,000 feet, receive plentiful rainfall.

To the south of this strip lies a second zone which in the past has been too arid for permanent settlement, but which is sufficiently watered to provide grazing and cops of barley for nomadic herdsmen. Although rains were uncertain and the hot wind from the south (gobi) could "chivel plants like a flame", this was the country's main barley-producing area.

Beyond this zone was an absolute desert with the exception of four oasis groups in Cyrenaica—Djaghbub [q.v.], Djalal, Marada and Kufra [q.v.], and the spare half-dozen oases of the Fezzan [q.v.]. Only about one-twentieth of the country's total population lived in this area of extreme desert climate.

The divisive geographical features of Libya were mitigated by trade, religion, and, finally, by the political unity created by Italian colonisation, militated by trade, religion and, finally, by the political unity created by Italian colonisation, 1911 and furthered by the Second World War. Before the opening of West African ports in the 19th century, a good proportion of the wealth of tropical Africa had reached Europe by way of Libya. From the Cyrenaica and Cyrenaica, gold, ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers and slaves transported to the emporia of Tripoli and Benghazi had sustained oasis-dwellers, camel-herders and merchant townsmen. The Fezzan had been a wealthy community of slave-owning merchants, Berber-speaking Tuaregs with trading networks as far as Timbuctu, in parts of the Sahara and into the Western Sudan; while Cyrenaica and the Fezzan had controlled the caravan route through Kufra to Wadai. When this commerce ceased, the Tuareg moved further west while the former Tebu-speaking waves remained in the oases, subsisting as crop-sharing peasants until the oil boom of the 1960s. Most of these areas, as well as the Djabal Akhdar and the tribes in the plaiu of Djalal, were more or less autonomous and maintained their own locally based social structures.

Until the 1950s, at least four-fifths of the population of Tripolitania lived from agriculture and animal-rearing. In the Djalal, a number of tribes, integrated in a complex social and economic pattern that included sedentary peasants, transhumants, and oasis cultivators, were linked by sufi [q.v.] relations of alliance which transcended other loyalties.
In Cyrenaica, as well, the combination of nomadism, pastoralism, and some cultivation, along with the significant seasonal variations in climate, assumed a characteristic form of social organization, viz., the segmentary tribal system. Throughout Libya (and elsewhere in North Africa and the East), the disposition of non-urban groups reflected the distribution and exploitation of natural resources, and the usage of common concepts, especially that of the segmentary tribal system, was widespread and of central importance. Nonetheless, these shared concepts often glossed over diverse adaptations to different types of ecologies. Thus, for example, in Cyrenaica the virtually sedentary cow and goat herders of the Djabal Ahadjar and the camel and sheep pastoralists of the semi-desert area differed significantly in the pattern of their social relationships. The idea of "tribe" also nominally existed in the cities of the coastal area, but the urban elites with their cosmopolitan values and social structure had more resemblances and affinities with their urban counterparts in the Arab and Muslim world than they did with the tribesmen of their hinterlands.

Libya, like the rest of predominantly Berber North Africa, had been invaded in the 5th/6th century by the Banu Hilal [q.v.] and Banu Sulaym [q.v.], some of the former settling in Tripolitania, and the latter in Cyrenaica. These tribal movements from the east accelerated the process of Arabisation and the spread of Islam and produced a fusion of cultures and races. Only small pockets of Berber-speakers have resisted. In Tripolitania there are communities of sedentary agriculturists along the northern fringes of Djabal Nafissa between Yefren and Nalut, and on the coast at Zueara; these Berber-speakers, who are further distinguished by their adherence to the Ibadîyya [q.v.] sect, constitute an estimated 4% of the population of Tripolitania; in addition, there are in the oases of Ghadamis and Ghat Berber-speaking Tuareg. To complete the linguistic description, mention should again be made of the Tebu of Fazzan and southern Cyrenaica who speak their own language, a Sudaic dialect. Finally, amongst the Arabic-speaking population, the Libyan Jews, who are distinguished both ethnically and by their adherence to the Sephardic faith and the Ashkenazi school of law. Yet neither their beliefs, nor the history of the country, may be understood without taking into account the revivalist movement of the Sanusiyya [q.v.], a neo-Sufi order established by Muhammad 'Ali al-Sanusi (1787-1859). The order, founded on a network of lodges, spread along the desert oases from Tripolitania to the Sudan. With his headquarters in the interior at Dajâghib, a strategic centre for consolidating power and spreading the creed among tribes along the caravan routes, the head of the order created a political-religious organisation that was to lead the opposition to Italian penetration and eventually become transformed into the Libyan Kingdom under the rule of a descendant of the founder, King Idris. The Sanusi order, as an Islamic revivalist movement, gave the population of the country a religious zeal and, aroused by Italy's attack, a sense of unity that developed into Libyan nationalism.

During the period of Italy's colonisation of Libya, a large number of agricultural estates belonging to Italian individuals and development companies were established; a programme of state and land-grant colonisation in the 1920s was followed by large-scale agricultural settlement by Italian peasant families from the Po Valley and the Veneto. The colonial occupation disrupted and influenced the economic and social life of the indigenous population in a myriad of ways: e.g. there was an increase in sedentarisation among nomads, the breakdown of corporate groups, the spread of education, and a massive exodus of poor rural pastoralists and agriculturalists to take up wage labour in the cities and towns of the coastal region, especially after the Second World War.

Since independence in 1951, the government has created a new group of Libyan farmers by transferring to them former Italian lands (and eventually nationalising those lands in 1971) and establishing a National Agricultural Settlement Agency. Moreover, it has instituted policies for land use, irrigation, rural settlement (and, since the revolution of 1969, a state policy for rural development with projects planned for the Djalâra plain, Djabal Alhadjar, Kutra, Serir and Fazzân), and has generally sought to raise the contribution of agriculture to the national economy. But because of the phenomenal development of oil and the growth of industry and services, agriculture has declined significantly since the pre-1967 period when it involved 70% of the labour force.

In 1964 oil in Libya began to flow on an international level. Since then it has transformed the country from a poor agricultural and desert backland to a land of influence and one of the biggest oil exporters in the world. With an estimated annual average income of $ 8 billion per year (1978) and a per capita Gross National Product of $ 6,310, Libya has become the richest country in Africa and the fourteenth richest country in the world (1977 World Bank Report). The national economy now depends on the oil sector, which accounted for about 62% of Gross Domestic Product in 1980. The government (reigned since 1971 by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to replace the Libyan Arab Republic established in 1969 and followed by the country's transformation into the Republic al-Kaddhafi (Gaddafi) in 1969) has concentrated in its latest Development Plan (1975-80) on the needs of electricity, water supplies, sewage and housing, and the creation of three major industrial complexes. It is the urban sector, where one-third of the labour force are foreigners and less than 3% women, which now receives governmental priorities.

Libya is on the way to becoming a highly-urbanised society. About half of its population in 1978 of 2,074,100 (of whom 2,397,000 are Libyans) live in towns of 30,000 or larger. Its accelerated urban growth results from migration, natural increase and immigration of foreign labour. Between 1966 and 1973, towns of 25,000 or more population grew by 20% annually, one of the highest rates in the world. (Natural increase for the same period was 4.2%.) The urban regions of Tripoli and Benghazi (20% of the country's total area) contain 92% of the total population, include fourteen of the fifteen towns with a population of at least 10,000, and are responsible for 80% of Libya's agricultural production.

The city of Tripoli has grown from a population of some 30,000 at the beginning of the century, to 110,000 (1931), to 240,000 (1954) and to an estimated 820,000 in 1980; while Benghazi, according to the 1980 estimate, has some 400,000 inhabitants. By the end of this century, it is expected that of Libya's
population of 5.5 to 7 million, 67% to 74% will live in cities of 20,000 or more, i.e., that the number of city-dwellers will triple or quadruple. The study of social and cultural changes consequent to these processes greatly increases the challenges to Libyan ethnography.


**LIBYA-YI SHERIF, the hairs of the Prophet.** In imitation of the Prophet's practice shaving of the hair and beard later became a custom. According to al-Butani, during his penitence and last pilgrimages, Muhammad permitted people who wanted to get his hair when he was being shaved (Ahmet Zehidi Zeynadin, Sahih Butani musahari tercesi, Istanbul 1971), and the Moroccan, S. Z. Iskit, in: Turk Etnografya Dergisi, xiv (Ankara 1974), 97-113. The hairs of his head and beard, thus obtained, were preserved and later circulated in all Islamic countries. People kept this hair in a bottle, wrapped in layers of green cloth, in mosques, palaces, etc., opening this on public festivals such as during the days of Ramadan, Bayram, and in the second half of Ramadan. In the houses of the rich, the Libya-yi Sherif was regarded with respect and placed in an honoured, elevated position. In the mosques it stood on a high stool on the landing above the last stair of the pulpit (Osman Eryilmaz, Turkiye novar tarifi, Istanbul 1930-41, i, 175; Mehmet Zeki Pakaln, Osmanh tasvirden degerlendirii ve terimleri sabildd, Istanbul 1971, ii, 266). Although it means properly a hair from the head of the Prophet, it is called Sahil Sherif incorrectly. The term is also used in fnal countries, meaning the Prophet's beard only.

The Libya-yi Sherif is today kept in a silver box at the Toykapal Palace, together with the other relics of Islam, in the Imperial Chamber (Khâish Oda), in the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle (Kahreba-Salâdâ Dîvinesi) (Nesam Qâd, Relics of Islam, Istanbul 1966, 67). Two other examples which belong to the Yildiz Palace, now transferred with other objects to Istanbul University Library, are however in boxes entrusted with special priests, a medal from the time of the Kur'an, and the other, the so-called "napskin", specially made (Nesam H. Baykal, Endorun melke tarhi, Istanbul 1953, 148) for the visits to the Holy Mantle organised by the Sultan-Caliph on 15 Ramadan and then distributed to the courtiers and other people invited to the ceremony (see also GURY-YI SPRINTER).

The ceremony of visiting the Holy Mantle is explained at length in many Ottoman writers. Although the Libya-yi Sherif is kept with the other relics there, it is never mentioned, and the Mantle of the Prophet occupied the most important place in these ceremonies (H. Z. Usâkigil, Saray ve iki, Istanbul 1966, 233; Leyla Soz, Haemin sattulii, Istanbul 1974, 135). It is interesting to note that in histories such as those of SilahlDar or SolahnDar, we find much information about the Holy Standard and the Holy Mantle's being removed from their places and sent away in times of crisis, and about help being expected from them when the sultans or the Ottoman army were in trouble; but one of these authors writes anything about the Libya-yi Sherif (H. H. Unatponsili, Osmanh devletinin saray tesbillari, Ankara 1943, 250-60).


**LIBYAN, people and States of early Arabia.** 1. Libyan and Libyanite in epigraphy. Inscriptions discovered in the north of the Hijaz and speedily identified as "Libyanite" have preserved the names of at least six kings of Libya, a kingdom which must have existed for several centuries in pre-Islamic times. The great majority of the Libyan inscriptions are found in the south of the kingdom of al-Ula and its immediate surroundings, especially in the neighbourhood of al-Khurayba, the site of ancient Dedan, not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Hijr (q.v.), i.e. modern Madâ'in Sâlih. Not only Libyanite, but also other inscriptions are found in more or less considerable numbers in the same area: Dédânti, Minean, Thamidic,
probably ornamented on the inside with large statues; parts of several of these statues were found lying in the débris. In the central court of the temple, there was a stone basin, circular in form and more than four metres in diameter.

The language of the Libyanitc inscriptions is an early form of Arabic. Some differences with Classical Arabic are easily observed. The assimilation of words like *gazal* (cf. Classical Arabic *gazal*) and *'ajib* (cf. Classical Arabic *'ajib*) shows that the Libyanitc phonemic system comprised the vowels a and ä. After nasals, ä may have been realised as th and is occasionally spelled conformingly, e.g. *buth* instead of *but*-daughter. The article has the form *il*-Anbelore, and, optimally, *il*-occurs in one inscription. The dual pronominal suffix -huny (cf. Classical Arabic *-sun*) did not end in -d because, in Libyanitc orthography, final long -d is written with the letter *t*. The nominative plural *stuctures* is also spelled with final -y and, for that reason, cannot have ended in -d. The perfect, third person n. sg. of the causative stem of verbs with identical second and third radicals is frequently not contracted, *ilt* or *hill*; but contracted forms are also found on occasion. A systematic analysis of the inscriptions will undoubtedly reveal other peculiarities of Libyanitc Arabic.


2. In Islamic sources. The Islamic historical and genealogical sources consider the Arab tribe of Läthyan to be a branch of the Hudhavl [?].v., and genealogists such as Krenkow, in RSO, viii, 145, no. 125, with bibli¬

SBM'SAW, = cciii, no. 4

they are mentioned apart from them, e.g. in their origin home, sc. now in the country to the north-east of Mecca, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslims tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamud [q.2] with the Thamud proper and the Nabataeans of al-J¿dîr; a memory, but a very vague one, of the old kingdom of Läthyan may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Läthyan were "remnants of the Dhîhimm", who later became part of the Hudhavl (Tabari, i, 749, 71-72 [see s.gumma]), following Ibn al-Kalbi, Tadé al-Lordi, 3, 244, K. al-Mutana, probabbly in al-Diraj, since the passage is not found in the text of the (Diraśal al-Arab).

In the period just before and after Islam, the Läthyan do not seem to have had a history independent of their brethren of Hudhavl, it is only rarely that very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: Abd Allah b. Sufyan b. Khalid b. Nubayh by Ibn 'abakat al-nufidt, 223/838 (cf. nl-Zubaydi, 1927. 31), »>. 6x4, of a battle with the Khuzai. The mission which the Hudhavl made to Islam (see Ishtihdk, ed. Wiistenfeld, rop; Ibn al-Kalbi, jasr, vii, 229; Ibn al-Kalbi, Castel, Ganahar an-nasab, i, Tab. 58, ii, 7, 37; Ibn Hisám, Sina, ed. Wistenfeld, 658-44, 981-7; Wájidi, tr. Wallhausen, 158-60, 224; Tabari, i, 143-7; Caetani, Annali dell’ Islam, i, 577-8, 582-1 (year 4, 3-14, 7).

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA )

LIM, LIMON [see MUSLIM/ARAB]

LIMASSOL [see KUROUT]

LIMINI (Turkish form of the Greek Λιμνος, in older Ottoman historical works Limos and Limni, in older Greek sources also Λιμνος. Stalimene in medieval western sources, Limnos in modern usage) an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea. 80 km west of the entrance of the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı [q.e]) halfway between Mount Athos and Tenos (Baudja-Ado [q.e]). The island, of ca. 270 km², has been virtually treeless since long before Ottoman times. Agriculture is of local importance only. Its famous export product since antiquity is a sort of volcanic earth which had reputedly medicinal power, terra limnica, linni makk-fen, which used to be dug once yearly with some ceremony. Lemnos today has a Greek population of about 25,000 which is constantly decreasing. Myrina (formerly Kastro, Turkish Limini) on the western coast is the capital of the island that forms a part of the province of Lesvos of the Republic of Greece. There is a military air base at Nodos. The large harbours of Purnia in the north and Fort Mudros in the south, almost cutting Lemnos in two halves, are not much used any more.

Lemnos in the Middle Ages was part of the Byzantine Empire. It suffered the dependences of corsairs, Arabs from Crete (jëlipli [q.e]) in the 10th century, and those of Saldjuks from Anatolia in the 11th century. With the partition of the Empire after the Latin conquest (1204), Stalimene became an imperial fief granted to Filocalo Navigaious and to his descendants in 1207, Byzantine rule was restored by the Emperor Michael Paleologus between 1267-8. Prisoners of state were held in the island, e.g. the Ottoman pretender Djuame Mustafa in 823-4/1419-20. Shortly before 1453, Dorius I Gattilissi (1426-55), Lord of Lesvos (Turkish Midilli [q.e]), acquired the whole of Lemnos as a fief. After the fall of Constantinople (29 May 1453), the Byzantine authorities fled. Thanks to the diplomatic activities of Crito¬lus, the Byzantine-Ottoman historian, who was a judge in nearby Limnos (Imroös [q.e]), the Gattilissi dynasty of Lesvos was granted Lemnos and Thasos (Taschos [q.e]) as fiefs by Sultan Mehmed II, subject to a tribute of 2,325 gold pieces a year. Domico Gattilissi, son and successor of Dorius I, was in 1455 granted Lemnos only. In 1456, however, the inhabitants appealed to the sultan to be directly governed by him. From this time, the first khwan¬nîme of Limnos, Lemos and Thasos must be dated, and this was confirmed by Selim I in 1759 cf. Durrà, Kâmûlûl, 133-40.

A papal war fleet commanded by Ludovico, Cardinal Scarampi, captured the island in 1457, but in 1459 the Ottoman admiral Khudanz Isma'il Bey retook it. Crito¬lus intervened once more to maintain its special status, which led to the grant of Lemnos (plus Limnos and Imnos on the mainland...
Lemnos and other islands. With Samothrace (Turkish Semadirek), Imroz (Göksa-Ada) and Tenedos (Bozđa-Ada), the last two having been restored to Turkey, Lemnos formed part of a demilitarised zone. The 2,500 Muslim-Turkish inhabitants of Lemnos had already left their island in 1920, and Greek refugees from Anatolia took their places in 1923.


LIMITS [see KATTAN]
LINGA — LIPKA

LINGA. a minor seaport, modern Bandar-i Linga, on the northern shore of the Persian or Arab Gulf, lat. 26° 34' N. and long. 54° 33' E., to the south of Lārīstan [see Lār, Lāstatra] and facing the islands of Khīshkūn and the Qāmshū. Linga has a harbour of some depth, allowing traffic by dhows and coastal craft; behind the town lies a salt marsh, and then the Band-i Linga mountains, which rise to 3,900 ft. (1,190 m). The population, formerly largely Arab, is now predominantly Persian, but with strong admixtures of Arabs, Baluchis, Indians and the descendants of black African slaves, these comprising both Sunni and Shī`īs.

The old port was at Kung, 8 miles (13 km. to the east, where the Portuguese retained a footing till 1721, long after they had lost Hormuz (q.v.). In 1760, the Kawāsim Arabs (q.v.) under Shāhryār Sālīh came from Ra‘ī’s al-Khānyā and established footholds at Linga, which they seized from the Khān of the Džalangkū district, at Shīrāz and on Khīshkūn island, till they were in 1765 expelled by Karim Khān Zan‘d (q.v.). In 1809-10 the British naval expedition from Bombay which attacked the Kāmil pirates at Ra‘ī’s al-Khānyā were on their way to take Linga and other Khīshī ports on both the Arab and the Persian shores of the Gulf. In 1887 the Persian imperial government extended its control over Linga and deprived the last hereditary shāykh of Khālid, carrying him off in chains to Tehran.

Linga was at this time still a flourishing port, a centre for pearl-fishing, with Indian merchants engaging in various activities such as waggon-driving, trade with the East and tanning, a craft traditional with Turkish peoples. Certain of the Lipkas also provided some dispatch-riders sent to the Crimean Tatars who since the 14th century inhabited Lithuania, and later the eastern and south-eastern lands (Belorussia, Volhynia) of old Poland up to Podolia, and after 1672 also partly Moldavia and Dobruja. Derived from the old Crimean Tatar name of Lithuania, the record of the name in Oriental sources (in 1926-1920, later in 1932) by V. Velimirovitch-Zernof, Mâtiériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khânat de Crimée, St. Petersburg 1884, 3. 4. 729; also Édouard Ribberr, Istambul 1928, 615, 618, and C. Orhonlu, Lipkades, in JAF, xvi (1971), tables i, vi) permits to infer an original Lībă > Lipka, from which Pol. Lipka was formed (contamination with Pol. Lipka "small fenezes"); this etymology was suggested by the Tatar author S. Tuman-Baranowski, Słownik geografii historycznej Polski (Warsaw, iii [1932], 96-9). A less frequent Polish form, Lodka, is corrupted in (Lūbka > Lipka), the Crimean Tatar name of the Lipkas up to the end of the 19th century (Ewyta Cebeli, Kresy wojny, ed. by A. S. Tveritinova, Warsaw 1921, 254, n. 3).

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The Tatar settlements in Lithuania date back to the first quarter of the 14th century. Lithuania was also to provide a refuge for various exiles from the Golden Horde in later years. However, Tatar colonisation on a mass scale in Lithuania is commonly associated with the person of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Witold (r. 1325-1348), a supporter of the Khan Tolguhammad and his sons in their struggle for power within the Horde. Witold's expedition to the battle of the Don in 1357 gave a rise to a voluntary and long-lasting immigration of large masses of Tatar population from the steppes to Lithuania. The newcomers, who were brought to settle at the very centres of power (Vilna, Troki and others), while maintaining their tribal organisation and freedom of the Islamic cult, were enlisted to do military service in separate units, and were endowed for this with land and exemption from the taxes. The nobility came in time to be put on a par with the Polish nobility. Nevertheless, they were exposed to the envy of the magnates and nobility and of the Lithuanian and Polish nobility, whereas the former támrâgas performed the function of coats-of-arms (S. Dziedulewicz, Herbarz rodzin tatarskich w Polsce, Vilna 1929). The poorer part of the Tatar population engaged in various activities such as waggon-driving, trade with the East and tanning, a craft traditional with Turkish peoples. Certain of the Lipkas also provided some dispatch-riders sent to the Crimean, and official interpreters for mutual contacts with Turkish and Crimean embassies. The privileges granted to the Lipkas by Witold were to be later re-affirmed by the successive Grand Dukes of Lithuania and Kings of Poland. Nevertheless, they were exposed to the envy of the magnates and nobility and of the Roman Catholic clergy as well, which in turn provoked the first manifestations of ill-will among these Muslims towards their adopted land. Their complex situation was adequately depicted in the anonymous Risâle-yi Tātar-i Lek by one of the Lipkas who, during a stay in Istanbul in 1557-1560, on his way to Mecca, wrote his account for Subhânîl the Magnificent [from a 16th century copy thereof, no longer extant], the Turkish text with Polish translation and commentary was published by A. Muchniński, Zdanie sprawy o Tatarach tatarskich ... , Vilna 1838).

The rule of the fervent Catholic Sigismund III (1587-1632) and the Counter-Reformation movement brought a number of restrictions to the liberties granted to non-Catholics in Poland, the Lipkas
among others. To this can be attributed the intervention by Sultan Murad III with the King in the matter of liberty of religious cult for the Lipkas, undertaken in 1600/1591 upon the request of two Muslims who had accompanied the King's envoy to Istanbul (Z. Abrahamowicz, Katalog dokumentów tatarskich, Warsaw 1959, p. 236). In 1609 the mosque at Bar was built under the supervision of a master of the Tatar craft, in which the Lipkas were accused of witchcraft and burnt. P. Czyżewski, in retaliation for his father's death at the hands of a Lipka, published a pamphlet, Alferkhan tatarski pracoedzieś (1610), abusive towards the Muslim creed and its believers. It gained wide popularity (republished 1646, 1653) despite the Apologia Tatarum by Anuliewicz (1630). The Lipkas who had defended their new land in the wars against the Teutonic Order and Muscovy, and upon the borderland territory of Poland against the attacks of Crimean Tatars, on the other hand, as early as in 1653/1657-8, having the author of the Rysie for their mouth-piece, had expressed their wish to be re-integrated with the world of Islam and even of having their land subjugated by the Pilgrish. Now, estracised as they were and in view of the material difficulties in the Polish army, they partly joined the Turks when the latter invaded Poland in 1672. Kopruliszcze Fadl Ahmed Paglia made Poland, by the Buczacz treaty of 1681/1682, refrain from putting any obstacles to their emigrating to Islamic lands; however, their pro-Turkish enthusiasm was soon to abate. A. Kryczynski, who had once served in the Polish army, and later was made commander (masjid) at Bar, the centre of one of the four sandjaks within the new millet of Podolia, and a fervent promoter of the idea of serving the Ottomans, perished at the hands of the Poles in October 1673 (sildabas a’laihi, i, 531; S. Kryczyński, Urodziny barczak, in RT, ii, 229-310). Some of the Lipkas available themselves of the Amnesty Act and returned to Poland (K. Grygjański and J. Janecz, Pourquoi Lipkés sous l’autorité Roussiie polonaise, in Sobhata, 1980/2, 181-9). They also took part in the battle of Chocim on the Polish side under the command of John Sobieski (1673). They also took part in the battle of Chocim on the Polish side under the command of John Sobieski (1673). The reign of John III, a protector and patron of the Lipkas, was also noted in their history by a wave of conversions to Roman Catholicism, a fact which, however, supported by the Polish state, has focused on religion, contacts with the Muslim world, history, mosques, burial grounds and other monuments of the Lipkas in restored Poland (after 1918). An important part was performed by the Cultural and Educational Association of the Tatars in the Republic of Poland (established 1926) and personally by Dr. J. Szylniekiwicz, mujaff after 1926, an orientalist who was in close contact with the Polish Islamist T. Kowalski (Cracow) and two Karaim Turcologists, S. Sapszol (Vienna) and A. Zajaczkowski (Warsaw). In Vienna, where the mujaff had his seat, a Tatar National Museum was founded in 1929, and the Tatar National Archives in 1931. Several journals were published: Przeglad islamski (1930-31), Zycie tatarskie (from 1931), and the Rocznik Tatarski (RT) dealing with scientific research (iii: Vilna 1932, Zamość 1935, Warsaw 1938; vol. iv, destroyed by the Nazis, was never published). In 1936 a Tatar cavalry unit was formed within the Polish Army; they wore the traditional horse-tails (bugž). The forms of Muslim religious activities in Poland were finally established by the Islamic Act passed on 24 April 1936. The outbreak of the Second World War did not permit completion of the building of the mosque in Warsaw. Tatars participated in the Polish resistance movement and fell victims to the Nazis during the occupation. The westward shift of Poland's frontiers after the war, and the emigration of the Mujaff Szylniekiwicz, who had not left any followers of his stature, were detrimental to the general situation of the Lipkas. Some of the Tatar intellectuals, however, supported by the Polish state, continued their activities on religion, contacts with the Muslim world, history, mosques, burial grounds and other monuments of the Tatar past in Poland (M. Kono-packi, Les musulmans en Pologne, in REI, 1968/1; A. Miśniewicz, Tatarsz pod polszczy w latach 1918-1929, in Niew, 1956/1957, 195/197). The author of the Rysie reckoned that there were a hundred settlements of the Lipkas, with a corresponding number of mosques, in Poland, and numbered their population at 200,000, which seems greatly exaggerated. İbrahim Pêçelvi, quoting the statement made by a messenger of the mujaff to the mujaff at Aĥ澶man, mentions sixty villages with mosques (TaRîh, i, Istanbul 1283, 472, quoted by A. Michlifiszki, Islamszcr ön naplókében i csomóponti litográfiai tatar, St. Petersburg 1857, 60-1, and Orhodou, op. cit., 65). In 1933 there were about 9,000 Muslims in Poland, with 16 mosques and one under construction, and two prayer-houses (RT, 1, 323). At the report of the Polish census, it appears that the number of Muslims in Poland exceeds 2,000. There are only two mosques, in the villages of Bohenkin and Kruszyniany (Koĥołmak, Kuršyn among the Tatars), of which the former, devastated by the Nazi troops, has been rebuilt on a government grant. Since the 19th century there has also been a Muslim community in Warsaw
with an old burial ground; two new ones were established after the last war in Gliadz and Szaczyn, where the Tatar repatriates from the East had come to settle.

The author of the *Árida* reports that the *imitans* were brought by the Lipkas partly from the Crimea and to the Horde. Pallid's account of religious and legal matters were submitted by them to, e.g., the *mufti* at Akterman (loc. cit.). Their contacts with the Muslim clergy in Turkey (also attested by the references in contemporary Turkish authors; Orhonlu, op. cit., 66) are recorded still in the 18th century (Czarotycki Library, Cracow, no. XVIII.180). The author of the *Árida*, a fervent Muslim himself, had deplored the fact that some of the Lipkas assumed the Christian creed, that the knowledge of Arabic was dying out among them and that, still worse, they tended to forget their own language, so that yerčīl insānī te sęklemeyu baghdāda and nobody but the newcomers knew the "Ottoman" language. Pečewski's informant had equally stressed that the Lipkas on copying the Kur'ān *arabi khíši útil* commented upon it *Leh referes isliši útil* (loc. cit.). Ewliyā Celebi had at first called them soberly *Leh brālina tēṉe 'a'rûmeti* Muhammed ben *Lība khaymu*, and numbering them into the "Tatar" nations, justly regarded their language as belonging to the Slavonic family (*Syzabal-nınče*, ii, 99; v, 138, 140). Later, however, when the name of the Lipkas was cited to him at Ujjar-Neuhausen (Nové Zámky, in Slovakia) by the Crimean Tatar adversaries of the Swedes in Poland in 1656 [*cf. Rtsale*, i, 120, 121], he wrote how in that "Swedish" which he had allegedly visited along with the Tatars in 1663, he found 800,000 (vi, 368) or rather 200,000 (v, 368) people (see in fact that they did not know Tatar at all and spoke among themselves only *fılyan isliši útil* (vi, 368). In fact, the Lipkas, as a result of these intermarriages with the Poles and Belorusciani, abandoned completely their native language; however, though Polish and Beloruscian became their predominant languages, even in religious writings, they were still in Arabic alphabet (such texts in both languages are quoted by Musiol, "Przeciwko..., ii, 99; iii, 256-7). Consequently, A. K. Autourovich, Belorusciani tıkəlī, pisaniye ar- ęškim piłłam, i iňğ grafike orografiełesnaya sistemə, Vilna 1968, with detailed bibliography). Furthermore, the Polish and Beloruscian as spoken and written by the Lipkas were enriched with many loan-words taken from the Muslim creed, community life, and everyday activities, of Arabic, Persian and Turkic origin (A. Wronicz, Szawatz jeyzhow Tatarów Łubiańskich, in *RT*, ii, 353-67, with a vocabulary listing similar words and phrases). This cultural ambiguity can also be observed on the tombstones of the Lipkas, where the half-moon and the *şehitlenen* formula in Arabic are usually followed by the text proper written in Polish or, formerly, sometimes in Russian. In recent times however, even the knowledge of the Arabic alphabet has been dying out among the young generation. Hence when J. Sobolewski wrote his *Wykład wiaru* musulmangu "Zastosowania islamskiego" ("Exposition of the Muslim or Islamic creed"); Vilna 1933), with an explanation of the religious rites and prayers, he did it in Polish only; the book was destined for his many co-religionists who were unable to read the traditional *kitab* in the Arabic alphabet. The Polish translation of the Kur'ān by Jan Mirza Tarak Buczeki (Warsaw 1838) was founded not upon the original only, and was provided with commentaries derived from the French translation of the Kur'ān by Kazimierski, which, to cite J. Szynkiewicz, "were often offensive to the religious feelings of a Muslim" (*Literatura religijna Tataros literackich i jej pochodzenie, in *RT*, ii, 140). The Tatar national and cultural revival in inter-war Poland was however, largely due also to some of the Roman Catholic Lipkas (S. Drindulewicz, S. Kryczyski and others). Lipkas converted to Christianity were also among the ancestors of the celebrated Polish writer H. Sienkiewicz (1846-1916; Nobel Prize for Literature 1905). The Tatars, who since the 14th century had been settled on Polish territories as war prisoners, were soon converted, with just a vague memory left of their origin (the names "Tatar", "Mohammedan", etc. "derived from Turkish ोह "shepherd", as in the surroundings of Chrzanów near Cracow) and their traditional occupations (tanning and horse-breeding).

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see in general S. L. Kryczyski, *Bibliograficzne materiały o tatarach Polski*, *Litol, Belorusi i Ukraini*, Petrograd 1917, with new additions of idem, in *RT*, i, 293, 317; the most fundamental publication is S. Kryczyski, *Talbyzy literacy*, *Fonda monografii historyczno-etnograficznych*, Warszaw 1938 (RT, iii, 111; V. D. Smirnov, *Krimtash hlanatn vo verkhoesnvoct Omomanskoj Porti do načala XVII veka*, St Petersburg 1885, 156-7; idem, *Sbornik nekotorykh materialov i ofisial'nykh dokumentov kasatcVno Turici, Rossi i Kriva*, St Petersburg 1881 (18th-century Turkish documents on the Lipkas); S. Sienczki, *Quéleksy notes pour servir à l’histoire des musulmans à Varsovie et leurs siècles*, in *L’Echo de Varsovie*, 21 December 1903 to 9 December 1911 (J. Reichmann, *Zabytki orientalne we Polsce*, in *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1957; idem, *al thawri al-Islami fi Rileyada*, Warszaw 1958 (Z. Abrahamowicz and J. Reichmann).

**LIŚAN AL-ARAB** [see IBN MANŻEF]

**LIŚAN AL-DIN** [see IBN AL-THATIȘ]

**LISBON** [see BURÚGHAM; AL-UGHRABA]

**LIŚS** (A., also libă, lubă, pl. lubă, with masdars *libāsyya, iltârâya* [see L.A. viii, 353-6, and Lane, *v*, 195], one of the two ethnonyms of the Lipkas, i.e. the other one being *sârî*; in Persian we have *dūš* "thief", *dudż* "thief", and in old Turkish *oğrî*, Ottoman *kahyrsi*, modern karsı. Arabic *lišt* and the unassimilated variants *frâš* must have appeared in the language during the Byzantine period, presumably via Syriac *lišt*, whilst there exists the form *lišt*, closer to the Greek original *ληστής*, in Mishalne Hebrew and Palestinian Jewish Arabic (see S. Krauss, *Grchische und lateinische Lehrwörter im Talmud*, Maderzak and Targum, Berlin 1949-9, ii, 315; Framfeld, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 284; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 91, 150, etc. do not appear in the Kur'ān, where we have *sârî* and *sârīka* [v, 54, 131], but nevertheless they are found occasionally in pre-Islamic poetry (Ibn' al-Kays, *Labbîd*, and then quite frequently in the Umayyad period (for full documentation, see the forthcoming entry s.v. in W.KA).

In general, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not recognise theft as a highly reprehensible crime, and it was not condemned unless the victim was a member of the kin-group or a ādar within it (hence Damīr al-+#frîh) could satirise a man’s father as ‘“the one who stole a guest’s cloak”, *Hamânia* of Abd Ta’nâmîn, 155); the injured party was normally left to secure redress himself and recover his property (see G. Jacob, *Aitarabise Beduineleben nach der Quellen ge-
Within the Bedouin life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the *lisg was in many ways hardly distinguishable from the outcasts and desperadoes of the desert known as *sâfîlîk and *futâthîk (see sâlîk, futâthîk) (see sâlîk, futâthîk), who lived outside the tribal system with every man’s hand against them; the poetry of these *sâfîlîk and *futâthîk attracted the attention of philologists of the ‘Abbasid period, and more recently, has attracted that of modern western and oriental scholars (e.g. Yusuf Khalîf, al-Ṣârâ‘ as-Sâbî al-futâthî fi l-‘uṣra al-‘ubbâjîbî, Cairo 1959; Ezzîn, GÅ.sI., ii, 223-45; and arts. Al-shâfîbârî, Ta’arrîs shârîbîn, ‘urwâ h. al-wārî). But the activities of those described as *lusg proper seem also to have been isolated for study by the philologists and compilers of adaîl works. Thus we have mention in the literary sources of an ʿAbî al-maṣrî, containing poetry of well-known bedouins and brigands amongst the Arabs, by the pupil of al-ʿAṣmî, Abû Sa‘îd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sâkîrî (252-573). See Brockelmann, i, 108-9; Ezzîn, ii, 63, 133, and of a Kâḥ al-satt wa l-sârîsîa of Abû Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-ʿAṣmî, called al-ʿAswad al-Ḥandajînî (d. ca. 428/1036-7, see Ezzîn, ii, 68, 88). The contemporary Syrian scholar ʿAbî al-Maṣrî al-Mâṣîlî has collected the names together of some 30 *lisg poets of the Islamic period, together with their surviving verses, see his ʿAgâr al-luṣgîs wa- ṣâdārānîn, in Râd, xlix (1974), 356-57. With the awakening, from the 3/9th century onwards, of a distinct interest among Arabic authors in low life and in the criminal and semi-criminal underworlds of the burgeoning Islamic towns, we find a certain amount of information on the activities of those thieves and brigands in the urban environment, although there are few continuing references to criminal activities in the countryside and deserts (e.g. the depredations of the fabled white horses and camels, the thieves of the latter being known as *kharîb, sing. khârîb, see C. E. Bosworth, The medieval Islamic underworld. i. The Baal Sebal in Arabic life and lore, Leiden 1976, 118) to show that rural crime and brigandage never disappeared.

A writer of such varied interests as al-Diḥîjîs shows a special interest in the tricks and stratagems of the sophisticated criminals of his time, and he seems to have written a special work on the *kâlîl, loosely patrolled and cited in subsequent adaîl works (e.g. possibly in al-Bayhakî’s K. al-Mahdsîn wa l-mâṣâfîl, ed. Schwally, 521-4, without explicit mention of the title here; cf. C. E. Bosworth, Gûdîsîn. III. Essai d’inventaire de l’œuvre gûdîsîne, in Arabicu, iii (1956), 164, no. 65). The compilers of collections of anecdotes were eager to include tales about clever thieves, and in the opening of his Nîṣâḥir al-muḥâdâra al-Ṭâmîjî lists among the interesting tales which he had heard in the course of his career those of fanatically-inspired assassins using knives (kâhî al-muṣâbîyn wa l-sâkîhîn), of brigands and thieves, and of profugals and rowdies (al-khāṣâs al-ḥâsîn wa l-sâyâdîn) (ed. A. Shâhîj, Beirut 1931-7/1971-3, i, 4). Several of the succeeding anecdotes do in fact deal with the races of crafty evildoers, see e.g. i, 150-6, nos. 79-80, vii, 96-102, 250-2; iv, 57-9, 144, viii, 218-28, nos. 95-98. One of these tales actually deals with a body of thieves and bandits in India called the Bânû-Wâyiyya, whom al-Ṭâmîjî equates with the Arabic sources, follows them, andsteals up behind a person to rob him, and from whose activities Muslim traders in India suffered (cf. also the Bânûanîn al-‘Adhâjî, cited in Bosworth, op. cit., i, 271) Muslim authors seem to have been aware of the existence of organised groups or castes of dacoits and thugs in India, prouning these criminal bodies with the Bedouins of Arabia and predatory Iranian peoples like the Kurds, the Kaôtî and the Kôfîs (see yûrâ) as examples par excellence of violent and uncontrollable brigands. One should note also the connection in certain sources of gambling (see kîmân) and theiving, seen in the not-infrequent phrase *lisg muṣârîm “thief and gambler” (see F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, Leiden 1975, 114, 153). The authors of *makâmî (q.v.) and other works of the picaroque genre likewise found here material around which they could weave incidents involving their respective heroes. Thus Badî’ al-‘Amânî al-Ḥandajînî wrote several of the subsequent anecdotes which follow, “Thief and gambler” from the ranks of prostrate worshippers during the salat, those who ascended house walls and used grappling hooks for purloining articles inside the houses, and those who burrowed into cellars and vaults from the outside or from adjacent houses (the mukhâmûn or aṣhâb al-
LISIŠ—LITHÂM

The word litthân and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets.

**LITHÂM** (a.) (sometimes also pronounced litthóm, the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Bedouins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on al-Harîrî, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1821, 374, 2). According to the LA, litthâm is a mouth-veil which also covers the nose top (tombat al-sanf) and is worn by women. It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. Bih d'Ummâna, no. 5, 43, also no. 39, 24 and 73, 16; and the commentaries on al-Mutanabbî, 464, 27, and al-Harîrî, 374, 4). It also made the face more or less unrecognizable, and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldzihèr, in JD, xli [1887], 101). The language was therefore also some¬

The custom of wearing a litthâm was generally disseminated among the Sanûsî tribes ([p.]) in north-west Africa, who are therefore described as litthâm wearers, mulâthîmân or aslîd al-munâthîmân; as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamtûnîs ([p.]), the litthâm thus came to have a certain political signification. The custom of wearing a litthâm below the wikûd, see al-Bakîrî, 170; the litthâm is also mentioned by al-Yâ'âshî, Ibn Hâskal, Ibn Barîsî, Ibn Khaldûn, etc., cf. Corso, 152, was found in other parts of Africa also, e.g. in Kûn (al-Makrî, i, 193, 33 f.) and still prevails among the Tuaregs. The Tuareg veil has been the object of several special studies (see [book]). Amongst the Tuaregs, it is not called litthâm, but takmût or qîdâm ('muslin'). Its origin seems to be pre-Islamic and perhaps even prehistoric. Among the Abûn, absent painting on their faces is known. In North Africa there are human figures without mouth and nose, but with only two eyes. The primary motive for a veil seems to be magical, to protect the ways of life from evil forces. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islam, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village, where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms in order to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldzihèr, in ZDMG, xlii, 101); another story has it that after the fall of the limayyads, 200 members of the Umayyad family and their clients escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the veeners of the litthâm are descended from them (Wisentfeld, Der Tod des Husayn, p. vii). According to al-Bakîrî (text, 170, fr. 321), they never took off the litthâm, and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the litthâm, not even his friends could recognize him till the litthâm was put on him again; they also called other men who did not wear the litthâm "fly-mouthed". The Almoravids, particularly Ibn Tâmûrît, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the litthâm (Goldzihèr, in AL, 192, 102). Among further passages where the term mulâthîmân occurs in this sense may be mentioned 'Abd al-Latif, ed. de Sacy, 483, 48 (with other references); Fleischer, Kleine Scarijten, ii, 243 (discusses several passages); Mar¬

**LITERATURE** [see adab; 'arâmîyya; gizal; ma'dîn; marâmî; marthîyya; sîrî; ta'ârîf, etc.]

**LITHÂM** (V), see further, Bosworth, Op. cit., i, 100-3. Especially valuable evidence on this type of activities is to be found in the chapter on tâlaffût and associated malfeasances in al-Râziq al-Ishfârî’s Mudahharât al-ndoûbî (ed. Cairo 1287/1802, ii, 108-14, ed. Beirut 1961, iii, 189-99). Al-Ishfârî’s sites as an outstanding figure amongst successful criminals on 'Ughîm al-Allâh, the leader of a slave revolt himself (called al-Khayyât), because his original profession was that of tailor, but because he 'sewed up', thâbû, the holes bored into houses (fictional purposes so neatly that they were almost undetectable) had apparently become something of a semi-legendary figure by al-Râziq’s time (the Dârid al-Calâz: Library in Mêdîn—whose contents are now dispersed and their location largely unknown—contained a Bihâdîkh 'Ughîm al-Khayyât fi 'thâbûj ne-ar-şamâ, see Pellat, loc. cit.; and one wonders whether there is some connection with the hero of two anecdotes given by al-Tâmûrî, named as zâbâb b. Khayyât and described as a supposedly clever thief of Buṣra, see Nisrâdî, vii, 97-102, nos. 58-9). According to this 'Ughîm, there were five main categories of thieves and brigands: (1) the miskâlî or 'trickster', who worked by stratagems and who did not look down on mere crimes and was therefore looked down on his more desperate and violent con¬

**LITAMQRA**. Die Bemäusammlung, Index, s.v.}
From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under her lihtham" (Dozy, Vilemurus, 400; cf. ma 1abi al-luhthamun - "the face" in al-Mutanabbi, 564, 27) developing the meaning of lihtham "to kiss" (Umar b. Abl Rabi'a, ed. Schwarcz, 6, 207; Ibn al-Faraz, Darya, Masnadis, 135, 195, 1 from below) and especially luhtham - "to kiss one another"; malhtham, the place which is kissed (al-Farazak in Dozy, Supplement). A girl is given a luhtham woven out of her own hair (coor Night, Brussels edition, ll, 52, 2); the camel has a luhtham of foam around its mouth (Diu 4-Rumma, 76, 17); the wolf is abانم al-luhtham - "black in the region of the muzzle" (al-Tirinnab, 4, 35; of the wolf, we find it said in Hamida, 1, 762, 17; lam yutbihiha); the wine-jar has a luhtham, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (Malhtham; Majaddadis, ed. Lyall, no. 1725, 2; also al-Akhalt, ed. Sihah, 85, 2 and 8; Alkama, ed. Socin, ill, 43, on jars); the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth-veil (its uisinn, al-Mutanabbi, 601, 13); "as the day (nahr) doffed its luhtham" is a description of dawn in Ibn Arabshah, ed. Golius, 64, 3, from below; cf. the commentary on al-Hariri, Mafshnelt, 240, 27; bahhafa (al-suh) al-luhtham; many titles of books also begin with bahh al-luhtham, ed. Brockelman, III, 715, 937 (eight titles with bahh al-luhtham and one with imdhat al-luhtham); the luhtham is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i.e. they are to be exposed (itsmd al-Din, ed. Landberg, 65, 12); to doff the luhtham of one's origin - to cloak it freely (al-Hariri, Mafshnelt, II, 426, 3); the archangel Israil has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (itsuah) from heaven down to the seventh earth (al-Kashwali, ed. Wustenfeld, 11, 56, below); to veil the moon, a term common with the Formula of the formula in the Qur'an 770: to kiss, to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under her luhtham, in the Qur'an 770: the mouth-veil (itsuah); the mouth-veil of the archangel Israil is said to have "ceaselessly regretted" (Pelliot, nos. 4093, 629, 4003), 12th/18th century Chinese Muslim scholar (translator, theologian, philosopher, biographer of the Prophet Muhammad), the most prolific Chinese Muslim author and probably the best-known literary figure yet produced by the Chinese Muslim community. A. Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, Liu Chih was born in Nanking ca. 1681/1690. Little is known of his class background or early childhood, but it is safe to assume that he was from a well-to-do family. His father Liu Han-ying (Matthews, nos. 4093, 2039, 7489) is said to have "ceaselessly regretted" (Pelliot, op. cit. in Bibl., 415, n.1) the paucity of Islamic works available in Chinese, and indeed, some sources have credited Liu Han-ying (under the pseudonym Liu San-chih, Walters, nos. 4093, 5435, 774) with the authorship of two short Islamic tracts (Pelliot, ibid); certainly, Liu Chih seems to have manifested an early interest in the study and translation of Islamic works. Liu tells us that he prepared himself for his life's work—the propagation of Islam through the medium of the Chinese language—by undertaking prolonged linguistic and philosophical studies. At the age of 25 he began a study of the traditional Chinese classics and histories which lasted for eight years. This was followed by a six-year study of Arabic and Islamic religious literature, a further three years study of Buddhism, and finally, one year studying the Taoist classics. Liu completed his universal education by reading 137 Hsi-yong (Western) books of which Ford, 150 (see Bibli), writes: "this may seem a large number for that period, but it was over a century since Matteo Ricci had arrived in Peking (1601) and he and his successors, together with the Chinese scholars associated with them, had produced a whole series of works on geography, astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and religion, including some touching on Confucianism. It is therefore quite possible that there was a concentration in the number at Nanking and that Liu had seen it".

From the age of 33, Liu was to concentrate on making Arabic and Islamic works available to his Chinese co-religionists. It is clear that he also wished to make Islam philosophically acceptable to the Confucian Chinese establishment. As Ford (ibid.) points out: "his leaning towards Confucianism was more marked than that of any other Muslim and it has sometimes been questioned whether he did not compromise his Muslim principles. After ten years of study, he wrote, it came on him like a flash that the guiding purpose of the Qur'an was similar to that of Confucius and Menelus. 'The Sacred Book', he wrote, 'is the Sacred Book of Islam, but it (the Confucian concept of moral propriety) is the same in which exists everywhere under heaven'." In Liu's attempt to reconcile Confucianism and Islam, the traditional dilemma of Chinese Muslims—geographical and cultural isolation—was to be solved. Though the Chinese were rapidly-deteriorating Han Chinese—Hui Muslim relations), whilst at the same time strengthening the Islamic affiliations of the Chinese Muslim community.

Liu Chih tells us that after completing his preparatory studies, he wrote several hundred manuscripts, of which only about one-tenth were published. His first major work, Tien-fang hsiang-lu ("The Philosophy of Arabia")—preface dated 1100/1701) deals in some depth with questions of cosmology, creation, the nature of man and the unity of God. In the preface to this book, a contemporary non-Muslim mandarin, the Vice-Minister of the Board of Ritual, wrote: the ancient Confucian doctrine has been undermined at different times, and in different ways, by Buddhism, but the Chinese, however, in this book Liu Chih we see one more the way of the ancient sages, Yao and Shun, King Wen and King Wu, and Confucius. Thus although his book explains Islam, in truth it illuminates our Confucianism." Similarly in the preface of Liu's Tien-fang t'ien-lu ch'ia-yao-chiai ("A selection of important Arabian [i.e. Islamic] rules and cere-
monies"—praise dated 1122/1710, the Vice-

Minister of the Board of War was to write that after discussing the Muslim religion with Liu he had

found that it upheld the traditional Confucian values of loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety and

brotherly love—in short, that Islam was not to be equated with "heretical and vicious sects" which

were opposed to the established (Confucian) order (Ford, ibid). This early Ch’ing attitude to Chinese

Islam was to change radically by the latter half of the 19th/20th century. In 1881, it was noted that the

tomb of Sayyid Wakkas, by

the Chinese government.

tradition the father of Chinese Islam, was restored

whether the tomb still exists today, but It should be

visited by Chinese Muslim pilgrims. It is not known

The Arabian Prophet,

p. xii).

by which be travelled, and even when riding on his

"he pursued his reading among the dust of the carts

and he took a great interest in Arabic and Persian texts. Whist at once

he was considered rather dull by his

scholar Kuwata Fokuro (see

also Ford.

Bib!,

 hurdle shih-lu nien-p’u

T’ien-fang tien-li che-yao-chiai by

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found in A. Vissière, Analyse d’ouvrages coïncis-

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works are listed in C. L. Ogilvie and S. M. Zwemer,

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Chinese and Arabic, in the Chinese Recorder,

xviii (1911), 625-9, see nos. 6, 7, 13, 20 (?), 21 (?),

43, 77, 24, 53, 55. Liu Chih’s translation of

Shi-kum-long (‘‘Chinese three-character classic’’) by

F. L. M. Cotter and K. L. Reichelt, see MW, vili

(1918), 10-15; also in the Chinese Recorder, i (1919),

655-52. [This is the same work as Liu Chih’s

T’ien-fang san-liu-ching (‘‘Arabian three-character

classic’’)] mentioned by Mason in JNCBRAS (1925),

cited below.] For a preliminary examination of

Liu Chih’s T’ien-fang shih-lu-nien-p’u, see L. Mason in Journal of the North China Branch

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the title A Chinese life of Mohammed. Certainly

the most interesting English-language work on Liu

Chih is Mason’s The Arabian Prophet: a life of

Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic sources,

Shanghai 1921; this work is an extensive

(though not full) translation of Liu’s T’ien-fang shih-lu-shih-lu-A.

A list of some of Liu Chih’s works also appears in Mason’s Notes on Chinese Mohammedan

literature, in JNCBRAS, ixi (1925), 175-215, see nos.

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China: its introduction and development’’),

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language notice is J. F. Ford’s Some ChineseMuslims

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

in Asian Affairs, iv (1974), 144-56, see esp.

143-52. D. D. Leslie, in his Islam in China to 1800:

a bibliographical guide, in Abr-Nahrain, xvi (1970),

r6-48, states that Liu Chih’s tombstone obituary is

to be found on pp. 11077-12080 of the 1970 edition

of his T’ien-fang tien-h, see Leslie, op. cit., 55.

(A. D. W. FORBES)
LIVADYA (Λήμνος), a town in central Greece on the slopes of Mount Helicon, bordering the vast fertile plain of Boeotia. Nearby is Lake Kopra, the site of the battle of Lefkadia in 1453. The town was called Eghriboz (from Euripos), and was captured in 1460 when the district became an Ottoman province. The Catalans of the Grand Company occupied Livadya in the 14th century, living in the shade of the mighty Thessalian Mountains. The origins of Livadya go back to the remote antiquity. Since the 8th century B.C., it was one of the most important centers of the Duchy of Athens. In Ottoman times (1460-1829) it developed into a prosperous urban center and grew into the largest city of central Greece, after Athens, with the highest number of Muslim citizens to the south of Thessaly.

The Muslim community, consisting of 427 Muslim families who had been ousted from Epirus by Carlo Tocco. The reign of Antonio Acciaiuoli, an Ottoman vassal, was more or less uninterrupted only by the plague of 1348, 1372, 1374, and 1388. The Ottomans seem to have settled mainly in the minor Boeotian towns, living in the shade of the mighty Thessalian Mountains. The Muslim community, consisting of 90 households, was apparently the oldest preserved Ottoman register containing information on Livadya. In the mentioned year, the town was a village inhabited by Albanians ("Arravoul") and a garrison of a few dozen soldiers. This source also states that the Jews had come from the West and that their number could be so low because the city was safely situated in the interior of the country and had little to fear from an enemy attack (Chalkis and Athens, etc.).

In this same year the administrative district of Livadya contained 47 Greek ("Rum") villages and 30 houses inhabited by Albanians ("Arravoul") in 1472, Livadya was entrusted to 22 soldiers of the garrison of Egriboz, soldiers bearing Muslim names and coming from a number of places in the Balkans (Pirıae, Fanari (Thessaly), Nigibolu, Herakleia, etc.), thus giving an indication of where the first Muslim settlers of Livadya came from.

During the 16th century, Livadya shared in the general expansion of the cities of the Ottoman empire. The census registers of the sandjak of Egriboz, preserved in the Baybakan archive in Istanbul, give exact information on the fast-growing number of inhabitants as well as on the number and scope of the Islamic institutions founded in the city in that period. The Mufti's register of 1506 (T.D. 5) records some of the inhabitants of the sandjak of Egriboz (but not the population of Livadya), mentioning a musulmân-âhâne of Hasan Beg b. Musa in the city and a zâwiyâ of Ayas Dodê, which provided lodging for travellers. Both foundations were maintained from the rents of some shops, watermills and gardens in or near the town. According to the Toral defter (no. 307) of 1526-28, Livadya numbered 427 households, 295 of which were Christian, divided in 24 bachelors as well as a Muslim community of 37 households and 23 bachelors. The Christian group should be regarded as the autochthonous population of Livadya, the relatively large Muslim group as the product of a deliberate policy of colonization after the town had been annexed.
During the Greek War of Independence, the town was several times plundered and burnt and at the end nothing but ruins remained. After 1829, Livadya was rebuilt gradually. In 1839 there were 4,990 inhabitants; in 1857, 7,089; in 1878, 12,585, more than during the last century of Ottoman rule (approx. 10,000). In 1938 the expansion virtually stopped (in 1961 there were 12,059 inhabitants), but in recent years there is again some growth. No traces of Islamic buildings are preserved except for a fine vaulted stone bridge and a 18th century clock tower. The Catalan castle, wrecked through an earthquake in 1711, still exists in ruined condition.
The town of Livno is an Ottoman foundation from the early 16th century, whose expansion was greatly promoted by various members of the sandjak administration residing there. The castle of Livno, now a ruin overlooking the town, is much older. It is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogentius (10th century), who called it "Grad Hlivanjski" and situated on the border between the Serbian and the Croatian lands. In the later Middle Ages, Livno belonged to the kings of Bosnia. It is mentioned as "Grad Hlivanjski" in 1400 (Milutin, Monumenti, 248-9). In the first half of the 15th century, it was ruled by the family of Vukčić. King Tomas resided in Livno in 1444 (H. Sabanović, tr., Evžena Celebija.popeli, i, Sarajevo 1937, 154). The castle is again mentioned in 1466 as being guarded against the Turks by Vladislav Hercogović, a son of Duke (Hercog — Hercogovina) Stjepan (one of Vladislav's brothers) became the later famous Grand Vizier of Bayezid II and Seifulli, a Cretan Ahmed Pasha. The Ottomans captured the castle of Livno between 1466 and 1485. The exact date is not known, and is an object of controversy. The Taburt defter no. 8 of 890/1485 mentions Livno as a centre of a nahiyye it possessed then a civil population of 73 families and 207 temporary residents.

In the first decades of the Ottoman period, there was only one mosque in Livno, the Klisar Džamija, or Starogradska Džamija, in the castle, serving the needs of the garrison. In the first decades of the 16th century, a Muslim suburb grew up around the Balagiana Mosque (Balagiana), built according to its Arabic inscription in 930/1524. This building, still preserved, is the first of the domed mosques of Livno. Soon afterwards, the Džumana Mosque of Sinan Čavuš from 931/1525-9 was erected, also a domed structure (destroyed in World War I). The open town of Livno sprang up below the castle on a sloping ground, with the older quarters at the foot of the castle and the newer ones further down the hill. Livno remained a nahiyye of the bābūli of Neretva until some time in the first quarter of the 16th century. After the conquest of Skradin in 928/1522 (Paleček 'Peček', 1, 72), Livno was included in a newly-formed district, and the old Livno had the status of a sanjak. In 930/1524, preserved in the Gennadius Library at Athens, contains a mass of information on the political, social and economic situation of Levadya, Salona, Vostitsa (Aeghiion) and Corinth for the late 15th century. An edition and a critical study of this singularly important manuscript was given by Σκέδος Α' Αθηναίος [Skiadas Andreas] in the periodical Εποχή [Epochi] of May 1958.

(L. Krei.)

LIVNO (in pre-modern Slavonic texts, often written as Hlvno; in older Ottoman texts variously written as Hlven, Hlvne, etc.), a town in Bosnia situated at the spur of a mountain at the eastern edge of the homonymous pepo or plain in a very dry and stony karst landscape on the approaches to Dalmatia. Today, it is a small local centre far off the main thoroughfares and little-visited, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it was a centre of Ottoman power, seat of the sandjak beg of Klis, and bulwark of Islam on the western frontiers of the empire. Until World War II, Livno boasted five domed and lead-covered mosques from the classical period of Ottoman architecture, thus ranking second in Bosnia, immediately after Sarajevo, in this aspect, demonstrating the importance which the place once had as a centre of Islam.

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with 19 Muslim and nine Christian age of Islam. Livno ended in 1686 when, during World War II, Livno was three-quarters of the number given were family men and had 1,100 stone-buildings. The castle was maintained throughout the 18th and the greater part of the 19th centuries. In 1833 it still had 34 guns. The Ottoman period ended in 1878, when the Austrian-Hungarian army captured Livno after an obstinate defense. The town continued to flourish until the beginning of the present century as a small centre of grain and live-stock trade and silver filigree-work, until a great conflagration in 1904 swept away more than 500 houses. Before that date it had, according to the Encyclopaedia Briandiana, 1911 edn. (xvi, 816), about 3,000 inhabitants, but this recovery was temporary. After 1918, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Jugoslavia, a large part of its Muslim population departed. When René Pelletier visited it in the early thirties, Livno had but 2,500 inhabitants (Pelletier, Sarajevo et sa région, Paris 1934). During these events, all the latherto- preserved mosques but one (Balaguia Dzamija) were deliberately destroyed or heavily damaged, together with the whole town. The ruins of the Glavica Dzamija and the adjacent Clock Tower, together constituting the landmark of Livno, were restored in 1963-4. The Beglik Dzamija of Sokolnica-zade Musafija was restored in 1953-4, and the Zavita Dzamija and Zavita Dzamija, both wood-covered halls, in the seventies. In 1953 Livno numbered 3,672 inhabitants, among whom is a small Muslim minority. The centre of gravity of the post-war town has shifted to the flat grounds of the plain below the totally-ruined Ottoman town. In the old parts, now under the protection of the Service of Ancient Monuments of Bosnia, only construction in local style is allowed, thus creating a harmony with the preserved Islamic monuments.

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LIWĀ' (A.), in Ottoman liwa'.

1. For the meaning banner, flag, standard see 'alam.

2. In the Ottoman empire the word indicated a province, several of which were at a certain moment joined into an eyalet, later vilâyet [see wilāya]. The term liwa', synonymous with Turkish saqalı [see sâqalı], was mainly used in official documents. Accordingly, mit liwa' (from Arabic umr al-liwa') stood for saqalı baghi [see sâqalı], the governor and military commander of a liwa' or saqalı. From the middle of the 19th century onwards there was also used the term milletliyâfi [derived from the title milletliyâfi], of all the states issued from the Ottoman Empire's Hercegovine knjiga XIV, Odjeležnica Istoriskih Filoških Nauka 10, that is, to indicate a province. In the army of 'Irāq, liwa' indicates a brigade, umr al-liwa' brigadier (as in Egypt until 1939).

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LIWĀN [see livān].

LIWĀT (A.), sodomy. There does exist in Arabic a verb liwa' meaning "to attach oneself, to join oneself to", but liwāt appears to be rather a nasab of liwā' or liwāna, denominative of Līt [f.v.], i.e. Līt. In modern Arabic there are also the terms liwā'a, muluq, saqalı, balal, etc., as well as a large number of euphemisms. "Blind allows a certain ambiguity: the homosexual is called liwā' or liwāt (pi. liwāt), or muluq, when he is the active partner, although the distinction is often difficult to establish; the passive is mūlūn, and his perversion, mūba; among the synonyms, the most common is muluq, generally translated as "ellipticate", although in normal usage it refers to the genuine hermaphrodite (see A. Bouhida, La sauvagerie en Islam, Paris 1975, 55-7). In the Muslim West in the Middle Ages, a special term, liwāt [pl. liwāt] was used in reference to professional male prostitutes (see below).

In a number of verses of the Qur'an relating to Lot and his people, the word šākhs, which may be rendered as "depravity", is clearly an allusion to the vice in question, but this is even more strongly indicated by the pejorative nature of the remarks and questions attributed to this prophet: innā kum la-tūm la-ta'tūn l-ridajal min dīnī, min dhikrī, mal anum la-ta'tūn liwa't la-ta'tūn l-ridajal (XXVI, 17, LXXVI, 19). The statements inflicted upon the people of Lot, in the Qur'an as in the Bible (Gen., xix, 1-23) leaves no doubt as to the way in which sodomy should be regarded by Islam, even though it is not explicitly condemned by the Prophet. Only the holy book has the final say. The Qur'anic passages where the believers are promised that in paradise they will be attended by maidservants (Khimān, LIII, 24; wādīs, XVI, 17; LXXVI, 19).

The statements of ḥaddh are, on the other hand, perfectly clear and particularly harsh, as is noted by al-Nuwayrī who, in his Ni+hāya fi, (ii, 204-10), has conveniently collected them together, with the addition of the opinions of the Companions and the tahtāb on the subject. The latter, although referring to Arab and Ottoman Turkish, were published by Mehmed Muheljčević in Prizren, Il-iv, Sarajevo 1953, 455-84. The tapa depth from 560 and 582 are published in the Bašćankul Arhiva, Istanbul, and are not yet published.

The word ḥaddh, rendered as "depravity", is clearly an allusion to the mode of sexual intercourse, probably the bone of contention, in the statements of al-Nuwayrī who, in his Ni+hāya fi, (ii, 204-10), has conveniently collected them together, with the addition of the opinions of the Companions and the tahtāb on the subject. The latter, although referring to Arab and Ottoman Turkish, were published by Mehmed Muheljčević in Prizren, Il-iv, Sarajevo 1953, 455-84. The tapa depth from 560 and 582 are published in the Bašćankul Arhiva, Istanbul, and are not yet published.
preston about sin Diih, making the last word ("bear") into a proper name; similarly al-Dihib (Muykalat al-jawahir wa l-ISlam, in Rassul al-
Prophet, ed. Hâkim, ii, 136-7) quotes a Hâkim proverb, about sin Diih, in which Diih ("cock") would also be the name of a person; these expressions are quite curious, to say the least. Whatever the case may be, animals are not exempt from this vice: al-Dihib himself (Hâkim, iii, 294) cites the example of a nashîn horse, perhaps castrated at an early age, which pursued male horses, mules and donkeys. The same author seems to have been led to speak (ibid., vii, 278) of a fabulous animal, the 'nâlî, which was in the habit of assaulting the men whom it encountered, even if they were infected with the dangerous disease and died as a result (cf. al-Mas'udi, Marâjî, iii. 319-20 § 1205). In his Mykalat, he also mentions a nashîn of Khurîn, Maymûn b. Zayd b. Tharwân, who was a 'âlî in Kîta and who became proverbial under the nickname of Siyâsh, but was apparently viewed with an indulgence that spared him any punishment.

However, in the course of the 8th/7th century, a number of precise cases of lâfîfis are reported, especially by al-Dihib and al-Nu'mayrî. Abd Bâlii condemned a homosexual to be burned beneath the dibab of a wall, and prescribed burning alive as the penalty for all those guilty of such practices; in this respect he was followed by 'Abî Abd Allîh b. al-Zubayr and Hishâm b. 'Abî al-Mallîk. For his part, 'Abî b. Abd Thîb ordered the stoning of a lâfîf and had another thrown head first from the top of a minaret; according to Ibn 'Abbas, this last punishment must be followed by stoning. 'Abî Abd Allîh b. 'Umar went a step beyond the condemnation predicted by the Prophet, reckoning that these people would be resurrected in the form of monkeys and pigs. The famous letter from an Unayyîdînî caliph (see Sâfî, iv, 307b) ordering the governor of Mecca or of Medina to "hold a census" of the muhâmânîn of the town corresponds to a real situation, even if the tradition itself is contrived.

In fact, the increase in prosperity brought about by the war of spoils brought in from the conquered lands was accompanied, paradoxically, by the corruption of morals in the two holy cities. As regards the subject which concerns us here, information relating to the development of music and song reveals the presence of musâhîmatîn, who were apparently for the most part of foreign origin. It may thus be assumed that from this time homosexuality became less of a rarity as the result of a rapid process of acculturation. A defender of paraphilias, of lovers of female names in their titles (c.g. Kâliba, al-Hâshiyya, 116 of al-Mu'addî, depicted in the Mykalat (ii, 116) of al-Dihib, observes in effect that natural love is a feature of Bedouin culture and of simple morality and that if the ancient Arabs glorified woman, this was because they knew nothing of the refined pleasures of this world, which are only to be encountered in a highly civilized society.

All the same, it is not impossible that the decisive impulse came with the arrival of the 'Abbâsîd army from Khurîsî (ed. A. Moe, Renaisance, Eng. tr., 352) that homosexuality subsequently spread more widely under the new dynasty. In fact, tradition attributes to al-Mu'addî tastes so depraved that his mother, Umm Diibar, was obliged to procure for him slave women with the physical characteristics sought after by lîfîn among boys and to dress them in masculine clothing, in the hope of inducing him to adopt more conventional morals (al-Mas'udi, Marâjî, viii, 370-80 = S 3451-2). It was no doubt such episodes that gave rise to the fashion for "masculine girls" ('zâdîyat), a trend widely reflected in literature (see H. Zayyâs, al-Mu'addî al-qamîsîyya fi l-Islâm, in Muqadd., 1956). In lîfîn, the Aghlabî caliph 'Abd al-Malik II was surrounded by some sixty catamites whom he treated in a most horrific manner (see M. Taibî, Études qâhidîs, 306, 317). At Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmân III had executed a young lad from Léon who was held as a hostage, the future St. Pelagius (Pelaios), because he had refused his advances (Simoën, Histoire des Motarabes, 542; see also Ch.-E. Dufourcq, La vie quotidienne dans l'Europe médiévale sous la domination arabe, Paris 1970, 112), which homosexuality tended to spread in this part of foreign origin. It may thus be assumed that in all cases the culprit must be put to death by stoning, while the other schools are in general content with flagellation, with or without punishment. If the man is not musâhî, it should be noted in addition that it is sometimes recommended that the prescribed penalty (one hundred strokes) should not be applied in full, and Ibn Hâzn goes so far as to reduce the number of strokes to ten. These variations correspond to the uncertainties surrounding the definition of the penalty to be imposed for fornication (see S 216, for details), but also betray a tendency towards indulgence; moreover, since proof is always difficult to establish, there is little likelihood of the punishment actually being applied. These circumstances do not prevent moral panilists from considering illegal a lustful glance in the direction of a handsome youth (umaylî), and the Muslim forbids men to walk in the street with women or with adolescents (Mea, Renaissance, Eng. tr., 353). The latter's opinion is that these pruderies are justified by a large extent theoretical, since homosexual relations have always been tolerated. They were common in religious brotherhoods and in educational institutions (see A. Bouhdiba, op. laud., 146), and schoolmasters had an unenviable reputation in this respect, as is shown by many anecdotes. The notion of the public baths did nothing to discourage such practices, and the paragraph devoted by H. Peres (Pou customize, 341-5) to homosexuality in al-Andalus refers specifically to the baths.

As regards women, the Aghlabî (ed. Berait, i, 110) mentions a love affair between a certain Hind (named, incorrectly, as the daughter of al-Mu'addî b. al-Mu'addî by S. al-Munadîdî, al-Hayâl al-qâhidîyya fi al-Arab, Beirut 1958, 14; see Mas'udi-Pellegrin, index, under Hindî and Zâhî al-Yamanî, which would be the oldest example of Sapphism among the Arabs, but in this particular case we have a work of imagination, called moreover Kûbî Hind un-batî al-Nâzîmî, by Ibn al-Nâzîmî (ed. Cairo, 427), who cites a dozen love romances with female names in their titles (c.g. K. Râyâya munifâda, K. Sâmîa mârûdîdî, etc.). Although information is scarce, it is likely that sâbîbî al-qâhidî masâhîm, while not widespread, existed no less than male homosexuality, since according to the relevant hâdîth it is also identified with zâdî (alâh al-umâra, zâdî bâyi-n-hamam). These practices, which al-
Djihād (Hassassin, vii, 26) knew well, spread in parallel with sodomy, at least in the least severe cases of Arab-Islamic society, if we are to believe the rather late works of eroticism which will be mentioned in due course; in any case, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, Abu 'l-Anbas al-Saymārī (p. in Suppl.) wrote a Kitāb al-Sahābāt, of which apparently no traces remain. In addition, the sodomisation of women, although formally forbidden by the Prophet (see above, p. 233), is thus accorded the same status as the people of Lot.

In any case, the presence of professional deviants (mudhāfārūn) in the larger towns has been frequently attested by travellers (see G. H. Bousquet, L'Éthique de l'Islam, Paris 1933, 59). Mention has been made of transvestites, for example in Dougie (Idris, Žirides, 329, 392), in Tunis (R. Brunschvig, Hafridun, ii, 173), where Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard, 385) saw young boys prostituting themselves, in Fez, where the same author encounters what he calls chena (= chained, a term of particularly common usage in Spain; see Dozy, Suppl., s.v.) living with men in hostgeries. Such statements cover such a broad expanse of time that they cannot but be a reflection of a permanent situation which has, moreover, persisted into the present day (see, e.g. Bouhdaiba, op. land., 233). It need hardly be said that the authors of works of jisba utterly deplore these deviants and the moral corruption for which they are responsible, but not one of them is so severe as to demand for them the capital penalty ordained by the afore-mentioned hadhrātāt. According to Ibn 'Abdun (Lévi-Provencal, Risdla fi ittihar al-baln, 1957, 70), the basā is to be expelled from the town and severely punished if they return, since they are accused of Allah and of the whole people; al-Sakātī (Manuel hispanique de l'islam, Collin et Lévi-Provencal, Paris 1931, 68, and gloss., 26; Spanish translation by Galmate, in L'âl-dinah, 1906 ff., p. 161) speaks only of mudjilīn-mudjahān (singers disguised as women), whom he forbids to wear their hair long over the temples or to attend banquets and funerals (see also Lévi-Provencal, Trois traités hispanique de jisba, Cairo 1953, 123). Although the repression of jisba, in the strict sense of the word, forms a part of the general censorship of morals, these works contain few specific references to it.

It should be said that this phenomenon, while provoking the disapproval of a number of moralists loyal to the tradition of the Prophet, has for the most part been viewed with indulgence—if not actively condoned—ever since the 15th century onwards, glorified homosexual love quite shamelessly, often in terms of intolerable obscenity; in the interminable list of these poets, the first place belongs without doubt to Abū Nuwas who, even without the dedication of the zu'ur Nights (see N. Elsèy, Œuvres d'élite, 1910) plays a role of unassailable eminence in this regard. His master Walīb b. al-Hubbāb, who is thought to have debauched him, Husayn b. al-Dabbāb, Mu‘īn b. Iyās and a great number of others, were initiated and sometimes overtaken by exponents of mudjahāns (p.v.) and of sakhīs, which Ibn al-Hājjījājī made his speciality, as well as by Ibn Būrān in his celebrated muqaddimāt.

On the other hand, there are a great many poets who have not hesitated, at some point or other in their career, to sing the praises of a youth, in many cases no doubt, less from personal taste than from the desire to conform artificially with a general trend. In fact care should be taken not to accuse all such writers of libertinism, for it was conventional practice to glorify wine, women and favourites, without becoming personally involved in debauchery or violating the rules of Islamic ethics. We may cite, as a simple example, the theme of datib, "crawling", appropriate perhaps for an Imām al-Rayyī who lived in a society where it was possible to crawl under the tent in order to approach a woman, but purely conventional in the case of a city-dweller like Ibn Shāhīdī who, unlike the pre-Islamic poet, attested by travellers (al-‘Arabī, al-ṣunūn, x, 244), in a poetry of a high standard of sophistication, the masculine form to designate the person in question, whose sex thus remains undefined. Leaving aside the mystics, who frequently adopt an equivocal posture, the use, by poets whose morality is not suspect, of the masculine form in their love poems, derives less from a desire to shock than from a sense of modesty and from respect for a tradition that was reckoned to be harmless, a tradition maintaining an ambiguity universally accepted and appreciated. In the sphere of prose, the most significant, if not the oldest writing, is certainly the Muṣṭafārī ḥaṣānam wa l-jismān of al-Djihādī who, always prone to cultivate the genre of ṣūraṣ, a debate, of which he is one of the pioneers in Arabic literature, presents in the form of a stylised dialogue arguments exchanged between homosexuals and men of normal sexuality. As already stated, the desire to conform artificially with a general trend, to leave no doubt as to his own tastes, sometimes overtaken by exponents of mudjahān, which testify to the popularity of stories of lātā from the 3rd/9th century: these were to find a place in collections compiled in later times for the entertainment of what were, in appearance at least, the most puritanical sections of society. A characteristic manifestation of this somewhat perverse taste is encountered in the work of al-Tawbīlī, who devotes a chapter of his Jisba, the 18th night (ii, 50-66) to mudjahān and naturally tells the story of a lātā (tr. Bouhdaiba, op. land., 58). The example set by al-Djihādī in his Muṣṭafārī has been followed by quite serious authors who have left analogous writings, among which we may mention al-Walīf b. al-Mardīn wa l-jīmāʿa by Ibn Ḥūdī (see Brockelmann, S, 1, 426) and the Kitāb al-Hīkāyāt by Badr al-Dīn al-Ayāl (see S. al-Munajjīdījī, in RIMA, LIWĀT
In addition, the vice in question inspired a specialised literature all its own, notably consisting of advice on techniques of seducing young men (see S. al-Munajjid, al-Dhali, al-Shaykh bin al-Makkiyya, 52-4). The writers of works of eroticism (see 2128 and add to Bibliography, A. Dowdibah, op. cit., 171 ff.) mostly devote some space to sodomy; on this point, the most characteristic works are without doubt the Nuzhat al-alab fī-mā lā yinjād fi khulū (Brookehann, I, 495, S I, 964) of al-Tifjy and the Nuzhat ar-rasūlīn of Muhammad Sadbik Hasan Khān (Istanbul 1296/1878; see Boudhida, 178).

In the Muḥājara of al-Dhali, which has nothing in common with the preceding works, the advocate for the žanāri claims (II, 104) that there has never been a case recorded in which love for a youth has proved fatal, while tradition is full of examples of heterosexuals who have pined away, lost their reason or died for love. However, there are apparently authentic accounts which contradict this assertion. Al-Dabī (Baghā, no. 462; tr. L. Provençal, En renaissance des Cailloutis de la colonne), in al-Aldā, arī. (1930), 393-9) relates, after Ibn Hazm (albeit the text of the Fawā ib Al-Banāma, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 301, in quite perceptibly different terms), "the incredible adventure of a certain Ahmad b. Kulyah, poet and grammarian of Cordova who, in 426/1035, died of grief because one of his fellow-citizens, a member of the Andalusian patrician class, persisted in rejecting his advances" (L. Provençal, Hist. esp. mus., III, 443); the same story is told by Yāqūt: (Iyghād, ii, 19 ff. = Uṣūl, iv, 109 ff.; cf. Mez, Ressam, Eng., tr. 395-60) who also relates (ii, 25 ff. = iv, 175 ff.; cf. Mez, 366-1), after al-Sa'īd, the story of a bookseller of Edeessa (al-Rūh) named Sā'd, whose shop was a literary salon frequented by poets and in particular by a young Christian called ʿĪsā. He had developed a violent passion for the latter, and did not cease pursuing him and dedicating poems to him; ʿĪsā became a monk, and, finally denied access to the monastery, Sā'd set fire to all his possessions and became a vagrant. He died eventually of consumption, but the governor of the town accused the monks of having killed him and condemned the latter. Punishment was averted following the payment of a large sum of money, but when ʿĪsā went to visit his parents, the local children pelted him with stones and called him an assassin. A third story (Yāqūt, Iyghād, ii, 25 ff. = Uṣūl, iv, 132 ff.) tells of a poet in love with a young monk who pines away with grief and dies the very moment that he meets the object of his infatuation.

From anecdotes such as these one gains the impression, on the one hand, that the authorities and the people did not regard the inclinations of these homosexuals as immoral, and on the other, that monasteries and monks played an inauspicious role. It is quite clear that poetry and works such as the Dīvān al-Shahīd regard monasteries [see above] as places of debauchery frequented by lovers of forbidden delights. One must, however, proceed with caution, because once again we are faced with a poet whose treatment is analogous to that of the one we have just quoted by poets who are influenced more by respect for a tradition than by any desire to become personally involved in the acts to which they refer. In this context, the adventure of the Andalusian poet al-Ramādī, the account of which is borrowed by H. Pèrsé (Poesie andalouse, 276-9) from a work of dubious authenticity, the Matn aft al-fanṣ of Ibn Khākān, seems to us no more authentic than the braggings of Ibn Shuhayd, in a poem composed in imitation of Abū Nuwas (H. Pèrsè, op. cit., 277-8).

The fact remains that in the Middle Ages, many attacks on Islam by Christians were based on the frequency of homosexual relations which, in their view, were permitted by the Qurʾān and which characterised the behaviour of Muslims; they based this opinion on verse 20-16 of Sūra IV which they misinterpreted as referring to sodomy, without taking account of the condemnation of "depravity" which it contains (see N. Daniel, Islam and the West, the making of an image, Edinburgh 1960, 141-5).

It is indeed difficult to measure precisely the extent of the phenomenon, but it should be recognised that the separation of the sexes, which is a particular feature of Islam, has played a significant role in promoting it (cf. Brunschvicg, Histoires, ii, 173), among women as much as among men, and the precautions taken against such behaviour (al-Nuwayrī, for example, entitles the chapter cited above al-taḥlīl al-ṣināʿa min al-mulūd) did not succeed in preventing it. It is now known that homosexuality, once regarded as a punishable offence, is caused as much by genetic as by social and psychological factors, but it seems that in medieval times the latter had a stronger role in the proliferation of what remains, to a large extent, a vice.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.) LIYĀKAT 'ALI KHĀN, honorary secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1936 to 1947 and prime minister of Pakistan from 1947 to 1951, was born in the Karnāl district of east Punjab on 1 October 1895. He was the second son of a well-to-do landlord, Nawāb Rūstam 'All Khān of the Mandā family, which claimed to have migrated 500 years previously from Iran and to descend from the Sāsānian king Anōghirāwī (Khurshād 1, 531-79 A.D.); British officials on the other hand considered the Mandal family to be of Pathān origin, or perhaps Ḥaṭīs hailing from Samān in Panjāb. Liyākat 'Ali Khān's grandfather, Nawāb Ahmad 'All Khān, gave powerful support to the British in the Mutiny uprising of 1857-8, for which he was handsomely rewarded in the bestowal of honours and the remission of rent.

From 1904 to 1919, Liyākat 'Ali Khān attended the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, where he was notably successful both on the games field and in the classroom. After graduating, he read law at Exeter College, Oxford, getting his degree in 1921, and was called to the Bar in 1922. At Oxford he began to display political promise as a prominent member of the Indian Māljī. On returning to India he settled down on the family estate in the Māqaf-farnagar district of the western United Provinces and, despite family pressure to enter government service and his own training as a lawyer, aimed at politics. In 1923 he joined the All-India Muslim League, the organisation of Muslim separatist politics, and when in 1927 the League split over its response to the Simon Commission to inquire into India's constitutional progress, he supported the Djinnah group which boycotted the Commission. In 1928 he joined those representing the League at the Indian National Convention which discussed the Nehru Report. From 1936 to 1940 he was a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council, in which he quickly came to play a prominent part, organising and heading the small but influential Democratic Party and acting as deputy president of the Council from 1935 to 1936.
Liyakat 'Ali Khan played the leading role, after Muhammad 'Ali Djinah, in generating the revival of the All-India Muslim League. In the early 1930s the League was scrambling, needing only supplanting full session between 1931 and 1935, while visiting London on its second honeymoon, Liyakat 'Ali Khan helped to persuade, and according to some was decisive in persuading, Djinah to return to India to revitalise the organisation. In April 1936 he became honorary secretary, a position he held till 1947, even though from July 1935 to early 1938 he was associated with the landlord party in the United Provinces, the National Agriculturist Party led by the Nawab of Cattari; the Muslim League leadership in the province, he declared by way of explanation, was too close to the Indian National Congress. In the early 1940s Liyakat 'Ali Khan prepared the League's organisation, and Muslims more generally, for the overwhelming victory of the 1945-6 elections. He sat on the League's major committees, he was chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, he toured India to spread the League's message, he directed the Dawn newspaper which was founded in 1942 as the League's mouthpiece, and from 1940 he led the League's party in the Central Legislative Assembly, which was often called upon to deliberate on constitutional and administrative matters, and which were quite frequent. So highly did Djinah value Liyakat 'Ali Khan that in supporting his re-election as honorary secretary in 1943 he described him as his "right hand".

In the two crucial years before the partition of India, Liyakat 'Ali Khan was at the heart of events. In late 1944 and early 1945 he attempted to come to an agreement with Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress in the Central Legislative Assembly, which included the Congress and the League party in the Congress and the League to participate in forming an interim government, although he may have gone too far on his own initiative, as Djinah disavowed the project. He was also closely involved in two further attempts to solve the constitutional deadlock, the Simla conference of 1945 and the Cabinet Mission discussions of 1946. When towards the end of 1945 the interim government was eventually formed, Liyakat 'Ali Khan led the Muslim League bloc, defending Muslim interests with vigour. When that government's quasi-Cabinet offices were distributed, the Congress apparently trusting in the north Indian belief that Muslims were unskilled in financial matters, encouraged him to take the Finance portfolio, which gave him a say in all the activities of the interim government and enabled him through a masterly budget to impose his will on the political situation. Indeed, it is said that he used his powers to such effect that leading Congressmen, among them Sardar Patel, came to see partition as the only solution to their difficulties. After partition was finally agreed on 7 June 1947, Liyakat 'Ali Khan was marked out to be the first prime minister of the new state of Pakistan.

When Djinah, governor-general and presiding genius of Pakistan, died on 11 September 1947, Liyakat 'Ali Khan came forward as the unchallenged ruler. He faced enormous problems: the state was divided into two parts separated by 1,200 miles of hostile territory; there were millions of refugees; there were divisions of language, race and religion (15% of the population was Hindu); there was no administrative centre, efficient bureaucracy, political tradition or economic focus. That Pakistan survived these problems, in addition to the premature death of Djinah, owed much to the wise leadership of Liyakat 'Ali Khan. He responded firmly to the threats levelled by an India still not entirely reconciled to the dismemberment of the subcontinent, and through his statesmanlike approach to international affairs did much to establish Pakistan in the eyes of the world. When in June 1949 India imposed a total trade boycott because Pakistan refused to accept the rupee alongside the Indian rupee, Liyakat 'Ali Khan was unmovable, and eighteen months later India relented. When in both 1950 and 1951 India massed her forces on Pakistan's borders, he combined a staunch reply with a readiness to seek an immediate resolution of differences by negotiation. It is sometimes thought that he need not have accepted India's offer of a ceasefire in Kashmir in 1949, but it is difficult to see, in view of the condition of Pakistan and her resources at the time, what choice he had. In the world at large he maintained a determined policy of non-alignment: he attended the conferences of British Commonwealth prime ministers but quickly made it clear that Pakistan should not be "taken for granted", he made a personally successful official visit to North America in May and June 1950 but made no foreign policy commitment. He did, however, make commitments in the Muslim world and emphasised Pakistan's independence of any of the under-represented East Pakistanis as possible and removing the remaining foreign officers. Brushing aside suggestions that, now Pakistan was won, the Muslim League had performed its task, he tried to mould it into a party of national construction. "Pakistan is the child of the Muslim League", he declared, "it is the duty of the mother to look after the child till it grows up", and to emphasise his point he became president of the League on 8 October 1950 and urged others to follow suit in drawing together and promoting his party. Most important, he endeavoured to create a framework for politics in which all Pakistanis would be happy to work. There were great problems: autonomous provinces had to agree to surrender power to the centre, a fair place had to be found for non-Muslim minorities, while the 'balanced', who knew that all sovereignty flowed from God and that they alone were equipped to interpret His law, had to be reconciled with those who believed that the people were sovereign and that power in politics should rest with their representatives. Liyakat 'Ali Khan's first step towards creating a constitutional framework was the Objectives Resolution brought before the Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949. Although no more than a statement of intent, it marked out enough apparently common ground, particularly on the questions of sovereignty and minorities, for Pakistanis to be able to proceed with constitution making. There followed the publication of the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee in September 1950 which contained basic, and it seemed unassailable, opposition; the East Pakistanis were the most vociferous, fearing that their majority in the Constituent Assembly would be reduced to a minority, although they were more numerous than the West Pakistanis. Liyakat 'Ali Khan responded by...
LíYÁN and LÍYÚN

postponing consideration of the report and deciding to hold general elections before grappling again with the constitutional issue. He has been criticized for this move, indeed for mishandling the issue altogether. On the other hand, his attention to the family, the electoral campaign, and general elections which would be more firmly under central control. To this end, he used his powers as Muslim League president to vet all applications for candidacies. He had just completed the task in the Punjab, and was about to proceed to the North-West Frontier Province, where on 16 October 1951 he was assassinated by an Afghan while addressing a meeting in Rawalpindi.

As a person, Líyáns's Ali Khan was noted for his moral integrity, his incisive judgment, his sharp, laconic attitude probably due in part to the fact that political and military activity there passed at an early date, and therefore almost exclusively, into the hands of the people of Kashalá. It is a populous town, whose business, commerce and stock-raising are carried on. The people there are bellicose and touchy. Líyánand Líyún

The geographers and historians knew perfectly well that there existed a kingdom, with a capital (bá'ída), which opened up all the Galicia-Asturias-León region. It was at that time probably a small, unimportant place, without a Muslim governor. The Arab texts are indeed silent about it, and agree with the Chronica de Alfonso III in making Astorga and Oviedo the seat of 'Múmán', the Muslim governor of the region at the time of Pelayo's revolt.

The town must have been more or less officially abandoned at the time of the great rising of Berbers who emigrated from northern Spain in the years after 127/741. According to the Chronica Alfonso(n) de Alfonso I, 'FrucJa, brother of Alfonso I, entered Léon', and the Chronica de Alfonso III (619-66) specifically says that "Abd al-Rahmán to besieged, bombarded, pillaged and burnt Léon, without however being able to destroy the 17-embled high walls". The Chronica Alfonso(n) mentions under the reign of Alfonso "a campaign by al-Mungbir which opened up the recruiting for the 17-embled high walls". The town was the objective of two raids by al-Mansur b. Abi 'Amir, one in 325-326 and the other in 327-328, leading to the sacking and burning of the town (Líyún, 80).
Ibn 'Uthayr (Bayan, lv, 801), as well as 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi al-Mu'addal fi taklifah al-habbar al-Maghribi, 235, 268) consider Lübín solely as an urban centre since they make Alfonso VII "the Shu-beren" lord of Ciudad Rodrigo, Avila, Léon and Zamora, more information also reproduced by Ibn Khaldun in his K al-'Ibar. As opposed to this view, Ibn al-Khatib (K. Al'mall al-'Adi'm, ed. Beirut 1936, 74, 241) speaks of it as a kingdom and not as a town ("the Christians of Kashf ala and Lübín"). He has preserved for us an additional piece of information by including in the curious Dhabar al-'Azavim ba'd am nada' sin min mu'mim al-na'-asal bi 'l-Andalus, which comes at the end of his Am'mal, material which the Christian chronicles mention about the physician-ambassador Yusef b. Wakkár al-Isra'il al-Tulayty, this chapter uses phonetic transcriptions of Christian names and titles, giving also the Christian equivalent for hidjra dates; it is interesting to compare with this Ibn Khaldun, who, in his K al-'Ibar, also changes at approximately this time bamiis [X] into bamiin. Ibn al-Khatib reports thus that "in 1248/1249 [error for 1248], Anuelo, brother of Freifa, governed the territory of the Asturias, Galicia, Portugal and part of Léon"; "in 1249, Malik al-Hadi, governor of Léon, moved to the Great transferred the dahr al-mulk of his father to Léon and styled himself King of Léon"; and "Castilian separatism began under the reign of Garcia in 1279/1280 [correctly 1281-1282], a period corresponding in fact to one of the phases of Castilian expansionism [see gaiti]. Ibn al-Khatib then mentions the birth of the kingdom of Castile under Fernando Sanchez, and his struggle against the Léonese state before its merging into the kingdom of Castile and later, as well as the origin and the succession of Portugal. The information given by Ibn Khaldun in the chapter of the K al-'Ibar called "Notice on the Dhaibalba Banu Idhifnsh, kings of al-Andalus after the Goths...", although very similar in fact to that of Ibn al-Khatib, is not a mere piece of plagiarism but seems rather to come from a parallel source of Information. Bibliography: See, in addition to references given in the article, Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal, vi, Espaá cristiana: comienzo de la reconquista 711-1038 (by J. Perez de Urbel and R. del Are), xvii, España cristiana: crisis de la reconquista de la reconquista y luchas civiles (by L. Suarez Fernandez, J. Regia Campistol and R. d'Abadal). (P. CHALMERTA)

LIZARD (see DARE). LODIS, a North Indian Afghan tribe and dynasty, 855-932/1398-1424.

1. History. Afghan tribes from the mountainous Sulayman region regularly migrated to the plain of the Indus; they joined the invading armies as auxiliaries in war, and came as traders or herdsmen during peace. They moved to the hills in summer and to the plains at the onset of winter. Among these emigrants were the ancestors of the Lodi sultans of northern India. For the Afghans in India generally, see PATHAN and BODHA.

The Lodis are related to a clan of the Ghilzay tribe of Afghanistan [see CHALMERTA] and ruled over parts of north India in the late 12th century. Afghan name to the Indus plains from Khy [97], as early as 934/1237-12 with the army of Muhammad b. Kásim, the conqueror of Sind, and allied themselves politically with the Hind-Shah [97] rulers of Lahore, and receiving part of Lumban [see LUMBAN] for settlement, built a fort in the mountains of Peshawar to protect the Pandjáb from raids. During Alptigin's government at Ghazna, when his commander-in-chief Sebúktigin raised Lumban and Multan, the Afghans sought help from Rádža Djaypáli who appointed their chief, Sháykh Hamíd Lódi, viceroys of Lumban and Multan. Sháykh Hamíd appointed his son as governor, and thereby the Afghans gained political importance; their settlements stretched southwards from Lumban to Multan, incorporating the tracts of Bann and Sardar Lódi.

Later, a family of the Lódi tribe settled at Multan, which was ruled in 1269/1290 by Abu 'Fath Dádvid, a grandson of Sháykh Hamíd. There was also a strong Afghan element in the forces of Sultan Mubammad of Ghasan and Sháykh al-Din of Ghiz. The latter on his third campaign to India [see ÖZKÜL] had 12,000 experienced Afghan horsemen in his army, and he defeated the Rádajjus under Rádža Pitháwará Dádhi. On his return journey, he settled in the hills of Róh, the Sulayman mountains, Ashaghatar and Badawara—a tract extending from Kábul to the Indus—and appointed Malik Mubammad al-Din Ghurá al the head of 20,000 men to transplant the Afghans from Ghiz to the new settlements, thereby paving his way for the conquest of Hindustán. Each clan was granted on 964/1459 in the environs of Nífáb and the Indus.

Serving thus in the army of Sháykh al-Din Ghurá, the Afghans rose to power and settled over a large tract of land. Their leader 'Ali Kirmákhák was appointed governor of Multan in 582/1385-7. Sultan Balbán of the slave kings posted them as garrisons in Bándur, Kámpala and Páfáví against the Hindí rebels in the Dún. During the reign of Mubammad b. Tughluk, they rebelled under their leader, Malik Sháh Lódi, in Multan at some time in 781/1379-80, and killed its governor. Since the time of seizure of the Pandja by the Khánzáwas, the movements of Afghan merchants increased considerably. They started participating actively in the politics of northern India from the time of Muhammad b. Tughluk and particularly after Firúz Shah Tughluk's death (790/1388), during the decline of the Tughluk dynasty (Fidal, vii, Espaá cristiana: crisis de la reconquista de la reconquista y luchas civiles [by L. Suarez Fernandez, J. Regia Campistol and R. d'Abadal]).

During the invasions of India by Timár [97] in 801/1398, Afghans fought on both sides, Malik Khudr Lódi, Malik Bahram al-Din Djilán, Malik Yosuf Sarwát and Malik Habib Niyáz joined the army of Timár at the head of 20,000 Afghan mercenaries. About this time, Sultan Sháh's father Malik Bahram had come as a warrior-trader to Multan from Bálúti, a pargana in the Búrid-pandjaur sarkar on the border of Bahúkástan, according to the AfsÁ Ahbári. He quarrelled with his two brothers Malik Mahmód and Malik Maqul, and took service under Firúz Shah Tughluk's governor at Multan, namely Malik Mardán Dáwlat, entitled Malik al-Sháh Násir al-Mulk (Tabakät-Á Ahbári and Taríkh-i Mubárák Sháháti). Malik Bahram organised a tribal militia. After his death his sons Sultan Sháh Lódi, Malik Firuz, Malik Muhammad, Malik Khudr and Malik Káli stayed on in Multan while the city passed, during political confusion and unrest, into several hands. After the death of Malik Mardán Dáwlat, Malik Káli's son Malik Yusef and his adopted son Malik Sulayman were appointed after his death governors of Multan in succession by Firúz Shah Tughluk. Malik Sulayman was succeeded in the governorship by his son Khán Sháháni, the founder of the Sayyíd dynasty at Dádhi [see DÁDHI SULTANATE], who had been appointed governor of Multan and the Pandja.
by the Tughluqs in recognition of his military service, but later betrayed the Tughluqs and joined the invading Mongol force under Tümen.

Sultan Shah Lodî, who succeeded his father Malik Bahârîn as chief of the Afghan mercenaries, distinguished himself in the service of Khîlân Khân and helped him in overpowering the Tughluqs. He succeeded in killing Malik Khâlib Khân, the de facto ruler of Dihll and the staunch supporter of Mubâhîn Tughluq, in the battle of Aqsojan fought on the banks of the Sâtâl (18 Dhu‘l-Hijjah 808/11 November 1405). Thus Muktân, together with the Pandjab, escaped from Dihll, and Sultan Shah Lodî was put in charge of Sindh with the title of Islâm Khân. During the time of the Sayyid Sultan Muḥârâk Shâh, sons of Khîlân Khân, the Afghan chief Sultan Shah Lodî obtained power and held Sindh with the neighbouring districts in gāḏâr (i.e.). He settled there with his four brothers and gathered a strong contingent of 12,000 horses, mostly of his own tribe. Malik Khall married his uncle’s daughter, received Daurâla (Sindh rankâr) in gâḏâr and served under Nâṣîr Khân, who held Muktân as governor on behalf of the Sayyid Sultan Khîlân Khân. His child was named Bahlul, the subsequent founder of the Lodî dynasty at Dihll. He died in a struggle against the Niyaţî emigrants in the Indus valley, and the child was brought up by his uncle Malik Sultan Shah Lodî at Sindh. Finding him a soldier of promising character, Sultan Shah Lodî gave him his daughter, Shânâ Khîlân, in marriage. Once in Sâmâna he visited a local holy man, Sayyid Abbaân, with two companions, (Tu‘bâ‘i-Shâh, 3; Tu‘bâ‘i-Dinâlî, Sârka ka, 4); the Sayyid demanded 2,500 lâms in exchange for the throne of Dihll if any one of them was willing to hazard for it. Bahlûl Lodî had with him only 1,300 lâms which he instantly offered, and was congratulated as the future ruler of India. Although he was taunted by his companions for this transaction, he drew inspiration from the Sayyîd’s proposal and had no ease to regret either the tirole of Dihll or his gift.

Sultan Shâh Lodî nominated Bahlûl as his heir-apparent in preference to his adult son Khîlân Khân. On his father’s early death in Radiâq 824/March 1431, the Afghan military became divided into three camps under Khîlân Khân, Malik Firûz (son and brother of Sultan Shah Lodî = Islâm Khân) respectively and Bahlûl Lodî; the latter won over his uncle Malik Firûz to his side against the confederation of his rivals Khîlân Khân and Muḥârâk Shâh, the Sayyid ruler of Dihll. The latter sent a force under his nami Malik Sîkandâr Tubaîn and Dârârî Khokar to drive the Afghans out of Sâmâna and to deprive Bahlûl Lodî of his gâḏâr. The Afghan, defeated, fled to the hills. Malik Firûz was made captive and his son Malik Shâh Khân was killed. Bahlûl escaped, and, on Dârârî’s return to the Pandjab, he managed to re-gather his scattered army. Malik Firûz escaped from Dihll and joined Bahlûl. The contra Khîlân Khân Lodî also joined Bahlûl’s camp. Thus reinforcing his forces, Bahlûl Lodî recaptured Sâmâna in 841/1440. The Sayyid Sultan Muhammad Shâh sent a large force under one of his chiefs, Hârûn Khân, to drive Bahlûl Khân out of Kârlân (which was defeated at Karâ (Khârîn in Ambalî district?) near Khîdrâbâd Sâdûrâh, and Khîlân Khân escaped to Dihll while Bahlûl established himself firmly in the Pandjab.

In 841/1440, when Dihll was threatened by Malâm Khâlîqî I [q.v.] of Malâw, the feeble Sayyid Sultan of Dihll appealed to Bahlûl, who agreed to help him on condition that Husaîn Khân the prime minister was to be replaced by his nominee Hamîd Khân. The Sultan acted accordingly, without taking into account the implications, and Husaîn Khân was killed. Bahlûl Lodî took the field with his contingent of 8,000 Afghan and Mughal militia and 20,000 of the royal army against Malûbîrî, who after a day’s desultory fighting sued for peace, and retreated to deal with a serious riot in his own capital, Mandû (58a), and an invasion by Sultan Attâr of Gujûlrât. This retreating Malâw army was waylaid by Bahlûl. Dihll was saved for the Sultan, and Bahlûl was awarded the title of Khâlîf-î Khânîn, and confirmed in his gâḏâr at Sâmâna, with Lahore and Dihllîpûr as his hereditary fiefs.

Muhammad Shâh and annexed Sûna and Hîsâr Frûzî and other districts of the Pandjab. Twice he made unsuccessful attempts to capture Dihll, once during the time of Muhammad Shah (839-1445), and again during that of his son and successor Sultan ‘Alî al-Dîn. ‘Alâm Shâh (848-855/1443-55). Circumstances were in his favour. ‘Alâm Shâh’s rule extended from Dihll to Dârârî (‘Alâm Shâh’s rule extends from Dihll to Dlârâ). The Bahlûl advised the Sultan to kill his prime minister Hamîd Khân, who escaped from Bâdûn, occupied the palace of Dihll and invited Bahlûl to take over. The latter came, but cleverly declined the offer as the time was not ripe. Subsequently seizing an opportunity, he had Hamîd Khân arrested by Khîlân Khân Lodî and occupied Dihll. He offered the throne to Sultan ‘Alî al-Dîn ‘Alâm Shâh, who, however abdicated in favour of Bahlûl, preferring himself to live a life of ease and seclusion at Bâdûn. Thus upon, ascended the throne of Dihll with the title of Abu ‘l-Muzaffar Bahlûl Shâh on 17 Rabi’î 1 855/1 April 1453.

After the capture of Dihll, Bahlûl extended his territory over north India up to Dâwânpûr [q.v.]. The last decades of the 15th century witnessed a fluctuating struggle between the Shâhî dynasty of Dâwânpûr and the Husaînî-Shâhî dynasty of Bengal, and the Lodîs’ control of north India had remained throughout a bone of contention. At first, Bahlûl succeeded in driving out Husaîn Shâh from his capital (Dâwânpûr) to his eastern possessions of Cûmâr, Cawmî and Bihâr. The Lodî Sultan proposed to maintain the status quo, provided that Husaîn Shâh did not harbour his enemies, but the latter was bent on recovering his lost territory. (An inscription confirms the control of Husaîn Shâh over Bîhr in 842/1445-6, but it was annexed by Sîkandâr Lodî and put in the charge of Dârâ Shâh in 840/1446-7, as is evident from another inscription.) Husaîn Shâh Shârî was driven to Kahâlgûn, 23 miles east of Bâhâgûpûr. The Dîbî army crossed the Ganges from Pînhâ, while another contingent marched from Dâwânpûr via Kûthûhpûr near Mînâr Shâh, against the Bengal Sultan ‘Alî al-Dîn. To out the Lodi troops, Prince Dânîyûl was sent by his father at the head of Bengal army towards Mûngîr (Mûnhîr). The two armies stood facing each other for some time and ultimately a non-aggression pact was signed at Bîhr to the west of Mûnhîr. Even after this, the boundary remained fluctuating. Bâhâgûpûr was perhaps, the western extent of the Bengal sultanate during the height of Lodî power; Sîkandâr Lodî’s bounds definitely extended up to Bîhr in the east (cf. J.B.R.S [1955], 355-69).

Bahlûl considered himself a chief of chiefs rather
than an absolute autocrat. The Afghan chroniclers speak highly of his simplicity, sense of social equality, bravery and generosity. He followed strictly the Skaita and spent much time in the company of learned and pious men. He died in Qaiwan 892/July 1488 at Malwali near Saket, a short distance from Afgath [s.d.]. His body was brought to Dhihil and buried in the Baghi Dhihil.

Before his death, he ensured Lodí dominance in north India by placing his second son Bahlúl on the Djawnpur throne and assigning Mankopur to Aīam Khán Lodí, Bahrayí to his nephew Kála Fáhir, Lakháhú and Kálpí to Áfza Humáyún Lodí, and Bátún to Khán Dishán Lodí, while Náím Khán held the Pánjáb, Dhihil and most of the Díaáb.

He was succeeded by Náím Khán as Sultan. Síkandar Lodí, who reigned until 922/1517-18. Bahlúl was a chief of chetas; Síkandar Lodí considered himself a fully-fledged Sultan. He was a good administrator, a just ruler and a good poet. He was able to control the unruly Afgháns by introducing the system of inspection, auditing accounts and registering a jéla (descriptive roll) [See Dágání in Suppl].

Síkandar Lodí was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Lodí at Agra on 8 Dhu l-‘Ihád 922/22 November 1517. To establish himself, he had to fight against his rival brother Sultan Dújal al-Din Kálpí and other rebels. After nine years, he had to fight a defensive battle at Pánjápí [ag]. Against the Moghul invader Muhammad Bábúr of Fargáná, the Afghan invaders, Muhammad Íbbár of Fargáná and Aīdul-Din of Kalpl and 

dÁc u$asii,ia (descriptive toll) [see in Suppl].

A correct use of the wealth was his repression of the powerful nobles of the NOI.ianI, which shifted from Dhihil to provincial capitals until the establishment of the Lodí dynasty. Síkandar Lodí’s reign witnessed a renaissance of learning and culture in Dhihil. Hindus began to take interest in Muslim learning and Dúngar, a Hindu poet, taught in a Muslim college. Síkandar patronized music, and gathered poets and musicians in his court. The Súlán’s cultivation of music led to the compilation of a rare work, the Lohfújí Síkandar Lodzi wa-l-latifiyi fi-mumtábil, a ma of which is preserved in the Tágor library of Láhijáta University.

There was some rapprochement between Muslim Súfís and Hindus yógu, the Bhakti poets and some contemporary instances of social intercourse between Muslim saints and Hindu yogis, and of Muslim followers of Hindu saints, and vice-versa. See further in Daghán, Láhijáta Súfís; J AğÁ in Suppl.

Bibliography:
LOMBOK — LÔDÌS

Tensions between the Sasaks and the kings of Sumbawa during the 17th century finally led to the intervention of the Balinese kingdom of Karangasem, which established its supremacy on Lombok at the beginning of the 18th century. Mataram, close to eastern Lombok, was defeated and thus in neighbourhood to eastern Bali, developed as the most influential centre on Lombok. Its king was counselled by Balinese nobles, and the districts, too, were governed by Balinese, whereas their decisions were executed by Sasaks officials who were often descendants from the old indigenous nobility.

In 1849, Karangasem lost its supremacy over Mataram, which maintained closer contacts with the Dutch at that time. But the Balinese nobility still tried to develop western Lombok into a second Bali, and by court decisions Sasaks were eventually made slaves and had to serve in that role. Finally, the Sasaks asked the help of the Dutch Indies government, which organised in 1894 an expedition against Lombok "to protect the Muslims", to abolish the dynasty, and to turn Lombok into a Dutch colony. Besides its political consequences, this expedition resulted in the discovery of the manuscript of the Nagaşātjagama, a chronicle of the kingdom of Majapahit from the 14th century.

Although the Sasaks are usually considered to be Muslims, old customs, beliefs, and rules (adat) are still dominant. Especially during the 19th century, two parallel movements brought some change into the traditional social structures: the attempts of certain circles of the nobility to exert a greater degree of power, which they justified with adat convictions, and which was based on the eventual support of the Dutch; and, on the other side, the attempts of mainly commoners to gain some influence too. For them, Islam with its more democratic concept of society, provided sufficient motivation, and at the same time was consonant with the anti-Balinese feelings among the people.

It was the latter group, however, who in the course of time proved to be more influential than the former one. The features of this development are similar to those in other rural areas in Indonesia. The traditional nobility, which as descendants of the original semi-divine hero has a strong attachment to adat, disqualified itself by its affiliation to the foreign powers who ruled the area, whereas for the Muslim preachers, lacking those affiliations and usually themselves originating from the lower strata of society, it was much easier to convince the commoners that they were defending their interests. Externally, they were opposed to the habits and convictions of traditional Sasak culture. But as they were usually oriented towards Islamic traditionalism, a number of Sasak cultural and ceremonial notions were in effect absorbed into their understanding and practising of Islam. Besides the questions of leadership and social control, it was especially in regard to the matrimonial customs and kinship relations where a discrepancy between adat and Islam was felt, and this caused internal tensions in Sasak society, which on the whole is moving towards a gradual acceptance of the customs and habits of traditionalist Muslims.

This happens mainly through intermarriage between adat-obeying and Muslim partners, where the former one adapts himself to the Muslim partner. But the transition from adat to Islam is much less a matter of changing doctrines than of changing practical behaviours, and it is mainly obedience to certain demands of the Shar'īya which serve as the criterion for considering someone as a Muslim or not.

LORCA [see LURKJA].

LOS PEDROCUES [see FAS AL-RALLUT].

LOT [see LOT].

LUBAN (libban, labbanis) is frankincense, the dried-up sap produced by notching some kinds of Boswellia, obtained in Somalia and South Arabia in the form of yellow resin-grains. As is well-known, the term is Old Semitic: Assyr. libbanu, old South Arabian Lib-n, Hebr. Bonâ, Aram. lebona (lebota), Eth. liban, from which have been derived the loanword λβάνως, λβανώς, Latin olibanum, with derivations in the Romance languages. The name can be traced back to the original meaning “white” (Hebr. liban), after the colour of the fresh, milk-white gum-resin, excuded abundantly from the dotted wounds and, after some time solidified into yellow grains, which are then detached from the trunks or gathered from the soil. At least as often as luban, there appears in Arabic the synonym kundur, according to most authors of Persian origin, but perhaps to be derived from χόνδρος “grain”; this term may have become an independent form, derived from the combination χονδρος λβανως “frankincense-grain”.

The frankincense trade is extremely old and has been treated repeatedly—but at times inadequately—in comprehensive descriptions. In the first place, frankincense—together with myrrh—formed the richness of the old South-Arabian states of the Mi-
naeans and Sabaeans; the loss of the frankincense mo-

nopoly was one of the main causes of the collapse of this commerce fundamental for their existence, and consequently of cause of their downfall around the middle of the 6th century A.D. (see the good survey by W. W. Muller, Al-Sudan und al-Maghrib, in Thecl Quartalschrift, cxlix [1969], 350-56). The Arabic sources point in the same direction. According to al-Ashâ'ir, three items were found only in the Yemen, and indeed abundantly there: al-ears (eucunea, a dye-plant), al-lubân and al-saf (Peter-
num) (cited in al-Dhafari, The book of plants, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 627). According to a Bedouin from 'Uman (in al-Dhafari, Le dictionnaire botanique, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos. 971, 972), the resin is only found in al-Safir, in al-Shir 'Uman, in fact, as a small briar which reaches up to two cubits high and which grows only in the mountains; its leaves resemble those of the myrtle [see as in Suppl.], as do its fruits, which have a bitter (read marâda instead of harâda) taste; its resin, also used for chewing and called kundur, wells up in some places struck with the hatchet and stays there until harvest. According to al-Dimashkel, Nélhóh, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1856, 57, frankincense is obtained on Sulûsrâ (Socotra) and in some regions of the Yemen. After Matt H. H., 11, al-Tâbarî i, 720, 4, reports verbatim that the Magi brought gold, frankincense and myrrh. Lic estixture is caused by two different things: by taking excessive delight in dried figs and by burning frankincense (Ibn Khayyâ,
Rûyûn, iii, Cairo 1930, 204).

The best frankincense comes from the male plant (libban ghâbar = the λβανωτος ῥηγήν of Dioscorides); it is white and firm and has round grains which are gummy when broken open. The white frankincense (libban alayd = λβανωτὸς λευκός) is also named as a noble variety; finally are to be mentioned the Javanese (in fact, Sumatran) frankin-

ce (libban jëdû), i.e. benzoin, obtained from various kinds of styrax-trees whose fumes are said to remove a cold in the head, and the reddish, Indian frankincense. When, however, the geographers speak continuously of the frankincense of Arabia, this statement is based more on a literary topos than on knowledge of things on the spot. The critical Marco Polo remarks explicitly that he does not want simply to repeat these literary accounts, but to report the personal information of the frankincense-traders. According to these last, frankincense was particularly cultivated in two regions of South Arabia in “Escler”—apparently al-Shîr—and “Dûsar”, the ancient Zafrî. In al-Shîr, he further reports, the lord confiscates the entire harvest, pays the cultivator a low price, and sells it to the traders at a seafold price (for this report, see W. Heyd, His
toire du commerce du Ixvant, ii, Leipzig 1839, 614-16). Some other places named by the geographers which produced frankincense were Dufar, in southern Arabia, and Basra, long to the region of Mahr [p.]. The fact that at times scanty production of frankincense could not always satisfy the sustained and high demand in East and West, led to numerous adulterations (S. Labbr, Handelsgeschichte Agyptens im Spätmittelalter, Wiesbaden 1925, 334). Nahray Ben Nessim, a Jewish scholar, merchant and banker, called al-âfîjir, al-

maghribî and well-known from the Geniza documents, carried on a widespread trade in frankincense in the Mediterranean area in the 5th/11th century (S. D. Goitein, A Medianer society, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 154).

The medicinal use of frankincense, described ex-
tensively by Ibn al-Baytâr, goes back for the greater part to Dioscorides, from whom was also borrowed without examination the enumeration of several kinds, together with their Greek names. According to him, frankincense has a heating, drying and astringent power, expels darkening of the pupils, causes wounds to scar over and checks haemorrhage. It softens virulent abscesses and, applied in combina-
tion, with vinegar and pitch, removes warts and erup-
tions. It is good for earaches and, combined with other medicines, for illnesses of the trachea and of the intestines. For healthy people, it can be dangerous, for it may cause madness and, if drunk with wine, even death. Frankincense is burned by putting it in a mussel-shell and setting fire to it. Shortly before it is fully consumed it must be covered up so that the fire is smothered completely in order that the frankincense is charred and not reduced to ashes; it can then more easily be pulverised. Various supplementary observations were made by the Arab physicians, such as the following: frankin-
ceense "burns" pathological phlegms, dries up excessive humours in the breast, strengthens the stomach and warms up a cold liver. Dissolved in water and taken daily, it increases the reasoning power and eliminates powerlessness; it relieves headache and distended stomach, calms palpitation of the heart but can also lead to mental disturbances. When chewed, it strengthens the gums. Its bark is good for haemor-
rhages and intestinal ulcers. The bark of the frankin-
LUBNAN—LUBNAN

The modern State of the Lebanon was proclaimed on 26 November 1920, by the French Mandate Commission of the Paris Peace Conference, when the Lebanon as "a sovereign and Independent State". It was a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, which was to be regulated by a sectarian division of responsibilities, conferring on the government affirming, with all the ambiguity necessary to a compromise, that "the Lebanon is a homeland whose countenance is Arab, which will benefit richly from the civilisation of the Arabs." It became a member of the Arab League on the foundation of the latter in March 1945.

Greater Lebanon had taken the name of the Lebanese Republic when it was endowed, in 1926, with a constitution establishing a parliamentary and liberal régime. In 1943, when the Lebanese Government, with the support of public opinion, took its own destiny properly in hand, it set the seal on these institutions by means of the National Pact (al-Mishāq al-mu'assas), a verbal accord which, in particular, defined the division of the responsibilities of power between the Christians, Shiites, and Sunnis. Since it had done so, it had helped to create the Presidency of the Republic to a Maronite Christian, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers to a Sunni Muslim, and the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies to a Shi'ite Muslim. Herein lies the heart of the problem. Under the cover of a constitutional régime inspired by the French Third Republic, Lebanese political and social life was to be regulated by a sectarian division of responsibilities, conforming to the development which it has experienced since the beginnings of Islam [see 'ilm al-'usūl] and the changes that it had undergone in the Ottoman Empire in the period of the Tanzimat [q.v.]. If the declaration of 1943 stated that the Lebanon is a "homeland" (al-umrān) of Arab countenance, the Constitution made it a "nation" (al-nasra). To which structure was the action of the state therefore to respond?

Social culture imposes its norms here, digging its root into a very distant past; there is more of history in this than in all the "Phoenician" justifications put forward today by the Christians, or in the majority of civilisations to which the Muslims lay claim.

Populated from the very dawn of history, the coast accommodated active ports, the memory of which has been perpetuated by the Biblical texts, and of which contemporary archaeology has revealed...
Fig. 1. Stages in administrative unification (after D. Chevalier, "La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe," Paris 1971).

A. The historic regions; B. The Mountain under the Shihab family; C. Lebanon and the two kātimmākāmil, 1843-61; D. The Province of Mount Lebanon in 1861.
the stages and the levels of habitation, such as those superimposed on more than three millennia of glories and disasters in the remarkable site of Byblos (Dhibayl). Under the Roman domination and the rise of Mediterranean traffic which accompanied it, 30,000 spectators could be accommodated in the immense hippodrome constructed in Tyre (Sur) and recently brought to light, excavations having begun in the 1960s.

Shrouded by its forests and its rocks above the narrow coastal strip, the mountain was also penetrated by man at a very early stage, as is shown by its Canaanite and Aramaic toponyms; its inhabitants, probably fairly dispersed until the end of the ancient period, made a living through the exploitation of timber, transporting it on the first stage of the long route which led from Tyre and Sidon (Saydā) to Asia, and through brigandage. The haunt of the gods worshipped by the cities of the coast, it also attracted pilgrims to shrines adjoining the ruins of temples built in the Roman period.

After the mission of Muhammad, the Arab conquest, by modifying the horizons and the nature of power, gave rise to a different exploitation of resources. While the narrow coastal plains, open to the sea and giving access to all ventures coming from

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**Fig. 2.** The Lebanese Republic (after C. Dubar and S. Nast, *Les classes sociales au Liban*, Paris 1976).
the West, formed a passage hardly favourable to the
prosperity of a sedentary life in the absence of se-
curity, the Lebanon range became one of the marches
of the Syrian heartland. It was the object of Muslim
and Byzantine adversaries confronted one another, per-
haps through the intermediary action of unruly local inhabitants with
an aptitude for warfare. Furthermore, the virtual
autonomy enjoyed by those who had established
themselves there was favourable to the maintenance
and development of heterodox and minority religious
tendencies.

On the western slope of a mountain already
densely deforested, between its first escarpment dis-
sected ravines and its exposed peaks, the terrains of the north or its ridges to the south, con-
ditions for agriculture and human settlement were
particularly favourable at altitudes between 500 and
1,500 metres, since here erosion had uncovered soft
and fertile strata of chalk. Sandstone, marl, clay
and basalt rock provide a more open relief in this
area, where the climate is temperate, the air salu-
brious and water plentiful. Annual rainfall at this
altitude in fact reaches levels of between 1,000
and 1,500 mm, which the mountain people are obliged
to absorb over the winter in the form of snow.

The Lebanese mountain range is well-irrigated at a
latitude where water is rare, because it stops the
humid air currents coming in from the west; it forms a
barriage between the sea and the steppe. Behind the
sheer eastern face, the inland depression of the Bik
corries becomes much more dry; climatic contrasts are
accentuated; the Mediterranean littoral is replaced
by the Syrian plains which stretch beyond Anti-
Lebanon. The Bik was the wheat-growing region
to which the mountain people came in search of
part of their cereal requirements; as a result, it
became a disputed territory because, as an enclave
also penetrated by nomads, it became a prey to the
rival and destructive aspirations of distinguished
families who sought to impose their control on the
mountain region, and of those who governed in
Damascus.

Over the centuries, the mountain people con-
structed and maintained walls of dry stone to retain
the arable soil on the slopes, thereby establishing
narrow fields which were arranged in successive
and horizontal layers; these were put to full use
when the farmers became capable of developing the
cultivation of the vine, the olive and the mulberry.

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The men who constructed and cultivated these
terraces were organised according to the two modes of
grouping fundamental throughout this historical
milieu: the patriarchal family and the religious com-
munity. Social life was at first determined by a sys-
tem which sanctioned marriages of the other frame-
work of paternal parentage to form a patriarchal family which was turned in upon itself and of which the
identity was established through a patrilineal genealogy and through references to a more or less
legendary ancestor. Within this context, the family
group found expression for its defensive reflexes
("my brother and I against the son of my paternal
uncle, my paternal uncle's son and I against the
stranger"), its obligations towards neighbouring
family groups and its dependent relationships with
more powerful families. In fact, the nature of its
internal constitution did nothing to prevent, in the
field of exterior contacts, the forging of links of solidarity and the establishment of hierarchies;
the role of the latter was still significant in the 19th
century among the families of the mountain region.
This system, largely pre-Islamic in its origins, was
adapted to different types of economic and political
organisation, arriving progressively at its fullest
expression during the Islamic period, in this moun-
tainous context of which the maintenance of the whole.

Thus it was not confined to one religious community,
but common to all, even though it underwent evolutions and variations in the course of the cen-
turies: furthermore, the identifying marks of social culture which it entailed, and the experience of
which was vigorously maintained through the every-
day vocations of the mountain people, was shared by the mountain people with their entire human
environment, with the inhabitants of the interior
as with those of the coast, and with those of the towns
as with those of the plain.

However, the higher collective consciousness
relayed for its support on something beyond this or-
ganisation, which could only engender unstable coal-
litions between separate and rival agnate groups;
it became crystallised at the level of a religious
community which ascribed itself to a universalism of
divine essence and thereby corresponded to a unitary
aspiration where the social body ideally expressed
its instinct for survival in its cultural identity
through its willingness to transcend personal
interest. Islam was the perfect response to this need,
while allowing the survival under its protection of
other revealed religions which had proved satisfac-
tory. While each religious community transcended the
divisions of the family groups which composed it
by uniting the latter in a common faith, the different
communities became juxtaposed in their turn in a
hierarchy imposed by Islamic law, analogous, in fact,
to that which proceeded from the structure of society.

The effects of this situation were to a great extent
accentuated by the schisms and heresies provoked by
the fragmentation of each of the great monotheistic
religions into tendencies, different interpretations,
communions, liturgies, doctrinal and judicial schools,
which themselves formed (sing. id'ifa), possessing
their own distinctive characteristics in the service of the one God, and even exacerbating them
in the course of continual confrontations between the
communities. The historical ambiguity of the Leba-
non, as compared with other groupings of the region,
consists in the fact that it was constructed on the
banding together of minorities to form a majority.

How did the distribution of those who fostered
their idiosyncracies in this mountain refuge develop?

The reply to this question is one of the keys to the
progressive definition of "the Lebanon" by its
own inhabitants. It is not at all surprising, however,
first because our information on the popu-
lation during the medieval period is still fragmen-
tary and uncertain, furthermore because hypotheses
on this subject have been exploited to develop falla-
cious or emotional claims which have served to jus-
tify community and political choices in contemporary
Lebanon, with consequences that have not been
of the mountain, constitute for their part evidence received as an uninterrupted chain of events, also led population to be regarded as allogenous or indigenous in relation to Islam and to the "Arabs", which this even though these last were tarnished by heterodoxy. Opposition to the Muslims, and Maronite authors considered mysterious people which he believed could thus the Jesuit priest Henri Laminens had taken up again the study of the "Mardaltes" (cf. , people of dissent" or "re- cursants", as Ibn Taymiyya condemned them, that they launched in this way direct and victorious and devastating campaigns. This dispersion of the Shi'is was favourable to an influx of Maronite population, moving in from the north, and to an extension of the authority of distinguished Druze families (see ) around the Ghurab and the Shof. The chronicle of Shihb b. Yalay, written in the 15th century, clearly shows how the hierarchy of the family groups became established on the mountain by means of the fiscal and military organisation of the Muslim states (the system of the mamluks, to be replaced by the under the Ottomans). It was in this encounter between a population of settlers and an authority which derived its administrative legality from the centre of Sunni power and its structure from social culture that there was established the "Government of the Druze" which European travellers discovered in the Ottoman period, and where one of the axes of the modern Lebanon progressively took shape. With the dangers posed by the Franks and Mongols removed, the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 1516 was, in fact, a decisive moment for this mountain region. It had ceased to be a disputed frontier; it became a centre for access which, for all its undoubted difficulty, was situated at the meeting-point of the great land and maritime communications routes of the vast imperial Ottoman federation. Its inhabitants found in this the opportunity to develop their own activities, and thereby, also the means of 10 a -tions of the Shl's was favourable to an influx of the local centres of manufacture and consumption, Damascus and Aleppo being the leading customers. Major commerce radiated from these inland terminals, with indoor routes and towards the coastal ports, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, which put them in contact with those of Damascus rich exchanges in the south. Their outlets were initially with cabotage traffic plying between Palestine and Anatolia and with Egypt, the Maghrib and the ports of Christian Europe, Marseilles in particular, whose merchants, consuls and agents joined together in conducting their business under the system of capitulations (see ).

As a manifestation of the power of the sultanate which was maintained through control of the towns and the plains, Sunni society first the town its roots in the centres for the radiation of religion, justice and authority. In the zone studied here, the Sunnis were located principally in the ports, the coastal plains and the Bika'at; the dignitaries of Sidon undertook with those of Damascus rich exchanges in the form of merchandise, marriages and spiritual brotherhood, while Moroccans were to be recorded in the genealogies of Beirut families. The old communities
of their predecessors and on the basis of the ethnic distribution; the north belonged to the tilliet and the olive plantations of the Ktura, to the south of Tripoli, and, on the other hand, the agricultural development which grew up around the "Greek Catholic" monastery of Tripoli. Dahr al-Jabal, Sawadi, land dominated by the Nabulusi family, these two rites also maintained monasteries such as that of Shuwayr, where a printing press was installed during the first half of the 18th century, in this centre of Christianity which the Kisrawan and the Ma'an were to become.

Between the Djabal Lubnan to the north and the Dahr al-Jabal to the south, the movement of Maronite population towards the south of the mountains, effectively turned this region into a religious focal point, an agricultural zone accessible to commerce, and formed musba'as1 administered by families of Maronite shaykhs within the context of the "Government of the Druzes", the bakhum Djabal al-Shajf wa-Kisrawan of the local chroniclers. Forces which came into contact here also clashed. The Jesuits had sent their first missionaries to the Levant two decades after the Council of Trent, and they had assumed direction of the seminary founded in Rome, in 1584, for the training of young Maronites. It was therefore no paradox that the communities of oriental rite attached to Rome were among the first to feel the impact caused by the renewal of religious activity in Europe and contributed to its repercussions. Under the influence of the Holy See, the Maronite Church underwent a movement of reconstruction which affected monasticism and the hierarchy, and a number of synods, including that of Lavrayza in 1735, had to be convened for the new rules to be discussed, accepted and imposed. Where the monasticism was well established, it acquired material strength through the donations and waqfs of which it was the beneficiary; monasteries became institutions of education where, alongside liturgical Syriac, the Arabic language was cultivated as a "naturalised" its western elements. By virtue of the authority of its patriarch and the work of its monks on the popular level, its influence in the community grew in comparison to that wielded by the musba'as1, the title born by members of families responsible for the levying of a contractual tax on a district, musba'as1.

Among the dignitaries (al-yawm) of old Maronite stock, some advanced in the echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, whilst others acquired the title of honorary consul in dealings with the representatives of the king of France but the latter, their power derived from their role in the Ottoman fiscal system. After their conquest of Syria in 1516, the Ottomans had retained the administrative divisions of the mountain region, following the example of their predecessors and on the basis of the ethnic distribution; the north belonged to the edlaiyet of Tripoli, the centre and the south, where the "Government of the Druzes" held sway, to that of Damascus.

In 1669, in the wake of campaigns which the Porte had been obliged to conduct in order to suppress the rebellious ambitions of the Druze amirs of the leading family of the Ma'an, a new ba'ish, whose governor resided at Sidon, was created to ensure the control of the Druzes and the Maronites. Detached from that of Damascus, its territory included the central and southern part of the Lebanese range and northern Palestine; however, the pasha of Damascus retained seniority over those of Tripoli and Sidon. The latter made no attempt to exercise direct authority over a mountain range that was difficult of access and inhabited by well-organised groups; in common with the usual practice of the Ottoman administration, they relied on a structure of local hierarchy, of the distribution of the tribute, the most tangible sign of the sultan's power. In doing so, they were obliged, on the regional level, to adapt themselves to the structure and hierarchy of this society so as to utilise it in a manner favourable to the maintenance of their control, expression and assurance of the sovereignty of the Porte, even though the latter was far away and incapable of applying consistent coercion.

The principal tax, the waqf, was linked to the princely of agricultural production; it was therefore levied on produce. It was farm out and the leaseholder was subject to annual confirmation: the 'amir—a sometimes two or three 'amirs simultaneously—entrusted with this role belonged to the family of the Ma'an from the time of the Ottoman conquest: to the last quarter of the 17th century, than to that of the Shihab. The delegation of this authority consequently led to the pre-eminence of one family over the others, and of one amir over his kinsmen; the latter was obliged to lead a life of constant duplicity in order to reconcile the rules imposed on him by his social milieu with the obligation to hand over revenue to the imperial financial chest and thus retain his post. According to the total sums determined by the Porte and demanded by the pasha, each year it was his duty to divide the amounts to be levied between the musba'as1s responsible for collecting the tax from the musba'as1 under his jurisdiction. The "Great Prince", the traditional home of European travellers for the title of al-'amir al-habib, also took the title of al-habib in to assert his authority in the bakhum Djabal al-Shajf wa-Kisrawan. Following the example of the controlling family, those senior families which exercised authority over others, and whose members were the most important landowners, took responsibility for the collection of rents in the musba'as1, where their social and proprietorial power was thus guaranteed; but in the effort to exert and retain their authority, the musba'as1s wore themselves out in internal rivalries, which were the visible results of the division of society into juxtaposed and opposing groups, and which were revived by the ambitious and intrigues of the sultan's representatives. Thus in 1711, near the village of 'Ayn Dar'a, the Kaydi faction of the 'amir HaydAr Shihab crushed the Yemeni faction; in order to establish more firmly the supremacy of the Shihab, 'amir Haydar then proceeded to make a new division of the musba'as1s in the Druze region, making some of them and weakening others. But the Porte was also capable of dismissing 'amirs [see KAYS 'AYLIN]. Kays and Yaman in the Ottoman period.

School textbooks appeal to the consciousness of present-day Lebanese through the history of two "heroes", the 'amir Fakhr al-Din II Ma'an [26.] and the 'amir Rashid II Shihab [27.], who contributed to the vision of independence for their country in
a unitary fashion that transcended divisions and sectional interests. Both of them, once at the beginning of the 17th century, the other at the beginning of the 19th, exercised authority of a power and extent that had hitherto been unknown in the region; while exploiting the weakness and rivalries of the Turkish governors, they also looked for support to those states which, in the Mediterranean basin, testified to the regenerated power of Europe. But on each occasion, the Porte succeeded in frustrating their ambitions. When the Druze Fakhr al-Din, with this son Ali, took steps to expand his amirate and to render it autono-

mous, the Ottoman resistan him with the same deter-
nation that they had shown in suppressing Shiism in the interior of their empire and in combating Safavid Persia on their eastern frontiers. Fakhr el-

Din, forced to take refuge at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1812, returned in 1818, but was finally captured near Dzirnin and sent to Istanbul where he was executed in 1835. In a totally different historical context, the next Bagh a II Shihab also died in Istanbul, in 1830, but of old age, after he had been forced to abdicate his power in 1829, when the Ottoman government, undertaking a programme of political reform and driving the Egyptian governor Muhammad Ali out of Syria, refused to receive his appointment. However, for more than a half-century, from 1788 to 1840, he had thrown all the force of his strong personality into giving the people of the Lebanon a range of purpose. To this end, he followed the policy of his predecessors which consisted in adding to the territory of the "Government of the Druze", belonging to the pasha of Sidon, that of the land of Dahrnay, north of the river Mod-

arayn, which was a dependency of the pasha of Tripoli; he demoted the leading marzeh, like the Druze shaykh Bashir Duneibal [see Druze], and made use of the support of the Maronites, who had become the largest community in the mountain region. But as the intermediary of a fiscal system which became more and more oppressive, and subject to the coerences of Muhammad Ali during the presence in Syria from 1832 to 1840 of Ibrahim Pasha's Egyptian army, he left his country in a state of full-scale revolt on the part of the mountain people. This led to the exclusion of the greatest of the "old style" dignitaries, since the central Ottoman power, in seeking to reassert its control, struck at the leadership first; his departure spelled the dissolution of a system.

What situation was discovered by the Porte, when it re-established its authority with the support of a British military expedition and reformed it through its policy of Tawallum? Since the beginning of Ottoman domination, the centre of Syria had shifted from the east towards the west; Lebanon overtures towards Mediterranean Europe and the demographic growth which had enabled the Maroni-
tes to spread from the north to the south of the mountain had worked in favour of this orientation and had benefited from it. However, in this material, human and religious context, arboiculture, pro-
ducing timber in commercial quantities, had been considerably developed to the detriment of edible crops; at the beginning of the 19th century, the cereals which the mountain people harvested from their soil were sufficient to feed them for only three or four months of the year, the remainder having to be bought. The need to guarantee their subsistence thus put them into still further dependence on the Turkish governors who controlled the fertile plains; although the marzeh attempted to remedy this necessity by a permanent extension of their influence over the Druzh, their efforts were in vain. On the other hand, commercial exchanges turned the mountain range into a zone of monetary circulation, and its economic development favoured considerably its population growth; but, at the end of the 18th century and during the first four decades of the 19th, increasing pressure of taxation, linked to the effects of Ottoman monetary manipulations, had caused a massive deprecation of financial resources and led to an impoverishment which was all the more powerfully felt because the cultivable areas of the mountains had reached a peak of demographic saturation in terms of the density of the population of the peaks. This in turn led to social tensions be-
tWEEN, on the one hand, the marzeh, themselves impoverished and weakened by the policies of a marzeh Bu-Shagh II and by their own numbers and rivalries, and on the other, the tenant farmers who found it increas-
ingly difficult to cope with increasing taxes and rents on contracting land space. On the Maronite side, the ennoblement of the nobility, which led to a regrouping in the framework of the community under the leadership of the cleavages, with resulting profit to the land owners, had not experienced the same demographic increase, and who therefore were subjected to the continuing influx of Christian population simultaneously with the renewal of economic and political activity in Lebanon, there was a contrary regrouping behind the major traditional families, the social backbone of the community; a migratory movement; it also took place towards the Syrian interior, towards the Haw-

ars. Social tension thus also led to community regroupings in the interior, which were inhabited by Druzes and Christians; the clashes which ensued were a part of the general unrest which affected Syria in this period.

When the regulations of 1842 and 1845, the Porte imposed a new administrative system which gave preferential terms to the Christian population but re-
tained the division of the mountain, the northern part being entrusted to a Christian bi'tinquatn and the southern to a Druze bi'tinquatn; both were functionaries placed under the authority of the Turkish governor who was now resident in Beirut, and were assisted by a council "like those which already exist at all points of the empire". It was the renewal im-
plored by changes in Europe that was manifested behind these modifications, behind new forms of inter-
vention by representatives of European powers in Lebanon, especially behind the activities of the consuls of France and Great Britain posted to Beirut. This port was regularly visited by steamships after 1835; although the major cities of the interior underwent a crisis in their activities, the "inland" regions which were inhabited by Druzes and Christians; the clashes which ensued were a part of the general unrest which affected Syria in this period.
thereby contributing further to the decline of the latter. These economic changes, while favouring the prosperity of those who were the intermediaries, chief among whom were the Christians, had an adverse effect on the disadvantaged communities and led to aggravation of social and religious tensions. In 1859, an agrarian revolt saw peasants in conflict with sheikhs in Maronite Kfardebian. However, the Christians benefited overall from these transformations, while Muslims and Druzes were, overall, prevented from playing any part; claiming the "equality" promised by the reforms, reinforcing the status of the community with the support of France and of the Roman Church, profiting from a European expansion which both rivalled and dominated the traditional economy of the Near East— all these activities on the part of the Christians were in the eyes of the Muslims crimes committed by a people whom they had never ceased to despise, in opposition to their past supremacy and to their present existence. An incident in May 1860 touched off conflict between Druzes and Christians, and was followed by massacres of Christians in the "mixed areas" and in Damascus. To limit intervention by the European powers, the Turks restored order in the most brutal fashion; however, this did not prevent the arrival in Beirut of a French expeditionary force, which Napoleon III had also sent for the purpose of furthering the Mediterranean and Arab aspects of French troops until June 1865, and of the negotiations held between the Porte, France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, was the creation of a province of Mount Lebanon. Administrative unity was thus confirmed by law. Although it was nothing more than a sanjak or mukhtara, the agreement signed at Perpignan on 9 June 1861 made it clear that: "The Lebanon will be administered by a Christian governor appointed by the Sublime Porte and responsible directly to it." The Porte laid down the condition that this Christian governor be chosen from among the non-Lebanese subjects of the Sultan. The majority of the population of the new province was Christian; order was maintained by its own police and ideas. The economic expansion introduced from the 1925 revolt. However, a compromise was devised, of showing where their feelings lay at the time of their territories. In 1920, the French military intervention against the Arab Kingdom of Mtir Faysal permitted the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon which was placed under a mandate entrusted to France. This state was established around a Christian, mainly Maronite, nucleus, which constituted a majority, although all the other lands of Arab culture were populated predominantly by Muslims. But the former province of Mount Lebanon was expanded with the addition of Béqaa, Saida, Tripoli, Akkar, the Bikâr, the Wâdi al-Tayni and the Djabal nahr where Sunni and Shî'î Muslims were present in large numbers. This situation aroused two principal attitudes: on the one hand, the Christians had no intention of accepting a position of inferiority in a Republic of which they considered themselves the architects; on the other, the Muslims speculated as to what their states was to be within a political entity which had not been founded according to their aspirations. Numerous factors came into play in this context, in particular: the nature of groupings and relationships in the community frameworks or the political parties; demography, increasingly favourable to the Muslims; the question of ability to cope with all the necessities of the modern world; and the economic role and the place of manual labour, not only in terms of the different social levels but also in terms of the communities. While some Shî'î leaders were quite prepared to throw in their lot with the system, the ruling circles and the population of the Sunni community expressed strong reservations and they took the opportunity of showing where their feelings lay at the time of the 1925 revolt. However, a compromise was devised, of its principal Sunni initiators being Riyâd al-Sulâh; in 1936 it was agreed, following Franco-Syrian...
and Franco-Lebanese negotiations, that the Lebanon would continue to exist within its present frontiers and would retain the representation of the communities which had been confirmed by its parliamentary constitution. In 1945, the National Pact, already mentioned, was a decisive factor in the Muslim adhesion to the Lebanese identity. In March 1945, the Lebanon was among the founders of the League of Arab States.

Under all the presidents of the Republic who have succeeded one another since independence (Bishara al-Khuri 1941-52, Kamal Shamoun 1952-58, Fuad Shihab 1958-64, Charles Hilla 1964-70, Sulayman Farajlyya 1970-76, Ilyas Jarida 1976-82), each seemed to have understood the impossibility of the communities, but has also revealed the growth of a Lebanese consciousness among the majority of a population which has become accustomed to living in the framework of the Lebanese State. In February 1958, many Muslims greeted with enthusiasm news of the foundation of the United Arab Republic; but while bloody civil unrest engulfed the country between May and September of the same year and provoked, in the international and Arab context, the landing of American troops on 17 July in application of the Eisenhower Doctrine, the programme of reforms instituted under the presidency of General Fuad Shihab was accompanied by the emergence of a genuine Muslim Lebanonism. At the same time, Kamal Dhemball, as much in his capacity as an aristocratic Druze of the Shih in his role as leader of a socialist movement, appealed to a fundamentally Lebanese patriotism in his effort to bring the country into the bosom of Arab solidarity. The Sunni leaders and the Muslims as a whole were placed in the reality of the Lebanese state as a cadre for the future, but they demanded institutional reforms which would give greater recognition to their numbers and to their talents in the control of the Lebanon. In a state where all civil life is defined by the fact of belonging to a religious community, this claim was supported on the basis of modifications arising from the demographic separation. It is, in fact, the Muslim populations that have increased most rapidly; this development is most clearly marked within the Shia Muslim community, the most disadvantaged in the country, which has become the most numerous. The Shia labour force has therefore tended to leave the impoverished rural zones of eastern and southern Lebanon, the precise areas where Israeli raids have contributed to the acceleration of the migration, to seek work in the expanding industrial zones of the Beirut region. A social problem has thus prolonged the process of political demand and demographic change; this has been reflected in the actions of the political parties of the Left, who have also sought, in a similar manner, to channel the discontent of the peasants of the north whose agitation, since 1970, has been directed against the major landowners and has called into question the authority of the state. They have also acquired, through their new militancy, a stronger "Muslim aspect".

This evolution has come about in a period of economic growth whose profits have been most unevenly distributed. Since 1967, the ascending curve of the Lebanese economy has followed that of the increased wealth of the Near East as a whole; petrodollars, "Arab" assets which are essentially the property of Muslims, have been invested in Lebanese banks, of which the majority are controlled by Christians. At the same time, the Lebanon has not only counted on the resources deriving from its "services", but also on those produced by its industry, which has undergone a vigorous expansion in the suburbs of Beirut and Tripoli, exporting 80% of its production to Arab markets. While Lebanese technicians and businessmen, including Christians at the higher levels, have taken the opportunity of practising their skills in the developing Arab countries, the contracted labour force in the construction industry of Beirut is of Syrian origin; thus, through its recent economic development, the Lebanon has become still more integrated into the life and destiny of the Arab world.

Paradoxically, this situation has been cruelly underlined since 1973 by the internal consequences of the recession of the western economy, for the Lebanon has followed that of the Lebanese economy has followed that of the Western states which, as a result of repeated Israeli incursions; but, besides the members of the front of progressive parties, all Muslims have felt sympathetic to their cause and have often offered them support in internal political action.

The resentment at this situation felt by the Christians, and especially by their Maronite majority, has been channelled by the Lebanese Phalanges. Although of Arabic language and culture, the Christian population has developed and rediscovered an isolationist complex in an Arab world where the movements of Arab society, and while they have exploited the liberal Lebanese regime to act, as independently as is possible, towards invoking the solidarity of the Arab nation, they have none the less remained very distinct from the remainder of the population, since they lay claim to a land which is not the Lebanon. The sovereignty of the Lebanese state has suffered as a result of their military activities in the frontier regions of the south and, consequently, as a result of repeated Israeli invasions; but, besides the members of the front of progressive parties, all Muslims have felt sympathetic to their cause and have often offered them support in internal political action.

After February 1975, the repression of political and social unrest at Sidon illustrated the limited capabilities of the Lebanese army, itself a multi-religious organisation. On 13 April 1975, a coach carrying Palestinians was machine-gunned by Phalangeists near Beirut; twenty-seven passengers were killed. Since then, the authority of the government has progressively disintegrated. At the beginning of 1975, the whole generation of students had dreamed of a fraternal future for the Lebanon, to be achieved by the erosion of community divisions; this dream has been shattered. While the sovereignty of the state has been called into question, and the ancient...
structures of the familial group have been damaged by modern urbanisation and industrialisation, religious segregations have shown themselves to be all the more active at the level of collective consciousness, since they have remained the principal touchstone of identity and therefore the principal framework for community solidarity. In the agony of the civil war, political and social conflicts have been kept alive by the most ancient segregational structures of Near Eastern society; the polarisation of passions according to religious allegiances has been the most symptomatic expression of this at the conscious level. How is one to contemplate the idea of the partitioning of the Lebanon as envisaged by the minorities, the constitution of semi-autonomous fraternities of combatants, principally within the popular Muslim milieu, the conflicting claims of fragmentation and unitary ideologies, or the unequalled violence of the fighting since September 1975, without reference to this conglomeration of sociological and historical data?

The Lebanese crisis which began in 1975 owed its seriousness to internal causes which in their turn reflected the changes in the Arab world and the social, cultural and political tensions which had become acute throughout the Near East. At the beginning of the war, two powers with an interest in the existence of the modern Lebanon made official approaches to the different Lebanese parties: Syria, with repeated missions on the part of its Minister of Foreign Affairs, France, with the fact-finding missions of Maurice Couve de Murville and Georges Gorse. In June 1976, Syria sent a massive force into the Lebanon under the cover of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force in order to restore calm. In spite of truces, the sound of gunfire is still to be heard, across alliances and the reversal of alliances (especially after the Camp David Accords), across struggles for hegemony within each politico-religious faction. The continuing prosperity of the banking sector has no doubt compensated for the massive destruction of property and the aggravation of social disparities. From 1810 to 1938, civil disorders in Lebanon had been resolved only by the intervention of Western armies. Since 1976, the presence of the Arab Peace-Keeping Force has shown that a
solution should be found through Arab negotiation, but having regard to international repercussions and to the conflict with Israel which led, in 1978, to the dispatch of a United Nations Interim Force in the Lebanon (U.N.I.F.L.).

It is estimated that the Lebanon has close to three million inhabitants. It is they, residents or temporary emigrants, who ensure the existence of their country. Though each continues to feel part of a minority in relation to his compatriots, the adhesion of the majority of the Lebanese to the Lebanon is symbolically represented by the celebration of the Day of the Flag; but, while they are aware of belonging to the same entity and are determined to maintain it, they do not share the same national vision.

The felts came from various regions and countries: from China (refined and rare felts, in the Muslim world, al-Dhibhī, loc. cit.; al-Thāfi'ilī, *Lašīfi*, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 142), from North Africa (al-Dhiba'ī, loc. cit.; al-Iṣṭāghī, 125; Ibn Hawḵābī, *loc. cit.*, 223; al-Thāfī'ilī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Zubayr, *loc. cit.*, 471), from Armenia and Khurasan (al-Dhiba'ī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Zubayr, *loc. cit.*, 50); al-Hamadānī, *Tamašāy*, 22). The Turks, in common with other peoples of Central Asia (A. Miquel, *op. cit.*, ii, 136, 234), used large quantities of felt, for clothing as well as for the making of tents, but there is no evidence to show that felt was exported from these regions to the centre of the Muslim world. Felt from Tīliḵān (in Khurasan), strong and resilient, was used possibly for the weaving of a kind of rope rescue-ladder (al-Muṣallī, *Muruš*, vi, 247—§ 2799). In Samarkand (Transoxiana) and Damascus (Syria) there were specialised quarters in the suburbs or in the city, for the manufacture and sale of felt (Vāšī, iv, 345).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Sadan)
During the whole of the Second Temple period, the city was one of the major Jewish centres, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods it occasionally remained outside Jewish domination. The Seleucids ceded it to Jonathan Maccabaeus in 125 B.C., and 85 years later, Pompey detached it from the Jewish state. In 48 B.C. Julius Caesar restored it to Jewish rule. In 44 B.C. after the murder of Caesar, Cassius, who appeared in the country with a large Roman army, sold its population as slaves when the town failed to pay the high tribute imposed on it (Josephus, Wars, I, ch. xi, 2). The city revived and even flourished as a centre of Jewish learning and a home for Jewish spiritual leadership after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (Smith, 121 and n. 2).

Once Christianity was proclaimed the state religion by Constantine, Ludd instantly assumed an important place in Christian thought, mainly because of the healing miracle which St. Peter performed on the paralytic Annas (Acts, 5, 30-3). It has been compared to Jericho in the Gospels (Matthew, 21, 19) and to Cana in Galilee (John, 2, 1-11). The name Ludd in the context of the Christian story can also be seen as a reference to Ludd (Lydda), the name for the city in the Latin alphabet since the time of Constantine, given to the city by Constantine the Great. The name Ludd appears in the Christian Gospels as a place of origin for Christ and as the place where He first appeared after the Resurrection (Mark, 16, 14). The name Ludd is also found in the apostle John's vision of the city of the new Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation (Revel, 21, 14).

The area of Ludd is a flat, alluvial soil, very good for agriculture. It enjoys an extensive area of flat land, some 40-50 m. above sea level, which came to be known after it as the "Valley of Lod" (cf. Pal. Topogr., loc. cit.). The area enjoys a very good amount of winter rain (annual average of above 500 mm.), and its alluvial soil stores large quantities of excellent water which have rendered the environs of the city extremely fertile in all times; this, in addition to the rich soil and generally warm climate, made the town famous for its agriculture. It was always described by travellers as being encircled by olive groves and vineyards (and in modern times, citrus plantations). Cotton grows very well in the area, and in the later Ottoman period it was cultivated extensively as a major cash crop. The cultivation of cotton ceased during the British Mandate, but it was renewed in a most extensive form in Israel. Plants used in the dyeing industry, for which the town had also been very famous (until the building of Ramla), must have also been grown around the city. The virtually unlimited possibilities offered by the natural conditions explains the place's attraction for settlers, who repeatedly restored it after the frequent calamities, whether of human or natural making, which befell it throughout its exceptional long history.

Its position made Ludd from ancient times an important station on the eastern and more frequented branch of the Via Maris which runs from Gaza via Yavneh (Ar. Yubná) and Ludd to Antipatris (Ra's al-'Ayn) and thence via Wadi 'Ara (ancient 'Iraq) to the Valley of Jezreel. This route running along the eastern slopes of the hills of Samaria, though longer than the one running parallel to the coast, was deemed easier and safer. It attained especial importance in the post-Crusader period (mainly under the Mamluks), and has since served as one of the major traffic routes in the country. The road connecting Jerusalem to Jaffa also passed via Ludd, thus making it into an important crossroads, a position which the city regained in modern times after the construction of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad at the end of the last century (see below).

Early Islamic history. According to al-Bakrī's tradition, Ludd was conquered by 'Amr b. al-Āṣ after the conquest of Nablus and Samaria (Fust, 138/5). Al-Tāhirī relates that the city was established in 15 A.H. and quotes the agreement made with its inhabitants. It is the standard formula of capitulation treaty known from other places in Syria which were reportedly taken without war (stūdīm), and stipulates 'amān (protection) for the conquered inhabitants' life and property, guaranteeing the safety of the religious institutions in return for a payment of an unfixed sum of āqām (al-Tabarî, i, 250/7). Very soon after the Islamic conquest the town was represented during the Byzantine period, mainly due to the growth of Ramla as a major administrative, economic and cultural centre in the Dīwand Filastīn (the Byzantine Palästina Prima).

Ramla was built by Sulaymān b. Ṭāhir with the intention of serving as the capital of the province, after a long period in which the Dīwand Filastīn had been devoid of a proper administrative centre. Having discarded, for obvious reasons Caesarea, the Roman Byzantine capital of Palæstina Prima, the Muslims made Ludd into the permanent seat of the administration. The city was, however, too Christian in ethos for the taste of the Umayyad rulers, especially after the inauguration of 'Abd al-Malik's Arab-Islamic reforms. When Sulaymān was nominated by his brother al-Ṭāhir I as governor of Palestine, he took up residence in Ludd, but immediately embarked upon the grand scheme of the building of Ramla (Fust, 143; Yākūt, s.v. "Ramla"). Once the new capital was established, Ludd almost instantly fell into oblivion. The Islamic traditions
unanimously confirm this by saying that the building of Ludd was the reason for the destruction of Ludd. Some traditions even say that Sulayman destroyed the homes of the inhabitants of Ludd in order to force them to move to his new capital, al-Mahdi. Other traditions state that the destruction of Ludd, emphasizing that in his own time it was already in ruins (Buldun, 328). The traditions relating to its deterioration are all intensified by the Islamic accounts of its past glory. Thus Ibn al-Fakhr speaks about the splendid buildings of Ludd, which impressed the Muslim beholders so much that they believed that they were built for Solomon by the djinn (Mushfik, 127). This tradition must refer to the Byzantine basilica of Ludd, which had been built over the tomb of St. George. It is believed to have been destroyed by al-Hajjaj in 397/998 and rebuilt by King Stephen I (St. Stephen) of Hungary (997-1038). However, by then the church of Ludd had already been celebrated in the Islamic ecclesiastical traditions, al-Mukaddasi, in the second half of the 10th century, mentions the church as the most prominent feature of the city. This tradition must refer to the Byzantine basilica of Ludd, which had been dedicated to the Saint, because of its location on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Robinson, 365). When peace negotiations began between Saladin and the Franks in 1188, the former suggested that the King of Jerusalem should receive Ludd to compensate him for his losses in the disintegrated Acre (Abu Shama, ii, 203). The strategic importance of Ludd as an inland station on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Mudhir al-Din, ii, 195; i, 47, Zettersten, 235). It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St. George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, (see Abu Shama, i, 203). The feast of St. George on 23 April continued to be celebrated under Islam, and its ceremonies at the church were also attended by Muslims. Three verses by al-Mutawakkil, the caliph al-Mahdi's poet-singer, indicate that he talks about his "coming intentionally to Ludd on the feast of nasiir sidqis (the) where he saw "ladies like gazelles in their covert", attest to the popularity of the feast, at least in the pre-Crusader period (Buldun, s.v. "Ludd").

The Byzantine church is described by all the early Christian travellers. On the eve of the invasion of the Crusaders in 1099, the Muslims destroyed it at once. The Crusaders found Ludd and Ramla deserted, and thus were easily able to establish a corriander from Jaffa to Jerusalem, whence they could mount their attack on the Holy City as well as widen their hold on central and southern Palestine. In Ludd they built in 1150 a new cathedral with much splendour and magnificence, over the remains of the previous Byzantine church and the Saladin's tomb. They dedicated it to the Saint, because of its location as well as because of the then prevalent belief in his intervention in their favour during the siege of Antioch. The new cathedral "was a great pile, capable of use as a fortress" (Smith, 122). Toward the end of the 12th century, the cathedral attained even greater attention and significance when St. George was adopted by Richard Coeur-de-Lion as the patron saint of England, in addition to the veneration he already enjoyed as the patron saint of Eastern Christianity (it was, however, only under King Edward III that St. George actually became the patron saint of England, 1322 a.d.). Moreover, under the Crusaders, the name of St. George replaced the name of the town, so that during the whole period of their presence it came to be known as St. George, and pilgrims call it by this name until the 16th century (ZDPV, x, 214; xi, 195). Even the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela speaks about his visit to St. George, erroneously identifying it with the Biblical Luz (Early travels, 87, 88).

In 394/1003, following the battle of Hittin (q.v.), Saladin conquered Ludd (Abu Shama, ii, 89), but the effect on the town of this conquest was felt only three years later. In the framework of Saladin's policy of dismantling the main coastal fortresses, he demolished Ascalon (Askaliy) and proceeded to dismantle on 3 Ramadan 587/24 September 1098 the fortress of Ramla. On this occasion he also demolished the Cathedral of Ludd (Abu Shama, ii, 214; Ibn al-Athir, xi, 47, Zettersten, 235). It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St. George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, (see Abu Shama, i, 203). The strategic importance of Ludd as an inland station on the main route from Egypt to Syria (cf. Mudhir al-Din, ii, 195; i, 47, Zettersten, 235). It is very possible that the tradition grew somehow out of the idea connecting St. George and the dragon, which can be traced to the 6th century, (see Abu Shama, i, 203).
The name of Ludd appears in the sources again in connection with the peace treaty of 625/1229 between al-Malik al-Kamil of Egypt and the Crusaders under Frederick II. In this treaty, which provided for the cession of Jerusalem to the Franks, Ludd was also handed over to the Crusaders' sovereignty, together with some other villages which were part of the territorial corridor between Jaffa and Jerusalem, which came under Frankish domination (SuCeh, iii, 230; al-Kalāshmand, ii, 429). In 665/1267-8, Ludd was conquered by Baybars, who must have dismantled whatever remained of the church (SuCeh, 3, 5), though it is possible that some of the columns which served to build the bridge to the north of the city in 671/1273.

The development of the inland branch of the Cairo-Damascus route (or the eastern branch of the Via Maris), in the course of which the great engineering enterprise of building the monumental bridge of Ludd was undertaken, was part of Baybars' policy to demolish completely the coast of Syria and Palestine. This policy began in fact, with Saladin and was later used by the subsequent Muslim rulers. In view of the Mamluk weakness on the sea and their inability to prevent the free naval activity in the Mediterranean, Baybars and his successors followed the strategy of abandoning the demolished shore and creating a strong line of inland fortresses. The unprecedented attention paid to the inland route to Damascus passing via Ludd was part of this overall Mamluk strategy (cf. Ayalon, BaraHyay, ii, and Idem, The Mamluks and rural power, 7-10).

Clermont-Ganneau, who studied the bridge as well as the church of Ludd, remarked that whole parts of the Crusaders' cathedral were used for building of the bridge (EA01, i, 270-1; cf. Prawer, ii, 424; modern Islamic art historians, however, doubt this theory. The bridge is known as Dībar Dīdās, after the name of a neighbouring village, and has been in constant usage since the time of its building until this very day. Two almost identical inscriptions on both its façades commemorate its building: it was ordered by Baybars and executed by al-'Asīd al-Dīn 'All al-Sawwālī and Umar in Ramadan 671/April 1273 (Clermont-Ganneau, loc. cit.). On both sides of the inscriptions Baybars' famous heraldic symbol, the leopard, is carved in relief with its paw raised to strike a miserable animal resembling a mouse, believed to represent the king of Jerusalem or the Crusaders in general (cf. Prawer, ii, 461-2).

Ludd revived as a consequence of the development of this major traffic route, especially since the early Mamluk sultans paid great attention to the orderly and secure movement of the royal postal services or barid (cf. between the imperial capital of Cairo and the major provincial capital of Damascus. In the Mamluk administrative division, Ludd was made into a centre of a subdistrict, 'anad al-Ludd (al-Kalāshmand, lv, 100). Ibn al-Furat (vii, 225) speaks in 890/1486 about mawāya al-Ludd wa l-Ramlā. After that, Ludd is mentioned as an important station on the road between Cairo and Damascus (e.g. in SuCeh, 1, 344-5; Ibn Fajrur, Durur, i, 522). Nevertheless, it was not until a few years after 581/1186 during the Mamluk period also, it was overshadowed by Ramla. Muhammad al-Dīn describes the place in this time, namely the very end of the Mamluk period, as a pleasant village with an active Friday mosque. The singing-out of the mosque of Ludd and the traditional congregational prayer took place at the mosque during the Mamluk period as well. Muhammad al-Dīn adds that to the east of the city there was a maghād venerated as the tomb of the famous companion 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Malik. There is no question that the maghād and the local traditions around it were a post-Crusader invention; its actual fact, Ibn al-Dīn died in Medina and was buried in the cemetery there of al-Bakī (cf.), Ibn 'Abd al-Baqī al-Sīdābī, ii, 850; Muhammad al-Dīn, 419).

The Grand Mosque was also built at the order of Baybars, in part over the sites of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders' cathedral, with the building material taken from the ruins of both. On one of the columns of the mosque a 6th-century Greek inscription which had belonged to the Byzantine church can still be seen. The mosque built by Baybars is called al-Dīmālī al-Umari. The long inscription in early Mamluk naskhī script over its entrance is the only detailed source concerning its building. It runs as follows:... ordered the building of this blessed Friday. Mosque our lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ahmar Rukn al-Dunyā wa M-Dīn, Abu 'l-Fath Baybars al-Sāhīb, the amir, ordered the Commanders of the army to God make his victories glorious and forgive him. This was done under the direction of the servant, yearning for the mercy of his divinae Master, 'All al-Dīn al-Sawwālī al-Sāhīb, may God forgive him, in the month of Ramādān 666 (begun 13 May 1267). The name of Ludd appears in the Mamluk administrative division, Ludd was part of this overall Mamluk strategy (cf. Ayalon, BaraHyay, ii, and Idem, The Mamluks and rural power, 7-10).

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This means that the mosque was built shortly after the conquest of the city. The work was executed by the same 'All al-Dīn al-Sawwālī who was later charged along with the building of the bridge but of whom nothing else is known (Mayer, loc. cit.). Another inscription on the grand mosque, hitherto unpublished, bearing the name of Kāṭibī and dated 13 Ramadan 892/2 September 1487, commemorates the abolition of certain unjust taxes upon the inhabitants of Ludd. Of special interest is the fact that the name of the powerful local leader of Diwāl Nābulūs, Khalīl b. Imāmī, hitherto known from literary sources only, appears in this inscription as officially participating in the affairs of Ludd. This may be explained by the fact that Fatimid times, which rendered the city of Jerusalem, Muḥammad al-Din, 056, 059).

The Bedouin element, which during the Fatimid period was predominant in the coastal plains of Palestine, and particularly around Ramla and Ludd, reappeared as a major factor in the history of the country in the post-Crusader period, again easily establishing itself around Gaza (Ghazza) on the one hand and around Ludd and Ramla on the other. These areas have always been within easy reach of the nomads, who took advantage of the weakness of the Mamluk and later also Ottoman military and administrative hand on the country. The environs of Ludd in both periods were completely at the mercy of Bedouin tribes, mainly of the Sawwālīna, the Kushtāq and the Sawtariyya, who replaced the Banū Djarrāb of Tārīf—the predominant tribe of the Fatimid period in Palestine. According to Oppenheim, the Sawwālīna and the Kushtāq arrived in the Ramla-Ludd region from Lower Egypt at the beginning of the 11th-12th century; but the Sawwālīna, the leading tribe of the area,
definitely arrived earlier, for in 1822 they took part in a coalition (with Bedouins from the Nabuluss area and others) which aided Ahmad b. Turabty, the Bedouin amir of Lajdhun [q.r.], in his war against Fakhr al-Din II (Sharon, The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine ... , 289).

The Ottoman period and modern times. Throughout most of the Ottoman period, Ludd was completely overshadowed by Ramla. It was a small village, which in judicial matters fell under the jurisdiction of the district of Ramla (Heyd, 55-6). In spite of its small size, it retained some of its importance as being situated on the central postal route of the empire. When in 1551, Rosekalna (Khurrees Sultan [q.r.]), the favourite and later wife of Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent, established her famous endowment (‘imāra) in Jerusalem, Ludd was one of the many villages which were made waqf for it (ibid., 143, n. 1, doc. 90, and n. 71, QDAP [1944], 170-94).

The European travellers who visited the town in the Manil and Ottoman periods are of little value for the history of Ludd until the 19th century, when the systematic research of the Holy Land began. They all repeat the same description of a small village in the midst of a fertile environment, emphasising the impressive ruins of the Crusader cathedral. At some time during these periods, an altar was built by the small Greek Orthodox community who used to assemble at the place for regular prayers. In spite of Ludd’s fertility and favourable location on a major commercial route, it was not until the second half of the 19th century that it began to revive. In the middle of the century the number of its population, according to the 1851 census, was only 1,545 (the number for the neighbouring villages being 4,100, SWP, ii. 279). The increased attention paid by the Ottomans to Syria and Palestine in the second half of the century, which entailed improvement in the internal security, mainly in the central parts of the country, and the keeping of the Bedouin in closer check, had an immediate influence on the fortunes of the town. The systematic European scholarly investigation of Ludd, which began with Edward Robinson in 1838 and continued particularly in 1852, and was followed by the Palestine Exploration Fund (Conder, Kitchener and others), drew European attention to Ludd and its past. In 1871 and again in 1873-4 Clermont-Ganneau prepared a most detailed study of the town and its environs, which included a detailed study of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders’ cathedral. At this time work began on the rebuilding of the present church of St. George, partly on the foundations of the ancient basilica and the Crusader cathedral. The study of the Byzantine basilica and the Crusaders’ cathedral in all its periods, which entailed improvement in the systematic research of the Holy Land began.

An earthquake on 12 July 1927 damaged the town very badly, destroying 500 homes and killing 40 people. Secondary earthquakes had occurred formerly in 1893 and 1946 (PEF, QS [1927-7], 272).

On 11 July 1948, in the course of the Arab-Israeli War, Ludd was conquered by Israel. Out of its former Arab population, only 1,056 remained in the town. Very soon modern cut-offs grew up around it, and by 1958 its population reached again the figure of 19,000, most of them Jews from the Arab countries. The rapid growth of the airport and the Israeli air industry have in the subsequent 20 years doubled the town’s population (the latter standing at 40,000 in 1970).
LUDD — LUGHA


LÜDHANNA, a district and town in the Dihandhar division of the Punjab state of the Indian Union. The tract is an alluvial plain, covering 3,573 km² and bounded on the north by the river Sutlej. Generally, it has been a frontier area. On the high road from Central Asia, it has been crossed by successive waves of conquest or immigration, while over the last 250 years it has seen struggles for supremacy between the Durrani Afghans and the Moghuls, between the Sikhs and the British and, more recently, between India and Pakistan. In 1809 Ludhiana town became an important British frontier cantonment, and the district gained most of its present form after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1846. Since the partition of India in 1947 it has been close to the Pakistan frontier. Before partition, nearly 38% of the district's population were Muslims; now they form less than 16%, 300,000 Muslims having migrated to Pakistan. The town of Ludhiana stands on the Grand Trunk Road and is an important junction on the Northern Railway. It appears to have been founded in the 9th/10th century by the Lüd rulers of Diblí, from whom it took its name. In the 19th century it became an important Wahhabi centre, and in the great uprising of 1857, Shâh 'Abd al-Kâdir, a prominent Wahhabi and friend of Sayyid Ahmad Barelî, led the town against the British. In the 20th century 'Abd al-Kâdir's family remained prominent in the resistance to the British, a great-grandson, Muhammad Habib al-Rahîmî, leading the Khuja agitation of 1919-23 and, as President of the District Congress Committee, the civil disobedience movement of 1930. In the 1930s, the town was the centre of the Ahrar, religious idealists, Indian nationalists, and for a time the leading Muslim party in north-west India. Consequently, Ludhiana returned the only Muslim Congressman from the whole Punjab in the 1937 elections, although by the next elections of 1946 the Muslim League was able to capture the seat with ease. Since 1947 the area has seen striking industrial and agricultural growth; it is one of the most prosperous regions in India.


LUGHA (A.), "speech", "language" in current usage.

The term does not appear with this sense in the more ancient texts. In the Kur‘ân it is exclusively ḥisām which is used to express the concept of "language" and not lugha, which is completely absent from the Kur’ânic text: bi-ḥisām al-lARABIH NH MUBIN ("in clear Arabic language"), XXVI, 195; and ma-ma

oralna miv rasâlî ihă bi-nisâmi fi-rānmi ("all the messengers whom We have sent [to Mankind], We have made them speak in the language of their own people"), XIV, 4. According to J. Füek and Nödeke, it seems that this term is non-existent in the ancient poetry of the Bedouin (see Füek, ‘Arabiya, French tr., 155) but this cannot be asserted because there is not yet available an exhaustive inventory of the vocabulary of those ancient poetic works which have survived. Lugha cannot have acquired the sense of "language" or 'speech" until the end of the 2nd/3rd century. Before this date, the term always appears with the very specialised sense of "manner of realising an element of language" particular to an ethnic group, a tribe or a locality; whence the meaning of regional or tribal "variant of realisation" which it possesses in the works of the grammarians Siba‘awî (d. 870/93). It is appropriate to stress the fact that, in the writings of this author, and of his contemporaries, lugha does not denote the full range of linguistic particularities associated with an ethnic group, in other words a local patois or a dialect, but only a local variant. Thus in the common expression lughat al-hdldj (Kûfî, i, 26, 35, 187, etc.), lughat Hudhayl (ibid., ii, 191), it concerns the special "manner" of the Hudhaylians of treating the particle and like the forms of the verb we- and of the particle ma. In the same fashion that you study the Qur‘ân true, is the modern Arabic expression lughat ammâl (from the root l-g-h) of which the essential meaning is precisely the idea of digression from a certain norm of expression, whence the very strong sense of a "deviation and often also as an incorrect expression". Thus in the common expression lughat ammâl (from the root l-g-h), this sense of "variant" or of "regional variety of realisation" is clearly illustrated in the use, by Arab grammarians and lexicographers, of the dual or plural form of the word lugha in expressions such as ammâl Mu‘âshîrî fi-fâshî lugha ("as for the name of Ma‘âshîrî, there exist several variants"), Kûfî, ii, 39 and the like. Hence, the expression lughat fi-râsâlî (lugha fi-râsâlî) in view of the fact that a "regional or tribal variant" is always regarded, by those whose own speech does not include this variant, as a deviation and often also as an incorrect expression in terms of their speech, it comes as no surprise to find that the word lugha is derived from a root l-g-h which of which the essential meaning is precisely the idea of digression from a certain norm of expression, whence the very strong sense of a "deviation and often also as an incorrect expression". Thus in the common expression lugha in the texts collated by researchers into Bedouin culture (see Lahn AL-‘Alma), for example, this remark is reported by the disciples of the eminent Abû ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Alî, as made by one of his informants, Abû Ma‘âshîrî, lâsaj hâdij min lâbî min lâfîn ba‘alî "this is not my manner of speaking nor that of my tribe", al-Kâli, ii, 39, repeated by al-Zaqîjî in his Maqâtîs al-Shâma‘î, 3). In his Awdah, al-Kâli is quite explicit: "Lâbî also signifies lugha according to al-‘Alma‘î and Abû ‘Amr, and it is in this sense that it is to be understood in the saying of the qalîf Umâr ‘Study... the lâbî in the same fashion that you study the Qur‘ân
The attitude of Arab lexicographers and grammarians towards linguistic data—the Lugha—has not always been properly understood by contemporary authors. The norm, the "norm" of the linguist E. Cowie is the "idiom" of the linguist J. Gagnepain is for them the result of a choice, but this involves the choice of the native locutors themselves (Fusahā al-'Arab, the "native speakers of 'Arabiyā"). When this choice emanates from the greater part of these speakers, Sibawayh refers to hasl al-'inna as the "way of speech of the majority" (Kitāb, i, 262, ii, 263; variants: hasl 'ammat al-nās, ibid., i, 262, 293; hasl 'ammat al-'Arab, hasl al-'Arab hulūn "the manner of all Arab speakers", ibid., i, 477, ii, 303). Ibn Dīnārī for his part, was to use the expression lughāt al-hājfat as the "manners of speaking of the majority" (Kitāb, ii, 15). It could also be the case that this convergence of usages was lacking; each lughāt was then considered a norm in itself. "All the lughāt", declares Ibn Dīnārī, "may be regarded as probative references (jadiysa— with regard to the norm), and when two different lughāt have the same range of usage and are equally accepted by the jiyās (Ibn Dīnārī speaks in this context of two lughāt, i.e. two different systems). When two lughāt are in competition, it is not permitted to prefer one of them at the expense of the other" (Ibid., ii, 16). Attention should also be drawn to the remarkable insistence with which Sibawayh (in common with his masters and disciples) urges the reader to rely upon sanūs, upon attested facts only and above all "to accept among these [types of expression which Sibawayh calls] the jiyās, only those which the Arabic speakers have themselves accepted and to treat them in the same fashion (cited in addārī al-lughāt min al-lughāt an-Nādsī, Kitāb, i, 262). Ibn Dīnārī also asserts (Munṣif, ii, 240), "Sanūs can annul the action of jiyās". This assumes, as this author explicitly states, that "everything which jiyās permits is not necessarily actualised in reality" (Kitāb, ii, 117).

In fact, the only criterion of normalisation which has been retained by the Arab scholars is that of the maximum extension of usage; in the domain of 'Arabiyā (the hasl Samud al-'Arab cited above) and of the most widespread inter-comprehension. Whence the degrees of "clarity" applied to lughāt: façh al-fāṣab. The Kitāb of Sibawayh is also full of these appraisals: façh sanūs kāthīr kāthīr is "this Arab of widespread usage"; façh al-khāṣ this is more widespread"; and kāfūr umārīf—"more widespread and better known" (see Kitāb, i, 27, 54, 71, 28, 258, etc.). When two lughāt, or more, were in competition, some were described as being 'Arabī and basāna or nāṣirī ("good"), others as aṣṣān or nāṣirī ("better") or naskī or nāsadī ("bad") here it is no longer a question of value judgments, but of acceptability applied solely to the subjects of speech and on the basis of the most widespread usage (cf. the expression arabi faṣyālī kāthīr, al-qaf al-khāṣ, ibid., i, 27, 60). The geographical recurrence of a lughāt was assessed with the aid of the following scale: mutanādi—perfectly uniform, recurrent or general (100%); faṣhī al-prudominant (85%); kāthīr widespread or frequent (45-85%); less widespread or frequent (15-45%); and nāṣir—rare or isolated (4%) (see Mushā, i, 234). It may be noted that this scale is applied equally to the frequency of an element or linguistic form within one group; see in this context the contrast between mutanādi faṣhī "general in usage" and...
LUGHA

805

mudurid fi 'l-biyas "general in terms of biyas", in Khursi, i, 96 ff. and Hadj-Salah, Linguistique arabe et linguistique générale.

As opposed to nahw, lugha is the very essence of language, in other words that part which is not constructed (by induction), inconsistent with the rules of grammar or non-predictable or non-deductible by means of rules. It is primarily a matter of "sanaa", that is of crude identifications. Thus the entire range of data recorded from the mouths of speakers of 'Arabiyya constituted the lugha (taken as a collective: the ensemble of all the lugha's duly identified). Analyst in groups of items, it is vocabulary opposed to grammar; included in it, necessarily so, were not only the lexical units effectively in use—along with their regional variants—but also colloquial expressions, in the form of idioms or anadh (pl. of anadh) in the very broad sense of "stereotyped figures of speech" or "reiterated of widespread diffusion". Cf. the first compilations of anadh which have survived to the present, comprising collections of idiomatic figures, and not only of maxims and proverbs; see e.g. al-Fikhārī by al-Mu'addād b. Sa'āba, Cairo 1950).

The non-predictable character of lugha (as crude fact and/or as vocabulary of a formal system, that of nahw) has been well described by Ibn Dżimāl: "the language of the Arabs comprises two sorts of elements: those elements that one is obliged to accept as such, with their configuration, for example, and not on the basis of a rule; such elements are: hadār (stone), dār (house) . . . and another type that may be apprehended through biyaas. (Khursi, i, 42). "Hadār may be analysed in a root (b-di-r) and a system (C*a C*b C*c), but the fact that these units combined in hadār arrive at the meaning of "stone" is a fact of secondary nature; what does it mean is to remember it (yab-fas). It also appears in the same sense, with::$_11 this remark which the lexicographer Ibn Fāris (d. 394/9904) is to be interpreted: al-lugha là 'tābbadh biyasāt niqašikāt naḥwā l-aḥn—"the data of the language cannot be obtained, in our era, as far as we are concerned, through biyaas" (Sandall, 33).

Lugha, initially "regional variant of realisation" or "datum of the language", comes to designate the entire speech of an ethnic group and even to be identified with the word hadār which signifies "concrete" or "language". This identification is however absolutely unknown to the first generations of grammarians (up to and including Sibawāy), it appears sporadically at the end of the 2nd/8th century (see the use of it made by the jurist and leader of the law-school al-Shāfi'i in his Kitāb 'al-Nuṣūṣ, where he employs the word lugha with the sense of hadār only once (p. 584) and hadār in all other cases). It was probably in the period of the great controversies of the 3rd al-kalām that such a usage came into being: al-Dżubbī in fact uses lugha, still as a manner of speaking, but enlarged to cover the entire language of an ethnic group (regional speech types, 'Arabīyya, languages other than Arabic; see Bayān, i, 181-2 and Haywāna, v, 299). The sense of regional variant applied to a single linguistic element or item is, however, retained until a very late period.

The science of lugha, which became the science of the entire corpus of the language, underwent a prodigious development following major researches initiated by the very founder of this branch of science, Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Alīk (153/770), that is, in the period when his immediate disciples such as al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213/828), Abu 'Ubayda (d. 209/826), Abu Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831) and the Kifāsam al-Mu'addād al-Dabābī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Abu 'Amr al-Shaybānī, etc., made immense journeys of investigation across the Arabian peninsula. This gigantic effort of collection and codification of data (which continued until the total disappearance of the spontaneous mastery of 'Arabiyya—al-jāhāb, at the end of the 17th century) in the composition of innumerable monographs on the lughāt al-khāṭībīl "the variants of realisation specific to the Arab tribes", on anadh or "clichés", nāwda'īr or "hapax legomena", lexicology, the vocabulary of flora and fauna, onomastics, types of verbs, nasādās, the extension of use of schemes, etc. (on this subject, see H. Nayār, al-Mu'ājdīm al-'Arabi, Cairo 1950). To this, there is added the collection and codification of variants in reproduction of the Khurāmī text which were drawn from those who had belonged to the school of the Thā'fīs or from their disciples. All Arabic lexicography of later centuries is based on these monographs.

Lugha as a datum constitutes, for early grammarians as well as for philosophers, the product of a wādī, that is of an institution. The same furthermore applies to the rules of grammar themselves because they are different from one language to another (cf. Maxiher, i, 48) and, above all, because they do not result from the application of more primitive rules, but by induction from the acts of discourse of Arabic speakers (nasādās mustawātān min isāshī hádīl al-‘Arab; Abu 'Abīl al-Fāris, al-Tahāneela, fol. 1). The difference, as has just been observed, resides in the fact that lugha is the non-inventive ensemble of idiomatic items. "By the wādī of an articulated sound" declares al-Rāzī, "is meant the pristine assignation of an articulated sound (tawbīf, usfīf) or at least inspired in men by God (tawbi'īh, isfīf), or social institution, while (nadh) follows the use of this significant (mawdi) with the intention of seeing this significance become the object of conventional usage within a community" (Sahr al-Kitāfa, i, 3).

Thus everything which is not imposed by institution (mawdi) as the symbol of something is outside the scope of lugha, outside wādī. Among other examples of this are the following: sās, kāh, hadī, etc., which have not been retained by the founder of the language for reasons of phonetic incompatibility (tawbīf, usfīf; see Khursi, i, 54). Lugha is, from this point of view, an isfīf or social institution tacitly accepted by its users; but a distinction is also drawn between these two terms, because it is considered that lugha is always a primitive institution, while isfīf can be an innovation, a technical neologism (cf. Bayān, i, 139-40), whence the pairs asl al-wādī or asl al-lugha/islāfī language/metallanguage and wādī al-lughātītāhī third primary institution/secondary institution (cf. al-Rāzī, ibid., ii, 126; al-'Idji-dāndi, Dalā'īl, ii, 14, 193, 580; and al-Fāvšā, Khālid al-Faruq, 143). It is also in this context that a distinction is drawn between wādī al-lugha as an organisation and code established by social institution and wādī al-kalām, which is the arrangements of discourse and the choice of its elements by the individual speaker (al-Diurjānī, cf. al-Wādi, 51, 69, 79, 81).

Wādī constituted for the majority of the Mu'tazilīs a purely human convention (mawdi'ītāh—code), and for other thinkers, an institution which is divine, or at least inspired in men by God (isfīfīh, islamīh; see in this context Maxiher, i, 8-28 and Losee, L'origine du language après les grammairiens arabes, in Arabicum, x-xii). It does not seem, however, that these two positions were so clearly stated in the works of the major Arab linguists and philosophers. In fact, al-Shā'īrī (d. 321/936-9), to whom is attri-
buted the idea of the divine institution of the language, has a rather inconclusive attitude to the subject, which is not entirely inappropriate because the significance has had, and still has, the sense of lexicology. A different term exists to denote this concept: *ilm al-itidān (often abridged into *tāsāyyd), which al-Fārābī employs in his works and in particular in his Ḥidā' al-shīdūm, where he envisages in a very distinct fashion the possibility of constructing a general linguistic extension to all languages and no longer to one particular language ([8-23]).

The enigma is generally in verse, and *rāghiyya, *hāridī, *badī'ī, is attributed to Ḥāshim b. Ahmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to Ḥāshim b. ʿAlī b. Ṭabīb.
The following is an example of muhammad on the name Ahmad: auwa'ainuhu thalthe* tuffuhüm # wa- mihi lanah al-thalith * saqiqah li-badsh* "its first is the third of [the word] tuffuhum (apple) - A; and the fourth of [the word] tuffuhum (apples) is its second - H; and the first of [the word] misih (mask) is its third - M; and the last of [the word] ward (roses) is the remainder of ward.

The term was used by many poets (in particular by Abü Nawâs; see E. Wagner, Abü Nawâs, Wiesbaden 1965, 362). As for the ughiyiya, this term denotes a simple guessing game (e.g. "Guess what I have in my hand"); but can also mean a type of enigma fairly close to the ughiyiya. Thus for salasti ("win"): wafl râfd fi kai: uflh jârkh* What is the alternative sense meant by the person setting forth a riddle when he says: ask ( = salat) the way ( = salati)?

Bibliography: Kitâb al-Din al-Nabawi, Kanz al-asrâ'r fi jam al-mu'innâm (Brockelmann, II, 190), 362; Abû al-Munir b. Abû Bakr, al-Tîrâs al-asrâ'r Kanz al-mu'innâm (Brockelmann, II, 283, 381); anon. Dâlâ al-rayâdiyyi fi mu'innâmâyil wa al-'adhâfi wa al-'adhâfi, Beirut 1882; Tâhir b. Sa'id al-Darâzi, Tarhî al-rayâdiyyi fi jam al-mu'innâm wa al-'adhâfi, Beirut 1909; Nughîli, Msâdâf, Cairo, ii, 277-79; Abû al-ànâsî, Tâhir b. Abû Bakr, al-Lumâr, Caire, las, 1; 96. até mi'âd il mulkî li-misih (apple) = A; and the fourth of [the word] misk ("small beard"); Yahya b. bil-mebjûl. riddle in Turkish see E. Wagner, (roses) is the remainder of it = D*.

When Affonso d'Albuquerque entered the Red Sea in 1515, he called at al-Luhayya (Luya in the Portuguese sources). The port then belonged to the territory of the Imâm of Sân'â', to whom tribute was paid. Previous to the 16th century, al-Luhayya, like other ports on the Arabian coast such as al-Hudayda, Kamaran Island, al-Makbî (Mocha) and Zâbîl, had been in the power of the Rashîdîs [q.v.], and their envoy was Band Tâhir, whose last monarch, 'Amîr b. Abû al-Walîd, was defeated in 1515 by the firearms of the Mamlûk forces under Salâmân al-Râsî and Husayn Turkî (Serjeant, The Portuguese, 39), sent by the sultan Kânwaw al-Ghawrî [q.v.]. The ruler of al-Luhayya, Œâbû Bakr b. al-Makbûl al-Zâyâlî (of Zayla' [q.v.]), supported the Egyptians, made the Mulhâr for al-Ghawrî and, after the Mamlûk forces had damaged the port of al-Hudayda, opened up the road leading inland. With one hundred men armed with muskets (handâkh), he then advanced against Musw. Abû Mâhîmîn (Schumann, Political history, 19) and Yahyâ b. al-Husayn (Ghâyât, ii, 644) remark that this was the first time firearms were used in the Yemen; see however Schumann, op. cit., ii, 18, 92. After Sultan Selim I had conquered Egypt, Ottoman suzerainty was quickiy recognised by the Egyptian forces in the coastal towns. According to the Tâkârî al-Sâhidî (Serjeant, op. cit., 51, 570), the Portuguese, after an unsuccessful attempt made by the Christians to land near Massawa, turned back to Yemen, pursued by Salâmân "or one of his men" who took a Portuguese grab (Ar. ghâwalh: "brigantine") near al-Luhayya. This story, confirmed by João de Barros (Decades, iii, I, 6), refers to Lopo Soares de Albergaria's expedition in the Red Sea.

In 1656 the Ijîlm al-Manûsh bi'llâh al-Kâmisân (Muhammad [q.v.]) succeeded in expelling the Turks, and al-Luhayya again came into the possession of the Imāms of Sân'â*. Around 1650, ships sailing between Massawa and al-Mukha on behalf of Banyans settled in the latter port apparently used to anchor at the port of al-Luhayya (Van Donzel, Foreign relations, 134-6, 139). On his return from Ethiopia to Yemen, Ahmad b. al-Raïmî, the envoy of (mûm al-Mustawâlîkî | al-dîlîh (1054-97/1644-76) to the Ethiopian king Fâshâdîs (1602-87), disembarked at al-Luhayya. During his stay at al-Luhayya between 29 December 1762 and 20 February 1763, C. Niebuhr was amenabley received by 'Amir Farhân, a black African, appointed as governor (da'în) by the Imâm of Sân'â*. He was told that the town was not older than three hundred years and that its foundation, as is the case with Bayt al-Fakhî and al-Mukhâ [q.v.], was connected with a local Muslim saint, (Sâlih) | Sâlih, around whose cell and later tomb the original settlement grew. The descendants of the Sâlih | Sâlih were still revered in al-Luhayya in Niebuhr's days. The town had no circular wall then, but on the landward side there were some twelve towers, armed with a few cannon and lying at a distance of 150 double steps from each other. The highly-placed entrances were accessible only by a ladder. The towers, however, were not worth much as defence works: the Hâshid and Balî tribes [see hâshid wa-balî] [see also Niebuhr, Beschreibung, 536-61, and Robin, Les hautes tours] maneuvered across them and burned the town, and, on a carryover of another attack, the inhabitants fled to al-Umarîa. C. Niebuhr was bravish, it had to be fetched at some distance. The people, among whom were some forty Banyans, lived off commerce and fish. Although the coffee was of inferior quality compared with that of Bayt
al-Fayha, it was cheaper, since transport to the more important port of al-Djidda was inexpensive. In al-Lubayya merchants bought it for customers in al-Djidda, Egypt and Turkey, and some Cairenes used to come over in order to acquire it in person. Lime was made by burning coral in the open air, and rock-salt was cut in the neighbourhood. Although Niebuhr describes the town as rather poor, al-Lubayya had to pay monthly 2,000 thalers to the Imam of San'ā', and during the massacre (April-June) when Indian vessels were calling, 3,000 thalers, more than al-Hudayda had to bring in. The arrival of Indian vessels at al-Lubayya around 1770 is confirmed by Bruce (Travelcs, i, 323). Niebuhr also relates that one of the rich merchants of al-Lubayya had obtained several kinds of aphrodisiacs from "engländischen Wundärzten" (Reisebeschreibung, i, 304, note 4 "Wunderärzten" as in Th. Hansen, Reise, 246, or "miracle doctors", idem, Arabia Felix, 221), so English ships must have called at al-Lubayya around 1760, at least occasionally.

In the 12th/13th century, the power of the Imamate of San'ā' declined sharply, and many towns declared themselves independent, while the Shirifs of Abū 'Arish [q.v.] grew more powerful. In 1730 only the coastal land between al-Lubayya and al-Mukhā remained in the Imamate's possession, and by 1790 the coasts between al-Kunāfīya [q.v.] and Bayt al-Ma'sār, including al-Lubayya, was under the authority of the Shirifs of Abū 'Arish (Baldry, Al-Yaman, 158). At that time, the monthly revenue of al-Lubayya was roughly computed at £600 (Bury, Arabia Infelix, 151).

The rise of Wāhidh power at the beginning of the 12th century forced Sharif Hamūd Abū Mīnār of Abū 'Arish to give allegiance to Abū al-Wahhāb Abū Nuṣūr, whom Sa'id II had appointed governor of the Tīhāma (Philby, Sa'tūr, Arabia, 85). In 1808 he revoked his allegiance and restored the revenues of the coastal towns to Ahmad b. Mansūr "Alī, the Imam of San'ā' (Salt, A voyage, 285; Playfair, A history, 129), the Wahhabīs despatched an army by sea to Djayzān [q.v.], from where it advanced southwards, looting and burning al-Lubayya and al-Hudayā. Under Wāhidh rule, an attempt was made to develop the port of al-Lubayya, and negotiations were opened with the English East India Company to start a factory (Lord Valentia, Travels, i, 385, quoted by Ritter, Erdkunde, 884). When Ehrenberg visited the port in 1825 (Ritter, Erdkunde, 192 n. 485) a Persian ship was blockading the harbour in order to force the disa Farh Ḩālīth to pay a debt. By then the walled town had been deserted. Abū Mīnār was forced to give allegiance again to the Wahhabīs, but shortly afterwards he associated himself with Muhammad "Alī, the viceroy of Egypt, and in an agreement, authority in the Tīhāma was surrendered to Muhammad "Alī, who restored that territory to the Imamate of San'ā'; in return for a payment of 20,000 bohars of coffee (El Batrik, Egyptian-Yemeni relations, 282). When in 1832 the Ottomans rewarded the Albanian Mebren Ali for the governorship of Ḥidajah for having mutinied in al-Djidda against Muhammad "Alī, he occupied several coastal towns, but by 1837 the whole of the eastern shore of the Red Sea was in Ottoman hands (El Batrik, op. cit., 286), although Husayn Efendi from Belgrade was governor of al-Lubayya when the French botanist Botta visited the port in 1836 (Ritter, Erdkunde, 756). When the Egyptian troops moved southwards, Great Britzla, having occupied Aden in 1837, exercised pressure on Muhammad "Alī to evacuate the Arabian peninsula. The Egyptian forces accordingly left the coastal towns in 1840 and the territory was surrendered to Husayn, the Shirif of Abū 'Arish. In 1842 the latter admitted his dependence on the Ottoman Sultan and was created a Pasha and governor of the sea coast (al-Khazrajī, History of the Realidity dynasty of Yemen, ed. Redhouse, i, Introdc., 33). In 1844 the Imamate of Abū 'Arish was forced to surrender that territory and, after his deposition in 1848 his successor occupied several coastal towns and imprisoned Shirif Husayn. But the latter escaped and re-established his authority over the Tīhāma (Redhouse, op. cit., i, 39). In 1849 Ottoman troops under Tewfik Pasha occupied the Yemen, and after the latter's untimely death, Abū 'Alī b. Muhammad ʿAwā of Mecca was appointed governor of the whole of the Tīhāma. Opposition to Turkish rule continued, however, among successive Zaydf Imamāt, Shirifs of Abū 'Arish, tribal shaibah and occasionally the Shirifs of Mecca. After subduing the Shirifs of Abū 'Arish, the Širdī family in ʿAbyā (see ʿAšrī, i, 709b) became fierce opponents to Turkish rule, so that the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw to the principal garrison towns. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 enabled the Ottomans to despatch troops rapidly to Yemen, and in 1871 they subdued ʿAsrī. In 1872 ʿAmān became the centre of the Ottoman government in Yemen and served as bases for expeditions against the "state of almost chronic rebellion" (Baldry, op. cit., 169) in ʿAsrī and Ḥidajah, and served as bases for expeditions against the rebellious inland tribes. In 1890 even the garrison of al-Lubayya came under attack. When a telegraph line was constructed between al-Lubayya and the capital at Ta'izz, the English East India Company wished to underwrite the telegraph, but before the workmen were attacked. Al-Maydī, north of al-Lubayya, was captured by tribesmen loyal to the Imamate and became a centre for the illegal import of arms. In 1906 the Turkish troops were withdrawn from al-Lubayya and al-Maydī, but not for long, because in the same year they marched from al-Lubayya to Ḥidajah, accompanied by Boon Pagha, a shaibah of the pro-Turkish Banū Ṣayd who inhabited the region east of al-Lubayya. Shortly afterwards, Turkish soldiers in the al-Lubayya garrison joined others from Diyarzān, Zubīd and al-Mukhā in their march on al-Hudayda in order to demand their discharge papers; many had served seven years in Yemen but had received less than one year's pay (Baldry, op. cit., 178-9). In 1899 Sayyid Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī of Sābīyā came to the assistance of tribes living to the east of al-Lubayya who had been forced to pay illegal taxes levied by Boon Pagha. He occupied the post, but it was soon recaptured by the Turks, for in the same year two gunboats, two transports and nine battle-ships were sent from Istanbul to al-Hudayda and al-Lubayya. The latter post became Rifāṭ Pagha's base for launching attacks against the ʿIdrīsī tribesmen. In 1911 the Rāʾīm-makām of al-Lubayya set out with 200 troops against the inhabitants of al-
Zubra who had captured a caravan of eighty camels. He was, however, defeated and besieged in al-Zubra. Later that year, the Banū 'Abs seized the wells outside al-Lubayya, but due to dissension among the Arabs, Hamdil Bey, arriving from Kamarān, was able to regain them. Shortly afterwards, however, Hamdil Bey suffered a severe reverse in al-Lubayya itself. At the time, Sayyid Muhammad, Hamdil Bey having 2,500 troops ready in the port. But the advance was postponed because of the outbreak of the Turkish-Italian war in 1911 (see Green, Italian relations). In 1912 the Italian navy bombarded al-Lubayya and extended the blockade of the coast to a point 15 km. north of the port, while 6,000 followers of Sayyid Muhammad moved against al-Lubayya. The whole coast between al-Sanūfah and al-Lubayya was now under the effective control of Sayyid Muhammad.

On the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government desired to settle the difficulties in Yemen. Imām Yahyā of Ṣan'ā and Sayyid Muhammad (see al-Khāṣṣī, Imām Yahyā) agreed to observe a truce. Most of the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Yemen, only small garrisons remained in the main towns of the Tihama. During the War, Sayyid Muhammad signed a treaty with the British Resident at Aden (May 1915) and overran much of the northern Tihama. He did not, however, succeed in taking al-Lubayya because of the Turkish artillery. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muhammad concluded a treaty with Ibn Sa'qād (sic), Berlin 1894; C. Niebuhr, Reise nach dem Inland von Arabien, 2 vols., Copenhagen 1774, repr. Graz 1969, 210, 228; idem, Schreibung von Arabien; Copenhagen 1772, repr. Graz 1969; A. Sprenger, Die arabische Geographie, Berlin 1896, 88z-6; A. H. Phylly, Arabia, New York 1930; A. Hanfí, Around the coasts of Arabia, London 1930. An extensive bibliography of official publications, books and articles in Arabic and European languages is found in M. W. Wengen, Modern Yemen, 1978-1996, Baltimore 1967, 234-8. For more recent publications, see R. P. Kyropoulos, Area handbooks for the Middle East, The American University, Washington 1977, Foreign Area Studies, pp. 242-9. See also the bibliographies of the articles "Asīr and Djawzā'. (E. Van Donzel)

LUKATA (a.), an article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi‘i, has the right to take possession of the article and do with it what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (zadaka) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause by Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period, he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder; but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value; Dāwūd al-Zahhrī alone recognised no further claim by the owner. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Millī and Ahmad b. Wanbal, by the law of sadaka, the use of the articles as religious alms (zadaka). See also the bibliographies of the articles "Asīr and Djawzā'. (E. Van Donzel)
jered animals and more numerous when they are not included. Aillik and Abshir Dagh and Jabal have been specially mentioned for articles found in the Haran, the sacred territory in Meccah, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allah in the Haran and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the fiqh are based on certain hadiths which have been handed down with several variants (cf. Al-Bukhāri, Lukaša;Muslim, Ḥadīth al-ṣanānī, 576 B., v. 143) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two- or three-year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists, the article found is sometimes described as deposited (waḍīḍh); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the tāḥār; finally, there is a hadith which forbids the Meccah pilgrim (ḥajjī) to pick up found articles at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to Lukaša, bīh 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over, or used to be handed over, to a government office; but their retention in the finder’s care is justiﬁed by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most, the prohibition by the Prophet in his oration after the occupation of Meccah from keeping the freight of goods from the people of Meccah and the articles found in it. Without advertising them (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology. Lukaša is not mentioned in the Kur’ān.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the §§8 and hadith collections, cf. Th. W. Juyonbil, Handwörterb. de kennis van de moslimmedefluiwe, p. 369; E. Sachau, Muhammedanisches Recht, ii, 517 ff.; D. Santillana, Istituzioni di diritto musulmano maschile, i, 528-9.

(J. Schacht)

AL-LUKKĀM, Djabal, the name which the medieval Arabic geographers give to the mountain chain which is situated in the northern part of Syria and for long formed the frontier between the Islamic and the Byzantine lands. In classical times it was known as the Amanus/Amanus (Khainat), Djabal Almān (Khamāna in its more modern sense, but by the Turks as Alma Dagh) (Elma Dagh in modern Turkish), since it has not been treated under Lukaša, it has seemed useful to consider it here, even though the Djabal al-Lukkām does not correspond exactly to these ramifications of the Taurus Mountains, which detach itself from the dolomite massif of the Karadāch Dagh in the region of Marāfij, to the south of the Pyramus (Baybān), running parallel to the chains of the Taurus Mountains (Ahmek) north of it and in the western ridge of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and falling steeply into the sea to the south of Ra’s al-Khānāzir (5,100 ft.), together with the Djabal Mūsā or Djabal Almuār (5,750 ft.).

The deep transverse valley of the Orontes and the branches of the ʿArik (z. A.) separate the Alma Dagh from the Lebanon chains, which differ also in their geological formation (mostly limestone) from that of the Taurus system. With its off shoots, the Alma Dagh cuts off Cilicia entirely from Syria and the Mesopotamian hinterland; apart from a few passes that are mere mule-tracks, the pass of Baybān (921) is the only connection between Asia Minor and Syria and has always been much frequented. The heights of the several mountains are not yet accurately known; the average height is said to be 3,650 ft., and some peaks reach 7,400 ft. or more; as the highest point, Djabal Barakat, given by M. V. Balak at 7,450 ft.

In the northern part, jagged and steep peaks prevail; in the southern, more rounded outlines. The Alma Dagh with its fresh verdure is an attractive sight, for its sides are thickly overgrown with trees, out of which the bare dolomite peaks project. The ridge of the Alma Dagh north of Iskandarum formed in Ottoman times, together with the sides sloping to east and west, an administrative unit, the Sandjak Djabal Barakat (cf. Sachau in SBPr. Ak. W. 1852, 31–2).

Locally, no common name is used for the whole of the Amanus; in the reports of European travellers and in the maps based on these, this fact has caused considerable confusion as to the nomenclature, because the same name is sometimes used for a part, sometimes for the whole. For the northern part of the Amanus we find the name Gwawr Dagh or Gwawr Dagh, i.e. the mountains of the infidels; H. Kiepert in his Carte générale de l’empire Ottoman (Berlin 1892) makes the Alma Dagh reach about as far as Işlîhiyye (Nicopolis, lat. 37° N.); the continuation of this mountain-chain as far as the neighbourhood of Mar’ash he takes as Gwawr Dagh; cf. also H. Kiepert’s map for Sachau’s Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien (Leipzig 1883). In K. Riepert’s map for von Oppenheim’s Von Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf (Berlin 1900), Alma Dagh only appears as the name of one single mountain massif to the north of Baybān, the name Gwawr Dagh does not appear at all on it, in its stead we find Sur Dagh, Adj Dagh and Goydje Dagh as names of single peaks between Mar’ash and Işlîhiyye. The northern Gwawr Dagh is connected, according to E. Reclus, with the southern mountains by a mountain plateau in the depth of which is situated the Gwawr Göi (i.e. lake of the infidels). The name of Gwawr Dagh is occasionally extended to the whole of the Amanus (e.g. on the map of Favre and Mandrot). Reclus does not call the southern Amanus Alma Dagh, but, in accordance with a number of travellers, Alma Dagh. Benzinger is evidently mistaken in calling the southern part of the Amanus Gwawr Dagh and the northern part Alma Dagh. Czernecki seems to stand quite alone in calling the Amanus Gura Dagh; this name is evidently the Turkish translation of Djabal al-Ulkm and Ulkm (‘black’), from the Ulkmama, a single peak on the mountain range, and Ulkm (‘black’), from the Ulkmama, a single peak on the mountain range. Işlîhiyye of the Arabian geographers of the Middle Ages, the ‘aqqāf of the Byzantines; for the name al-Lukkām designating nearly the same as Amanus, cf. Sachau, op. cit., 325. By a misnomer, the Alma or Alma Dagh in its more limited sense (north of Baybān) is also often called Nawm Dagh by travellers, which name according to Kotsch (cf. also the map by R. Kiepert, mentioned above) belongs only to the northeastern part of the Djabal Areqa (south of Baybān).

The birds turn out to be twelve vultures, signifying parallel in the interpretation given by Sidomus (s.v.). He finally dies, however, and with him Lukmin. pp. li-lii; cf. Ps. ciii, 5, where the Heb. cognate choices offered him, he chooses the duration of the life. (According to later Muslim tradition, this was 1 hurād (e.g. al-Mas'udi, iii, 366).)

In Islamic times, he is considered second in longevity among the Arabs (most) of voices is that of the ass", and Abikar's maxim: "Incline thy head downward, soften thy voice, and be courteous. For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build many houses each day" (Harris et alii, The story of Abikar, p. lxvi; cf. Ar. text in id., 4, 41). Even though vv. 20-34 no longer cite Lukman, they partially reflect the same genre. Thus v. 27: "If all the trees on the earth were pens and the sea were replenished after it with seven seas [of ink], the words of God would not be exhausted" can be traced back to Jewish wisdom literature, where it is found in numerous variations (R. Kohler, "Und wenn der Himmel nach Tagen", in Oriental, v. Occident, i, 1964, p. 22; Immanuel Boni, La Syria Topographique, pp. 22, 441; idem, in Ethnologie, Mitteil. aus Ungarn, i, 231-23, 441-53; H. I. Strack and P. Billeter, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, Munich 1956, ii, 557). However, this verse is later than the rest of the sura and was revealed in Medina during a dispute with the Jews. Its inclusion indicates that it was considered appropriate to the general tone of the sura.

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To be "as wise as" or even "wiser than Lukman" are standard compliments in paeans. Because of his proverbial wisdom, Lukman was credited with being the architect, or one of the architects, of the famous Mecca (al-Tabari, i, ii, a). In ancient Arabian legend, Lukman was al-Maṣār ("the long-lived"). He is granted a long life. (According to later Muslim tradition, this was a reward for his piety, in contradistinction to the wickedness of his people.) From among several choices offered him, he chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures, the vulture (nasr) being the most popular symbol of longevity among the Arabs (Goldziher, in Abh. zur arabisch. Phil., Leiden 1899, ii, 1 mean by the stamp of ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Three times, he begins with the formula "O ray dear son" (yal bannathya) that prefases so many of the aphorisms of Abikar (At. Hayyān). R. Harris has pointed out the parallel between v. 18: "Be modest in thy gait and lower thy voice, for the most hateful of voices is that of the ass", and Abikar's maxim: "Incline thy head downward, soften thy voice, and be courteous. For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build many houses each day" (Harris et alii, The story of Abikar, p. lxvi; cf. Ar. text in id., 4, 41). Even though vv. 20-34 no longer cite Lukman, they partially reflect the same genre. Thus v. 27: "If all the trees on the earth were pens and the sea were replenished after it with seven seas [of ink], the words of God would not be exhausted" can be traced back to Jewish wisdom literature, where it is found in numerous variations (R. Kohler, "Und wenn der Himmel nach Tagen", in Oriental, v. Occident, i, 1964, p. 22; Immanuel Boni, La Syria Topographique, pp. 22, 441; idem, in Ethnologie, Mitteil. aus Ungarn, i, 231-23, 441-53; H. I. Strack and P. Billeter, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, Munich 1956, ii, 557). However, this verse is later than the rest of the sura and was revealed in Medina during a dispute with the Jews. Its inclusion indicates that it was considered appropriate to the general tone of the sura.

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Abú～: "Join the wise man, then thou wilt be come as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him".

Luhmân gives excellent advice for one going on a journey, and also adds that he should be armed. So too does Abú～. Al-Maṣarawi (al-Maṣarawi, i, 97) attributes to Luhmân the dictum: "Consult the physician before thou fallest ill?" This corresponds to the advice of Ben Sfr: "Honour the physician before thou hast need of him" (Ecclesiasticus, xxiii, 1).

It may be that many of these proverbs that belong to the general treasury of Near Eastern wisdom literature had already begun to penetrate into the Arabian Peninsula in the Djahl period. The Christian Arab poet Al-B. Zayd (p, 4) of Al-Hira knew of Abī～, to whom he calls Abī～ (see Nöldeke, Untersuchungen zum Aesop-Rein-Roman, 25; also Götting, The present-day Arabic proverb, in Idem, Studies, 371, 376 ff.). Already at this early time, the dicta of foreign sages may have begun to accrete to the indigenous Luhmân al-Halāmī.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since the Kur'ān merely says that Luhmân received wisdom from God, all of the traditional scholars with the sole exception of Rûmî agree that he was not a prophet (al-Tha'labī, K. 1, p, 199). Nevertheless, he receives mention in most of books of the kasas al-anbiyât genre (q.v.). Most accounts tell that God offered Luhmân the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage, and that he chose the latter. He even becomes vizier to King David, who tells him: "Blessed art thou, O Luhmân. You have been given wisdom and spared tribulation, while David has been given authority and has suffered trials and rebellion" (ibid.). Many of the traditions give him a biblical genealogy connected variously with Abraham, Job and even Balân (see 4, below). He is said to have lived down to the time of the prophet Jonah. He is also called judge of the Jews (ibid., 275, citing al-Wâkidī). Some accounts make Luhmân the author of a book. Supposedly, Muhammad was shown the scroll (manṭilla) of Luhmân and asked if the books in his possession was comparable to it, to which the Prophet replies: "These are indeed fine words, but what I have heard better is the Kur'ān revealed by God" (Ibn Hishām, Sfr, Cairo 1275/1555, i, 477; also al-Ṭabarī, i, 1260).

3. Luhmân the writer of fables. At some time during the Middle Ages, Luhmân came to be regarded as the author of fables as well. This is perhaps due in part to the fact that amāliḥ means both proverbs and fables in Arabic. Luhmân thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Luhmân that was told in Europe of Aesop. The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. The Kur'ān commentators already relate traditions that he was a "thick-lipped, flat-footed black slave" of Ethiopian or Nubian origin (al-Tha'labī, K. 1, p, 199). He is also said to have been an Egyptian, a carpenter, a shepherd, and to have had deformed legs. These features are obviously modelled on the story of Aesop. So too are several of the anecdotes about Luhmân. For example, Luhmân's master orders him to butcher a sheep and then, when the latter has been butchered, gives him the tongue and the heart. His master then orders him to slaughter another sheep and bring him the worst parts. Once again Luhmân sets a heart and a tongue before him, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good heart and nothing worse than evil ones (in Maximus Plancudes, Vita Aesopi, only the tongue is mentioned and not the heart; see Eberhard, Fabulae Romanenses Graece concipit, Leipzig 1872, 259). On another occasion, Luhmân's fellow-slaves eat his master's figs and accuse Luhmân. At Luhmân's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water. Luhmân vomits only water, the other slaves figs and water. Once, Luhmân's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered, he asks Luhmân about it. The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam up all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries. This last motif is widely disseminated in folk tales of the type of the Emperor and the Aibott (Aeme-Thomson, Type no. 922; the follicles and its parallels are discussed at length in W. Anderson, Kaiser and Aib, ECC no. 42, Helsini 1975, especially p, 159, where reference is made to Luhmân; also Chauvin, Bibliographie, viii, 60-2). These anecdotes are also found in the biography of Aesop by the 14th century monk Plancudes, who drew upon earlier material. The story of the wager to drink the sea is known as early as Plutarch's Dinner of the seven wise men (Plutarch, Moralia, 1518-E) and the Midrash (Levítim Rabbi, 313). The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Luhmân. They first appear in the later Middle Ages. The Paris manuscript published by J. Dembern is dated 1299 and is from Christian circles. It contains 41 fables. These fables have been published frequently and discussed in detail, especially by Dembern, Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, only no. 22 has no clear parallels: the thorn bush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day, and the thorn bush overruns the whole garden. Basset (Legendes Biblique, 98, n. 2) posits a possible connection with Jotham's parable in Judges, 12, 8-15, while H. Schwartzbaum has suggested a link with the tales of Proverb-fable about the thorn and the cabbagge (The Middle Shulamim of Rabbi Berekiah ha-Nadlan, Klon 1979, p, xvii, n, 80, citing Er Babu Qumān, 92a-b). All the other Luhmân fables with the exception of the thirteenth (the goats and the bull) are found in the Syriac fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by J. Landesberger (Die Fabellumen des Sophos, Posen 1859). The only fables of Luhmân not found in the Greek Aesop are no. 9 (the gazelle in the well), no. 29 (the thornbush), no. 91 (the wasp and the bee) and no. 40 (the man and the snakes). It has further been observed that in these fables, a number of important animals that were indigenous among the Arabs, such as the ostrich, the ibex, the jackal and the camel, play no part. As these fables first appear in the later Middle Ages, and on the basis of other evidence, there can be no doubt that we have here a translation and adaptation of the Syriac version of Aesop originating in Christian circles in Mamlûk Syria.

4. Luhmân and related legendary figures. Luhmân is a composite, and hence a many-sided figure: he is a mušamm, hero, sage, master of proverbs and author of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with legendary heroes, such as Prometheus, Lehman, Lucian and Solomons. Muhammad b. 'Abī al-Zawsaiil makes Luhmân the teacher of Empodocles (Tafshîh al-Hukmân, in M. Amari, Bibliothek Arabo-Sicula, Leipzig 1857, 614). Three of these equations deserve closer examination: (1) with Baham, (2) with Abi～
and (2) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Al-Tha'labi and al-Baydawi (although not al-Tabari apparently) give the following genealogy: Lukman b. Bâydr b. Nāṭhir b. Tāriqī. It would seem that he is the same warm weather Japhetic ascetic who, according to his name, was sometimes also called the "wise man" corresponding to Lukman in the Bible. They found this in Balaam, as the roots b-l-ā and l-b-ār both mean "to swallow". This identification may have been reinforced by the talmudic tradition that Balaam (and also Job) was one of the seven gentle prophets who preached to the nations of the world (PT Baba Erus, 15b). This became a Muslim tradition which entered the Hebrew Mish'ēh Sannah, where Lukman is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. and tr. M. Epstein, Philadelphia 1967, 34-9), and also the Disciplina clericalis of the Spanish Jewish apostate Petrus Alfonsi (ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhein, Heidelberg 1911, 3), where it specifically states: "Balaam qui lingua arabica vocatur Lucaman". It is clear that for Muhammad and his contemporaries, there was no confusion between Lukman and Balaam. Neither is there any confusion in al-Tabari, who does not make Lukman the son of Bâr and who relates the story of Bâlām b. Bâydr in its proper place and with the correct details (al-Tabari, i, 508-10). On the other hand, al-Tha'labi makes Lukman Bâr's son, while at the same time devoting a full narrative to Bâydr b. Bâydr (Kisās al-anbiya', 186-9). Al-Tha'labi and others like him were probably aware of the inconsistency, but wished to connect Lukman with the Bible at any cost. Horovitz has suggested that perhaps early Muslim traditionalists' Jewish informants connected Lukman with the Edomite king Bela son of Bâr in Gen. xxxvi, 32 (Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Torah, in HUCA, ii [1925], 173 f.), and that this was the source of the confusion.

Lukman's similarity to Ahikar was also noticed long ago, but it was only in the early 20th century that the identification found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes ch. vii of his Story of Ahikar to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra XXXI, 28, with Ahikar's warning about the voice of the ass, the formulation "O my son" in both, and the Arab hypotheses which compare Lukman with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Lukman, Ahikar and Aesop. The arguments, however, are not convincing. The Ahikar legend was known in the Arab world, and a considerable number of Arabic and Karshân manuscripts have survived. Many of the apohorisms attributed to Ahikar, like those attributed to Lukman, were part of the common stock of Near Eastern lore and may be found in the Bible, the Apocrypha and elsewhere. The use of the introductory formula "O my son" was standard in admonitory literature of this sort, and is found in Proverbs and Ben Sira, to mention only the most outstanding examples. Any real relation between the personalities of Lukman and Ahikar comes through Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Ahikar. The later legend of Lukman has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus become obliquely like the Ahikar story, but in reality Lukman is not directly connected with Ahikar but with Aesop.

5. Lukman in Persian and Turkish literature and lore. Lukman was a fairly popular figure in Persian literature. A lengthy chapter is devoted to him in the 5th/6th-century Persian Kisās al-anbiya' of al-Nisibîn (ed. H. Yaghma'i, Tehran 1340/1962, 333-8), which contains anecdotes found in the Arabic Kisās as well as some new material. Rûmi devotes several stories to Lukman in the Mathnâwī. In addition to the well-known anecdote of Lukman's innocence proven by drinking wine, we owe to him the tradition of the Japhetic ascetic who is a pure slave (handa-yi pahâ) to his earthly and heavenly masters and thus is master of himself and free from sensual passion (khabādīya bâd sa az hawâ' asad bâd). In this story, Lukman is the true master and his master the slave. He exchanges clothes and roles with Lukman when they travel. He would gladly set him free, but knows that Lukman has found true freedom in servitude (ibid., 336-9). In another anecdote, Lukman's master will only eat food from which Lukman has partaken and is enraptured even with the scraps. One day upon receiving a gift of a melon, he gives Lukman slice after slice. The latter eats it as if it were honey. When the master himself tastes the final slice his mouth is blistereed by the sourness. He asks Lukman how he could eat such poison. Lukman replies that he had received such bounty from him that he could not do otherwise. The love of the giver makes the bitter sweet (ibid., 320-3). Sa'dî relates a story in which Lukman is once again an idealised ascetic in the Persian mould. By mistake, he is placed into cruel slavery for a year, bearing all in silence. When the mistake is realised, he harbours no grudge and says that he has learned compassion from the experience (buat, in Kolhiyyâl-i Sa'dî, ed. M. A. Farûqû, Teheran 1914, 349).

Lukman is known to the Turks from both Arabic and Persian literature. In addition to his standard roles, he also appears in Turkish folklore as an Arab physician by extension of his title hakim (see W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, Typen türkischer Volksmärchen, Wiesbaden 1953, 349). In one tale, Lukman teaches the adventurer Mehmèd the Mad how to cure the wife and daughter of the king and the wife of the grand vizier, all three of whom had grown horns (W. S. Walker and A. E. Ursal, Tales alive in Turkey, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 33).

praised as his benefactor in one of his works (Rieu, Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum, 53b, and H. Schrader in Der Islam, xvi [1970], 292). In 1369 Selim II appointed him as Şahbədxmədəfi (official historian-panegyrist; for this were partly treated in the various works almost at office as court poet, whose task was to extol the

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Sarayi MQtesi, which was prepared for the benefit

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LUKMAN B. SAYYID HUSAYN —LUKMANDJI

Hunar-ndma,

a Turkish work in prose in two volumes.

The first volume, composed between 987/1579 and

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and the two last mentioned in a purely annalistic

In Anatolia and the Ottomans until the year 991/1583.

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LUKMANDJI b. HabIb AllAh b. MullA

Besides these principal works, Lukman is said to

have left some other writings or translations (TOEM,

107; Babinger, 165). The $ür-nâma, famous for its

Illustrations and composed by an unknown D€€sia

secretary, was erroneously ascribed to Lukman

by R. Ettinghausen (Turztsche Miniaturen vom

23, bis 78. Jahrhundert, UNESCO Taschenbucher

der Kunst, Tafel-Verzeichnis 18-21), see Karatay,

Turzcke yazm.,

, 203; Atasoy and Çağman 39-42.

Bibliographie: given in the text. (H. SCHRWEIDE)
Dünne 11 1727/2 January 1760. His works, very few of which seem to have been preserved, deal with the history of the dun'na in India, biographies of dun'na dignitaries, Isma'ili doctrine, and the refutation of dissonant groups. In his youth (c. 863/1457-8, Wall Muḥammad) was also a distinguished scholar, while his grandson ʿAlī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the mentor of the forty-third dāʿī, ʿAlī ʿAlāʾ al-Sayf al-Dīn, was considered one of two learned men of his time, the other being ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Hamādānī. For a while, ʿAlī ʿAlāʾ al-Hamādānī supported the son of al-Maḥmūd ʿAlī, who had claimed to be al-ḥudūdī al-ḥālī of the hidden imām with whom he was in contact. In 1350/1351-2 he was honoured in the dun'na by the forty-second dāʿī, ʿAbd al-Muʿīmin al-Dīn. He died probably 1351/1799-1800.


**LUKBURGAZ** (in old texts variously written as Birgchos, Bürghos, Bürghis, Catal Burghaz, etc.; the form "Lulebürgaz" is of recent date and related to the industry of pipe-making), a town of more than 25,000 inhabitants in Turkish Thrace and a minor administrative and agricultural centre on the highway from Edirne to Istanbul, 75 km. south-east of Edirne. It is situated on level ground in a wide valley on the southern bank of a tributary of the Ergene River. In the past it was one of the largest caravan halting-places on the Belgrade-Edirne-Istanbul highway, the chief artery of Ottoman Europe. In addition, it was an administrative centre; in the 15th century, a katmandn, and from the 16th century, the seat of a bālā in the livā of the Paša. Háḍī al-Dīn al-Khaṭṭārī (Rumeli und Bosnien, Vienna 1812, 20) mentions it as a bālā of the sandhāj of Vizye, Ewliya Celebī as belonging to Kirklı, the 16th century, it belonged (once again?) to Vizye. In the second half of the last century, it belonged still active, the sandhāj to the sandhāj of Tekfurdagli (Tekfurdag), in which Vizye was incorporated (Sād-nāmes of the Edirne vilâyet of 1283/1864-6), later, it was incorporated in the sandhāj of Kirklı (cf. Sād-nāme for Edirne 1330/1849-50).

Today it is a part of the il (ilıdes) of Kirkkalei. Lulebürgaz goes back to a Byzantine stronghold, Archaeopolis (Tomaschek, Histom-Halbinsi, 224; Jireček, Heersurasse, 133). The name Burgaz is a corruption of the Greek Pyrgos "tower", thus giving a hint of the size of this castle. The Ottoman chroniclers (Crūrū, ʿAshīlī-paşa-zade, Anonymus-Giese, Neshri, Saʿd al-Dīn) unanimously place its conquest between 759/1358 and 761/1360, and all of them noted that the castle was deserted when the Ottoman gāzīs took it. They burnt it down, according to the first three sources, demolished it from one side to the other according to Saʿd al-Dīn, and levelled it according to Neshri. When Bertrand de la Broquière passed through it in 1433, he noted "a town which they call Burgazi who has also torn-down walls and where no others reside but Turks". The accounts of 15th century Western and Ottoman travellers, as well as the extant monuments, allow us to reconstruct the resurrection of Lulebürgaz. Arnold van Harff, passing through it in 1499, is still silent about it. De Schepper called it in 1533 already "la ville de Bosgais", but had to pass the night in a local school. By then it must have been a small borough with a Friday mosque and a hanānī. The latter is mentioned by Meḥmet-i ʿAshīlī. The mosque, the Eski Dīnak, or Kāf Dīnak, is still extant and situated near the bridge. It is a work of the early classical phase of Ottoman architecture, from the time of Bīyazīd II or from a few years later. When Hans Demschwam (ed. Babinger, 247) passed through "Burgaz" in 1555, he still saw the gate and walls of the old castle and noted a stone bridge over the river; but he still had to spend the night in Kirkkalei, a settlement 10 km. to the south-east of Lulebürgaz, which possessed three caravanserais. A few years after Demschwam's visit, the Beglerbeği of Rumeli and later Grand Vizier Şekülle Meḥmet Paša laid the foundations for the total reconstruction of the town and its transformation into a caravan halting-place of the first order. A new step between Kirkkalei and Baha ʿeski was a necessity because the distance between the two was far too great (43 km.) to cover in one day. In 967/1559-60 he completed his exquisite domed mosque and vast madrese with 34 student cells. A long inscription, still preserved, gives the date in the form of a chronogram. Seven years later he completed the erection of two spacious caravanserais, with separate stables for camels and horses, separate rooms for female travellers and state officials, an imaret, a double hamam, a school and street lined with 65 stone-vaulted shops between the madrese and the caravanserais. The whole complex covers an area of 170 x 150 metres and is one of the most harmonious civic centres ever erected by the Ottomans. The works were designed by the famous architect Sinān and appear in various places on the lists of his works drawn up by his friends and contemporaries. The date of completion of the two caravanserais is given in the extant inscription in the form of a chronogram, whose numerical value gives 973/1565-6, the first year of Şekülle's Grand Vizierate. The chronogram also found its way to the work of Ewliya Celebī (iii, 301, of the printed edition). This date is further corroborated by the notes of the Italian traveller Marc Antonio Pigafetta, who saw the worksmen at work.Ģ."
and adds that all travellers, Turk, Jew or Christian, received three times a day a dish of rice and meaton, this for three days in succession. The most detailed description of this Turkish "Grand Hotel" is from Ewiljy Celebi, who visited the town in 1067/1657. It was then a bagdah in the sandjak of Kirk killese; a township of 700 houses, divided into six mahalles. It had five places of prayer, of which three were Friday mosques, 500 shops and seven medreses. All travellers, regardless of their religion, received twice daily a dish of soup, a loaf of bread, a candle and fodder for their horses. On Fridays they got stewed rice with meat and onions and sweetened saffron rice (kesir). A number of other travellers mention the buildings and the free distribution of food, but add hardly any new details.

Luleburgaz continued to function as a caravan halt throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but it seems to have remained a relatively small place. This period of prosperity ended abruptly in 1225/1799-1800 when a gang of Krellahi under the robber baron Kara Feyd captured it and burnt it down, together with the two caravanserais. When, under Mahmud II, order was restored, the caravanserais had to be rebuilt on from their foundations. An inscription with a long eulogy on the works of Mahmud, placed above the old inscription of 559/1559-60, still reminds us of this work. The vaulted shopping street and the two caravanserais, as they appeared just before the fire, are depicted in two very accurate drawings by Luigi Mayer. Luleburgaz remained a small place throughout the 19th century. The Sub-dar of the Edirne vilayet of 1282/1865-6 gives it the centre of a bahs with 32 villages, and 2,956 male Muslim inhabitants and 3,489 male non-Muslim inhabitants. The town itself numbered according to the Sub-dar of 1285/1867-9, 984 houses with 834 male Muslim inhabitants and 7,528 male non-Muslim inhabitants. There were three Friday mosques, two mezquitas, one church, one synagogue, 282 shops and one hamam. The size and shape of the town had thus remained basically the same as in the time of Ewiljy Celebi.

With the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, all territory beyond the Danubian border suffered an eclipse. The two caravanserais of Luleburgaz and the Sub-dar were taken by the army and transformed into a barracks for the cavalry and the fourth battery of gunners. The old Krellahi Dzabam was turned into an ammunition store. The Sub-dar of 1301/1883-4 gives the same number of buildings in the town, but adds the name of a two tableks, one of the Gullhaneiyah [see Gulagali, Ibrahim] and one of the Nalghbandiyyah [g. p]. Order. This source also gives detailed information about the composition of the population of the district of Luleburgaz. The total number of inhabitants had augmented considerably, from about 10,000 in 1270 to 25,013 in 1835. The Muslim population had grown faster than the non-Muslim element. The Muslims now numbered 7,079 males and females altogether, and there were 6,450 Greeks (Rom), 720 Bulgars, 220 Jews, 662 Gypsies (largely Muslim), and 38 Armenians, besides some non-permanent residents, also largely Muslim.

During the First Balkan War, Luleburgaz was occupied by the Bulgarian army, but the Turks took it back in 1913. From 1918 till 1923 the town and all of Thrace were occupied by the Greeks. After Thrace had returned to Turkey and the Greek population had been exchanged for Turks from the now Greek Macedonia by the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, Luleburgaz recovered slowly from the blow which it had received. The town was to profit greatly from the decay of Edirne in the forties and fifties, and did not cease to develop when Edirne recovered. In 1938 Luleburgaz numbered 13,000 inhabitants; today this number has reached the 25,000 mark. It is still a prosperous and relatively well-built town, almost entirely Muslim Turkish. The two caravanserais and the Sub-dar of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha disappeared in the troubled times around World War I; but the mosque, medresah, hamam, shopping street and medreses are still standing, and rank among the best of all extant monuments of Muslim architecture in European Turkey outside Edirne.
of Kirmān. Edmonds notes the existence of a Luri (?) clan in Kirmān in the Dashtān division of the Bayrūwand group. In Kirmān there is a clan Luri-Kirmānī (see supra).

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, ropedancers (cf. Cirikov, 277). As early as the 8th/14th century, Shillāb al-Dīn Ibn Pādī Allah al-Umarī mentions the talent of the Lurs in these directions, and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabrīz, where there is a permanent colony of Kārālī gipsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the gipsy player are reflected somewhat; the Sāmūnī of Kirmān (cf. SARPUI ZOHAR AND SENNA), who excel in singing and dancing, are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artists belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gipsy infiltration into Luristan. Whatever was the ethnic entity covered by the name Zūṭ (on the confusion of the Zūṭ with the Luri, see above: Hannza, Taghībābī) the existence of Zūṭ of Luri origin in Luristan as early as the time of Hājīdādī (q.v.) (cf. Hawmat al-Zūṭ between Arťaūjān and Rām-Hurmūz; the modern town of Hinduān ("the Indians") may have a similar origin. According to al-Balūdhurī, 382, when in the second quarter of the 1st century A.H. the Zūṭ had apostatised from Islam, they were joined by the local Kurds, which provoked the punitive expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Amīr b. Kuraṣ (q.v.) to Idhādī (q.v.) (= Mālarū, the future capital of Luri-Buzurg). The alliance of the Zūṭ and Kurds (Lurs-Qūr) at so early a date is curious. Under al-Rūr, Yakkāt, ii, 831, mentions two places in Sind and a small district (nakhīya) under Ahwāz in Kūrāshān. Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, v, 665, identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr (cf. LURISTAN). In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al-Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis (cf. Ibn Ḥawāṣil, 176, the "Kurds" were predominant in al-Lūr), the question of the origin of the name al-Lūr in Kirmān, of the identity of this al-Lūr with al-Lūr and of the remoter origin of the name Luri must for the present be left open. In any case, even if the name Luri came from the town of al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnic origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūdān were in the early years of this century: in Astarābād: Kirmānī (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees gāyē-gānūr, interpreted as "innumerable"; in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects birkhūmā means "rascal"; cf. the comedies of Fath ʿAlī Akhūndov [see AGQORDZADA]; at Kord-e Badgird, in the south-west of Multān in the Dashdān division of the Kirmān, Edmonds notes the existence of a Luri (?) clan in Kirmān, in the Dashtān division of the Bayrūwand group. In Kirmān there is a clan Luri-Kirmānī (see supra).
The gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan) has taken its morphology from Cirikov, they were called Dumnil, which must correspond the fact that the Lori of Bakristan jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in modern Persian; its vocabulary also is full of Persian words: "stone", "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bokār bears the suggestive name of Sind/Sindilyan (the "Sindle"). According to the Sharaf-nama, the chief of the Kurdīkhan clan (of the Zokh) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationship of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220/835 a section of the Zūţ settled in Kūshān, i.e. at the gates of Kurdish territory; cf. de Goeje, Mémoires, 30, Tabriz, in 1856, 309.

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished, according to the laws of the primitive Indian aspirated mediae: one changes them into aspirated tenues, i.e. Prakrit, bhīnī > phen (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, bhīnī < ben (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialecors lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sāsānī period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, as yet not adequately studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley, for example, found among the Karāči of Tabriz the word behn "sister" which must be older than phen or ben (cf. also gābir in Gobineau).

Literary references to the Lûfûdya or Lûriya are to be found in many classical Persian authors, including Badãj, Mûsã, Firdawš, Mânûššã, Hâfiz and Ubayd Zâhâd, who variously describe them as musicians and dancers, vagabonds, thieves and prostitutes.

In modern times, the general term for the gipsies in Iran is hašči, but a wide variety of names are used locally. Apart from those listed earlier, the following may be mentioned: abūgã, gurîzadat, gurîzâ, hârci, kullûndi (Zanjan), kownd, gâbûnd, yûd and zanâng. No up-to-date population statistics are available, but such information as there is suggests that the figures quoted by Sykes must by now be considerably reduced. The main centres are still Fars, Arak and Adharbâygân. Dûčû speaks some notes by Sir Robert Draper who zâda on a group of kowld settled in Kût 'Abd Allah (20 km. south of Awâz) since the turn of the century. According to Mughdâm, the gurîzûts of the Wa's area (between Hamâdân and Arâk) spend five months on the land and seven travelling (dawra-garî). They do not give their daughters in marriage outside the tribe, but apparently may take non-hašči wives.

The main present-day occupations of the gipsies of Iran, as elsewhere, include basket-making, tinkering, singing and dancing, magic, fortune-telling and making of spells and charms.

Bibliography: Don Juan of Persia, Relaciones, Valladolid 1604, 17 (on the looseness of gipsy morals), Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 57; Ouseley, Travels in various countries of the East, London 1819-23, i, 309; iii, 400, 405 (the Karâči of Tabriz); Ker Porter, Travels in Georgia, etc., London 1822, ii, 328-32 (the Karâči near Marâşhâ); Die Zigeuner in Persien und Indien, in Das Ausland, Munich 1835, 163-4; Battailard, Nouvelles recherches sur l'apparition et la dispersion des Bohémiens... avec un appendice sur l'immigration en Perse entre les années 420 et 440 de dix à douze mille Louri, Zuti et Dijî de l'Inde, Paris 1849, 1-48 (first publ. in Bibliothèque de l'École des Charites, 3rd series, 1, 1455); Newbold, The gipsies of Egypt, 1918.
In the Akfanl, in Wiedemann, it changes quickly because it is of animal origin (al-durr, however—as is still the case in our days—with the pearls). The word "lu" (pis. lam, Lalli, lalliy, passim) is often used as a synonym of "W.

The authors mentioned above also describe in fair detail the various kinds of lu according to colour (white, yellow, lead- or ivory-coloured), form (globular, oblong, oval or tumi-shaped, conical, flattened, almond-shaped, notched), size, structure (various shells), compactness, consistency, weight and value, its changes by means of external influences (oil, all acid reagents, in particular still lemonade, and further, the heat of fire and friction against coarse objects), and finally the colour and dating and trade. Al-Biruni, op. cit., 134-7, moreover, has an interesting chapter on causes and elimination of worthlessness or faultiness of pearls. On the innermost layer of the pearl-oyster's shell, the so-called mother-of-pearl, see 82ar. All those qualities of the pearl have their own very specific nomenclature, based on close observation. The calculation of the specific gravity of the pearl was amazingly accurate (according to al-Khazin in Ullmann, Die Natur- und Geisteskunde im Islam, Leiden 1972, 122). Even the formation of the pearl is explained correctly, namely by the infiltration of parasitic foreign bodies, bringing about growths which then solidify into pearls. At the same time, however, the curious fable held currency according to which pearls originate in the pearl-oyster from rain: every year the Southern Sea—the Indian Ocean—is agitated by heavy storms which force the pearl-oyster to emerge at the surface, where its two valves open and take in the rain. After that, the oyster muscle contracts, the valves close and denne dives to the bottom of the sea; from the rain-water, a precious stone grows like an embryo in the womb (al-Tamimi, Murshid, 32-3; Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des...—z-Kemirini, Tr. J. Ruska, Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1859/66 der prov. Oberschule Heidelberg, 21 f, s.v. durr), or, according to the majority of the scientists, like the egg in oviparous animals (al-Ashar, Nuqab al-Baghdari, fi athli al-da`wah, in Wiedemann, Afsat, 845). For the finding-places of pearls and their recovery, see al-Biruni. Plentiful material is also to be found in the extensive lemma lu in WKS, ii, 45-50, containing a well-arranged synopsis of pieces of evidence for the metaphorical use of the word: the pearl is compared with teeth, tears, dew- and raindrops, small bubbles, with the goblet, with words and poems, letters, wisdom, boys, girls or women, with a face, with gazelles, flowers or blossoms, stars, currents, etc. The word appears also extraordinarily often in book-titles with ornamental, metaphorical or metonymic meaning, mostly as "head title" before the real title, which is introduced with fi, see G.A.S. 661, 970 ("84 al-lu, 941 (la`all, 945 (lu`in, 1289 f; s.v. lu`in); the indexes to the separate volumes of Segin, G.A.S.; Hadij Jallali, Kasha al-tunin, ed. Yalktaya, ii, 1534 f, 1576 f; Ismail Bajji, Idak al-maknun, 596 f, 415 f.)
LU\LP

Apparently a word for pearl-trader cannot be derived from durr, but only from inveh: la'l\d or la'a\b (WKSAS, ii, 46).

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LU\LP ("pearl"), a noun often given as proper name to a person of servile origin, a guard or an officer or a leader of a special body of ghulāms (ghulām) who, by his energy and (ghulām) at the instigation of Lu'lu'. Lu'lu' presents the image of a slave who, by his energy and ability, and favoured by external events, succeeded in hoisting himself up to a position of supremacy over an emirate, admittedly an emirate of secondary importance. It could be said that he prefigures in the eleventh century what various of the Mamlūk of Egypt were later to become on a larger scale.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ibn al-Ahğr, under the years indicated; Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Adīn, Histoire d'Alexe, ed. Sami Dahan, Damascus 1953, i, 185, 186-92, 195-8, 209; Abu Shudīya al-Rudhawarī, in Eichhoff, Gesch. d. mamlūk. staatsbildung in Ägypten, 32, 210-12, 216, 222; Yaḥyā b. Sa'd al-Anṣāʻi, loc. cit. See further Rosen, Bastile le Bulgareote (based on Yaḥyā and Kamāl al-Dīn), 32, 39, 44, 50, 238, 247-7, 251-3, 258-62, 264, 307, 342, 357; Canard, Mamlūk, 668-92, 604-9, 703-13, 855, 859 (index in Arabica, xviii/3 [1971]). (M. CANARD)
LUPLU, BADR AL-DIN—LUR

LUPLU, BADR AL-DIN Abu 'l-FadLl al-MALIK AL-SAHIJ, a freedman, possibly black, of the last Zangids of Mosul, whose régime he prolonged. Designated by Arslân Shâh I on his death in 607/1210 as reagent of the principality for his young son Kâbir, then by the latter (d. 615/1218) for his infant son, Arslân Shâh II, he was officially designated, with a caliphal diploma, as lord in 629/1232. The chronicles mention him especially for his interminable minor clashes with the lesser surviving Zangids and their Murzafrid allies from Erblî; he had, on the other hand, the support of the Ayyîbîd al-Ashraf, all this interfering with the intrigues of the Khârazm-Shîhs and first Mongol detachments. Later, he fought with al-Sûlih Ayyûb in Diirazra and then with al-Nâsir of Aleppo. In all these clashes, he appears far less as a successful military leader than as an astute diplomat. This ability and his longevity had, on the other hand, the support of the Ayyîbîd period: Ibn al-Athîr, Sibt Ibn al-Dîawsf.

The chronicles tell us nothing of Lûlî's internal administration. We know, however, that Mosul attained in this period a notable role as a market (copperwork), commercial and cultural centre. The people from Mosul who are several times mentioned in Acre under Latin domination are possibly Christians, a large number of whom survived in Upper Mesopotamia. In 615/1218 al-Dîn Ibn al-Athîr (4 vols. published), al-Mâlik b. al-Amâd, Ibn Shaddâd (al-dîawsf), section on al-Dîazra published Damasques 1879), the Christian Abu 'l-Fârâbî Bar Ilaykh, published), Ibn Shaddâd (4 vols. in Arabic; cf. A. Mitchiner, The World of Islam, 205, 1135-2).

LUR (in Persian Lur or short), an Iranian people living in the mountains in western Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Maslînî, Kûhî-lî, Baikhîrî, and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was Iranianised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become Iranianised or absorbed in different parts of Kurdistan, see Kurdistan.

The name. Local tradition (Ta'rikh-i qâvida) connects the name of the Lurs with the defile of Mîn-rûd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lur mentioned by the early Arab geographers (al-Ittâ haciendo, 195, etc.), the name of which survives in Sanûr-yî Lur (to the north of Dîdîh). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Lîr, a district of Dînawarî.

Sâbîr (Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 666; cf. the Kûhî-lî tribe: Lîrâîî), which may be to Lur what pul in Luri is to full “money” in Persian: Lûdân (Yâkût: Lûdânqân, now Lûdânqân) according to Ishâjîh, capital of the canton of Dîdîh (between the Kûhî-lî and the Baikhîrî) and lastly there is a place called Lûr (Lîrî) near Sarî-Asadûr. At-Mas'ûdî alone, in his list of “Kurd” tribes speaks of the Lûryaya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the 7th/13th century Yâkût uses the names Lûr, Lûrî, to mean the “Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khâzînî and Ishâjîh”; he calls the country inhabited by it bîdîh al-Lûr, or Luristan.

These facts may show in the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Iranian) into an ethnic name. If however we seek an Iranian etymology for the name Lûr, its connection with the first element in Lûhrasp (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 183, Lûr is explained by *rudra* “red”. The place-name Rûr in Yâkût may supply an intermediary form. The Ta'rikh-i qâvida gives a popular etymology Lûrû “red mountain” in Luri.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fars, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mîn-rûd. According to the Ta'rikh-i qâvida, 539, 547, there is in the wâdiyat of Mîn-rûd a village called Kûrî, near which there is a defile. The place called Lûr is situated in this wâdi (the word means in Luri a “little ravine”, cf. O. Mann). The name Mîn-rûd much resembles that of Mîdâyân-rûd (the word mîdâyân is found as manîrîn in Luri; Zhukovski, iii, 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Mûngarra-Mûngarra (cf. Ta'rikh-i qâvida, 548, on the place lying between Mîn-rûd, Sanûr and Mûngarra). The clans (gûrûh) of the natives of Kûhî Mîn-rûd were later called after the places where they had settled, like the Dîijadîrî (Cangûrî, Dîjandîrî) and the Dîrî (Axtârî). The governing family of the Axtâbegs of Little Lûr belonged to the Dîjandâfî (the name of their clan is Saltûfî, Saltûfi; the names Salwârî in Alam-dari, 369, Salwârî in Axtârî, 135, and Salwârî in Hourûsmî- Schindler are to be corrected). The Ta'rikh-i qâvida concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (shû'ab) of the two principal gûrûh and the 8 other tribes (aštâmî) of the Lurs.

A few names (Mûngarra, Anârârî, Dîjandîrî) correspond to modern names. Finally, four clans are mentioned: Sâhî (Sambî), Arslân (Asbân, Asîn), Akrî and Bibî, who, although speaking Luri, are not Lurs; the people of the other villages of Mûndûd were peasants (rûðûdî).

In ca. 505/1105, a hundred (or 400) Fadjâlî Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (Shaturna-Kûhî) and settled at first on the lands of the Kûhî-lî tribes (see Luri kûhî; and cf. Nauhî al-kâlanî, 70, under the word gîrdàhî). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, new tribes flocked to the standards of Hamzârî of the Great Lûr. Among them were two Arab tribes, *Ukâyî* (Akkî; cf. the place of this name below Sheikhtâr), a *Bîdîhî* one, and 8 different tribes (mûnîfârîhî), among whom we find the Baikhûrî (Mûkhûtârî), the Dîjandîrî (Marâsînî), the Gûtâwînî (the village near Shûptar), the Dîdîh, the Lîrâîî, the Mûndûtî (Maslînî?), etc. According to the Sharîf-nâmâ (1, 20), all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnic composition of the Great Lûr.
It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom Ibn Battûta (ii, 21-30) found at the beginning of the 14th century near Bahbāhān and Rūm Hūrnūs when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kurdistān on the river and it is said that this name came from the river. Sīhāb al-Dīn al-Umārī (in Notices et extraits, xii, 330-2) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Sālahūdī (564-917/1170-93) alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (?) return to) Luristan about 600 A.H. of numerous Iranian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of Karīgh (cf. LAK; just to the north of Susa is a tree dār-i Bālw, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurf tribe of Ḍuqrūnī, celebrated in the history of the Hasān va 'llakā (q.v.; cf. Ibn al-Qāhirī, ix, 146, 210) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Aṭlābs of the Lur-i Kūhīk against the Bāyāt and Aywā (= Bahārūn) Turks).

In the Ṣawāfīd period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristan from the direction of the Kūh-Ġūr (where traces of them still exist), and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the Bahkūṭīyār country. On the movements of the population under Nādir, the Zands and Kūfīk, see below. The ethnic situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the 19th century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well known and as we have seen going from 981 to 1927, a comparison enables us to note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds, but the general framework of the tribal groupings remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (Curzon, ii, 274), there were 428,000 Lurs, of whom 170,000 were Bahkūṭīyār, 47,000 Kūh-Ġūr, and 210,000 Fayālī. According to Rahīfī, this last section numbered in 1910 3,590 (or 130,000 individuals) in Pīsh-Kūh, and 15,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in Pāsh-i Kūh (this last figure seems too low).

The Mamāsānī (Mamassanī) group includes four main tribes: the Bakāsh, Dākwālī (Dākwālī, Dushmanziyārī and Rustamī, see shīristānī ī LĪF). The Kūh-Ġūr group (Kūh-Ġūrī) includes three large tribes (Afghā, Bawīl and Dūlānī). The first of these tribes (cf. the name of the old Turkish tribe of Agōḏāqārī) is of a composite character, for of its nine clans four (Agfār, Boshdālī, Cagātayā and Karā-Bāŋīlī) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the Shāh-Sowān, to whom the government of Kūh-Ġūr had been given under the Sāfāwīs) and a fifth clan (Tilakūlī) bears the name of a district in Kurdistān of Sūna (q.v.). Concerning the second tribe, Bawīl, O. Mann notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of Ahwāz; but there is also a mountain called Bawīl to the south of Khūrānābād. The third tribe, Dūlānī, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: Čārinbālī and Lārawā with very many subdivisions. This three-fold composition of the Kūh-Ġūrī group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As to the Bahkūṭīyār, Sawyer as long ago (1894) said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, every-thing appertaining to the Bahkūṭīars may now be said to be known". But Curzon's tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two Bahkūṭīyār groups, Chār-lāng and Haft-lāng, the latter is the more important at the present day. The Chār-lāng, who used to be in the south, are now mainly in the districts of the same name and in the northern barrier (between Durajjīd and Gulpāyāgān).

The main groups of Lur are: Tarkhān, Dīffān, Silīsī (cf. LAK) and Bālkā-giwrā. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions: Dirgawānd, Sagwand etc. It is possible that the Dirgawānd are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called mir.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (Bālkā-giwrā) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of bāhānī is based on their "guard" (bayānt), but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (budhnā). The bāhānī are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (Edmonds: "smooth headmen"); the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours, and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the ethnology of the Lurs. The names of Dubois-Sossel (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), Études sur la population de la Perse, 23, of Khanikoff, Mair, sur l'éthnographie de la Perse, Paris 1886, 2, 110, 118, and of Dandīvī, only touch the surface of the subject. Dubois-Sossel particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks; the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs (the Persians call Kurdistān maḏamí, bīnān, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds, there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. But von Hammer (ii, 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Wallāi Allārdūnā Khān.

The domestic life and manners of the Bahkūṭīyārs have found enthusiastic panegyrists in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper in his Grass, New York 1925. On the other hand, the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, in Geogr. Jnrl. (1922) (ibid., the speech of General Douglas, who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography: for the Mamoṣaṣ (cf. shīristānī ī LĪF) and the Kūh-Ġūrī, cf. especially Haan Fassāḥ, Fārs-Dāvar-a ma Nūjīrā, on which are based Demorgny, Les tribus du Fars, in RMM, xxii (1913), and B. Miller, Koçeytê plêmena Parsa, in Vost. Sbornik, St. Petersburg, ii (1916), 213-18. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Shirr, Baring etc. (summarised in Curzon, Persia, ii, 327) and those of O. Mann, Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme, pp. xx-xii. For the Bahkūṭīyār: H. Rawlinson, A march from Zobāt, 102-6 (cf. Ritter, Erdkunde, ix, 210-15); A. H. Layard, Description of Khuzastān, and especially Early Aramavie; Curzon, Persia, ii, 286-9. For the Lurs: the lists of Rawlinson [Ritter, Erdkunde, iv, 215-29], Bode, Layard, Cirikov, Houtum-Schindler, O. Mann, op. cit., p. xxiii, and especially the articles by Robino, in
Religion. The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karkhā since the Sassanid period may have left some traces in the country. A very stormy controversy [37] (p. u.) has raged in the history of the conversion of the Bakhtiyāris to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great? (Hanway, ii, 168). A mention in the Tāriḵh-i Diḵān-yuḵā, CMS, xvii, 216, shows that in 690/1295 the mulkāhs (Ismāʿīlīs) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Hūrī and herey had probably also a following in Luristan, for the Murid of its founder Fadl Allāh, who attempted the life of Suhrā Shāhrukh (8/593), was called Abūd Lūr (Browne, Lit. hist. of Persia, iii, 366). In the 8th century, the 'erels of the Lūr discussed descent from 'Abdāb, son of the kalīb 'All, whose tomb is shown near Sīrwān (Māsābaghān); cf. Rawlinson, in Ritter, iv, 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shīʿa are widespread in Luristan. The great majority of the Lūr are Ahl-i Ḥakī (barely); the Saygān, Pāpī and Bahār tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Ḥakī, Luristan is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine manifestation who is called Eshā Khōshbīn and numbers among his "angels" Bābā Tāhir (q.v.). An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāda Abūl (the alleged son of the imām Mūsā Kāšīm), is in the district of Kān near Bālāw (territory of Kālāwand) and is kept by Sayyids of the Pāpī tribe; these Sayyids wear red turbans which recall the predilection for red of the old Mūsannēm = Khurramīyān [br.], whose flags were of this colour.

The religion of the Lūr was so little orthodox, even from the Shīʿa point of view, that at the beginning of the 19th century prince Muhammad ʿAbd Mīrād had to send for a māglāhīd to convert the tribes to Islam (Rabino, 24). All the Lūr and Lūk tribes are officially Shīʿa (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunnī orthodoxy).

Language. Down to the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge of the Lūr dialects was confined to the texts collected by Rich, to four Bakhtiyāri verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the Grundriss d. iran. Phil., i (1885), 1898-1901, 249, we find the thesis stated that Lūr is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Zhukovskii (collected in 1880-5) were finally published after the death of the author (d. 4 December 1928). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Lūr are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Schiedung des Kurdischen vom Lūr!") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristan [see LAK], the true Lūr speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the south-western Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the north-western group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects.

The Lūr dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish [see STARS] fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lūr: Māmāsan, Khūghīl and Bakhtiyāri (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lūr, i.e. of the Fāyl Lūr.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: -əm at the end of a word becomes -əm, -ən (mēhmān, bahām; dādām, dādām); ə changes into ə: pāfīf; intervocalic d gives d (vādīmān); the combination -bīl gives bādī and -hī: bākhtūl (bākhtūlī), rīfīl (rīfīlī); initial bākhtūl; Abūd. Bakhtiyārī are the change of intervocalic m to ə: dāmə > dāmə and the occasional change of ə to: əa > əīm. It is remarkable that some of these phonological peculiarities were long ago noted by Hām Allāh Mustawfi (Tāriḵh-i gūrātā, 537-8). He says that Lūr (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like əh, əh, əf and ə. Inflection: Plural in -al, -al, -i: e.g. šādāb, dāmān: instead of rīdāna yāt = inādīq: formation of the present: instead of Persian -e: first Persian plural ending in -e (inām): əiynāmə = məqālēn. Lūr usually forms the pretense of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which give the pretense a passive construction. Vocabulary. In the present and pretense stems, Lūr usually follows Persian, but we find sters and words unknown in Persian: ḫūsām, wadān, "to throw"; ṭārām, ṭārām, "to be able"; əa, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Lūr has kept several expressions like tuḫmāl, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, tuqūmā, "official"; ḫaytul, "guard of the khan", in Eastern Turkic "camp, laager", etc. From the 9th century, our knowledge of the Lūr dialects was considerably increased by field work and collections in 1883-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyāri-Fārs (texts collected in 1883-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī) by G. Hadalk, in the Preface to O. Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Berlin 1922 (texts collected in 1888-6, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī) by G. Hadalk, in the Preface to O. Mann, Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Berlin 1922.


Literature. The Lūr tribes and especially the Bakhtiyāris have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments, celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muhammad Taḵī Kān Car-Lang and ḥakī Kīnum Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (mēsināk) and cradle-songs (ʾabārkī). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Zhukovskii (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyāri ballads in the Emirates, Min. Nāsīr, Proses (Jan. 1889)); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, Persian
tales, London 1919, 157-351; idem., Bahkhtari tales (translations only).

There are also Luri poets writing in the established literary forms: Husayn Kuli Khán Nát-Láng (killed in 1889), Na’dám al-Khán, Na’dám al-Safar, ‘Alí ‘Abdár, Sayf al-Dín Máhímd whose family had been prominent in the earlier period; he was the last of the Kuh-Gilí tribe, which the Tarbi-yi guzida mentions among the Luri tribes. The rest of Luristán was ruled by a family of Luri princes (independent of the Sháh), of whom Bahr ruled in the Great Luri and his brother Manšür in the Little Luri. Their dates are uncertain. Bahr’s successor was his grandson Na’dám al-Dín Muhammad b. Kháíl b. Bahr (according to the Ta’rikh-i guzida, Na’dám al-Dín was a nephew of Acharáng [Rúmá] b. Muhammad b. Kháíl), Na’dám al-Dín was succeeded by the Fadlwání Kúns, who founded the dynasty of the Aṭábegs of the Great Luri and relied on support on tribes who came out from outside Luristán (cf. above, under Ethnology). The same Fadlwání drove the Sháh out of their settlements.

We know nothing of Manšür, brother of the above-mentioned Bahr. The tribes of Little Luri were directly under the caliphs, and in the north were subject to the invaders. The founder (in ca. 980/1574-5) of the native dynasty of the Aṭábegs of Luri Kháíl [q.v.] had to dispose of a rival Sáráhání b. ‘Ayár (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu ‘I-Shawk which was called ‘Ayár’ání) ‘Amáz (see Ašxa’ís).

The history of the two dynasties of the Aṭábegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions, but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The Aṭábegs built bridges and madrasas (Bín Báttáš) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. Ta’rikh-i guzida, 550). The revenues of each of the two Aṭábegs were estimated at a million dinár, while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 dinár only (Nuzkát al-julúb, 78).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Timúr, the two Aṭábegs were vassals of the Muzáfárids. In 788/1386 and 795/1393 Timúr ravaged Little Luri, but treated the Lord of Great Luri mercifully. In 837/1433-4 the last Aṭábeg of Little Luri, pledged himself to supply annually to the Sháh 10,000 mules. In 974/1566-7 the Sháh, under the guarantee of Shih Rustám of Shiráz, sent a message to the Lord of Little Luri, and in 937/1534-5 the last Aṭábeg of the Great Luri disappeared.

The Ábadí period. The Lords of the Little Luri maintained their position, and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Pacht-i Kháín. After the execution of Sháh-wáríd Kháín, Sháh ‘Abábs installed in his place a man descended from a distant line of the old family. The possessions of this man, Husayn Kháín, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Luri, the power had passed to the chieftains of the tribes composing this federation. Under Sháh Táḥmásb we find the title of Sardár of the local ulás conferred on Tád-Má, chief of the principal clan, the Ástárád. Tád-Má, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mir Dáhidrá Bákhtí-áráy (the Ástárák and Bákhtí-áráy had come to Luristán after 500/1103-4; cf. Ta’rikh-i guzida, Dáhidrá under the guarantee of Sháh Rustám of the Little Luri, pledged himself to supply annually to the Ásáfáwíd treasury 10,000 mules. In 974/1566-7 the governor of Hamadán was sent to remind him of his obligation (Sháfárat-námá, 1, 48). Henceforth, the Bákhtí-áráy tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation. As to the Kuh-Gilí territory, it was governed by
Khnān of the Turkomani tribe (Shah-Seven) of Afghān settled among the Lurs. In 986/1576 a dervish impostor claiming to be Shāh Ismā'īl II had a considerable success among the Dākhān, Dāvandān and Bandīn tribes, who killed several Afghān governors. In 1065/1654-5, as a result of the excesses committed by the Afghān as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fārs, Allāh-wardī Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Khūsh-Gūb (Taḥḥīk-i ʿĀlam-ārī, 156, 336).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the ʿĀlam-Ārī dynasty (Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī) the group of Mānasūn tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600/1203-4) occupied the ancient Shīkhānistan (q.v.).

After the Afghāns: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghāns before Isfāhān, the wīlāt of Luristān, ʿAll Mardān Khān Faylī (a descendant of the Husayn Khān appointed by Shāh ʿAbbās), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1113/1703-4 in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops, but the other Khānīs refused to take orders from him. When the Turks invaded Persia in 1137/1725, ʿAll Mardān Khān abandoned Khurramshāh (which was occupied by Ahmad Pāgān) and retired to Khūsh-Gūb (Taḥḥīk-i ʿĀlam-ārī, 156, 336).

About the same time, several Bakhtānī khanīs (Kāsim Khan, Ṣafī Khan) are mentioned as resisting the Afghān and Ottoman invaders, but they did not agree well with ʿAll Mardān Faylī. In 1137/1724 ʿAll Muhammad Husayn Khān Bakhtānī, who had been his supreme commander, overthrew him and became prince Shāh Ṣafī. The latter's headquarters were in Khūsh-Gūb (Kūsh-Gūb); he was not taken till 1140/1727-8 (Hanway, iv, 115, 135, 145; Malcolm, History of Persia, London 1899, ii, 115-16, 185-6; Samuel, Ancient Persia, London 2829, ii, 171-2; von Hammer, Toʿrikh-i ʿĀlamī, 231, 253; Malcolm, op. cit., ii, 171 ff.).

After the events of 1113/1703-4, the Bakhtānī country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the Safawid dynasty (Pdr-ar-dar-yi Mardān). A summary of the history of the Bakhtānīs in the 19th century has been given by Curzon in ch. xxxiv of his Persia and the Persian Question. At the first the Khurram family, descended from the brother of ʿAll Mardān Khān (see above), came to the front, but the assassination of the governor of Isfāhān Manṣūr Khān Mūsāmad-din-dawḥān (whose real name was Yenikolov; he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Khurram Mūsāmad-takī Khān of the Chārā Lang group, and the family did not recover. In 1846 the Bakhtānī (or Baydarwānd, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Faqī) rose to prominence in the Ĥafi-lang group, and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Husayn Kūlt Khān (Hādīḏī Khīḥān) by order of the governor of Isfāhān, Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh's eldest son Manṣūr Mīrzā Šīlī al-Saltān, under whose reign the Bakhtānī country fell, the family held on to its wealth and importance. The tribal Khānīs did, however, now fall into a period of prolonged dispute over the succession of the Khurram family of the Khurram Mūsāmad-din-dawḥān and Hādīḏī Khīḥāns on one side versus the Ilbegī family on the other. Eventually, a basic principle of power-sharing between the two families was established which was to endure until 1936, when Rīdā Shāh Pahlāvī placed the Bakhtānī country under standard Persian civil jurisdiction; until this time, the country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the

was several times invaded, but the main blow was directed against the little-explored country south of Shurūrān-khān. ʿAll Mārūd was captured and executed. The Bakhtānī detachment were decimated and deported to Dūšān and Langar (in Khūsh-Gūb). A little later, a Bakhtānī detachment distinguished itself in the assault on the fort of ʿAllābād. The example of Khūsh-Gūb, 1736, contains interesting geographical details (v. Jones, i, 185, ii, 18; ʿAll Ḥādī, 231, 253; Malcolm, ii, 21).

The deported Bakhtānīs returned from Khūsh-Gūb immediately after the death of Nādir (Taḥḥīk-i bād Nādirīyya, ed. Mann, 26), and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished, the Bakhtānī chief ʿAll Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two ʿAlīs of Luristānī Faylī) attempted to play a big part. In 1165/1776, along with Kāzin Khān in Zand, he set up at Isfāhān a sultan of the lateral line of the Safawids (ʿAlī Dūmdū, under the name of Ismāʿīl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign" acted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also, but Karim Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of ʿAll Mardān, who included Lur of the tribes of Kalābūr and Zendan, were defeated in 1165/1776; he escaped to Baghdad, but died there by the hand of an assassinating group (Nāṣirī Shāhī, Taḥḥīk-i bādī-gūbān, quoted by Malcolm, ii, 61 and note 9, 171). Von Hammer, GGR, iv, 475, 477; R. S. Poole, The coinage of the Shahs of Persia, London 1888, p. xxxv; Curzon, ii, 289.

Karim Khān (q.v.), who had disposed of his Bakhtānī rival, was himself a Lur of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristānī Faylī. On the movements of population in his time, see Kords and Lahr. In 1200/1785, when Dīdar Khān Zand had to fall back on Shirāz, a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Isfāhān under forger of Isfāhān. Manṣūr Khān Mūsāmad-din-dawḥān (whose real name was Yenikolov; he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Khurram Mūsāmad-takī Khān of the Chārā Lang group, and the family did not recover. In 1846 the Bakhtānī (or Baydarwānd, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Faqī) rose to prominence in the Hāf-lan group, and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Husayn Kūlt Khān (Hādīḏī Khīḥān) by order of the governor of Isfāhān, Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh's eldest son Manṣūr Mīrzā Šīlī al-Saltān, under whose reign the Bakhtānī country fell, the family held on to its wealth and importance. The tribal Khānīs did, however, now fall into a period of prolonged dispute over the succession of the Khurram family of the Khurram Mūsāmad-din-dawḥān and Hādīḏī Khīḥāns on one side versus the Ilbegī family on the other. Eventually, a basic principle of power-sharing between the two families was established which was to endure until 1936, when Rīdā Shāh Pahlāvī placed the Bakhtānī country under standard Persian civil jurisdiction; until this time, the country enjoyed virtual autonomy under the
rule of the Ilkhani and the Ilbegg. The Ilghanšı-
Hâdji Iskander Ilkhan group in fact enjoyed a superior
financial and political position, in part because from
1299 onwards they drew an investment income from
Mosses. Lynch Bros, when the Bakhtiyarlı Road,
connecting Abāzgān, Shēkāsūr and Isfahān, was
opened, and from 1309 onward from the concessions,
where Persia families received subsidies from the
British government during the First World War in
return for Bakhtiyarlı support. The Bakhtiyarlıs also
played a considerable role in the Persian Constitu-
tional period, in alliance with the Shi'i Shīa and
the urban-based constitutionalist reformers, achieving
prominence in national as well as local affairs; by
1912 Bakhtiyarlı khanš held the governorship of
seven cities in Persia, including Kirmān, Isfahān and
Kashān, and one was Prime Minister (Sāmān al-
Salāma) and another Minister of War (Sādžār Asad).
The centralising efforts of the Ikâds had more
effect in Lurisht-i Fayl (formerly Luri-i Kūčk) in
as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmān-
shāh of the energetic prince Muhammad ʻAll at the
beginning of the 19th century, the old family of the
Aštafs of Lurisht found its rights reduced simply to
the possession of Pusht-i Kūsh (see Čīrīk, 227).
The Pāsh-Ḵūkh became the Persian province of
Luristan, ruled by a Mirzā with troops and
artillery marched through this province. In 1856
Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gūrān
regiment. After the famous expedition of Mānnūrī
Ḵān (1847), his nephew Sālāmān Khān Sahām al-
Dawla, governor of Kūstān, maintained order in
Lurisht, but for the second part of the 19th century
Lurisht was plunged more or less into a state of
anarchy. It was not till 1900 that prince ʻAyn al-
Dawla was able to restore order in Lurisht, and at
that time several tribes stationed freely in the
disturbed province. But in November 1904 two
British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt. Lommer) on
their way to Khūramshād were attacked and
wounded by Lurs. A considerable agitation was
stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia
generally) by the appearance among them of the
rebel prince Sālār al-Dawla (several times after
1905). In spite of the efforts of the Persian govern-
ment, Lurisht remained closed till 1912, when with
the help of foreign representatives several caravans
went from Dīzful to Būrjujād. About the same time,
the Persian government conferred the rank of vālī
of Pāsh-Ḵūkh on Nazar ʻAlī Khan Amrārī (see tack);

The advent of Rūdān Khan, later (1924) Ṛdā Shāh
Pahlāvi, meant a declared policy by the central
government of bringing the Bakhtiyarlı country into
the normal framework of administration in Persia,
part of which involved the forcible sedentarisation
and semi-nomadic tribesmen; but with Ṛdā’s
deposition in 1941 and the period of weaker rule
during the earlier years of Muhammad Ṛdā Shāh’s
reign, many Bakhtiyarlıs and Lurs reverted to the
semi-nomadic way of life they had been accustomed
to, and this last still prevails amongst an appreciable
section of the estimated 500,000 Lurs and Bakhtiyarlıs.

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LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Abāsaghs
[see Arak] which flourished in eastern and
southern Lurishtan between 550-525 and 827/
1423, the capital of which was Ṣarbad [q.v.] or
Mālāmīr.

The ayyūnous founder of the dynasty, also
known as Fadlūr (1847-90), a Kurdi chief of Sīrāj
Pāvār. His descendants (the Buzurr-dīn)
continued to gain power through Musārūkhīn and
Ḵūrštābādī (where they made an alliance with
the Amīrā Dībādī [?] of Gilān), they arrived about
900/1500 in the plains north of Uṣurtān-Kūh
(Lurishtān).

Their [4] chief Abū Tūhār (b. ʻAll b. Muham-
mad distinguished himself in the service of the
Salghūrs Sūnrūr (543-50/1248-61?) in an expedition
against the Shabānīs [q.v.]. As a reward, Sunkūr
gave him Kūsh-Gūlā and agreed to send him to
conquer Lurishtan. He succeeded in this. Abū Tūhār
assumed the title of Atībāgh, and later married
with Sunkūr and made himself independent (ca.
550-5115). (The Madīnāt al-スーユdī seems to confuse
several individuals under the name Kūsh ʻAll, to
whom it attributes the following successes: the
deposition of Nāṣir al-
Dīn, last descendant of Bāhr, ruler of Lurishtan, and
the defeat of the Kūshī troops commanded by the
Turk Eshāk.)

Under the son of Abū Tūhār, (3) Malik (sic)
Hazarār (900-60 or 902/1504-6 or 1525?), Lur-
ishtan prospered, and new Arab and Iranian tribes
flocked into it. Hazarār drove out of Lurishtan the
last remnants of the Shīfs and invaded Lurishtan
proper. The Shīfs moved to Fārs. Hazarār disputed
with the Salghūrs the possession of the
fortresses of Mānūgh (Mānūgh, south-west of
Mālāmīr). The possessions of Hazarār were extended
up to a distance of a farsārā from Isfahān. The
caliph al-Ṣāfār (575-612/1180-1229) confirmed to
Hazarās the title of Atībāgh. On the other side,
Hazarār maintained friendly relations with the
Khurram-Shāh Muḥammad and gave him (d. 1925)
(see Tābūnī, ii, 381, 471). (The Buzurr-dīn mentions
two sons of Hazarār: ʻīmād al-Dīn (d. 649/1252-3)
and Nusret al-Dīn Kūhā (d. 650/1252-3); the former
became Šarbagh Kūhā, where several members of
the family were afterwards interred.)

(3) Tikla (955-6/1527-8), son of Hazarār and his
Salghūrī wife, successfully withstood four attacks
on him by the Salghūrī Atībāgh of Fārs, who
was indignant among other things at the expropriation
of the Šīfs from Lurishtan. Tikla took from Muḥānān
al-Dīn Khānī (d. 649/1252-3) certain districts of
Lur-i Kūch. He defeated the generals sent against him
from Khurramistan by the caliph. During the
Buzurr campaign of Ḥūlāgū Kūsh (655/1257-8), Tikla
accompanied him in Kītāb Noyān’s division
(lūţehā). He did not, however, conceal his feelings
about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and
Muslims. Ḥūlāgū took umbrage at this, and Tikla
fled to Lurishtan and shut himself up in Mānūgh.
(See also Tikla, iii, 489, 571.) Tikla was buried at
Zardā Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Ārghān succeeded to his
eleutherous son and ruled for 15 years. He led a
nomadic life. His winter residence was at Ṣarbad and
at Sūr (probably Sāvak on the Kūrān above Shākīrāt)
and his summer one at Ilam (on the upper waters
of the Zardā-ḵānd and at Bāzūf (source of the
Kūrān).

His son 5 Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with
Abaka Khan (663-680/1265-82) and even after being appointed in his father's stead, remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen. He took part in the war against Burak Khan [p.135] and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Dayamis. To the possessions of Yusuf Shah, Abaka added Kuhistan, the ruler of Kuh. Afrasiyab shut himself in a temple (a *fardad*) above Isfahan and *Djurbugdka* (Gulpayagan). Yusuf Shah went to Kuh-Ghila and attacked the *Sial* settled in the modern Mamasani country east of Kuh-Ghila. After the death of Abaka, Yusuf Shah was forced against his will to go with 5,000 cavalry and 1,000 head to the help of Ahmad Takhtdar. The latter was defeated (683/1284), and the Lurs retreated from Tabas to Neman across the desert, where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghun, Yusuf Shah went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier *Huseyn Shirvani* (Shirvani), who had taken refuge in Luristan (cf. d'Oozean, iv, 5).

His son (6) Afrasiyab sent his brother Ahmad to the court of Arghun while he himself remained in Luristan, where he put to death the members of the former vizier's family. Their relatives having taken refuge in Isfahan, Afrasiyab sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghun (680/1281). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Isfahan. Afrasiyab appointed members of his family to govern in Hamadan, Fars and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf, and even began to march on the capital. The Mongol general Amir Turak was defeated at Kuhurd or Kuhrud (p.135) near Isfahan. Gayguy Khan sent Mongol troops against Afrasiyab and troops from Lugas and Khurramia and the troops of the *Shahram* (Shudja) to Tushar and to the mountains, but after some time went to Gayguy who pardoned him. Returning to Luristan, Afrasiyab massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables. Ghazan Khan (694/1295-1304) at first showed himself favourable to Afrasiyab, but in 695/1297, on the complaint of the Amir Hurkudak of Fars, Afrasiyab was tried and executed at Mahilvan (5) of Farahân.

The rank of Atibeg was then conferred on his brother (7) Nusrat al-Din Ahmad (695-738/1297-1340), who had spent most of his life at the court of the Shahs. According to the *Madjma* al-anvwab he introduced Mongol institutions (*ispand-i-mughul*) into Luristan. Hamid Allah Mustawfi praises his able and prudent administration, which repaired the damage done by Afrasiyab. He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Tarikh Madjma al-anvwab* of 'Ali Allah Khazwin. The *Madjma* al-anvwab gives him the title of *pîr*. According to Ibn Battuta (Râla, ii, 29-30, ir. Gîb, ii, 289-8), he built 150 *madrasas* (here = "hermitages"), of which 44 were at Isfahan, and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Rukn al-Din Yusuf Shah II (737-40/1335-40) was also a just ruler. His lands, according to the *Madjma* al-anvwab, extended from Bajara and Khuzistan to Lâlamistan (7) and Fars. He was buried in the *madrasa* of Ruknabad. His successor was his son (succeeding to Ibn Battuta, his brother) (9) Muzafer al-Din Afrasiyab II (Abad). Ibn Battuta, travelling via Midjût-Râna-Tustar, visited the capital Isfahân (p.136) or Mâlamîc. He found the prince addicted to wine. The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs, which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the *sultan* (p.137). The latter's possessions included Tustar (*Shîghstar*) and extended to Garwâra-
His brother (6) Badr al-Din Mas'ud went to the court of Mongol and returned in the train of Hulagu. This devout man, an authority on Shafi'i law, ruled till 698/1298. He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaymân Shâh when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghdad. The sons of Mas'ud were executed by Abâlân, who appointed as Atabeg (7) Tâdji al-Din b. Husâm al-Din Khalil, also executed by Abâlân in 697/1297-8.

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Mas'ud of whom (8) Falak al-Din Hasan ruled a part of Luristan (âdâr, sâl, will) and (8 bis) 'Izz al-Din Husayn called the crown domains (indâ), the number of their troops was 17,000. They chastised the Bayât and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadân and Shâsh and between Isfâshân and the Arab lands. Both died in 697/1297.

Gâyghâî appointed as their successor (9) Shâhâl al-Din Hâšt b. Tâdji al-Din, who was killed in 693 near Khurramâbâd by (10) Husâm al-Din Umar b. Shams al-Din "Darmâtî" b. Shârâl al-Din b. Tahântân b. Badr b. Shuqîâ, who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristan. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Sam- sâm al-Din Mâhmûd b. Nûr al-Dîn b. Shâ'âl al-Dîn Garshâsp, who slew a certain Shâhâl al-Dîn 'Uthâm and in turn was executed by Gâyghâî in 695/1296.

(11) 'Izz al-Din Muhammad b. 'Izz al-Dîn (8 bis) was a minor, and his cousin Badr al-Din Mas'ud (son of 8) obtained from Qâlid the title Atabeg and ruled over a part of Luristan (âdâr), but later 'Izz al-Dîn fully established his authority. After his death (716/1316 or 720/1320) his widow (12) Dawlat al-Khâsân retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols. Such was the state of affairs when Hâsân al-Murdawî was writing his Ta'rîkh-i guzata (ca. 730- 
1330-9). Later, the nûshân (who according to the anonymous historian of Mirzâ Iskânard became the wife of Yûsuf Shâh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) 'Izz al-Dîn Husayn who received investiture from Abû Sa'id and ruled for 14 years. His son and successor (15) Shuqî âDin Mâhmûd was killed by his subjects in 715/1315-6.

(16) The Malik 'Izâl al-Dîn b. Shuqîâ 'Iz al-Dîn was only 12 when his father died. The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the Zafar-nâmâ. In 785/1383 the Muqaffarî Shâh Shuqîâ with his army visited Khurramâbâd and married the daughter of 'Izz al-Dîn. Another of his daughters was married to Âlî Mîdâr b. Ubayy Dâjâr. When Timûr arrived in Persia in 788/1386 he was told of the deprivations of the Lurs of 'Izâl al-Dîn. Setting out from Firuz-khâb, Timûr by forced marches reached Lurîstân. Bûrûjârd was laid waste, and the fortress of Khurramâbâd razed to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of the cliffs. The fate of 'Izz al-Dîn is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atabegs of Lurîstân to whom in 786/1387 Timûr granted an audience at Shiraz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mirzâ Iskânard, 'Izz al-Dîn was captured in 786/1386 in the fortress of Hûmâyûn (Armiyân, Wâmiyân, situated near Burûjârd) and deported with his son to Turkestan. At the end of this three years both father and son were released. In 791/1391 'Izz al-Dîn played a part in the aggiandism of the Muqaffarî Zayn al-Abîdîn, son of his old suzerain Shah Shuqîâ. When in 795/1393 Timûr returned to Persia, he went
from Buruqird to Shâhward. Luristan was overran by piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mirza 'Umar, but 'Izz ad-Din escaped his pursuers. In 798/1395-6 prince Muhammad Sultan, governor of Fârs, extended his authority over all Luristan and Khûristân. In 803/1402-3, we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armaânî (1) near Buruqird ordered by Timûr, and under 806/1404-5 the Zafar-nâma mentions the arrival in Bahsâjiân from Nîhwâwâd of a courier bearing the head of 'Izz ad-Din, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His (17) Shîd Âbâmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Timûr in 807/1405 and ruled till 812/1412-13 (or 823/1423-4). (18) Shâh Husayn ("Abbasî", i.e. descendant of 'Abbas b. Ali b. Abî Talîb), another son of 'Izz ad-Din, took advantage of the decline of the Timûrids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamsânâd, Gulpâyâkân, Isfâhân, and even undertook an expedition to Shahward, where the Bahârî Turks slew him in 811/1409-10. His (19) Shâh Rustâm supported Ismâ'îl I; at this period, the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of 'A'id descent. The son of Rustûm (20) Oghûr (or Oghûz) accompanied Shîh Tâhmasb on his campaign of 933/1529-30 against 'Ubâyd Allah Khân, and during his absence his brother (21) Dîâhângir seized power. He was executed in 949/1542-3. The governor (lala) of his (22) Shâh Rustûm Shâh handed over the latter to Tâhmasb Shâh, who imprisoned him in Alâbût while Shûhâbîndid, another son of Dîâhângir, was in power. He was restored, but he was not long in hand over a third of it (do dzân) to his brother (23) Husein Mûhammâd, son of Shâh Rustûm. At the instigation of the wife of Shâh Rustûm, the governor of Hamadân seized Shûhâbîndid, who was shut up in Alâbût. The sons of Mûhammâd plunged Luristan and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Mûhammâd escaped, and conquered Luristan while Shûh Rustûm took refuge at the court of the 'Oghûr. Mûhammâd estab-

lished himself with Tâhmasb and Buruqird (24) but after their death submitted to the Ottoman Sultan Murad III (986-1001/1574-95), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kûh: Mandal, Dsia, Badîrât and Tarsak. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained, and Mûhammâd became reconciled with the Shàfawids. (24) Shâhward b. Mûhammâd, who had escaped from Bahsâjiân where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shûh Muhammad Khânâbâdî after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nîhwâwâd by the Turks, Shâhward showed signs of independence. In 1007/1597-8 Shàh 'Abbas took the field against him a second time. Shâhward was besieged and slain in the fortress of Cangula (in Pusht-i Kûh), Husayn Khân b. Mûsamur Beg Safarî (?) was given Luristan, except Sayûn, Hûmânî (?) and Fughtî-Kûh, which were given to Tâhmasb Kûlî Khân. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of Ënts of Luristan (later of Pusht-i Kûh) claims descent from Husayn Khân, who was a cousin of Shàhward. Bibliography: Mustawîl, Ta'rikh-gunda, facs. text, Leiden-London 1910, 547-57; 700; Zafar-nâma, i, 305, 436, 470-8, 394, 205, 411; ii, 345, 375: anonymous history of Mirzâ Iskandar, grandson of Timûr (utilised by Howorîn); Khân Ahmad Shâhî, Dîshân-dîrî; Zafar-nâma, i, 385; 'Alam-dar-yi 'Abbasî, Tehran 1374, 320, 242, 470-70; Dîshân-nâmî; Mûndîdîm-bashî, ii, 598-600; d'Osslon, Histoire des Mongoles, iii, 550-64; iv, 121; Hammar, Gesch. der Ilhâne, i, 161-3; Howorîn, History of the Mongols, iii, 134, 364, 735 (V. Minorsky). LURISTAN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the south-west of Persia, in the Mongol period the term "Great Lur" and "Little Lur" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lur tribes. Since the (7) Safawid period, the lands of the Great Lur have been distinguished by the names of Kôh-Gûlî and Bahgîyârd. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Mamâsân confederation occupied the old Shâhînât (p.e.) and thus created a third Lur territory between Kôh-Gûlî and Shîrâz. It is however only since the 12th century that Lur-i Kûh has been known by that name (for greater precision it was called Luristân-i Fayûl). In the 19th century, Luristan was divided into two parts: i. Pîsh-Kûh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i.e. east of Kâbor-Kûh) and ii. Pusht-i Kûh (country beyond the mountains), i.e. west of Kâbor-kûh. At the present day, the term Luristan usually means Pîsh-kûh, while Pusht-i kûh means the Fayûl country. The Mamâsân territory and the Kôh-Gûlî form part of the province of Fârs. The capital of the Mamâsân is at Fâhlîyân. Kôh-Gûlî (Kôh-Dîlâyâ, Kôh-Gûlî stretches from Bâgî (west of Fâhlîyân) to Bihbân; this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kôh-Gûlî. To the south, the Kôh-Gûlî tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kôh-Gûlî and the frontier between its tribes and the Bahgîyârd are not yet well-known. The chief rivers of Kôh-Gûlî are the Ab-i Shûrân which is formed by the junction of the Khûrâbîd and the Zohra, and in the lower course runs via Zayûdân and Hindîyân, and the Abî Kûrûstân or Djarâbî, one branch of which later runs into the Kûrûn (p.e.) and the other towards Davor. On Kûh-Gûlî, see the valuable Fârs-nâmâ-yi Nârîsîn of Hasan Fârûqî (p.e. in Suppl.), the itineraries of Stoerqueler, Hausknecht (Routen im Orient, Map iv), Wells and Herzfeld, and the general account in Bode, i, 251-89; ii, 347-98; Ritter, Erdkunde, ix, 152-44, in now very much out of date. The Bahgîyârd lands stretch from Çahar-Majâlî (west of Isfâhân) to Shûhât, to the south, the Bahgîyârd march with the Kôh-Gûlî, and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristân (Şhûtrûn-kûh, etc.). They are found at Farây- dan, Burûrûd, Dialâpagh, and in the cantons around Buruqird (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muhammad Tâh Khân.)
ancient history. The lands now occupied by
the province of Kirmanshah.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karaghan (Rawlinson: Kahaghan) which is formed by
two sources, the northern arm with its tributaries
drains the beautiful plains of Hūr-rūd, Ashgarh and
Khāvā. The southern arm, separated from the
northern one by the Yāftā-kūh range, takes the name of
the town of Khurramabad (q.v.) near which it pos-
ses. After the confluence of the two arms, the Khash-
gan, running south-westwards, receives on the left
bank the combined waters of the Kawgan and Tuyan,
which flow from Koh-i Haftād Pabī (south of
Khurranābād) and the northern slopes of the Kūh-
Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the
mountains which follow the right bank of the Ab-i
Diz, which separate from the valley of the Karkhā.
On the right bank the Kashgān receives the
Mādiyān-rūd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgān,
the Khādī receives on its left bank several tributaries
of less importance still little known (Robār, etc.). Below Kashgān and also on the left bank, the
Khashgān receives the Šal, Layūm (Lehum) and
Ab-i Zāl. This last river with its tributaries, Anšar,
etc., rises in the southern slopes of the Kūh-i Gird.
The topography of the right bank of the Ab-i Diz is
not well-known. The sources of the Balad-rūd and its
right-bank tributary the Kīr-ab lie a considerable
distance to the north. The Balad-rūd flows into the
Ab-i Diz between Dīzōl and Susa. The Kīr-ab receives on its right bank the waters of the Kūh-i-
Diz which come down from the high valley of Munga-
rra, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of
tactical post and separate the basin of the Balad-rūd
from that of the Ab-i Zāl. The Saiphery-i Lur
plain, formerly well-irrigated, lies north of Dīzūl and south of Kīr-ab ("pitch-water"), whose naphtha
spring has been known since ancient times. It was
probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks
(Ritter, i, 202).

The interior of Luristan presents a series of moun-
tain ranges, which stretch north-westwards to south-
eastwards, the direction usual in Persia, and rise one
behind the other between the plain of Susiana and the
northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the
Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period
before the arrival of Iranians in them. This region,
being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was
mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa, where
there have been found traces of occupation going
back to the third millennium B.C., lies just at the
entrance to the mountains of the Little Lur. The
purer traces of the local culture and of this alone are
found more to the south-east. Just as the Atabegs of
the Great Lur had for their capital [Kargān (q.v.) or
Mālaman; probably early times, the lords of this
district, the kings of Alapat and other successive
rulers had their relations with the rulers of Susa, had
control at least of the Kārūn valley. The site of
Mālāmān (cf. de Bode, Layard, Jequier in de Morgan,
Délégation en Perse, 1924, ii, 133-143, and Häussig,
Das Zagos und seine Völker, Leipzig 1903, 49-50),
with its purely indigenous [Elamite, non-Semitic]
scriptions and bas-reliefs, is an important point.
The discovery by E. Herzfeld ([Reiseberichte, in ZDMG
123, 3-31) ofFlatir-Šīrāz in the Kūh-i Rūmān
region (cf. Layard, Sawyer) is valuable as indicating
the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gīlān lying between Susiana and Persia may correspond to the
still-unknown region of Anshān (Aznar), out of
which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On
the survival of this name near Shūqart, cf. Grundr. der
iran. Phil., ii, 418 (according to Rawlinson: Assān).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two districts of Susa, Kermān, the mounds of Salm, the
and Iraq) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer).
According to Sawyer, the higher Elāghī-Lurlands are
"singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

Mention should be made of the great importance
of Luristan, from at least the later fourth millennium
B.C., as a centre for metal-working, with an industry
distinguished from other local ones by its greatly-
varied and richly decorated range of bronze
ware, made by the cire-perdue process. This bronzework
has some sub-human decoration, but is especially
notable for animal motifs. This zoomorhophic deco-
ration probably stemmed originally from Elam, which
much influenced Luristan till the destruction of
Elamite political power by Nebuchadnezzar I (ca.
1124-1103 B.C.) of Babylon, after Babylonian
influence is visible in Lurisitan art. The bronze
industry continued until the 7th century B.C., in
association with equally fine ironwork; see P. R. S.
Moorey, Prehistoric copper and bronze metallurgy in
Western Iran (with special reference to Luristan), in

The western part of Luristan in the strict sense of
the word is known as Masābāghān and Fūšht-i Kūh.
No monuments of very great antiquity have yet
been discovered in Fūšht-kūh except the caves
(Median?) of Sa-darān between Mānjarra and
Khurramābād, see Čirčok, 129. The early inhabitants
of Luristan were the Kakhui = Kassanian, who
imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and
1670 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kassanian for
the right of passage by the Babylon-Sebastsāne route.
These highlanders were temporarily subdued by
Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Eu-
menes, traversed the heart of the Kossaian country,
according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-lang-
Rakīn pass-Khurramābād (Ritter, Erdkunde, x, 335).
The Kassalian (who should perhaps be distinguis-
hed from the Kūrūn = Osqūs = Uwadā = Kūlā) spoke a language different from that of their
neighbours to the north, and it was already distinguish-
borrowed from Indo-European, cf. E. Meyer, Geset,
der Altenwesen, ii, Berlin 1913, § 455; Häussig, Das
Zagos, 24, and Autrun in Les langues du monde,
Paris 1925, 283. (The name Kakhui has perhaps
survived in that of the river Kashgān.)

It is also probable that northern Luristan was
more or less dependent on the land of Ellīf, often
north of Dizful (now in present-day Iran) and forsakes through uninhabited country. The site of which should be sought in the plain of Sdb£-yi-§abr£-yi.

There may be noted the following: the town of al-Lur, 2 stages from al-Diz to al-Lur; the town of L$htar, now near §nliljab from al-Lur to al-Diz, two stages, from there to Susa—al-Lur. Al-MukaddasI, 418, also makes one farsakhs. The complications of distance by al-Muljaddasl, 401, who gives the following i, 353.

I<$fa|£hrl, 196, reckon* from al-Lur to Shapur-Kh 7th century.

I<$fa|£hrl, 196, reckon* from al-Lur to Shapur-Kh 7th century.

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary, although they describe the routes between Khuzistan and Persia (cf. Schwarz). Among the inhabited places in modern Luristan, where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads only export the products of their cattle rearing. But the fortunes of the part of Luristan lying along the northern rim of the Ahwaz plain have been transformed by the development of the oilfields of Lali, Masjiddi-Sulayman, Naft Safid and Haft Kel from the time of William Knox D'Arcy's oil discoveries at Masjid-i Suleyman in 1895 (Mann, Die Mundarten der Lurstdmnu, 157), and was destroyed by the Pahlavi of Pu*ti-iKoh in 1906 and the subsequent development of these oilfields by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (see Cambridge history of Iran, i, 258 ff.). Also, Luristan is now crossed by the Trans-Persian Railway, and by the end of 1929 the southern section from Bandar Shapur to Andamak had been completed, that one through Luristan being completed in the 1930s. Luristan has thus continued to play a significant role, as it did in ancient times, as a region crossed by routes connecting the main urban centres of western Persia.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text and to the articles BAKHTIVAND, IBRAHlI, KIUHRA, KIYRHAMABAD, KURDS and SOUTHERN, see Stuclauer, Fifteen months' pilgrimage through Khuzistan, London 1851 (cf. Bode, i, 325); Aucher Eloy, Relations de Voyages, Paris 1855, 270-85, 310-31; H. Rawlinson, Notes on a March from Zobah, in JGRS, ix (1893); Ritter, Erdkunde, Berlin 1860, ix, 445-490; 310-312; 470-471 (principally from Rawlinson); A. H. Layard, Ancient cities among the Bakhliati Mountains, in JGRS (1842), 102-9; Bode, The country of Mamas- tin and Kuhgilu, in JGRS, xiii (1843), 75-83; idem, From Behbahan to Shushah, in 1864, 86-107; idem, Travels in Luristan and Arabistan, London 1843; Layard, A description of the province of Khuzistan.

**Lûrka**

Lûrka, a town of Eastern Spain lying between Granada and Murcia and having a population at present of 38,600. It is the ancient town of Elam and in the Bible is described as the city of the Levante, the place where the river Guadalentin. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia, and reverted to Christian rule in 1266. Its fitjâw was one of the chief places of the Murcian kingdom. Its territory included the fortress of Burudjîrîd, which was a powerful city, which is not identified by name, simply described as *al-mawtafik,* (pl. *al-mawtaflût,* a transitive of the Biblical word *maflaipa* ("overturning"), used in the Bible in reference to the
Indian Muslim, A mystical interpretation of Prophetic tales by an rumus al-anbiyā*.


The "traditions" passed on by Kurān’s commentators, historians and compilers of cautionary tales, rely for the most part on Biblical details which are not found in the Revealed Book, on elements borrowed from the Jewish and Zend traditions, on pictures and sins imputed by the inquisitive judgments of the people of Uthmān (Sodom), on the theme of the bed of Procrustes, on emphasis on the wickedness of Lūt’s wife, names attributed to anonymous characters in the Scriptural account; for details, see the article by B. Heller in EJ1; summary of Jewish legends, with sources, in Ginzbarg’s The legends of the Jews, Philadelphia 1909-36 (and re-impression) i, 245-7, v. 241, n. 175, not forgetting M. Grunbaum, Philadelphia’s summary of Jewish legends, with sources, in his ‘Ahsāṣ al-din, tr. K. Jahn, Ya’kubl) follows the Biblical text quite closely, by contrast to S. Nadjaf 1384/1964, 347, and by J. Horovitz, Die Kur′anicke U nUrtuchungm, Berlin 1926, 21, 26, 49 ff., 54, 136.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the main article, see J. Horovitz, l-ahdāb al-ahbāb, Berlin 1926, 21, 26, 49 ff., 54, 136.

LUT B. YAHYA [see and MINHĀJ].

LUTE [see al-LEJT].

LUTF ([A]), the opposite of abbihādī ([a.]), derivatives of the root l-t-f are used in the Kur′ān in two senses, as ([a.]) kind (e.g., XXII, 18) and ([b.]) subtle (XXIII, 15; VI, 103; XXXIII, 14; LXXVII, 14; XXII, 62). Sense ([a.]) and ([b.]) are linked by the idea of God organising matters in such a way as to bring about a beneficial state of affairs. It is this religious notion which is applied in the Arabic translation of Alexander of Aphrodisius’ Fi madāḥī al-abībī to refer to ideologically directed in nature (295), and by Mūsā b. Maymūn to refer to God’s stratagem in the hardships which he obliges his creatures to endure (iii. 32, 328).

The term is applied theologically to the notion of divine grace, favour or help, being developed by the Mu’tazila to deal with an aspect of human freedom and its relation to divine omnipotence. Divine favour makes it possible for man to act well and avoid evil (‘Abd al-Diabbar, Sharh, 215). It is not granted to the sinner, whom God neither prevents from acting well nor directs to commit evil. ‘Abd al-Diabbar, who provides the most systematic treatment of lutf in the volume of his encyclopaedia of that name (Mugānī, XII), says that for the Mu’tazila, divine grace is all that is capable of helping the agent carry out the duties set for him without interfering with his freedom. If a person believes only because he has received a lutf, he is not as deserving as if he did not require it. A person who will do the right thing does not require a lutf, which is then not necessary. It cannot be true that God necessarily helps all men, otherwise it would not be possible to sin (Sharb, 500) and there would be no free will. But if man acts well, he is rewarded and helped by God as a consequence; if he sins, he is deprived of God’s help (Sharb, 520).

Taken more broadly, the description lutf may be applied to many aspects of human well-being, e.g., health (Mugānī, XIII, 22), wisdom, the use of reason, the development of prophecy and the provision of holy books (Nihāya, 418). These all help to direct man in the right direction without compelling him (Mugānī, ii. 744).

Hence a rational is provided also for punishment, God could turn unbelievers into believers, but His favours do not interfere with voluntary belief and so God does not grant favours which directly convert unbelievers into believers (Mugānī, 447, 575). A list of alief is provided in Shahrastānī, 53.

Another sense in which lutf is obligatory (wadābī) is that where God is “obliged” to provide as much lutf as possible to whomever is responsible for his actions. This doctrine was of course strenuously opposed by the Aḥṣāṣīya, who apply the term lutf to all God’s acts, bad as well as good (Irshād, 173-4, 265). But for the Mu’tazila, God is morally obliged to send to earth prophets and to arrange for the laws which man ought to follow to be communicated to them. Similarly for the Shafi’-al-Hill, the institution of the imām, like prophecy, is a “necessary grace” which is imposed on God. Since God has created the world only in the interests of man, he is obliged by a lutf to guide his creatures by sending them on occasion mediators to make plain His will. The Mu’tazila thought that man would be capable of social existence without the gift of a prophet or imām—nevertheless, they hold that God is obliged to

Encyclopedia of Islam, V
organise the world well, hence due to a luff width, has to provide mankind with guidance.


LUTF ALL BEG B. ṬĀHĪ ḤĀN, Persian antiquarian and poet, who is also known by his pen-name ʿAḡār which he adopted after having used the names Wālī and Ṣafāhī previously. He was descended from a prominent Turcoman family belonging to the Begdzī tribe of Syria (Begdzī ʿṢamīla) which had joined the Kūhīlāwī movement [297] in the 9th/10th century. Afterwards, the family settled down in Ṣafāhī, Many of his relatives served the Naṣīr Shāh as administrators and diplomats. Lutf All Beg was born on Saturday ʿṢaḥīl 1134/February 1722 (the date mentioned in the two Bombay lithographs of the Alṭahkāda is erroneous). The invasion of the Afghāns occurring in the same year forced his parents to flee to Kūm, where they lived till his father was appointed to the post of governor of Lūr and the coast of Fārs in the year 1148/1735-6, and they moved on to ʿṢafāhī. When his father died at Bandar ʿAbbās two years later, Lutf All Beg undertook the pilgrimage to the ʿIffājīs and to the holy shrines in Iran. During a subsequent journey to Maḥhadh he entered the service of Naṣīr Shāh, whom he accompanied on a campaign in northern Iran. He continued to work for Naṣīr's successors, but retired in the early years of the Zand period to a life of study and literary pursuits, succeeding on the revenue of a small estate near Kum and living at Iṣfahān, where peace had been restored to royal poets. Three further chapters (called *ahkhar* and subdivided into *ṣharās*) deal with the poets of Iran, Tūrān and Hindūstān according to the districts and towns of their provenance. An appendix on female poets (*furđēf*) has been added to it. The main source for this part of the Alṭahkāda was the Khūṣūṣ al-ʿāṣr wa-zubdat al-ʿaṣr of Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbbāsī. The second *mīyānā* divided, into two parts, contains the lives of contemporary poets, many of them personal friends of the author. It is preceded by a dedication to Karim Khan Zand and a sketch of the troubled history of Iran from the time of the Afghan invasion onwards. A short autobiography followed by a selection from ʿAḡār's own poetry concludes the work.

The Alṭahkāda was often copied in the early 17th-19th century. Lithographs appeared at Calcutta 1249/1833-4, and at Bombay 1277/1860-1. An annotated edition by Hasan Ṣādiq Naṭīṭ, of which three volumes were published at Tehran (1336/1957, 1339/1959, and 1340/1961), has remained unfinished. N. Bland edited the opening section, the *ṣhārs* on royal poets (London 1941), and gave an account of the entire work in *JRAI*, xiv (1843), 345-92. An abridged version, the Taḥkīra-yi Ṣabāhī, containing the poems only in the alphabetical order of the rhymes, was made by a brother of the author, Ṣabāhī Beg ʿUṭdhī (cf. A. ʿAbūl-ḥānī, *Ṭaḥkīra-ṭaḥkīra*, 1, 182 f.). The existence of a Turkish translation, mentioned by J. H. Kramers (*EL*, s. v. Lutf All Beg), has been questioned by Tashīn Yāzī. For a complete inventory of the manuscripts occurring in the Alṭahkāda, see E. Sachau—H. Eithe, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, cols. 262-93.

As a poet, Lutf All Beg was also held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Much of his early work was lost when the Bahg̤īyārī chief ʿAlī Mārdān sacked Ṣafāhī in 1164/1750. He became a pupil of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Shīrāzī (d. 1171/1757-8), who was one of the initiators of the "literary return" (mughrāż al-adā) to the stylistic standards of early Persian poetry which manifested itself among the poets of Ṣafāhī and Shīrāz during the Zand period (cf. M. T. Bāhūr, in *Arusnā*, xiii [1931-2], 71ff.). Apart from a *Dirāsā* (cf. Bāhūr, op. cit., Calcutta 1922, 213-22; Storey, l, 870; A. Mūznāwī, *Fīrist-i mākhkāhī yāḥyā-yi fārsī* ii, 1973-4), four vaḥīds are known: ʿYūsūf-ʿu Lāfīyāyī, fragments of which are contained in the Alṭahkāda (besides separate manuscripts, see Mūznāwī, iv, 3323); 2. a short poem, known as mābānī-i ʿAdhr, which he wrote in imitation of a mābānī entitled Alṭahkāda, or ʿṣār-u ʿudīs, by ʿAlī Mūḥammad Ṣādīk Tafrīshī, which seems to have inspired him also in the choice of a title for his anthology (cf. A. ʿAbūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*, 8, 1931-2, 3; *Abūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*, 8, 1931-2, 3; *Abūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*, 8, 1931-2, 3; *Abūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*). However, his activity as a critic and writer is certain to have been a great deal more important. This author also published other works: a prose-work, Ṣanājīn al-mābānī, composed in the manner of ʿAlī Shīrāzī in Ṣafāhī (mentioned in the *Taḥkīra y-i Ṣafāhī-i Kūrān*, 1329/1950*), and at Bombay 1302/1885*), and a ṣaḥīkh on contemporary poets entitled Dajjar-ī dāhīg kātān, which seems to have inspired him also in the choice of a title for his anthology (cf. A. ʿAbūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*, 8, 1931-2, 3; *Abūl-ḥānī maʿānī, in *Maḡjūla-ī dāhīgkāhā-ī adabīyātī*). As a poet, Lutf All Beg wrote some poems in Turkish as well (cf. M. F. Köprüli, *EL*, s. v. ʿasper, 1390).
Careful to cultivate the trust of the rural and urban classes in addition to that of his tribal army, whereas his successors, including Lutf 'Ali, were too intent on feeding among themselves and funding off the Kadjar to promote or even protect the benefits which the bureaucracy, merchants, artisans and peasantry had obtained from Karim Khan. Having lost the support of the towns, Lutf 'Ali's nomadic force disintegrated in the face of a Kadjar army which was, if not militarily, certainly politically and logistically stronger.


LUTF 'ALI BEG — LUTFI

Lutfi, 19th and 20th century poet in Cezhatai Turkish, and the greatest master of the ghazal before All 'Abd al-Husayn Nawa'i (845-906/1441-1501). The little that is known about his life comes mainly from 15th and 16th century works, especially those of Nawa'i. Lutfi was born in Hamid, and died and was buried at his home in the nearby suburb of Dih-i Kanar at the age of 99 (Muslim) years. Modern scholarly conjecture suggests ca. 768-867/1367-1463 (J. Eichmann); or d. 870/1465-6 or even later (H. F. Holman). He lived quietly, but some contact with the Timurid court is indicated by his dedications of a few poems to princes from Shihab al-Din Khaylabi, who knew him personally, reports that after studying the secular sciences, Lutfi was initiated into Sufi mysticism by Shihab al-Din Khaylabi, that the poet was a saintly person and was a close friend of Djamet, the great Persian poet and mystic of Harat.

Lutfi's poetry has been highly esteemed since his own lifetime. There has been general agreement with the judgement of Nawa'i who said he was "the Master and King of Speech of his people" (Hafiz-i Pahlavani, "the King of Speech of his time"), peerless in Persian and Turkish, but better known for his Turkish poetry (Ma'dali al-nafali), and the single Turkish poet comparable to the greatest Persian poets (Muhammad al-lughahyan). Nawa'i even incorporated five complete ghazals of Lutfi into his own poems (mashahhamus and mawsaddas).

While Lutfi wrote some kashidas and two major meghzes, his poetic gifts and originality were best displayed in the ghazal and bayagh. In combining the classical Persian lyric tradition with elements of Turkish popular poetry, he produced ghazals of graceful simplicity which concealed a subtle sophistication, while yet retaining some flavour of Turkish folksong. This results in part from his preferences for those 'arad metres which corresponded approximately with Turkish syllabic metres, but also from his use of specifically Turkish features, such as proven proverbs and folk sayings reflecting ancient Turkish customs and beliefs, and of imagery which was more realistic than that of classical Persian poetry. His verse seems to contain proportionately more words of Turkish origin and less Arabic and Persian loan words than any of his contemporaries or successors in classical Cezhatai. The musicality he achieved is due not only to his exquisite word choice...
and sequence, but also to his technical skill in developing such features as the extended ḍafīf [q.v.]. The wit and humour displayed in new uses of old images, the enjoyable puns and wordplays in both ghaseṣ and ṭuvğā, were also not negligible factors in ensuring his continuous popularity for five centuries. His influence is visible in the works of such contemporaries as Sukhāna, Yahyā, Godū, and of later poets, directly and, even more, indirectly, by way of his influence on Nāwī's poetry, which was universally admired. Echoes of Lūṭī are heard even in poets from other linguistic areas, such as the Azeri and Ottoman ones, particularly Fudūl (d. 1556) and the Turkmen ones, especially Makhduṁ-Kull (18th century). Verses by Lūṭī are frequently cited in Caghatay-Turkish, except no. 4 (18th century). Verses by Lūṭī are frequently cited in Caghatay-Ottoman and Caghatay-Persian dictionaries from the 18th century onwards, and are plentiful in anthologies of the same period.

Literary Works. All Lūṭī's known works are in Caghatay Turkish, except no. (1) Divān. At least 20 ms. are extant, belonging to five major recensions, but each group contains some material lacking in the others. The total number of poems is not less than 548, of which 378 are ghaseṣ and 122 are ṭuvğā. (Further research may yield more poems.) Of the recensions, the most reliable is group (a), consisting of a single ms.; ms. Bimbaum (Toronto) TČr iii (late 15th-early 16th century) and British Library, Add. 7924 vi (Harç 694/1590). The former contains 362 poems (1 mudīrī, 1 ważīf, 257 ghaseṣ, 62 ṭuvğā) and is the longest Divān of all Lūṭī ms. The latter lacks the last 107 ghaseṣ. The other groups are (b) Paris, Suppl. Turc 981 and (c) Gotha mss. The latter lacks the last 107 ghaseṣ. Group (d) comprises all other known ms. (e) all the ms. in the USSR: Tashkent, Uzbek Academy of Sciences (6 ms.), Navoi Museum (1 ms.), Dushanbe, Tajik Academy of Sciences (4 ms.), Leningrad (2 ms., nos. Atop, C1922—the one numbered Eriṣī is an Ottoman poet Lūṭī); (ii) Istanbul, University Library, Ts452; (iii) Tehran, Sipahsalar 171. Group (e) ms. (which may be further subdivided) were all copied in the 15th-16th centuries and show many Uzbeck and other local influences. The state of their text is markedly varied. Various editor-collators attributed to Lūṭī appear in ms. anthologies in major libraries, especially in the Uzbeck and Tajik academies. Most are quotations from ghaseṣ known from his Divān. Uyghur script copies of 13 ghaseṣ are found in 3 ms. from the 9th/10th century. A number of verses from Lūṭī's Divān appear with minor differences in Sakākī's Divān: (2) Gūl u Nawīrī. An allégorical romantic epic in 2,400 madhwar verses. Composed in 814/1408, it is a free version in simple Caghatay, based on the Persian work of this name by DjallĪ Taṣbih (composed 734/1334). Seven ms. extant (see Hofman, TL). (3) Zafar-nāma (not extant). Described by Nawātī as being a madhwar “translation” of more than 10,000 verses, which never got beyond the draft stage. It was presumably about the exploits of Timūr, whose son Shāh Ṣoḥāl commissioned its writing; it was probably based on Sharaf al-Dīn 'All Yūstī's Persian Zafar-nāma. (4) Divān in Persian, including barāzdis and 472 madhwar and 27 ṭuvğā; poems attributed to Lūṭī appear in ms. anthologies in major libraries, especially in the Uzbeck and Tajik academies. Most are quotations from ghaseṣ known from his Divān. Uyghur script copies of 13 ghaseṣ are found in 3 ms. from the 9th/10th century. A number of verses from Lūṭī's Divān appear with minor differences in Sakākī's Divān.

Editions. (1) Facsimile edition of Bursa ms., Lūṭī Divān [with intro. by] Ismail H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1950 (incomplete, unbound); (2) the Divān of Lūṭī, including facsimile of Bimbaum ms. TČr iii, ed. E. Birnbaum (in preparation); (3) Lūṭīf, Devam; Gud va Naura (selections, in Cyrillic script, by S. Erdöcs), Tashkent 1965.


LUTFI EFENDI, AHMAD, Ottoman court historiographer (bokh-ı müthārī, r. Life. He was born the son of Mehmed Aga, a master sandal-maker, in 1233/1816-17 in the Alagja Hamam quarter of Istanbul. He attended the local Kur'an school and became a hūfī, and also practised music regularly at the house of Zayn al-'Abīdīn Efendi, Sultan Mahmūd II's chief imām. In 1244/1828-9 he was enrolled in the Mathematical College (Hendesiye-khāne-ye bāri), but left it after a year for the madrasa of Amadija-i-

-sided Hüseyin Paşa, where he studied Arabic, Persian, taṣbih, kāfīzdāf and tīfāf. In 1247/1832-3 he embarked on a scholarly career, and in 1252/1836-7 he became head of the body of religious teachers or mīridārīn in Istanbul. The following year, he was charged with collating documents for the official records office (Takvim-i Kāned), and with lecturing before the sultan on selected days in Ramaḍān. He translated al-Ghazālī's Tuḥf al-muṣallāmīn into Turkish, with some additions of his own, as the Tuḥf al-muṣallāmīn ve muraqqa'et al-muṣallāmīn, and presented it to the sultan, Sultan 'Abd al-Mejnad. He then took up a job in the secretarial office of the Grand Vizier (1258/1842), where he worked as a Persian translator, until Rabī' I 1266/February 1850, when he was appointed to the itinerant clerkship of the Buildings Council (Sıvurdur amir) in the districts of Vīdīn and Nīzh in Rumelia. He returned to Istanbul after a
year and was appointed first to the head clerks of the Police Council (Tahkima-ye meqdlis) and then to the Tahkima-ye meqdlis once more, and was charged with the regular and weekly preparation and publication of the official gazette, the Tahkim-e vaqfsh.

In 1281/1864-5 he was sent temporarily to Philopolis (Filibe) in Bulgaria for a period of nine months, in order to collect arrears (bakhsh) of taxation. Meanwhile, he also held the clerkship of the Investigation Committee (Teffiz hay'at) of Anatolia for two years. When this latter post was abolished, he again returned to the Tahkima-ye meqdlis (1282/1865-2). Eventually, in 1278/1861-2, he became a member of the Medical Council (Tibbiyya meqdlis) and taught (Tibbiyya sana'at [Tibbiyya] sana'at) at the Medical School. Soon afterwards, in addition to becoming a member of the Education Council (Mas'irri meqdlis) and continuing to edit the Tahkim-e vaqfsh, he was entrusted with the supervision of government printing. At the end of 1281, beginning of 1285 it became Wali-e-watani and remained in this job, in which he achieved fame, for many years. However, in 1293/1876 he again returned to the scholarly field, and his midwifery rank was changed to the status of the kudiya of Istanbul. The following year he was appointed a member of the Council of State (Nhur-e-yi devlet) in Muharram 1292/December 1879-January 1880. He was promoted to the kudiya-vakifia of Anatolia; and on 11 Muharram 1299/3 December 1882 to that of Rumelia. In 1300/1889, despite his occupying this latter post, one of the highest ranks in the learned institution, he returned to his previous post in the Council of State.

Lutfi Efendi died at his summer residence at Beyagly in western Anatolia on 3 Safar 1321/17 March 1900 and was buried in the Sokular Mosque cemetery in the vicinity of Akçaray. Highly literate in Arabic and Persian and skilled in poetry and composition, he had also been an adherent of the Mevlevi order. Highly literate in Arabic and Persian and skilled in poetry and composition, he had also been an adherent of the Mevlevi dervish order.

2. Works. His most famous work was the continuation of the history of Djedid Pasha [q.v.], known accordingly as the Lutfi Tahkima, written in a straightforward style, and utilizing information from the Tahkim-e vaqfsh [q.v.] and some official documents. It is in 15 volumes covering the events from the beginning of Muharram 1241/16 August 1825 to the middle of 1293/middle of 1876; the first seven volumes were published between 1293/1876 and 1306/1889 at the Government Press and the Mahmut Bey Press during his own lifetime, and volume eight was published posthumously in 1329/1911 in the Sahab Press by the court historiographer: 'Abd al-Rahman Sheref Efendi with some additions. The manuscripts of vols. 1-5, which were presented to the Sultan 'Abd al-Hasan II, were transferred from the Yildiz Library to the Türk Tahkima Arkeoloji Library, and then placed in the Türk Tahkima Kütüphane Library in Ankara; they remain unpublished. The original manuscripts of the first volume of the Tahkima, together with some other rough drafts of the author's, are in the former Imperial Museum (now Archaeological Museum) Library in Istanbul.

His book Davies-yi 'Abd al-'Alam Lutfi contains some of his poetry and some official documents in poetic form; it was printed at Istanbul in 1302/1884-5 and comprises 100 pages. The original manuscript of his Lughat-i hikma, a dictionary of 53,000 words, arranged by him alphabetically from a Turkish translation of the Arabic Al-Kamus al-milad made by the court historiographer 'Asim [see 'Asim, Ahmad, and 'Amin, 3, Turkish lexicography], is in the Archaeological Museum Library; only the first two parts of it, covering the letters alf and bi, have been published (1282/1865-6 and 1286/1869-70 respectively).

Bibliography: Lutfi, Tahkima, 1, 4-8, 19, 2-6, xv (= 1900, ma. no. Y 571), L. Oya; idem, Tahkima, 33, 40; L.M.K. Inal, Soygun ve 1271 tasviri, Istanbul 1969, 895-99; Djemal al-Din Efendi, Eqdam-i tahkima va miqatdarlikler, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 120-5; Bursa in Mehmed Tahir, 'Eqdam-i miqatlileri, Istanbul 1342/1924-34, iii, 136-7, ed. Ismail Ozan, Istanbul 1975, iii, 96; 1. A. Gökbel, Türk meqdlur lar i anikosepsi, 230; idem, Mehmed adilam, Istanbul 1933-5, iii, 976; Meşrutiyet, 1, 176 (1908).
the return of Khayr al-Din, Andrea Doria's attack on two galleys in the command of the hekim ad-din of Gallipoli (Gelibolu [g.a.,] and a second attack on a galley which Lutfi Pasha had sent with messages to Corfu (Kúrfuiz [g.a.]), furnished a pretext to attack this island. On 28 Rabi' al-Awwal 944/25 August 1536, Ottoman forces under Lutfi's command landed but failed to overtake the island, but were unable to take the fortress. On the command of the Sultan, and despite Lutfi and Khayr al-Din Pasha's objections, Ottoman troops began to withdraw on 2 Rabi' al-Awwal 944/7 September 1537. Lutfi Pasha returned to Istanbul with a section of the fleet (see Kâthib Celebi, Tiflisk al-kibur fi asfâr al-bifidr, Istanbul 1830/1831, 48-50).

On the death of Mustafah Pasha in 1 O Mathurra 944/8 May 1536, Lutfi Pasha replaced him as Second Vizier. In this capacity, he accompanied the army on the campaign to Moldavia (Kara Boghdan [see Nihat Külün]). The army left Istanbul on 1 Safar 945/6 July 1536, and crossed the River Prut on a bridge which Sînân had constructed on Lutfi Pasha's orders (SN, loc. cit.).

When Ayâs Pasha [g.e.] died on 2 Safar 945/6 July 1539, Lutfi Pasha succeeded to the Grand Vizierate. In this position he led the negotiations which ended the war with Venice. By the terms of the peace concluded on 20 Rajab 947/20 November 1540, Venice surrendered the island of Corfu, in addition to all places lost in the war, and paid an indemnity of 600,000 ducats (600,000 according to Lutfi Pasha, Tiflisk al-kibur al-Othmana, 384). Lutfi Pasha himself received a payment of 20,000 ducats from the Venetians (E. Charrière, Négociations de la France dans le Levant, 1, Paris 1848, 471). He also headed negotiations with the Habsburgs over Ferdinand's claim to territory in Hungary which Janos Zapolay had ruled as an Ottoman vassal. The issue eventually led to war, and Lutfi Pasha retired for the left for Hungary in Mathurra 948/May 1542. At this moment, however, the Sultan dismissed his Grand Vizier. Although Lutfi Pasha himself represents his removal from office as voluntary retirement to be "secure from the wiles of women!" (R. Tschudi, op. cit., Turkish text, 5), it appears to have followed a violent quarrel with his wife, Dewlet Shihâ Sultan, the Sultan's sister, whom he had married in 945/1539. According to All (Khânâ al-akbar, quoted by Féralpi, op. cit., 123), Dewlet Shihâ was the object of his 'grumpy punishment of a prostitute. After his dismissal, Lutfi Pasha retired to Edirne, where he died probably in 970/1563-4 in Dimetoka (All, Khânâ al-âkbar, quoted by M. Faud Köprülü, op. cit.).

In Edirne he endowed a fountain; in the village of Muslim near Edirne, he endowed a mosque and a muallim-e bane with 100,000 akçe and the income from twenty shops in Edirne (N. T. Gökbilgin, Edirne ve ikinci levent, Istanbul 1951, 506-7).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text, see J. H. Mordtmann's valuable review of R. Tschudi's edition of the Asfâr-eominated in EDMG, 101 (1911), 590-603. (C.H. Livian)

LUTFÎ AL-SAYYID, ABDU Sama, Egyptian scholar, statesman and writer, born in the village of Barjas, Dakahlîya Province, on 25 January 1872 and died in Cairo on 5 March 1963. His family were rural gentry (a'yin), and both his father, al-Sayyid Abû 'Ali, and his grandfather were 'arabs. He was educated in the traditional kuttab, the government school in al-Mansura, the Khedivial Secondary School in Cairo and the School of Law in the University of R. Tschudi's edition of the Asfâr-eominated in EDMG, 101 (1911), 590-603. (C.H. Livian)

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Having graduated in 1894, he entered the legal department of the government service, where he worked until 1905. In 1907, he became editor-in-chief of a new newspaper, al-Djarida, which voiced the views of a number of enlightened and liberal a'yin and the party which they founded later in 1907, the Hirb al-Umma ("National Party"). Lutfi's writings in these days comprised his most important and influential body of work. From 1915-18 he was director of the National
over appears to have been a late restriction of the
companyed by a monkey, bear or goat, which dances
lo Cairo 1924; al-
lations from Aristotle comprise: Ilm ol-akhlak ild
 Cairo 1946. His trans¬
following collections edited by IsmAMl Ma?har:
al-Djarida
Lutfl al-Sayyid: usiddh al-£iU, 1963; idem,
al-Sayyid tea 'l-shakhsiyya al-Misriyya,
Lutfl 1963; idem, The
terms, 1922-36,
LUZUM MÀ LÀ YALZAM, “observing rules
the Lulls—a social phenomenon
in dealing with rhythmic prose (sajj) [q.v.]. In later Arabic and Persian
literary theory the term covers not only the classical
husn, but also a variety of other devices which have
nothing to do with the end rhyme. Common syno¬
yms of husn are Nash and Hisam, and several
authors insist that one finds the terms tadbn, tashvd, and tasbî in the sense of
husn.
Scholars occupied with rhyme theory point out that
the term husn is associated with the independent
rhyme consonant is rare among the dominant synonyms which are:
and as such had to be in¬
variable in addition to these suffixes themselves (cf.
the explicit statement by the poet Kutâyîr quoted by Alqâfshâh, (Kutâyîr, 16-19)); it also meant that a line
ending in the demonstrative da'iba should prefer¬
earlier use to describe a jestet attached to a royal
or princely court. In other contexts, it is equiva-
In certain contexts, hîs also means “rascal, vagabond”,
lîsh-dàs or lîsh-khi “cheating”, particularly in financial matters, lîsh-dârs hâdin “improvidence, wastefulness”. On the other hand, lîsh-hari entails “generosity”.
Bibliography: Amîr Kull Amîl, Dâshâh-yi unûbî, Isfahân 1972, 303; idem, Farhang-i
tavvâm, Isfahân 1974, 690-1; All Abkar Dihhu-
dâ et ali, Lûyaght-nâmeh, vol. î, 334; A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, Menoucbebri, polite persan
du onzième siècle de notre ıre, Paris 1866, 309: W. M. Floor, The Lûsî—a social phenomenon in
Qûsîr Persia, in W. (1972), 210-21; idem, The
department of the Lûsî in medieval Iran, in Inter-
disciplinary Iran-Forschung, Wiesbaden 1979, 179-
85. (L. P. Elwell-Sutton)
LUWîA [see Lâwâta].
LUXOR [see LUWATA]
LUZÔM MÀ LÀ YALZAM, “observing rules
that are not prescribed”, term commonly used for the
adoption of a second, or even a third or fourth, invariable consonant preceding the rhyme
consonant (sajj) which, at least in classical poetry,
was often found in 4th/10th century verse (see Sâfîya, iv, 422a, middle). The term is also used in dealing with
rhythmic prose (sajj) [q.v.]. In later Arabic and Persian
literary theory the term covers not only the classical
husn, but also a variety of other devices which have
nothing to do with the end rhyme. Common syno¬
yms of husn are Nash and Hisam, and several
authors insist that one finds the terms tadbn, tashvd, and tasbî in the sense of
husn.
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the explicit statement by the poet Kutâyîr quoted by Alqâfshâh, (Kutâyîr, 16-19)); it also meant that a line
ending in the demonstrative da'iba should prefer¬
ably be followed by lines ending in *-laa, e.g., *anamesalika, and not, for instance, in *beka. They mention that adoption of a second invariable consonant was sometimes achieved by reduplication of the rhyme consonant, and that sometimes the second invariable consonant (for the reduplication) was maintained in part of the poem only. They do not offer an explanation for this last phenomenon and seem to be unaware of the fact that *-laa, *-am, and *-an (less often *-maa) appear at times to be interchangeable, e.g., *djamalikibari (Tarafa, Divan, ed. D. al-Khatib and L. al-Sakhral [Damascus 1395/1975], 86-8), *kalittlefiahann (Khuyyrra, Divan, ed. I. Abbas [Beirut 1391/1971], 95-6, and the lines on p. 207; see also A. Bloch, in *AO, xxi [1933], 290 and n. 21). Poems or fragments of poems ending on *-laa, *-maa, and *-nah are quoted with special frequency. The question of the origin of the figure thus appears complex. The literary theorists beginning with Ibn al-Mutafa (d. 296/890), Badawi, 74-5, who lists the *naa (laa) as one of the ornaments of style (mahalah, see Badawi and Ibn al-Mutafa and cf. Israel Oriental Studies, II [1972], 78-90), made no serious attempt to clarify the history of the figure or to explain what extent the *laa as practised by the poets of their own time was related to the technique of the ancient poets as recorded by the rhyme theorists. This seems to be obvious to Ibn al-Maah and Nasif ibn Musaid even though in the introduction to his Lusumiyati (a work intended to demonstrate the possibilities of the figure and a curious exposition of the author's views on religion and ethics, see al-Maah) he offers a thorough review of rhyme theory: Abu ibn *-laa seems to suggest that the *laa of later poets was largely independent of these earlier examples (37, 1. 3-5) and implicitly denies that the suffix *-am can be taken as *waal (31, 1. 2-7). Ibn *-laa (d. 654/1256), Tabhir, 319, goes so far as to claim that the *laa in the works of the ancients was unintentional.

At a later stage, the literary theorists discovered examples of *laa in the *Kur'aan, but these do not involve doubling of consonants or the repetition of suffixes, except in one case (7, 86, see Ibn Abi *-laa, Tabhir, 518; idem, Badawi *-laa *Kur'aan, 229) which is not valid, since it does not appear at the end of the verse and cannot be considered a rhyme. However, the examples from the *laa and the sayings of *Ali quoted by Yahya b. Hanza (Maktab, 1347/1925, 416-7) in a chapter on *laa and *-laa (badawi) may introduce, of this sort of the second energetic consonant *-al- which found its way into several handbooks (see, for instance, Ibn Abi *-laa, Tabhir, 166-7).

The *Khamish of Ibn *Djamil (d. 392/1389) has a chapter on the tajwanwi *bint laa *val at which stands apart from the treatment of the *laa in other grammatical and rhetorical studies: It offers a wide variety of examples, mostly from older poets and mostly in the *ra'da metre. Ibn *Djamil disregards (or does not recognise) some of the rules adopted by others. He accepts the *maa of the second energetic form of the verb as *waal (see al-Maah, iv, 473 third half; and ignores the tendency of ancient poets to consider the *haaf of *-al as part of the waal (ii, 49); he points to unique instances of the *laa in a poem by Abi b. Abraaj where all first rhemas but one end with the article and in a *ra'da poem by a certain *Huyayy b. *Hunayn the *-laa of his *Abdallah, which is not valid, since it does not appear at the end of the waal (31, 1. 2-7).

If one considers the *laa in two distinct contexts: in a stream of poetry (the term generally refers to early *Abbadis poets, but is also used specifically for 4th/10th century poets) a continuation of tendencies which existed in ancient poetry. It is perhaps the first to accept as a form of the *laa the use of diminutives in the rhyme. Ibn *Djamil's views may not have been widely known; his observations on Ibn al-Rumi and on the use of the diminutives are found in later authors, but are worded differently.

In several works inspired by al-K'awm (d. 739/ 1339) Taf'abb al-mish (see al-Kawm *Khamish [al- Magi]) and in didactic poems on the *baad (badawi) composed between the 8th/14th and 12th/ 18th centuries, the term is applied in a wider sense than before: one speaks of *laa even if only two lines of a poem show an additional invariable consonant (some of the examples quoted by earlier rhyme theorists are from poems that do not show the *laa throughout). The same is true, of course, of the *-al-a, where often there are no more than two rhyming clauses. There is also question of the *laa in internal rhyme, e.g., *waall *-laa *-laa *laa of *Abd al-Malik al-Bakillani (ed. G. van Vloten [Leiden 1935, iv. 410-10]) defines *laa as the poet's following self-imposed rules and does not offer any examples. The term seems to have been forgotten for some time, as appears from the unpublished Maxned al-bayin of *All b. Khlaaf (5th/11th century) (see AIOUN, xxviii [1972], 301 and note, and also I. Kratchkovsky in AIEO, xx [1963], 14, 109-9: The definition which *All b. Khlaaf offers is correct, but as a result of a graphic error *laa had by this time been substituted for *laa; this resulted later in the introduction of a new figure, *laa *-al- *mufadd which found its way into several handbooks (see, for instance, Ibn Abi *-laa, Tabhir, 166-7).

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invented the term *lujut* for such devices. The first example he mentions, however, is a device which involves the rhyme: The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *kā*, but the poet imposes himself to avoid using the *pronominal suffixes* of the third person singular (presumably even in cases where this would be permissible, see KAF. IV, 479a middle). Others do not seem to be aware of Suyuti's distinction and use *lujut* as a simple synonym of the other terms listed at the beginning of this article.

In Persian rhetoric and prosody, the terms *snāt* and *lujum* ma là yalzum are used, as in Arabic, for the adoption of a second invariable consonant in prose and in poetry, and the reduplication of the rhyme consonant. In addition, however, the two terms are used for the repetition of two or more words in each hemistich or line of poetry, and for the use of internal rhyme. Rūdūyān (middle of the 10th/11th century) denotes the latter use specifically as *lujum* (264-7). Some later poets however disregard without considering this convention as well as the feminine ending of Arabic words in their use of internal rhyme, as for instance *i'tīdāl al-karīna*.

For internal rhyme: The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *kā*, but the poet imposes upon himself to avoid using the pronominal suffixes of the material world.

The rhyme consonant may be, for instance, the *kā*, but the poet imposes upon himself to avoid using the pronominal suffixes of the material world. 

The two meanings are not mutually exclusive, but the first tends to put the accent on the role of experience and of knowledge of physical things in the search for metaphysical realities, whilst the second invites one to enter immediately into the domain of supersensible principles in order to deduce from them the nature and laws governing beings of the material world.

One should note at the outset the two synonyms of this expression which denote metaphysics in
Most noble primordial substances are those which are apprehensible experiences. This is al-Farabi's approach, who tries by this means to reduce the divergencies separating Plato and Aristotle. He accordingly remarks in his Kitab al-Dinam beyn ra'ayiy al-hakimayn (ed. A. Nader, Beirut 1968, 86) that for Plato, the most noble primordial substances are those which are near to the intellect and the soul, whilst for Aristotle, the most worthy substances of this name, by anteriority and by their value (bi 'l-faṣā'id wa 'l-ta'kūm) are the first substances, i.e. the individual substances (al-ghaḏahir al-wawal allati biya al-naghāḥā). But the difference arises from what Aristotle then says from the point of view of the logical and physical sciences, whilst Plato speaks from the point of view of metaphysics (al-falsafah) and theological doctrines (al-ḥikmāthiyyah). Consequently, one can set oneself within a certain science or within another, or start from one or start from another, as a matter of indifference, according to one's intention. In his Falsafat Aristifā'ilis (ed. Muḥsin Ṭabā, Beirut 1961), al-Fārābī sets forth the Stagirite's thought, following the progressive order of his enquiry as he sees it. After the questions of logic, and with the intention of discovering what makes for perfection in man, Aristotle studies the various questions which concern nature (fabiyya), the soul (nafs) and the intellect (fāliḥ), "He must also examine profoundly the substances of the heavenly bodies; are they nature, soul or intellect, or are they indeed some other, more perfect (akmal) thing; also, are these substances those which are outside physical speculation? The point is that physical speculation only includes what the categories include. Now it is clear that there are other beings outside the categories: the Intellect acting as Agent and the Thing (māya), which give to the heavenly bodies a perpetual circular movement. This being so, one has to make speculations about the beings which have a more universal (al-'ammi) field than those about physics" (ibid., 132). This is why Aristotle explains in the book called Ma ba'd al-'tabī'yyid that he is making speculations and conducting a deep enquiry into beings in a way which differs from physical speculation" (ibid., 132). One notes that al-Fārābī admits that one can begin by physics, which does not however prevent him from starting (in fact, wrongly) that Aristotle recognises the existence of a domain of the being which is external and superior to the categories which, according to him, only concern the physical domain. Elsewhere he speaks clearly (131) of a penetrating enquiry into the beings which are above the natural things in the hierarchy of being (fi 'l-maṣaṣṣidat allati faws al-fabiyyiyyin fi riha al-maṣaṣṣid). Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd take up the Aristotelian definition of metaphysics as being the science of the being as such (al-maṣaṣṣid bi-yihiw haqiqat al-maṣaṣṣid). But what is meant to be understood by this?

1. Ibn Sīnā's viewpoint. The basic principle is that "the object (maṣaṣṣid) of all science is something whose existence is admitted (or conceded: ami musaallam al-maṣaṣṣid) in that science" (Šīfiyya, al-Ḥikkiyya, Cairo 1960, 1, 35). It is drawn from the Posterior analyses of Aristotle (72 a 20): "If I say that a thing exists or does not exist, it is a hypothesis". Hence if one says that the object of metaphysics is God or the Prime cause (Maṣṣid al-ṭabī'ī), this is only an hypothesis which must be verified by means of another science. Now there is no other science, necessarily more particular than metaphysics, which is able to guarantee the existence of such-and-such an object. The maṣṣid of a science is the object concerning which this science conducts an enquiry (al-maṣṣid fi al-maṣṣid). But since God or the Prime cause are not data, they are on the contrary the goal of a metaphysical enquiry (maṣṣid), Ibn Sīnā concludes that the object of metaphysics is the being as such which is implied by every science, by every
question, by every thought and by every speech utterance (ibid., 30): it is the quid (ma'ad), the "that which" (al-ann) and the thing (al-hayl). It does not have to be vouched for, since it is the thing itself which vouches for everything, or it is by means of that one vouches for what one vouches for. This being as such can be divided, without one needing recourse to any categories, in several ways: these divisions of it are like intrinsic accidents (ka l-'umurid al-fisya), whilst divisions according to categories are like kinds (ka l-annin). It can thus be divided in one and in multiples (al-muhd- al-khatir), in force and in action (biowen-fu), in universal and particular (kautil- -silaf), in what is eternal and what arises from a temporal origin (raddim- umuddhil), in what is completed and what is incomplete (faww k-nadil), in cause and effect (wahsan- sali'al) and in possible and necessary (immunhi- waddhil).

This list has been made up from the metaphysics of the Shi'ite (1, 2) and from the Kitaab al-Nadq al-Tabi'i (ed. Sabir al-Karadhi, 1918, 199). The last pair of oppositions in this division will mark out the Avicennan ontology through the distinction of the Being necessary by itself (wahdh al-muhdi bii- khiim), which is to be identified with God, and the being possible by itself (munhit al-muhdd bii- khiim), necessary by something outside of itself, i.e. the being of the universe. Consequently, starting from this general ontological dichotomy, one has the origin of various beings, first of all the heavenly ones (intellences, spheres, souls of the spheres) by a process of emanation (fayd), as far as the Intellect acting as Agent, the intellect of the sphere of the moon; and then of the sublunary world, which is made out of material elements by a progression from minerals to man, thanks to the shapes received from the Intellect acting as Agent which is Wahd al-ussurer (Dator jumarih). Thanks to reason, man is capable of returning to God, to such a point that God is, as the Kur'an says (LVII, 3), the First and the Last. From the domain of metaphysics, one passes on to that of connection with the heavens, then with physics, by a descending movement; then, beginning with connection with minerals, one passes on to that with plants, and from animals to that with the soul, as far as the rational soul, by means of an upward movement which ends up by a mysticism of the mind (fayd). This conforms to the Imam's saying (al-hy 4, 4): "Each science has its one and its multiples, but it is necessary to have a single science of all the diverse beings, on condition that one understands the names themselves analogically. This is what has been called the analogy of proportionality; being in regard to substance is what being is in regard to substance is what being is in regard to quantity, etc. "Just as the things which are connected (fardrib) with the causative arts fall, on examinations, into one and the same science, i.e. medicine, likewise all the things which are connected with being are the object of speculation in a single science (ibid., 1, 303).

But metaphysics can also be justified by relying on the analogy of attribution, substance being the first analogue of being; "Thus the name of being (huwavya), a synonym of munawj fid, although it is used of different species of being, is only used for each of them through the fact of the connection with which it enjoys with the prime being (al-huwavya al- lahi) which is substance." To be first accordingly means here to be the first analogue. "The categories are connected with the substance, not in that they are considered to be their agentive cause any more than their ultimate one, but in the sense that they subsume the entirety of the object and that the substance is for them a subject (munawdil)" (ibid., 303). Now substance is a basic concept and in the measure that one accordingly brings together the study of being with the study of substance, "since it has been posited that for every unique concept there is a unique science ... there results necessarily that there is a unique science of being" (ibid., 306). Metaphysics, being the study of being as such (Ibn Rusdh), who prefers huwavya to munawj fid, often remarks that an object is metahya ala huwavya whereas it is metahya ala huwavya which are two defective entities (mudu'is). The aim of metaphysics is to examine "the real being which exists outside the soul" and it is "the substance which is the basic principle of this being." (al-fimahe kun ma'dda al-mardj ul-huwavya). This conforms to the importance which the substance assumes basically in metaphysical speculation (cf. ibid., III, 1492). Beginning by the study of substances which are analyzable, from the sense and are mobile and corruptible, and then of substances which have these same characteristics except that they are incorruptible (the heavens), Ibn Rusdh hopes to arrive, with Aristotle, at a substance which is not apprehendable by the senses, is incorruptible and is immobile, the Prime Mover, the cause of all the movements of the universe.

Ibn Rusdh thus carries beyond the apprehendable world an idea of substance which he has drawn from physics and which, according to him, is the basis of all existence, and that exists as substance an exact correspondence here below. Ibn Sinâ, on the contrary, thinks that substance, like all other categories, must receive the quality of existence in order to exist, and that it can only receive existence by acquiring quantity, quality and all the other categories, for a substance which had neither quantity, quality and so forth, would be nothing. So it cannot in itself be taken as the first analogue or the representative of being conceived as existence. For Ibn Sinâ, the Necessary being is not a substance since it exists by itself, the Kudtb of the Qur'ân...
on the contrary, although metaphysics studies of "making an enquiry into the first cause from which immobile Prime Mover, Ibn Sina's, corruptible or incorruptible, and finds it in the labo-

try, if there were not, our knowledge of things which studies the absolute being (al-lawahr al-awml) and that the scholar of divine sciences, it is given the demonstrable proof of its existence" (Tafsir, iii, 1405). Ibn Rushd then replies: "Yes, the specialist in the first philo-

sophy seeks for the principles of substance as substance and sets forth clearly that the separateness of

substances is the principle of the physical substance. But in making clear this search, he constantly calls for (yasuddina) what physics clearly sets forth, whether in regard to the substance which can be generated and is corruptible, in the first book of the Physics (189 b 30-191 b 34), where it is demonstrated that it is made up of matter and form, or whether in regard to the eternal substance, in Book viii (260 a 20 f.), where it is set forth that the driving force of that substance is stripped of all matter. Then he clearly lays down that the principles of the substance which are neither the Universal ideas (al-kaliliyd d) nor the Numbers (al-awml al-adumma) of its "limit", but He is exterior to it. On the other side, w. have seen that what is concomitant with being for Ibn Rushd is the division of being for Ibn Sina. It seems that this fundamental divergence holds good for all the other oppositions.

Ibn Sina's metaphysics is consequently open to a region beyond the world, the earth and the heavens; it makes a mystical system possible. For Ibn Rushd, on the contrary, although metaphysics studies the principles of beings which are objects of other sciences, it is not the foundation of those sciences, but their completion. He writes in his Tafsir, iii, 701, "Since ... each science only concerns itself with studying a certain being which is its special object, it must be put next to a science which studies the absolute being (al-lawahr al-awml). If there were not, our knowledge of things would not be completely exhaustive (lam tutasnef ma-

fr al-sanwiyah)" (Tafsir, iii, 701). Furthermore, whilst Ibn Rushd seeks for the first cause of the movements of substances apprehensible by the senses, corruptible or incorruptible, and finds it in the immobile Prime Mover, Ibn Sina sets himself the task of "making an enquiry into the first cause from which every being is brought about by causality (bulla mau-

gijd matih) as much as it has been the result of causality, and not simply in as much as it is a mobile being (mauqijd madatharrh) or a quantifiable being (mauqijd madathamman) (Yasuf, 1, 118; ibid., i, 14). But there is a problem there; it is not possible for metaphysics to speculate on causes in as much as they are causes simpleicter (al-askd bi-ma hta ya hsa asbd mutjalal), in the first place because this science treats of notions which do not raise the question of proofs equivalent to those causes as such, such as the notions of universal and particular, of act and capability, of possibility and necessity" (ibid., 7) and then because the science of causes taken simpleicter presupposes that the existence of substances has been established for the things which have a cause (bashit al-askd li l-tawm dhamit il-askd). Ibn Sina adopts here a very clear view of the problem of causality: it is not sufficient for the existence of a cause to be demonstrated in the eyes of the specialist. Ibn Rushd, on the other hand, he clearly lays down that the principles of the substance which are neither the Universal ideas (al-kaliliyd d) nor the Numbers (al-awml al-adumma) of its "limit", but He is exterior to it. On the other side, w. have seen that what is concomitant with being for Ibn Rushd is the division of being for Ibn Sina. It seems that this fundamental divergence holds good for all the other oppositions.

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He was born at Linhsia (formerly Huchow) in south-eastern Kansu, c.n. 1910 (there is a contradiction in the Biographical dictionary of Republican China, which holds that Ma was born in 1912, but that he became a junior officer in 1926 "at the age of seventeen, when he was in occupation of his own forces") in the province of Ma's immediate family, but it is clear that he shared the same paternal grandfather as the Kansu-Chinghai warlords Ma Pu-ch'ing (Matthews, nos. 4110, 5393, 1758) and Ma Pu-fang (Matthews, nos. 4110, 5393, 1815), and that he was thus a scion of the powerful Ma family of Peh-tsang, a small village some 30 km. west of Linhsia (Mei, op. cit. in Bibl., 665). Ma Chung-ying was also distantly related to the Kansu-Ningsia warlord Ma Linhsia, and to his nephew, who was in occupation of his own forces; "Little Commander" learned this lesson well; he withdrew to the Siniug area of Chinghai and began to build up his own forces.

His uncles, Ma Ku-chung (Boorman and Howard, nos. 1859, 2238, 586), and Ma Hung-mu (Matthews, nos. 4110, 2386, 586), the most powerful representatives of the Ma family of Han-chia-chi, a large village some 25 km. south-west of Linhsia. Together these five Hui warlords were to become famous—or infamous—as the "Wu Ma" Northwestern Muslim clique.

Ma Chung-ying first entered military service during 1924 when, at about the age of fourteen, he joined the local Muslim militia. One year later, in August 1925, troops of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang, invaded Kansu. The invading forces, under the command of Feng's subordinate Liu Yü-fen, formed a part of the Northwest Army, more commonly known as the First Kuominch'ın ("National People's Army"), a vast rabble which is estimated to have numbered in excess of 100,000 men during the late summer of 1925. Feng intended, through his subordinate Liu, to colonise large tracts of Kansu with Kuominch'ın soldiers; he also intended to finance his struggle against the Northeastern warlords. Liu Yü-fen, with taxes raised and opium cultivated in the Northwest. Not unnaturally, these aims found little favour with the people of Kansu, Ningsia and Chinghai; nor were the local warlords much inclined to support Feng Yü-hsiang.

In 1926, one year after the Kuominch'ın invasion of Kansu, Ma Chung-ying received his first commission as an officer in the forces commanded by one of his uncles, Ma Ku-chung (Boorman and Howard, op. cit. in Bibl., 485). During the same year, Liu Yü-fen, a lieutenant of the "Christian General" and a great-uncle of Ma Chung-ying, was killed in action. Upon Ma Ku-chung's death, a warlord under the command of Liu Yü-fen, who was in occupation of a town in Chinghai, was attacked by a combination of local warlords from eastern Kansu (Sheridan, op. cit. in Bibl., 195-6). Fighting was prolonged and severe, but the Muslim warlords of western Kansu seem to have remained aloof from the struggle, and Liu eventually succeeded in re-imposing Kuominch'ın rule on the province. During his conflict, Ma Chung-ying, still only sixteen or seventeen years of age, is said to have "laid siege to and captured Linhsia on his own initiative" (Boorman and Howard, ibid.). Liu Yü-fen ordered troops under the command of Ma Lin (a great-uncle of Ma Chung-ying) to recapture Linhsia, but the young soldier easily defeated them, winning for himself a reputation as a military genius. Not unnaturally, Ma Chung-ying's triumph was short-lived, however, for his uncle and commanding officer Ma Ku-chung had not ordered the occupation of Linhsia, and he dismissed his nephew for insubordination. The "Little Commander" learned this lesson well; he withdrew to the Siniug area of Chinghai and began to build up his own forces.

The "pacification" of Kansu left large areas of the province devastated, but failed to break the rebellious spirit of its people. In 1927 north-western Kansu was racked by a violent earthquake; this, combined with the increased use of good arable land for the cultivation of the opium poppy and arbitrary tax increases imposed by Liu Yü-fen, caused widespread famine. Early in the spring of 1928, the patience of the Northwestern Muslims ran out, and the standard of revolt was raised against the Kuominch'ın by the Muslim leader Ma T'ing-hsiang (Matthews, nos. 4110, 4540, 3706; see Sheridan, 250). Ma Chung-ying (who according to one source had fled to Sining, together with a group of his followers, because of an illicit affair with a young Muslim girl from a strictly orthodox family; see Ekvall, op. cit. in Bibl., 946) rapidly became involved in this revolt against the Kuominch'ın. The Chinese (i.e. the Kuominch'ın) were panic-stricken at the desperate courage of the Moslems, but eventually, by machine-gun fire and light artillery, proved superior (Evkall, 946-7). The Kuominch'ın was unable, however, to crush the Muslim revolt entirely; no sooner had the rebellion been suppressed in one area, than it broke out afresh in another. By September 1928 over 100,000 people had died (Sheridan, loc. cit.). Anti-Kuominch'ın feeling amongst the Muslims gradually gave way to excessive hostility against all the Chinese. On 14 February 1929, about 20,000 Muslims forced their way into Tangar, a city of some 5,000 families in western Kansu. An American eyewitness described the scene as follows: "[The Muslims] forced an entrance by ladder over the north wall. Immediately by they began to murder the Chinese in the most brutal way, cutting over the head with swords ... The Muslims were in the city only about two hours, but during that time the official figures show more than 2,000 killed, 700 wounded, and $ 2,000,000 damage" (Sheridan, op. cit.). The massacres against the Muslims were equally bloody. According to American diplomatic reports (see Sheridan, ibid.), the ravages of war and famine reduced people to cannibalism; between 1926 and 1929 as many as 2,000,000 people may have died. One casualty was Ma Chung-ying's father, who was executed on the orders of Liu Yü-fen in the winter of 1929 (Boorman and Howard, ibid.).

In 1929 Ma Chung-ying, his position strengthened by several victories over the forces of the Kuominch'ın, approached the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek with a request that his private army should be recognised as a Kuomintang frontier unit. At about this time, Feng Yu-hsiang declared himself independent of the National Government at Nanking; as a result of this, Ma Chung-ying's distant relative Ma Hung-k'uei, the strongest of the "Wu Ma" clique, declared in favour of the nationalist cause. Ma Chung-ying went to Nanking, where he enrolled briefly at the military academy. In 1930 he returned to Kansu where he was appointed garrison commander at Kanchow (Changyeh) in the far north-west, near the frontier of Sinkiang (I 28); from here he controlled a small fief, including the towns of Suchow and An-hsi, which "freed him from any financial
Ma was wounded during the autumn, and withdrew or "Ma House-
commonly called the
Suppl." When Cnin Shu-jen seized power in Sinkiang
lay the ancient oasis city of Komul (Komul fa.y. in
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Malisd Shah, the last autonomous Khinate in Central Asia. When Malisd died of old age in 1930, Cnin Shu-jen, who held the heraiprarent heritage in Urumchi, the provincial capital, announced the absolute rule of his forces throughout China. Chinese officials took over the administration of Komul, and Cnin began to settle Han Chinese refugees from his native Kansu to Sinkiang in the late 1920s, Cnin welcomed them with open arms. Less than 200 km from the northwestern frontier of Ma Chung-ying's fief in Kansu lay the ancient oasis city of Komul (Komul q.v. in Suppl.). When Cnin Shu-jen seized power in Sinkiang
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One of the leaders of the Komul revolt, a Uyghur called Yulbars Khan (q.v.) traveled to Suchow in northwestern Kansu where he met Ma Chung-ying (now officially Commander of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang, though Yulbars comments that there were so many Mns in this force that it was commonly called the Ma-chia-chin, or "Ma House-
hold Army"; see Yulbars, op. cit. in Bibl., 87-8). Ma agreed to enter the fray, ostensibly to help his Uyghur co-religionists and in 1932 he led his troops into Sinkiang in an open challenge to Chn Shu-jen. Ma was wounded during the autumn, and withdrew temporarily to Kansu to recuperate. In August 1932 Ma's troops again entered Sinkiang. Initially, they cooperated with the Uyghurs in their struggle against Chn Shu-jen. Ma's crack cavalry units, generally considered to have been amongst the best troops in China, fought their way to the outskirts of Urumchi before being repulsed by White Russian merceneray forces under command of Chn Shu-jen (see Wu, op. cit. in Bibl., 73-100); meanwhile, Uyghur forces under Yulbars Khan and Khöjrä Niyaaz Hâdîidî took control of the greater part of southern Sinkiang, and an "East Turkestan Republic" was proclaimed at Kâshghar (q.v.).

In April 1933 the incompetent Chn Shu-jen was ousted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, his Chief-of-Staff. The new regime, with the Hom rule, was promptly in the far Northeast, enjoyed the support of a group of some 3,000 battle-hardened Manchurian troops who had been driven into Siberia by the invading Japanese and repatriated to Sinkiang by the Soviet authorities. During the remider of 1933, Ma Chung-
ying's forces made two further attempts to take Urumchi, and despite judicious use of his White Russian and Manchurian troops, Sheng was forced to appeal to the Soviet Union for aid. In January 1934, Soviet military units entered Sinkiang and attacked Ma Chung-ying's cavalry with aeroplanes and, apparently, poison gas. The Muslim warlord was forced to fall back on Turfan, but instead of withdrawing to his old base in north-eastern Kansu he took the decision to try and hold southern Sinkiang.

This decision brought the Kansu Muslims into direct conflict with the Uyghur Muslims of Sinkiang, their erstwhile allies. There had been indications of such a split for some time; as soon as fighting on the northern front had become bogged down before Urumchi, units of Ma's forces had advanced into the Tarim Basin where his troops "ousted by Sheng Shih-ts'ai, his Chief-of-Staff. The retreating Ma Chung-ying fell back on Kâshghar, where he destroyed the nascent Islamic "East Turkestan Republic"; he then transferred command of his forces to his brother-in-law, Ma Hu-shan (Matthes, nos. 4310, 2163, 2162). It is not clear why Ma Chung-ying should have deliberately chosen to enter the Soviet Union when his military position was far from hopeless—after all, he had been driven back from Urumchi by Soviet forces. Ma's eventual fate is uncertain; an article published anonymously in the Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society during 1935 states that he "died on arrival at Moscow", however, it is more likely that he was held by Stalin as a weapon in reserve against Sheng Shih-ts'ai, the Soviet puppet in Sinkiang. Ma may have been executed by Stalin at Sheng's request when the latter visited Moscow in 1938; certainly, he was never seen again, though for many years stories of his imminent return circulated amongst both the Uyghurs of Sinkiang and the Hui of Kansu.

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chieng ya Han-chiang shih-pao ("Sinkiang and the Sinkiang disturbances"), in Shih-shih yiieh-pao (Nanking, 1/2 (Feb. 1934), 79-107; anon., The
Ma Hua-lung played an important part in this bastion he was able to exercise an influence on the Chinese umma far in excess of that wielded by Ma Ming-hsin during his prime, for during the three-quarters of a century following the death of the latter, the "New Teaching" had spread from the Kansu-Chinghai border area across much of China. Seemingly, Ma Hua-lung played an important part in this process of proselytisation, for in a memorandum addressed to the Imperial authorities at Peking requesting the prohibition of the "New Teaching", Tsu Tsung-tang, the Ch'ing commander who eventually crushed the 1862-78 Muslim rebellion in Northwest China, complained that Ma, who styled himself the Tsung-ta A-hung ("General Grand Multa", Matthews, nos. 4310, 2211, 4258), also known Ma chi'ao-ching (Matthews, nos. 4310, 225, 1271), a Chinese Muslim leader and exponent of the "New Teaching" who played an important part in the great mid-19th century Muslim risings against the Ch'ing dynasty.

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of the Muslims in that area. He had no illusions Ch'Ing officials still remained unconvinced of Ma's conquest of Ninghsia city by rebel forces in 1863, but some Muslim leaders could command followers from Heilungkiang to Sinkiang, and he was Ma Hua-lung" (Tso, Memorials, cited in Chu, 1935, 143).

The initial Northwestern Muslim challenge to the Ch'ing Empire came in Shensi, where between 1862 and 1864 Pai Yen-hu and other local Muslim leaders conducted a fast-moving cavalry campaign against the Manchu general To-lung-a. The Ch'ing forces scored some early successes in southern Shensi, but in 1864 To-lung-a was killed, and during the following months the Muslim revolt spread with great rapidity across the whole of Northwest China.

During the early years of the revolt, Ma Hua-lung, whose base at Chin-chi-p'u was situated well behind the main battle front in southern Shensi, succeeded in maintaining a precarious neutrality (at least in the eyes of some local Ch'ing officials, see Chu, 1955, 345), whilst simultaneously increasing the fortifications around Chin-chi-p'u and building up the armed forces at his command. It was widely rumoured that Ma Hua-lung was masterminding the capture of Ninghsia city by rebel forces in 1863, but some Ch'ing officials still remained unconvinced of Ma's complicity. Tso Tsung-t'ang, the military veteran who was appointed Governor-General of Shensi and Kansu in 1868, with specific orders to crush the Muslim revolt, had no such doubts. Tso "regarded the Chin-chi-p'u centre as one of first importance and determined to concentrate upon the reduction of the Muslims in that area. He had no illusions whatever about Ma Hua-lung, but was certain that he was the ring leader among all the Kansu Muslims, and he determined to proceed on that basis" (Chu, 1955, 346).

Tso estimated that he would require five years to reconquer Shensi and Kansu; he launched his attack in November 1868, aiming primarily to capture Chin-chi-p'u, with Hochow as a secondary target. It was a savage campaign, with little quarter given or asked. Tso played upon the traditional rivalries between adherents of the "Old" and "New" teachings by giving amnesty to followers of the "Old Teaching" who surrendered a policy which paid off, for in 1872 Ma Hua-lung was taken from the Oral recollections of a Muslim by Lo Cheng-chi, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Niea-p'u; published together with a biography of Tso written by Lo Cheng-chiu, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Niea-p'u; details of these works are to be found in Chu Wendjjang's 1966 study of the Muslim rebellion in Northwest China at p. 211. A collection of anecdotes taken from the oral recollections of a Muslim

Throughout 1869, Tso's armies advanced slowly across Shensi and into eastern Kansu, driving the highly-mobile Muslim cavalry of Shensi before them. In early 1870 the Imperial forces arrived before Chin-chi-p'u; the assault was to be long and hard, for "over the whole plain was a network of canals, all the villages were fortified, and the Moslems had erected numberless stockades covering every approach to Chin-chi-p'u" (Bales, 245; for details of the campaign, see 231-65). Tso's armies razed Moslem villages round Chin-chi-p'u, and set about reducing the Muslims through a combination of bombardment and starvation. Ma Hua-lung's position was made critical by his earlier decision to send a large force of his followers into Shensi in a bid to draw off Tso's armies from Chin-chi-p'u, an action which caused Bales, Tso's biographer, to comment, "Had Ma Hua-lung enjoyed a reasonable talent for generalship along with his many other endowments, he could have driven Tso Tsung-t'ang out of Kansu, perhaps from Shensi as well, and delivered an irreparable blow to the Imperial cause" (247).

By January 1871 the population of Chin-chi-p'u was starving; the defenders had been reduced to eating human flesh. On 6 January Ma Hua-lung left his stronghold behind the city walls and presented himself, accompanied by a single servant, at the headquarters of Liu Ch'ang-yang, the Imperial commander. Ma asked that all blame for the resistance at Chin-chi-p'u be laid on him, and that his followers should be spared. After prolonged interrogation by the victorious Ch'ing commandants, Ma was executed, together with twelve members of his immediate family, by the "slicing process"; some eighty of the lesser Muslim leaders were beheaded. Chin-chi-p'u was depopulated, and the surviving Muslims were sent, en masse, into exile or slavery. Tso Tsung-t'ang went on to reconquer western Kansu, and by 1878, ten years after the commencement of his offensive in Shensi, he succeeded in reconquering K'ashgar, the last Muslim town of Northwest China.

After his execution on 2 March 1871, Ma Hua-lung became a martyr for followers of the "New Teaching". The victorious Ch'ing forces made strenuous attempts to stamp out Ma's adherents (it has been estimated that between 1862 and 1876 the Muslim revolt and the Ch'ing reconquest resulted in over 10 million deaths; see Chu, 1956, p. viii), but to no avail. According to W. A. Saunders, a Christian missionary who was active in Kansu during the Republican period, Ma's body was buried at Cheu-chi-p'u, but his head was taken, presumably in secret, to Hsien-hua-kang, near Chang-chia-ch'uan in south-eastern Kansu. When Saunders visited Hsien-hua-kang in 1934 he found Ma's tomb to be "quite an imposing affair of carved brick with a kind of 'Li Pai Sz' (temple) as an entrance" (op. cit. in Bibl., 70). Saunders records that "worship" was made at the tomb every year on Ma Hua-lung's birthday, a practice strongly denounced by local Muslims belonging to the "Old Teaching". It is not known whether Ma's tomb at Hsien-hua-kang still exists.

Bibliography: The most important contemporaneous Chinese sources for the Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 are the complete works of Tso Tsung-t'ang, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Ch'Uan-chi, 1888-97, published together with a biography of Tso written by Lo Cheng-chiu, Tso Wen-hsiang-kung Niea-p'u; details of these works are to be found in Chu Wendjjang's 1966 study of the Muslim rebellion in Northwest China at p. 211. A collection of anecdotes taken from the oral recollections of a Muslim

(see Bales, 224, "Sketch map of main Muslim centres"). These were: (1) Ma Hua-lung's base at Chin-chi-p'u, the chief centre of the "New Teaching"; (2) Hochow and the surrounding area, a predominantly "Old Teaching" centre under the leadership of Ma Ch'ang (Matthews', nos. 4310, 125, 59); (3) Haining and the surrounding area, a region of mixed "Old" and "New Teaching" allegiances under the leadership of Ma Wei-yu (Matthews', nos. 4310, 7249, 4196). (Note, however, that elsewhere [257], Bales describes both the Haining and Suchow Muslims as being "mostly inclined to the New Sect"). In marked contrast to these Kansu and Chingsha Muslim leaders, Pai Yen-hu [?], the most important of the Shensi Muslim leaders, was a guerilla fighter with no permanent base. Of this plethora of Muslim leaders, however, it is interesting to note that in that Ma Hua-lung Tsung-t'ang "could command followers from Heilungkiang to Sinkiang, and he was Ma Hua-lung" (Tso, Memorials, cited in Chu, 1955, 143).
ma Hua-lung — ma huan

Ma Huan was born ca. 782/1380 in Kuo-chi, a district of Shao-hsing city, Chakiang Province. His home was about 24 miles south-east of Hang-chou, and a mere 7 miles from the southern shore of Hang-chou bay. One of the principal centres of navigation in 9th/10th century China (Mills, Ma Huaan [see Bibl.], 34), Ma Huan probably came from a poor background, though 'his derogatory description of himself as a 'mountain-woodcutter' need not be taken literally' (Mills, loc. cit.). Seemingly, Ma Huan did not belong to a Muslim family, but chose to adopt Islam when a young man—thus his surname 'Ma', so common amongst Chinese Muslims, must have been purely coincidental. He must have received a good education in Chinese classical literature, he wrote a book, and he was acquainted with the contents of Wang T'ao-yan's Tao-i chih-lüeh ('A synoptical account of the Islands and their Barbarians'), 751/1350, of certain Chinese classics, and of 'Buddhist books' (Mills). (On the other hand Duyvendak, in his Ma Huan re-examined, 9, describes Ying-yai shang-lan as being 'written in an almost colloquial style by an unlearned Mohammedan'.)

During his youth Ma Huan seems to have adopted Islam, and have assumed the tso (courtesy-name) of Tung-ho (Malihana, nos. 8696, 6376); possibly as a result of becoming a Muslim he began a study of Arabic and/or Persian, enabling him to become proficient as a translator and interpreter. As a result of the acquisition of these skills, he was appointed to the staff of the great Chinese Muslim admiral Cheng Ho in 819/1415. It is interesting to note that Ma Huan's appointment came one year before the first of Cheng Ho's voyages (818/1415), the first to sail beyond South Asia to the Persian Gulf.

Ma Huan was born 54 years after the birth of his patron, the great Chinese Muslim admiral Cheng Ho. He probably grew up during the height of Cheng Ho's expeditions, 818-831/1415-18, and 824/1421, and was present during the siege of Chin-chi-p'u. Shensi gentry who served with the imperial forces and were omitted from the published version, most of whose sources for this period.

experience and partially on hearsay, is indicative of the paucity of Muslim sources for this period.


Religion, vi/a (1976), 67-87; R. Israeli, in }


unpublished thesis); Mary C. Wright, The last

notably supplement IV, "Ma Hua-lung and the

Ma Huan did not accompany Cheng Ho on his fifth expedition of 820/1421-18; he does not explain why. In 824/1421, however, he once again voyaged with Cheng Ho on his sixth expedition, returning in 825/1422. In addition to returning to most of those countries visited during the fourth expedition, Cheng Ho's sixth expedition took Ma Huan to Çufar and Aden; a part of the great Chinese fleet (which comprised 41 ships and an unknown number of men) visited Mogadishu and Brava in Somalia, but Ma Huan does not seem to have accompanied

ma Huan's first voyage, 824/1421, was a "maritime expedition" in every sense of the word; the Chinese Muslim admiral had under his command a fleet of 63 ships bearing 28,580 men. The expedition visited various ports of the Malay Archipelago, Sri Lanka, Bengal, South India, the Maldives Islands and Hormuz in Persia. The young Ma Huan must have been greatly interested in the various lands he saw, for together with his colleague and life-long collaborator Kuo Ch'üng-i (Matthews', nos. 5746, 1528, 3886), he made local journeys in the various countries he visited, and recorded details of his impressions.

On his return to China in 818/1421, Ma began work on a book based on the notes made by Kuo Ch'üng-i and himself. In 819/1420 he completed the first version of his book (he was to make numerous additions and corrections over the years), and wrote a foreword and a commemorative poem. In his 819/1420 foreword he notes that:

'I collected [notes about] the appearances of the people in each country, the variations of the local customs, the differences in the natural products and the bounds of each country; I arranged notes in order so as to make a book, which I have entitled The overall survey of the Ocean's shores' (Mills, op. cit., 70).

MA HUAN (Matthews' Chinese-English dictionary, Revised American Edition 1969, characters no. 4370, 2266), Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who flourished during the 9th/10th century and who was the author of Ying-yai shang-lan ('The overall survey of the ocean's shores'), the best-known account of the early and mid-9th/10th century Ming Chinese maritime expeditions to South-east Asia, South Asia, the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
this branch expedition. Mills notes that Ma Huan probably added sections on Zulfar and Aden to his book after his return to China in 835/1432 (op. cit., 35).

Ma Huan, although still a relatively young man, probably accepted that his journeys to the Indian Ocean were over when the emperor Jen Tsung forbade further expeditions to that remote region in 834/1430; however, when the Hsian-te emperor revoked this edict in 835/1431 and ordered the ageing Cheng Ho to undertake his seventh and final expedition to the "Western regions", Ma Huan was once again employed as an interpreter.

Cheng Ho's seventh expedition is better documented than any of the preceding six. We know that more than 150 large ships took part in the voyage, and that a total of 27,550 men sailed with him. The fleet left Nanking in 835/1432, and returned to China in 835/

In his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (op. cit., 115). It seems probable that he returned to China and visited the Yemen, where he was initiated into the Nadjbandī order. This may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic sobriquet, a practice common amongst Muslim leaders of the 14th/15th century who were instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 14th/15th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-19th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung (q.v.).

Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 14th/15th century at An-hsing, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu (q.v.). The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslin, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (op. cit., in Bibli., 28, n.) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his role as a religious reformer amongst the Salar Turks (q.v.) of southwestern Kansu and eastern Qinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, op. cit. in Bibli., 289). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic sobriquet, a practice common amongst the Hui.


MA MING-HSIN (Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary, Revised American Edition 1969, charac-ter nos. 1-310, s. a.). Ma Ming-hsin was known as Muammad Ans, a Chinese Muslim leader of the mid-19th/18th century who was instrumental in the development and spread of the "New Teaching", a neo-orthodox reformist movement in Chinese Islam which swept Northwest China in the latter half of the 19th/18th century, and which played an important part in the great mid-19th/18th century Muslim revolt of Ma Hua-lung (q.v.).


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Ma Ming-hsin was born at an unknown date during the first half of the 19th/18th century at An-hsing, a small town some 90 km. south-east of Lanchow, the capital of the Chinese province of Kansu (q.v.). The site of Ma's birthplace makes it probable that he was a Hui (Chinese-speaking) Muslim, though his travels in Turkestan led Hartmann (op. cit., in Bibli., 28, n.) to describe him as a native of that region, whilst his role as a religious reformer amongst the Salar Turks (q.v.) of southwestern Kansu and eastern Qinghai has also led to his identification as a Salar (see Mary C. Wright, op. cit. in Bibli., 289). Confusion over Ma's ethnic origins may have been further compounded by his adoption of an Arabic sobriquet, a practice common amongst the Hui.

Within a short period of time, Ma was expelled from his native An-tung for “causing trouble” (Ford, *ibid*). He went next to preach among the Salars, a Turkic people with a reputation for fierceness and independence who inhabit the hills to the south of the Yellow River in the Chinghut-Kansu borderlands. In the Salar hills, Ma gained the support of two local mullahs Su-ssu-shi-san and Hu-su-liu-hu. His teaching, which rapidly gained widespread popular support, became known as the “New Teaching” (asian cihao, Matthewes, nos. 2737, 719) to differentiate it from the various forms of established Islamic practice in Kansu, which in turn became known as the “Old Teaching” (*tai ciao, Matthewes, nos. 3833, 719, or chu ciao, nos. 1205, 771). In New Kansu, Mandzus and Magyars often converted to Islâ (in *ibid.,* 43). Ma Ming-hsin’s “New Teaching” was distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) loud chanting of the scriptures, as opposed to the soft chanting of the old sect (i.e., followers of the “Old Teaching”); (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in dance-like manner, stoof-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits, and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) the worship of saints or their tombs.

Until recently, the identity of the “New Teaching”, thought of in observance ritual, remained unclear (see Wright, 218, together with relevant footnotes). Recent research undertaken by Saguchi and Fletcher, however, indicates that Ma Ming-hsin introduced to Kansu a sub-group of the Nakshbandi tariqa which practiced *zikr gahtir* (vocal recollection) as opposed to the *zikr karim* more usually associated with the Nakshbandiya. This sub-group, which is generally known as the Nakshbandiya-Djahriyya, can be traced back to Khâdiya Mahmûd Anjîr Fâgmaînî, who introduced the sub-group’s *zikr* in 1215. According to an anonymous government official who witnessed this scene records that “When Ma Ming-hsin was taken to appear on top of the city walls, all the Muslims who saw him from below rolled down from their horses and prostrated themselves on the ground. They called him a saint and wept” (*P'ing-Hui chi-tuch, *ibid*). This display seems to have made an adverse impression on the Chinese commandant, who “had him killed at once, in order to keep down sedition within the walls” (de Groot, 314). Ma’s son was seemingly killed with him (Schram, *ibid*).

Ma’s death did not bring about the end of his rebellion, but served only to increase the bitterness of his followers. The Chinese troops stationed in Kansu proved incapable of suppressing the rebels, a task which fell initially to Salar followers of the “Old Teaching”, later assisted by Mongol troops from Alashan and Chinese troops from Szechwan. Some three months after the murder of Ma Ming-hsin, Ch’ing troops surrounded the foremost of the surviving “New Teaching” leaders, the Salar mullah Su-ssu-shi-san, at his stronghold in the Hua-lin mountains. Su was captured and executed, and with his death the rebellion came to an end. The Chinese authorities banned the “New Teaching” and instituted a series of bloody reprisals against its surviving adherents. An edict issued by Ch’ien-lung after the imperial victory in the Hua-lin mountains exhorts his officials as follows: “Of these rebels not a trace, however slight, must remain. All insurgents yet at liberty shall be hunted out... and their wives, daughters and babies now incarcerated in the prison shall be executed, in the provincial capital, in the county town and other places, shall be thoroughly examined for the better realisation of this object; and finally, the transports to the pestilential places of banishment shall start with all possible speed” (de Groot, 315). The Ch’ing authorities massacred whole families and clans with “New Teaching” affiliations, but to no avail. The “New Teaching” leaders went underground, and within three years a still bloodier hsin-chiao rising, under the leadership of Tien Wu (*v.o.*), broke out in the Kansu-Chinghut region. The “New Teaching” or Ma Ming-hsin was also to prove instrumental in the great mid-13th-century rebellion of Ma Hua-lung (v.g.).

**Bibliography:** Details of contemporaneous
Chinese sources may be found in C. L. Pickens, Chinese annals, pp. 30-35 of his Annotated bibliography of literature on Islam in China, Harkwok 1930; this source is especially useful for details of the 1596-1598 Muslim risings contained in the Ta-ting Kao-tung Shun-huang-ti shih-lu (i.e. the official edicts of the Ch'ien-lung period). See also Wei Yuan, Sheng-wu chi ("History of the Imperial wars"), 1842; chuan 7 (cited in Ford, op. cit. below). For further details, see D. D. Leslie, Lanzhou, a city in Chinese Tahliin: a bibliographical guide, in Abr-Naharah, xvi (1976), 25 (Section H, "Imperial Edicts"). Further primary sources, including the Ping-hu chi-hu ("Brief record of the pacification of the Muslims", Kansa, ca. 1190(1781) may be found in Pai Shou-i, ed. Hui-min chi-i ("The righteous uprisings of the Muslim people"), published in 4 vols., Shanghai, 1932, of which vols. 1 and 2 refer to events in the Chinese north-west during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Secondary sources dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries include: C. Imbault-Huart, Deux inscriptions des Mahométans du Kasson, in JA, ser. 8, vol. xiv (1889), 494-525; J. J. M. de Groot, Sectarianism and religious persecutions in China, Amsterdam 1903-4; M. Brocaholm, Islam en China: a neglected problem, London 1910, see esp. 150-1; H. M. d'Ollone, Recherches sur les musulmans chinois, Paris 1912; and M. Hartmann, Zur Geschichte des Islam in China, Leipzig 1921. More recent works include Mu Shou-chi, Kansu and Sinkiang from 1862 to 1878, Shensi, the suppression of the Moslem rebellion in The policy of the Xian-chu government in the Xin-sheng fsn, Cairo 1935; Pai Shou-i, Hui-hui lun-Islam (below); in Arabic, Mubammad Tawlcju*, 19, p. 6 etc. (cited in Ford, op. cit.; Ningsia and Chinghai"), Lanchow 1936, chUan 18, ("A brief history of Kansu, the Tung-Chih restoration"), Leipzig 1921. Zur Geschichte des Islam in China, published in 4 vols., Shanghai 1952, of which Hui-min chi'i may be found in Pai Shou-i, ed. P'ing-Hui chi-lueh Edicts"). Further primary sources, including the partial this thesis was later published [see Chu, *Towards a political community", Cambridge 1977, p. 57].

1. THE NAME

The frontiers of Mā warā al-nahr on the north and east were where the power of Islam ceased and depended on political conditions; cf. the statements of the Arab geographers on Mā warā al-nahr in G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1905, 433-4; W. Barthold, Turkistan down to the Mongol invasion, London 1926, 64 f. The phrase Mā warā al-nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the 9th/10th century, Hājari Abirī (1279) devotes a special chapter (the last) to Mā warā al-nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase Mā warā al-nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (e.g. by Bābur, in his Bābur-nāma, ed. Beveridge, see index; by Mirzā Haydar Dughlat later in the 16th/17th century in his Tahbīth al-Raschīd, tr. Eliazzo and Ross, A history of the Moghul, London 1895, 77, 93 ff., 150, etc.; and by the Uzbek Muhammad Šāǐb, *Fārūq, hukumat Samarkand-a dhu al-qarnayn, (1498-1521) and passion), although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river. (W. Barthold)

2. HISTORY

Pre-Islamic Transoxiana comprised, in the widest sense, Sogdiana (Arabic Šawād [q.v.], essentially the basin of the Zarafshān river) and the lands as far as the Sir Darya basin, north-westwards to Khorāsān [q.v.] and eastwards to Farangāna [q.v.] and across the Tien Shan Mountains into Eastern or Chines Turkestan (on the general concept of "Turkestan", Eastern and Western, see TURKESTAN). For these regions in classical times, see W. Tomasevčik, in PW, ii, cols. 2801-13 (Baktria, Baktriānī, Baktria, iii, cols. 2406-8 (Chorasonia). All this was still largely an Iranian region, with such Middle Iranian languages flourishing there as Khorāzmiš and Soghdian, both written in scripts going back to the Aryan alphabet; Baktrian in the upper Oxus provinces of Tughristan, Caspian, Kijitan (Kptalan) and Wakṣh (q.v.), written in a modified Greek alphabet; and Khotanese and Tokharian dialects in the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan, written in scripts of Indian origin. In Sogdiana, however, the strong cultural influence of Sāsānian Persia may have given Persian a foothold in the main cities at least. Našeršāhi states that just after the time of the conquest of Buhārā by Kūlyāba b. Muslim (sc. in ca. 94/712-13), the people there used Persian (šūrā) for reciting the Kurān, though no doubt Soghdian remained for some time to come the main language of daily intercourse (Tavārikh-i Buhārā, ed. Muaddārī Ridawī, Tehran 1939, 57, tr. R. N. Frye, The history of Buhārā, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 48). Just over two-and-a-half centuries later, al-Maqrīzī (1365), calls the speech of Buhārā darī, i.e. Persian; this must nevertheless still refer to urban speech patterns only, for Soghdian lasted much longer in the country-side. (A. D. W. FORBES)
In regard to religion, no single faith was dominant. Buddhism was still in full bloom in Eastern Turkestan and still strong in the upper Oxus provinces, where it was the faith of the northern branch of the Hephthalites [see supra] who put up such a strenuous resistance to the Arabs in the later 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th centuries, and where Balkh [q.v.] was still a major Buddhist centre; but it had, for some time, been waning in Sogdia. When the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Huen-Tsang arrived in Samarkand in 639, he found the Zoroastrians completely in the ascendant there and the Buddhist monasteries deserted; the restorative measures which he took can only have arrested this decline temporarily. For as in the linguistic field, cultural decline in Soghdia and Bukhara, and in Zoroastranism an acceptance of prestige and power in Transoxania, even though direct Sasanian military authority did not extend beyond Marw (cf. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Tures d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 33 ff.), Manicheism and other dualistic faiths were tolerated, and their adherents found an especially sympathetic haven in Eastern Turkestan and among the Uyghur Turkes, as numerous surviving religious texts from the Turan basin attest; as late as c. 372/982 the *Haddid al-Islam*, tr. Mirsky, London 1911, 173, 23-144 records the presence in Samarkand of a conventional house of the Manicheans, *khagday-i Manawiyân*, with auditores or *nigâdayâtk*. Mzdakiziks are mentioned also in Samarkand, and if the followers of the late 2nd/8th century heretic al-Mukanna, the *weavers of white* (see below) were Mzdakiziks (or Manicheans?), their adherents still persisted at Kish and Nahshab in the time of the continuator of Nasrâgh Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Nasr (*Tarikh-i Bukhšt*, 83-9, tr. 75). The Christian presence was strong. A bishop is mentioned at Marw in the time of the continuator of Nasrâgh Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Nasr. The latter city a local prince Tu-Rârâsh and his successor Qifttrak, Mosques were now in Bukhara, comprised the more powerful members of the *dhâkin* class and bore Iranian original titles such as *dhâkin*, from Old Persian *bashkâh* ("king, ruler"), e.g. in Soghdia and Farghâna. Such a land-owning class (which may be called, not anachronistically, one of feudal magnates) of *dhâkin* was the backbone of resistance to the Arabs, and continued to play a leading social role—eventually as an Islamised caste—in Transoxania till the end of the Sâmânid period, during which political authority was still to a considerably extent decentralised; its decline only came with the influx of Turkish steppe peoples in the 5th/11th century and after.

The Arabs who had invaded Persia and overthrown the Sâmânid empire penetrated to Tukbârštân in *Uighân*’s caliphate, during the governorship in *Kuytsân* of *Abî Allah b. Âmir* [q.v.], and al-Hârâk b. Bahkak-Ishân. When *Abû Uwaisya*, a plunder raid across the Oxus to Maymûngh near Samarkand in 336/949-54. It would have been obviously unwise to commit major Arab forces across the river until some progress had been made against the resistance of the Hephthalites in Oxosania and until a key point like Balkh had been captured (first raided in 32/951, but not fully secured till the time of Kutasiba, see below) and the Oxus crossing-points of Anâil-i Shâtîl [q.v.] and Zamm taken.

In the spring of 54/674 Mu‘awwîya’s general *Ubayd Allah b. Ziyâd* [q.v.] crossed the Oxus, attacked Paykand and defeated the army of the local Soghdian ruler of Buhkara, the Buhkâr-Ishâdî, *Yazîd*’s governor, *Salb* b. Ziyâd (61-4/681-2) was the first Arab commander actually to winter across the river. Any hopes of Arab progress in Transoxania were dashed by the civil wars which broke out in the heart of the caliphate on Yazîd’s death and the protracted resistance of the Umayyad government in Damascus to the anti-caliph *Abî Allah b. al-Zubayr*, even though the Soghdian cities remained divided and their leaders were probably one in Samarkand by the 6th century.

Socially, there was an influential class of merchants in such Soghdian towns as Bukhara, Paykand and Samarkand, which was involved in long-distance trade operations with the Turkish peoples of the Siberian steppes and with the Chinese. The Arab invasions would not seriously hamper these trade movements, and indeed, the Soghdian merchants continued to play a major role in the Islamic caliphate for the goods which they imported from Inner Asia. The landed aristocracy of *dhâkin* was dominant in the countryside and smaller towns, and the pattern of large estates in *Kuwarâm*, along the Oxus channels and their canals, revealed by Soviet archaeology, was probably repeated in the irrigated lands of the Zaraftûn valley and the upper Oxus ones. The local Iranian princes of Transoxania mentioned in the sources, such as those in rural *Tâkh* [q.v.], Sâhik [q.v.] and *Farghânâ*, and in cities like Samarkand and Bukhara, comprised the more powerful members of the *dhâkin* class and bore Persian original titles such as *shâhâr* [q.v.], from Old Persian *Ashâhrâtiya*.
the prince Kütîgîn which penetrated as far as Tamlîr Kapâk, the "Iron Gate" (so the present Buzgala defile between Kish and Tirmidh), "in order to organise the Soghdian people" (the connection of these seems fairly certain, as proposed by Marquart and Sartokh; cf. R. Strzygowski, Der Turkestan, 104, 1913, 30-31; the Transoxianian population which had been converted and JihurAsfln by the growing menace of the Abbasid period (see further on these, beginning with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That of the Uyghurs, who were essentially concerned towards that of the Kish and Turkmên for help against the Arabs, with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That of the Uyghurs, who were essentially concerned with the Chinese activity in Central Asia. In 748 Chinese forces captured the Ĥurghana capital of Suyûb, in the Çu river valley to the north-east of Farghâna, and in 749 executed the local ruler of Soghdian descent for "the non-fulfilment of his duties as a vassal". For several decades, virtually since the first coming of the Arabs, the Soghdian princes and the princes of Türkistan (including among the latter the Yaḥûb, Arabic Dabûdûs) had been sending embassies to China appealing for help against the invaders. Now in 750-1 the Chinese general Kao-hsien-chih was sent by the Chinese governor of Kuta in Eastern Turkestan, firstly against rebels in the Pamirs region of Gilgit (q.v. in Suppl.), and then into Farghâna. Here the Chinese army, assisted by the Türkistan Khâlîk (q.v.), met an Arab force under Ŭiyâd b. Ŧâlîf at Allahk or Allahk near Talas in 751-2, and was soundly beaten, with heavy losses of killed and captured (see D. M. Dunlop, A new source of information in the Battle of Talas or Allahk, in Ural-Asiatische Studien, xi. (1947), pp. 91 f.). But the prisoners-of-war were Chinese artisans who are supposed to have taught the people of Samarkand the art of paper-making (al-Thālibî, Luṭufi al-mârîfî, tr. Bosworth, The book of curious and entertaining information, Edinburgh 1968, 140, and Kâgîd). This marked the end of Chinese attempts to assert their hegemony west of the Tien-Shan; to the subsequent entreaties of the Islamic princes of Transoxiana and Khîrâzam for help against the Arabs, the Turkistan Khâlîk, pre-occupied by succession wrangles 755-66, were compelled to return uncom¬mittal answers. Arab authority was thus made reasonable firm in Transoxiana for the first time, since the local potentates no longer had any strong allies either in the Türkistan steppes (the Eastern Turkish confederation had collapsed with the death of the Khašân Mo-ki-lien in 744, to be replaced by that of the Uyghûrs, who were essentially concerned with Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan) or in the Far East. That the masses of population in Transoxiana were as yet far from wholly reconciled to Arab political and social domination was to be demonstrated by various outbreaks of religio-political protest in the early 8th century (see further on these, below), but Arab authority was by that time never seriously jeopardised.

For the detailed history of this first century or so of Arab domination in Transoxiana, see F. H. Rhine and E. D. Ross, The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khurasans from the earliest times, London 1899, 34-48; Gibb, The Arab conquests in Central Asia, London 1925; Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 47 f.;
Under the first 'Abbasids, Transoxiana gradually became integrated politically as a province of the caliphate as a whole. The first governors appointed there by the victorious Abū Muslim speedily began intriguing against their patron at the instigation of the caliph Abu l-'Abbās al-Saffār, who became deeply suspicious of his over-mighty subject. Abū Muslim accordingly executed Sībā al-Nu'mān al-Azdī in 155/772-3 at Amul, whilst the fugitive Ziyād b. Sāliḥ was executed, to Abū Muslim's satisfaction, by the Roman sīkhān of Bārkah, on the route from the caliph's army to Uqbar. The movement of the "wearers of white garments" (mu'ta) was suppressed during the governorship of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Dabīb (164-6/780-1), but the "wearers of white garments" persisted in the rural areas of Transoxiana and Khorāsān for at least two centuries after this. The years 194-186/804-9 were characterised by the revolt centred on Transoxiana, but with partisans joining his standard from the upper Oxus provinces of Cagānīyān and Khūṭāl and from Khārāzam, of Rāfī b. Layyīb, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sāyyār. The motive behind this seems to have been purely personal, without any religious or ideological impulse, and doubtless the prestige of Rāfī's descent from the popular Naṣr b. Sāyyār brought him support. The Arab governor of Samarqand was killed, and Rāfī secured help from the Iranian prince of Shāhīz, from the Karākūn and the Toghour-Oghuz Turks of the steppe and from Tibet before he submitted voluntarily to al-Ma'mūn and secured pardon (see Barthold, Turkistan, 200-1).

Thus intervention by the Turks in Transoxanian affairs continued during the early 'Abbasid period but not on the same scale as during the Umayyad one. The disintegration of Tughrī power in the Western Turkestan steppes was followed by the ascendency of the Toghour-Oghuz, precursors of the Oghuz or Ghuz [?], who were mentioned in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century Islamic sources as harrying the borders of Šamānī Transoxiana and then emerging to form the tribal backing of the Šahīds [?], when they overthrew Chaznawī power in Khurāsān and entered northern Fūrsī and the central lands of the Šihrāzī Basīrān. In the early 'Abbasid period, the Toghour-Oghuz had their pasture grounds on the confines of Khārāzam and also among the lower Šīr Dāryā. The Karākūn, possibly the ancestors of the later Ikek Khāns [?], or Karākūnīs, took over the eastern Šīr Dāryā basin and Semirečie [Turkish Yeti Su, "the land of the seven rivers"], acquiring in 766 Šīrīyā, the former capital of the Tughrīs. Islamic Transoxiana suffered sporadically from their incursions, and these Turks continued also to give help on occasion to insurgent local Iranian princes and to rebels like Rāfī b. Layyīb. The outbreak of the Khārāzam war Yūsuf al-Barmī al-Thaqāfit at Bukhārā and in the countryside of Badghis, and later, in the time of al-Ma'mūn, Yūsuf's grandson Mānsūr b. 'Abd Allāh also rebelled; such Khārāzam activity was an aspect of the general vitality of Khārāzam doctrines in Khurāsān and Sīsātān at this period. More serious at the time and with a protracted aftermath was the movement of Jumayyā b. Kabtaba, the "wearers of white garments" (al-mu'ta), claiming to be a "deputy prophet" al-Mu'ākāna [?], whose real name was Hāji'm b. Hākim or 'Alī, a former partisan of Abū Muslim's. The revolt, erupting during Humayd's governorship, is treated at length by Nārshākhdī [27-89, tr. 65-76; Barthold, Turkistan, 198-200; Sadighī, op. cit., 163-86; B. S. Amoretti, Sects and heresies, in Camb. hist. of Iran. iv. From the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs, ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 405-501]. It attracted widespread support in Sogdiana, at Kish and at Nağshābūr or Basāf, whilst in Bābhūr, the son of the Bābhūr-Mīrādī Čamārshāhidī, Pīm, a renowned official Israēl and joined the movement. It is not easy to discern from the sources the exact nature of al-Mu'ākāna's religious doctrines. He himself may have been originally a Zoroastrian, but his ideas may have come to include neo-Mazdakite elements and perhaps even Manichaean ones; and certainly, Abū Muslim, whose avatar al-Mu'ākāna claimed to be, was accorded an exalted, almost divine position. The outbreak was suppressed during the governorship of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Dabīb (164-6/780-1), but the "wearers of white garments" persisted in the rural areas of Transoxiana and Khorāsān for at least two centuries after this.
of al-Mu'ta'sim, the Ash'âb of Ushârîs, Haydar, was to play a leading role in suppressing the revolt of Bâbak al-Khurrâmî (q.v.) in northwestern Persia until his own spectacular fall in 225/841 [see ash'âb].

Of special concern to us here is the contemporary rise to power, under the overlordship of the Tâhirîs, of the Samâ'îlids, who laid the foundations for what became a powerful amirate, at first in Transoxania and then also, in the 13th/19th century, in Khurasân. The early periods (225-95/841-907, p. 157) of the dynasty are still obscure. The origin of the Samâ'îlids, the person anciently known as the Sâmân- Khûdây (q.v.), proved impossible to decide, but the family was clearly a typical Iranian dîkhân one hailing from Tujhâshân. A Samâ'îl-Khûdây of the late Umayyad period is said to have accepted Islam at the hands of Abû 'l-Khayr al-Karîm ibn Hurayrâh, the governor of Merv, in 72-7, and in the caliphate of al-Ma'mûn, his four grandsons, Nûh, Abûn, Yâhâyâ and 'Ilâyâ received, as rewards for their fidelity to al-Ma'mûn's interests, the governorships of Samarqand, Farghânâ, Shâsh and Harât respectively. The Harât branch was unable to maintain power south of the Oxus, and the Samâ'îlids developed essentially as the dominant power in Transoxania, being designated governors, in effect independent rulers there, by the caliph in 261/875 after the downfall of the Tâhirîs at the hands of the Saffârîs Yâhûd (q.v.) and 'Abd b. Layyih (q.v.). For a detailed consideration of the Samanid dynasty and its history, see samâ'îlids, and for the present, a useful general survey by Frye, The Samanids, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, 136-61.

Here it may merely be noted that it was a cardinal feature of Samâ'îlî policy, from the time of the real founder of the dynasty's fortunes, Ismâ'îl b. Abûn (279-95/892-907, q.v.), onwards, to maintain those frontiers of Transoxania which faced the south, as against the pagan Turks and Karluk, Oghuz and Birtûbs describe the fringes of Transoxania as dotted with the dîkhân Khûdây, the Khuda Sâlûf in Sistan, the Farîqânis in Gâzghân, the Abd Dawûdids in Balkh, the Muhrâjids in Câhâgînâyân, etc., and whilst the dîkhân remained vigorous and intrusive, this was no source of weakness. Contemporary geographers describe the fringes of Transoxania as dotted with rûbâ'îs [q.v.] against the pagan Karluk, Oghuz and Khûdây, [q.v.], where rûbâ'îs or enthusiasts for the faith, from the Transoxanian towns, could work off their energies in the defence of Islam. In Isfâhân [q.v. in Suppl.], on the northernmost frontier of Islam, as many as 1,700 rûbâ'îs are mentioned, partly manned by volunteers from Nishâbûr, Bukhârâ and Samarqand. Even when some of these Turks had been nominally converted to Islam, rûbâ'îs as centres for offensive and defensive operations were still necessary; al-Mukaddasî, 174, tells how two places on the middle Sir Dâryâ, in the district of Isfâhân, were frontier points (bâkûtân) against the Turkmen (al-Turkmenîyân) who had only become Muslims "out of fear". It was also from these frontier posts that the Turks and other seafarers set off into the litoral of the steppe as evangelists, such as the missionary from Nîshâbûr, one Abu 'l-Hasan Mu'tâmîd al-Kalîmâtî, who worked amongst the Karluk in the middle years of the 4th/10th century and who played some part in the conversion of the founder of the Karâghânid line, Sâhûb Bûgâh Khân, the Islamic 'Abd al-Karîm (Barthold, Turkestan, 173-6, 254-9).

Transoxania flourished under the Samâ'îlids, and there was a dying-down of sectarian religious and socio-political protest movements during their time, compared with the previous period, although these did not entirely disappear. The geographers and travellers praise the ease of life there, the plentifulness of provisions, the comparatively light hand of government and incidence of taxation and tolls. There was quite a complex central administration in the capital Bukhârâ, known to us from the accounts of Nâshâbî and of the encyclopaedist of the sciences 'Abî 'Abd al-Khârîm ibn al-Khânâyîn (q.v.), with a cluster of adjacent or government departments adjacent to the palace built in Bukhârâ by Nasr b. Abûn (302-31/913-43); the model for these was doubtless the A'bbâsid bureaucracy in Bagdad (see Nâshâbî, 31-2, tr. 257; Bosworth, A'bbâsid al-Khawârîmân on the technical terms of the secretary's art., in JESHO, xii [1969], 113-84). Because of the province's frontier position, the people of Transoxania are described as tough, bellicose and self-reliant; also, perhaps because of the continued social influence of the dîkhân class, the ancient Iranian virtues of hospitality and liberality were kept up (see Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 999-1090 Edinburgh 1963, 27-34). Culturally, both the Samanid themselves and the local, petty courts of the empire encouraged the persistence of Iranian oral and literary traditions, seen in the birth and florescence of New Persian lyrical and heroic poetry [by Shâhîd Bahâsh, Rûdakî, Dâkî, etc.] which characterised the 4th/10th century and prepared the way in the early part of the following century for such figures as Firdawsi and the Ghaznavid lyric poets (see G. Legend, The rise of the New Persian language, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, 595-632). At the same time, Transoxania shared to the full in the Arab-Islamic heritage of the caliphate as a whole. Several of the compilers of the canonical collections of hadîth, the sunnâs, were from Transoxania and Khûrâsân, and their scholars played a large role in the consolidation and elaboration of orthodox Sunnî theology (kalâm) and law (fîrsâ). Similarly, the fourth section of al-Thâ'âbî's literary anthology, the Yatâyin al-adhr, shows how brilliantly Arabic poetry and artistic prose were cultivated in Khûrâsân, Transoxania and Kâhâramân (see V. Danner, Arabic literature in Iran, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, 565-94; Bosworth, The interaction of Arabic and Persian culture in the 10th and early 11th centuries, in al-Akhbâr, xxvii [1978-9], 60, 68 ff.).

As in other fields, during the period 750-1000 Transoxania acquired strong economic and commercial links with the interior of central Asia, including with the supreme centre of consumption, 'Urâsh and its capital Bagdad. Instead of the old military systems of the Arab mukâtîs and then of the early A'bbâsid Khûrâsân guards, the caliphs began in the 3rd/9th century to surround themselves with Turkish slave troops [see playars, and chûlâm]. Hence the trade in Turkish slaves, who passed from the Inner Asian steppes through Transoxania to the slave markets there, became highly important, and Turkish slaves were an integral part of the annual
of the provinces of the Transoxanian emirate of Soghdiana, which had been a tributary of the Sasanian Empire, the rulers of Transoxania, the Karakhanids, began to take advantage of the amlrate’s weakness. In the late 10th century, the Karakhanids, who had succeeded the Ghurids in Transoxania, began to expand their influence in the region.

The Karakhanids, under the leadership of their ruler, the Saljukid dynasty, began to assert their power more aggressively. In the late 11th century, the Karakhanid leader, Al-Muqtadir, annexed Transoxania and established a client state, the Karakhanid emirate of Transoxania, which was ruled by the Karakhanid dynasty.

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mediaeval provinces of Caghataiyan, Khurul and Wakhsh did an Iranian-speaking population persist now speaking the form of New Persian known as Tadjik-Tadzhik [see IRAN, III, Languages, in Suppl.], and living in what is now the Tadzhik SSR, their numbers amounting to under 1 3/4 millions (1970 census). It is also during these centuries of the Turkiscation of Transoxania that the region becomes known, at least in popular parlance, as Turkiston [q.v.].

Transoxania and Eastern Turkistan or Kâshgaria were of course the first Islamic lands which Cîngiz Khân encountered when he came westwards with the Mongol hordes. Bâlashân [q.v.], the main urban centre of Semirechye, was occupied after it had already suffered a severe plundering by the Karâ Khîty. Bûkhârâ was ravaged in 656/1259, and soon afterwards, Citrâ or Utur [q.v.], the former Fârâb [q.v.], in the Sr Darya basin, and Samarqand were attacked before Cîngiz pushed on into Kîrânshâb. The Mongol empire at its zenith, Chingiz Khan [see 1206-20; Hambly, The career of 1227-41] appointed governors in Transoxania for Nakhshâb, Bûkhârâ and Samarqand, and the sedentary indigenous population was at the beginning of his reign ruled by his representative Mahmîd Yalawâkî Kâ-zârami [q.v.], appointed to collect the taxation there. Duwaydî praises Mahmîd Yalawâkî's just rule and that also of his son Mustâfi Beg [q.v., stating that Bughârâ reached its former level of prosperity (the latter governor was, for instance, the founder of the Ma'sündîya madrasa in Bûkhârâ), though in fact there was a popular, anti-Mongol rebellion there led by one Mamûd Târâbî, only ended by the appearance of a large Mongol army (63/1238-9) (see Barthold, Turkistan, 521-519; Grousset, L'empire des steppes, 393 ff., 374-8; Hambly, The career of Cîngiz Khan and The Mongol empire at its zenith, in Central Asia, 80-113).

Transoxania, together with those steppe lands to the north henceforth to be known as Moghulistan [q.v.] or Moghulistan, came within the usûs or patrimony of Cîngiz's second son Caghâyat, together with Eastern Turkistan (Kâ-zârâmî came within the usûs of Dîqâî, the eldest son, together with western Siberia and South Russia); but the Caghâyatî khanate was not properly constituted till some time after Caghâyat's own death in ca. 1241. Caghâyat and his descendants took little interest in the sedentary and urban life of Transoxania, Pref-Moghol Turkish landowners and chiefs, the successors of the Iranian abolâhs, remained influential in the countryside; the descendants of the Karâkhânids remained in power in Farâhârân; it seems (Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 178-191; in Moghulistan, to the north of the Ir river, there was a distinct decline of urban life in favour of pastoralisation (see ibid., 149-55). Urban traditions in Transoxania were much stronger, and especially notable in the towns there is the prominent role, from Karâkhânî times onwards, of local Hâfiz religious leaders functioning as go-between (awlâd, sing. awlî), usually with the title of sharîr or sharîr-i ejhân. Leaders with this title are found in Bûkhârâ, Samarqand, Khojand, Urgand, Shâh and Amlâh; the best-known of these were the Aîl-i Bûhân in Bûkhârâ (till the revolt of Mahmûd Târâbî in 656/1259) and their successors, the Aîl-i Mahbûbî (till the mid-8th/14th century) (see O. Pritsak, Aîl-i Bûhân, in Isâ, xxx (1952), 81-96, and Sâbâ). Because of this lack of interest in the settled lands on the part of the Caghâyatî khans, the nomadic traditions of the Mongols lasted longer amongst them, as also amongst the Golden Horde in South Russia and the Kipchak steppes (see KIPCHAK STEPPES, till the Persia of the Il-Khâns or the northern China of the Great Khâns. The Caghâyatî khans' favoured encampments were in Semirechye, in the Ir basin, with the town of Amlâh [q.v.], between the Tien-Shan and Lake Balkhash, as their administrative centre; the town was flourishing and frequented by foreign traders, ascribed by western travellers to the Great Khân's court until it was destroyed in the civil strife amongst the Mongols in the 8th/14th century. Rebeî (ca. 1218-28), though still, like the previous khans, resistant to Islam, moved his capital to Transoxania proper and built a palace near Nakhshâb in the Kâshka Darya valley, although this did not entail renunciation of the nomadic life; from the Mongol term for "palace", khâbîdî, the nearby town of Nakhshâb came to be called Kâshgar (see SHÂHR-I Kâshgar). Rebeî's move must nevertheless have had the eventual conversion of the Caghâyatî khans to Islam, from the time of Tarnavshân onwards (1236-34). Caghâyatî rule lasted in Transoxania till the rise of Timûr (see below), and in other parts of Central Asia till after then, but Timûr's successes were facilitated by increased disunity amongst the Caghâyatî family, with Caghâyatî puppet rulers placed on the throne by Turkish princes. For an account of the khanate, see CAGHÂYAT KHAN AND CAGHÂYAT KHANATES; Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 133 ff., 193-7; Grousset, L'empire des steppes, 397-420; Hambly, The Caghâyatî khanate, in Central Asia, 127 ff. Timûr, a Barlas Turk from Kîh in Transoxania, succeeded by forces of arms to the Caghâyatî khanate heritage there. In 771/1370 he became de facto ruler of Transoxania, ruling in the name of fâtimid descendants of Ogedey, sc. Soyurghâlitâf (771-5963, and then his son Mahmûd (756-816/1358-913). He linked himself by marriage to the Caghâyatî royal house, including to a daughter of Khîrî Khodja (d. 801/1399) of Mogholistan, who was reputedly a son of the last significant Caghâyatî khan Tûshlûk Timûr (760-71/1359-70). Under the rule of Timûr's descendants, above all, that of Shâhrûdî (807-50/1405-57). Transoxania enjoyed much material prosperity, with Samarqand and Bughârâ becoming lively centres of artistic and literary life, of painting and book-production, and of poetry in both Persian and Eastern Turkish or Caghâyat. Samarqand was the city which Timûr preferred to all others as his main capital. European travellers like the Spanish envoy Clavijo (1403) describe the splendour of his court, and fine buildings in Samarqand, of which the Gûr Amûr mausoleum and the Bibî Khânum mosque survive, attest the high aesthetic level of early Timûrid architecture. The reign of Timûr's grandson Uluḫ Beg [q.v.](ruled in Transoxania from 814/1411, at first as Shâhrûdî's deputy, to 853/1449) is associated with his foundation of a short-lived observatory in Samarqand and the compilation of astronomical tables (see Barthold, Uluḫ- Beg, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in Four studies on the history of Central Asia, ii, Leiden 1958, 129-34).

As his second capital, Timûr developed Shâhr-i Sâbâ in the Kâshka Darya valley, in the heart of the area of the Barlas Turks and near his own birthplace, starting there the construction of impressive buildings, including his own tomb (see Barthold, Shâhr-i
Sabs from Timur to Ulugh Beg, tr. J. M. Rogers, in Iran, JBIFS, xvi [1978], 163-26, xviii [1980], 124-43.

Popular Islam, in the form of a cultivation of Sufi mysticism and the growth of a network of dervish orders, especially flourished in Transoxania during Caghatayid and Timurid times, and the Shaybans and their orders enjoyed the patronage of the Timurids. Thus the Nasabhanids of the eight lord of the Turkmens, the Uzbeks, this last Turkish people moved southwards into Transoxania, forming the Shaybansids. See Hambly, "The Shaybansids," in Central Asia, 105-62; see also MIRKHANID

Meanwhile, the Caghatayids managed to survive during these years in the lands beyond Transoxania, and under Esm Buka II (63.67/1429-62) flourished in Moghstellar and Eastern Turkestan, being hostile however to the later Mamluks. For the detailed history of this period, see Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 165-64; Grosset, op. cit., 386-96, 568-80; Mahir Fajlanpur, The Timurid empire, in Central Asia, 150-62; and TURKISH HISTORY.

In 906/1500, Muhammad Shaybanl, the son of a line of Mongol khans, the descendant of Djoici's youngest son: Shiban (one part of whom had remained in Siberia as Ulusans and another part of whom had moved to the Turkmens of Transoxania from the steppelands of South Russia and western Siberia), was, indeed, to become the permanent home of the Shaybansids and the Uzbeks, this last Turkish people giving their name to the modern Uzbek SSR, in which they probably form some 70% of the present population. The Shaybansids brought into Transoxania a Turkish following amongst whom the nomadic steppe traditions remained strong and who were virtually untouched by Iranian cultural and religious influences, as had been the case with their predecessors there. It was the strength of popular religion, that of the dervishes and Shi'ahs, already notable in Timurid times (see above), rather than that of the orthodox Isla, which characterized Islam there in the time of the Uzbeks. Like Timur, they exalted the cult of the Shi'ah saint Ahmad Yasawi, whose tomb in the lower Svr Dary-valley at Yaul had long been a popular pilgrimage place for Turks from all over Inner Asia. The Shaybansids in fact made Yaul their capital for a while, and under them it received its new name of Turkistan, indicative of its importance to the Central Asian Turks in general.

Politically and diplomatically, Sumr Transoxania under the Uzbek was in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries frequently involved in warfare with the powerful and aggressive Shi'ah monarchy of Samarkand Persia. As so many earlier Turco-Mongol dynasties had done, the Shaybansids coveted the rich province of Khurasan, and invaded it on several occasions. But Muhammad Shaybanl (905-16/1500-62) and successors of his like Abu 'l-Ghabr Usayd Allah (940/1634-6) failed to overcome the experienced troops of Shih Ismail and Shih Tahmasp, who had a greater appreciation of the value of the modern weapon of firearms and who had seasoned troops in their Keshlshak Turkmens and then in their Georgians, Armenians, etc., slave guards. The long-term result of this warfare was the virtual sealing-off of Transoxania from the rest of the Islamic world through the erection by the Samarkand of this bulwark on their northeastern frontier. Although Turks from Central Asia and Afljanz streamed into Muslim India as mercenaries, adventurers, etc., the traffic was largely one-way. Hence Transoxania became culturally introverted and impoverished, although the steppe lands of South Russia and western Siberia were by the 17th century beginning to come under Russian, Christian control, and the popular Islam of the regions was the Zayawaiyya, the Cightyly and the Nasabhanidiyya, though intense in religious fervour and emotion, was weak in intellectual content. Only in the sphere of Eastern Turkish or Caghatay literature may it be said that Transoxania made a significant contribution to the cultural stock of Eastern Islam at this time. It was a flexible and expressive enough language for Bbubur [q.v.] to write his memoirs in it; to produce a lively folk-poetry, seen e.g. in the verses of the 18th century Golden Turkmen bard Maksut Kall; and to give rise to a genre of historiography amongst the Shaybansids, the Djinids or Askarhans and the Mangits of Bukhara and the 'Arabshahids of Khiva in the former Khazar, although such outstanding figures as the 10th/16th century Shaybansid historian Khidr Tanjik [q.v. in Suppl.] continued to write for a preference in Persian. For the detailed history of the Shaybansids, see Hambly, "The Shaybansids," in Central Asia, 165-74; Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale, 185 ff.; and GRABAR.

In the course of the 10th/16th century, Bokhara and Khiva formed themselves into separate, often mutually-hostile khanates, and then in the early 18th century, a third Uzbek khanate arose in the Farghiana valley, that of Khokand. The three principalities were to have separate existences, punctuated by much squabbling and internecine warfare, till the Russian occupation of Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century, Bukhara and Khiva remaining, however, as virtual protectorates of Russia until the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The history of these khanates can be followed under BUKHARA, KHIVA, KHOKAND; see further BANIDS, BURGZAT, MANGITS, and also INAK in Suppl.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

The lack of perennial water courses in Arabia and the infrequency of springs prevented the development of such divinatory techniques as these amongst the Arabs. We have nothing to confirm that the reflection of the surface of the water was ever used for such purposes. Water, like perfume, was used in the rituals over the making of pacts and alliances [see LS'AKAT AL-DAM], but these procedures had no divinatory character at all.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 405-6. (T. Fahd)

## 2. Water in Classical Islamic Law

In Islamic law there are seven kinds of water which it is lawful to use for drinking or ablution: water from rain, snow, hail, springs, wells, rivers and the sea. These sources may, however, be rendered impure by the presence of them of unclean objects. Questions of ownership and the right to take water depend on the nature of its source, whether natural or artificial watercourses, wells or springs (freshwater lakes are not generally discussed in the sources owing to their scarcity in the Islamic lands). Ownership of a source of water implies ownership of its khirman (reserved area), consisting of that portion of land adjacent to the water source sufficient to enable the source to be used. One *haded* defines the extent of the *khirman* of a well as 40 cubits on every side, but other measurements are also given.

The *Sharia* distinguishes three types of water sources which may be the subject of use or ownership:

1. Water from rivers, which may be (a) great rivers, such as the Tigris and Euphrates, which are of such a size that they can be used by all for drinking and irrigation, or (b) lesser rivers, in which case two possibilities may be distinguished: (i) where there is generally enough water for all users but where it is possible to cause shortage to other users by eg. digging a canal to take water from higher up the river than other users (whether this is allowed or not must be decided after inquiry into the consequences); or (ii) where damming or the allocation of fixed times is necessary to provide enough water for irrigation. In such cases, the river is normally regarded as the joint property of the riparian cultivators, and the question of how much water may be retained by the highest riparian cultivator depends on differing circumstances, such as the season of the year, the type of crop irrigated, etc. (c) canals. These are the property of the landowner or landowners in whose property they are situated; where they are the common property of several landowners, none of them may make unilateral changes in arrangements for sharing the water, or by building a mill or bridge over it, etc.

2. Wells: (a) Wells dug for the public benefit; here the water is freely available to all, the digger merely having the right of first comer. (b) Wells dug by persons for their own use, eg. wells dug in the desert by tribesmen. Such persons have first right to the water while they are living in the vicinity, but are obliged to give water to persons suffering from thirst after they have moved away. The water becomes freely available to all. (c) Wells dug by persons intending them to be their own property. Ownership, however, cannot be claimed until water has actually been found, and if the well needs lining, until it has been lined. The owner of the well has a duty to give water to anyone suffering from thirst. This is illustrated by a tradition which records that ‘Umar made some owners of water pay the *dina* for a man who died of thirst after they had refused his request for water.

3. Springs: (a) Natural springs: these are treated analogously to permanently flowing rivers. If the water-supply is limited, the first person to undertake irrigation in the area has priority; otherwise the water has to be shared equally. (b) Springs opened up by digging: the person who does this becomes the owner, together with the surrounding *harim*. (c) Springs opened up by persons on their own property. In such cases, the only claim against the owner is that of persons suffering from thirst. If the owner has a surplus of water, he may be obliged to give it gratis to other men’s cattle, but not for irrigating crops.

A person who possesses water in a vessel is its sole owner, and he is not obliged to give it to others gratis; he is, however, obliged to relieve someone suffering from thirst in return for a recompense.


## 3. Hydraulic Machines

There is ample evidence from written and archaeological sources for the widespread use in pre-Islamic times of all the main hydraulic machines, described below, in all the areas that were to form part of the Muslim world. The *shajjat* (shadaf) was known in ancient times. The *suhjja*, although this did not become fully effective before the introduction of the pawl in the 4th or 5th century A.D., was known in Roman times. Both machines are still in use today. The *noria* (*shana*) and the vertical undershot mill-wheel are both described by Vitruvius but none of these names seem to have preserved originality. (On *architecture*, Lech Classics, ed. F. Grainger, 1929, ii, 503-7). Vertical mill-wheels were sometimes mounted on boats moored to the banks of rivers (N. Smith, *Man and water*, London 1975, 140). The origins of the horizontal, vanné mill-wheel are still obscure: it may have been referred to by a Greek writer of the 1st century B.C. and it was in use in Ireland in the 7th century A.D. (Smith, *op. cit.*, 143). It is described in a Byzantine treatise, probably of the 7th century A.D., extant only in Arabic version (*Wiedemann*, *Aegyptischen Historien*, 50-6, see
The water mill is a simple machine consisting of a wooden beam pivoted on a raised fulcrum. At one end of the beam is a bucket, at the other end a counterweight. The bucket is dipped into the water, then the beam is rotated by means of the counterweight and the contents of the bucket are emptied into a cistern or supply channel. The flume-beam swipes are a development of the sidiuf, a solid beam, a channel is connected rigidly to the bucket; when this is raised the water runs through it into the outlet.

The sidiuf is more complex, and indeed has over two hundred component parts. It consists essentially of a large vertical wheel erected over the water supply on a horizontal axle. This wheel carries a chain-of-pots or a bucket chain. On the other end of its axle is a gear-wheel that engages a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving bar is attached. The animal is harnessed to the free end of this bar, and as it walks in a circular path, the gears and the wheel carrying the chain-of-pots rotate. The pots dip in succession into the water and when they reach the top of their travel they empty into a channel. The norias (sometimes confused with the sidiuf) is a large wheel driven by water. It is mounted on a horizontal axle over a flowing stream so that the water strikes the paddles that are set around its perimeter. The water is raised in pots attached to its rim or in bucket-like compartments set into the rim. The large norias at Hamir in Syria can still be seen today; the first known mention of norias at Hamir is by Almay b. al-Tavyib in 371/981.

The Vitruvian mill-wheel turns a vertical gear-wheel that meshes with a horizontal gear-wheel to which the driving shaft is attached. The horizontal vaned mill-wheel is fixed directly to the driving shaft; there are no gears. It cannot be mounted directly in the stream since the water must be directed on to its vanes from a pipe or channel.

There can be no doubt that all these machines were in continuous use in Islam from the early conquests until the introduction of modern technology. (As mentioned above, the gddaf and the sidiuf are still in use; they are cheaper and more easily maintained than motor-driven pumps.) The evidence comes from treatises on machines, references in the works of historians and geographers, and archaeological investigations. For a selection of the available evidence, the reader is referred to the Bibli, under Wiedemann, Schiliz, and Schub. The remaining discussion will be confined to developments of particular importance in the history of technology.

Mills were used in Islam for other purposes beside the grinding of corn and other seeds, e.g. for crushing sugar cane and for sawing timber (A. Y. Hassan, Taki al-Din and Arabic mechanical engineering [in Arabic], Aleppo 1976, 51, quoting al-Nuwayri and Ibn Asaki). This suggests that rotary motion was converted to reciprocating, probably by means of trip-hammers. More examples of similar applications may be discovered when a systematic study of the historical and geographical works is undertaken.

Another area of interest is the use of the overshot mill-wheel, in which the water is conducted through a channel to the top of the wheel, which has bucket-like compartments around its rim. The overshot wheel works mainly by the weight of the water, whereas the Vitruvian one is operated by its force. In many conditions, the former is the more efficient of the two. Its use is recommended by a certain al-Muradi in a treatise composed in Andalusia in the 5th/11th century (D. R. Hill, A treatise on machines, in Journal for the History of Arabic Science, 7 [Almeppo 1977], 33-46. In this paper the treatise was wrongly attributed to the well-known astronomer Ibn Merry, above, p. 242, and 247, describes a similar wheel in operation near Tabriz and M. A. Hassan, above, p. 247). The overshot wheel did not come into general use in the West until about the 9th/15th century. Al-Dizareai (in Suppl.) often uses small overshot wheels in his devices, but these are usually scoop-wheels, a kind of primitive Pelton wheel, the scoops being fixed to the ends of spokes that radiate from a solid disc.

It is reasonable to infer that the scoop-wheels used by al-Dizareai were miniature versions of wheels in full-size machines, an inference that is strengthened by the fact that he used such a wheel in one of his water-raising machines (Category V, Ch. 3). The visible part of this is a sidiuf, which is provided with a model cow to give the impression that this is the source of motive power. The actual power, however, is provided in a lower, concealed chamber and consists of a scoop-wheel and two gear-wheels. This system drives the vertical axle that passes up into the main chamber, where two further gear-wheels transmit the power to the chain-of-pots wheel. Such devices (without the model cow) were in everyday use. A similar machine was in continuous use on the River Vezio above Dammasso from the 7th/13th century until about 1560 for water supply and irrigation. It was restored to working order by the staff and students of Aleppo University (Hassan, op. cit., 58-9).

Al-Dizareai describes four other water-raising machines in Category V, Chs. 12 and 4 dealing with flume-beam swaps operated by animal power through gear trains. The first two of these incorporate segmental gears. The earliest known occurrence of these gears in Europe is in the astronomical clock completed by Giovanni De* Dondi in 1365. The fifth machine is a slot-bod pump, driven through gears from a paddle wheel. It is remarkable for having two horizontally opposed cylinders and true suction pipes. Tabi al-Din (10th/16th century) describes a similar pump, but equally remarkable is his six-cylinder "Nonoblic" pump (Hassan, op. cit., 47-50).

The vertical cylinders are fitted into a single wooden block which rests in the water. Delivery pipes lead out from the sides of the cylinders, near their tops, and are brought together into a single outlet. Each cylinder has a valve at the bottom. The pistons are provided with weights at the top and lever arms at the sides. The lever-arms are supported at fulcums and their free ends extend inside the perimeter of a scoop-wheel. As the water strikes the scoop-wheel it rotates, the scoops bear down in succession on the lever arms and the pistons rise and fall in continuous succession. It should be apparent from the foregoing brief discussion that Islamic engineers were active in the construction and development of hydraulic machines for water-raising and power supply throughout the mediaeval period and beyond. Similar activity took
place in Europe, India and East Asia. Each region used the machines that were best suited to its needs, to the local hydraulic conditions, and to the available constructional materials.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): two treatises are available in annotated English translations by D. E. Hill, The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices by al-Jazari, Dordrecht 1974, see esp. chs. 12, 15-6, 170-98, 275; and The Book of Ingenious Devices of the Band Masr (fl. Baghdad mid-th century), Dordrecht 1979, see chs. 222, 226, for horizontal waterwheels; there is an Arabic-English glossary, now available, ed. A. Y. Hassan, Aleppo 1978, Abu 'Abd Allah al Kharaszmi, Mathâb al-Sulân, ed. van Vloten, 1969-93 (this section contains definitions and brief descriptions of parts used in hydraulic and other machines); E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arabischen wissenschaftsgeschichte, Hildesheim-New York 1970, see index under taqâb, náªra; Wiedemann and F. Hauser, Vor Rerichtungen zum heben von Wasser in der islamischen Welt, in Jahrbuch des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure, viii (1918), 121-54. T. Schlaier, Roman and Islamic water-lifting wheels, Odense 1973 (deals mainly with the sûbâa); useful discussions on hydraulic machines in various regions, including Islam, occur in M. Neidham, Science and civilization in China, ii, Cambridge 1966 (see index under "mills", "water-raising devices", "water-wheel", etc.: Lynn White Jr., Medieval technology and social change, Oxford 1962, ch. 3; R. J. Forbes, Studies in ancient technology, Leiden 1955-64, ii, 79-9; N. Smith. op. cit., ch. 11. (D. R. Hill).

4. PRE-20TH CENTURY IRRIGATION IN EGYPT

Until the 20th century, irrigation in Egypt remained much as it had been in Pharaonic times. The continuity of practice stemmed from the dependence on the annual Nile floods, which provided Egypt not only with water for irrigation but also with the alluvial soil deposits to renew the fertility of the cultivated lands. The great river, however, does not only bestow its gifts, but may also be the cause of misfortune to the country. Up to modern times and before major dams and irrigation projects were undertaken, a high Nile promised the richest results. The irrigation dams (the djusûr) were of paramount importance for the irrigation of the fields, were classified into two types in medieval Egypt: the small irrigation dams (al-djusur al-balâdîyya) and the great irrigation dams (al-djusur al-sûlânîyya). The first were important for conveying water from one field to another in the village. Each musâkâ (holder of an idâra) with his clerks was responsible for the upkeep of these irrigation dams within the confines of his idâra. As for the great irrigation dams, which were constructed for the benefit of the provinces, the sultan was responsible for them, at least in theory. In practice, especially under the Mamlûk sultans, the musâkâs assisted the sultan in the construction of this type of dam by supplying peasants, oxen, harrows and tools, cf. Ibn Mamânî, Kawkân al-dâmmânîn, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 252-3, 344; al-Kâshâshâb, SUVâb, iii, 449; al-Mâkri, Kûdâd, i, 102.

Because of the importance of the great irrigation dams, both the Ayyûbîd and the Mamlûk sultans used to select distinguished and able amirs and officials to supervise the work of their maintenance. Al-Nâburî (d. 660/1261) states in the kitâb Lûânâ al-jasânîn al-mudâwînîyya (ed. G. H. Becker and C. Cahen in Bulletin d’études orientales, xvi [1958-60], 39-50) that every year the Ayyûbîd sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil used to send him with 3 or 4 amirs to the Dîla provience during the flood period in order to keep the dams of that province in good condition. It seems that the Ayyûbîd sultan sent officials like al-Nâburî to other Egyptian provinces for the same purpose. Under the Mamlûks there was an office called kâshî al-djusûr...
(office of inspection of irrigation dams) for each province in Egypt. The holder of this office, called khattāf al-dāDIR, was an amīr who was added by assistants in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation dams in the province under his charge, cf. al-Kalkagandi, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

Each year before the advent of the Nile flood, not only had the canals to be dug and the irrigation dams to be constructed and repaired, but also the land to be cultivated had to be prepared. The methods of that preparatory work as well as the tools used were more or less the same traditional ones known to have been used by the Egyptian peasants for thousands of years. As for irrigation, al-Nuwayrī and al-Makrizī state that when the Nile rose during the flood period, the peasants took water from channels and wadis, which were not yet taken by the first waters of the Nile, and only reached the villages, which were established on hills and mounds, by boat or on the great irrigation dams. When the soil had had sufficient water, the khawālīs (stewards) and the ġaybāh (village headmen) supervised the cutting off of the irrigation dams from specified places at certain times in order to draw off water from the fields, thus letting it flow benefit other places, cf. al-Nuwayrī, 1, 264-5; al-Makrizī, Kāfīrī, i, 96; see also al-Masudi, Maudū al-dhakāb, Beirut 1965, i, 375; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Safarnāme, ed. and tr. by C. C. Wellesz, 39, tr. 118, al-Kawāzin (d. 692/1293), Alībūr al-bilāda wa-ṣafr al-dāDIR, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 175, mentions that when the water of the Nile reached gradually after being on soil for forty days, the peasants began sowing.

The crops which were cultivated after the Nile flood season in mediaeval Egypt did not need any more irrigation than their inundation during the flood period, cf. Ibn Hawqlī, 97; al-Ṭāhirī, 49. This was the most common method of irrigation, called bi ʿayb by al-Nabulusī, Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo 1911, 63, and mān al-mārād by al-Makrizī, Kāfīrī, i, 107. The last term is still used by the contemporary fallāḥ to denote irrigation without artificial implements. Crops watered in this manner were called "winter crops" in order to distinguish them from the summer ones which the peasants began sowing during the Copanic month Baramīlāt (February-March) and which relied on irrigation by artificial means such as water-wheel, shadoof, etc., cf. Ibn Manmālī, 49.

Al-Makrizī in the Minḥālī and al-Makrizī in the Khāshiṣhūf distinguish between the winter and summer crops which discussing the kinds and farming of the al-Makrizī states that the winter crops were wheat (ṣalām), barley (ḏafar), beans (fīfī), bitter-vetch (dāhrūna), lentils (lādā), and flax (kaṭaṣ) al-Makrizī adds to al-Mahānī's list of winter crops chick peas (kumrus), clover (ṣayr), onions (bāṣal), garlic (ḏīms), and leekious (fartūm). For summer crops al-Makrizī mentions ureipe melons (fujābī), water-melons (bīghīf), kidney beans (ḡābīya), sesame (ṣimṣim or sawsim), cotton (būn or ʿabī), sugar-cane (bāṣāb al-saḥhār) and locascia antorum (kūbīḍ). Although al-Makrizī lists the same for summer crops, he adds arguevines (bahrīgā), indigo (niṣa), radishes (fūd), turnips (fīfī), lettuce (ḥamz) and cabbages (barūm), and puts both the unique melon and water-melon under the same name bīghīf; cf. al-Makhtāmī, Kūbīd al-Minḥālī ʿilm ġamālī Dīn, ms. B.M. London Add. 23483, ll. 308-310: al-Makrizī, Kāfīrī, i, 101-2.

There were many methods known in pre-20th century Egypt to irrigate the soil under the summer crops. They were inherited from older times and continue until today, with the exception of one which was very primitive and arduous. This was the transportation of water to the fields in buckets, jars, etc., hung from the necks of the oxen. This method was mentioned by al-Nabulusī as the means of irrigation for the two villages Dimashqīn al-Baṣāl and Damūh, known as Kūm Darī, in the Fayyūm province, cf. Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm, 99, 101. This method, which was a continuation of a Pharaonic technique, seems to have been known in other Egyptian villages.

The other methods of irrigation used by the mediaeval Egyptian peasant employed any one of four artificial irrigation contrivances, namely, the nalūṭ, the dhīlā, the sāḥīya and the ʿabīth. These four contrivances were used in Egypt before the advent of the Arabs and are still in current use. There is no mention of what was known as the nalūṭ in the available classical sources, but the existence of such a device in Ancient Egypt, as well as its depiction in the Description de l'Égypte, État moderne, Planches, Tome deuxième, Paris 1817, Arts et métiers, Pl. vi (4), proves its existence in pre-20th century Egypt. It is still in use in Egypt, as well as in many African countries. Two men stand face to face, each holding two cords of palm-fibre ropes to which is attached a wide, shallow waterproof basket. This basket, made from twisted palm leaves or leather, is known in Egypt by the same name. The two men holding the ropes bend slightly toward the water, dip the basket and fill it. Then they straighten while turning to the field, thus raising the basket which is emptied into the mouth of the irrigation canal, cf. Lane, An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, London 1871, ii, 27.

The dhīlā or shadoof is a kind of draw-well which was used in Pharaonic Egypt and in mediaeval ʿIrāq, and is still used in Egypt and other eastern countries for raising water for irrigation. It usually consists of two posts, beams of the acacia tree or shafts of cane, about five feet in height. These posts are coated with mud and clay and then placed less than three feet apart. The two beams are joined at the top by a horizontal piece of wood, in the centre of which a lever is balanced. The shorter arm of the lever is weighted with a heavy rock or dried mud, while at the end of the longer arm hangs a rope carrying a leather pail. The peasant stands or a platform on the river bank and pulls down the balanced pole until the pail dips into the water and is filled. A slight upward push, which is helped by the counterweight of the rope, raises the pail above the irrigation canal, into which it is emptied.

As for water-wheels, al-Makrdādī al-Tawīlī (14th century) states that there were many dawālaʿ (pl. of dālaʿ, a Persian word which denotes a water-wheel) on the banks of the Nile for irrigating orchards during the low waters. He also says that the kūdbī was the bucket of the dīlah, cf. Aḥsan al-ṭakhāmīn, 208. In the next century, Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions in his Safar-nāma, 39, French tr. 118, that 'up the Nile there are different cities and villages, and they have established so many dīlahs that they are difficult to count.'

In mediaeval Egypt, there were two words used to denote wooden water-wheels, i.e. the sāmašī (sing. sāmaša), and the nāṭī (sing. nāṭī), al-Nabulusī, Taʾrīkh al-Fayyūm, xi, 27, 31, 48, 52, 54, 63, 94, 125, mentions that some villages in the Fayyūm province had sāmašī to raise irrigation water. In Fājdīa, for example, he states that there were sāmašī which were running day and night. In the Kūbīd Līmān al-kandūnī, 48-9, al-Nabulusī warns the Ayyūbīd Sūtan al-Malik al-Ṣāhid Ayyūb of the negligence and dis-
The irrigation of sugar-cane when the Nile water is low, one or two
hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length)
and to avoid wasting water on the way to the field,
circular journey. The work of the peasant or his sou
up water which they spill out into the irrigation chan-
the Nile, he is said to have designed this screw to
invented by the Greek mathematician and inventor
Archimedes (ca. 287-212 B.C.) while studying in
the same industry, the technical representation is lacking.

The Arabic word mahdi (sing. mahdal) denotes the huge pulley which is used for raising water from wells, cf. Ibn Manzur, Ld, Beirut 1936, xi, 620-1. However, al-Maqrizi in the Khita, i, 1, 702, uses it to refer to the water-wheel. When discussing the irrigation of sugar-cane when the Nile water is low, al-Maqrizi says that each of these mahdal can raise the water to irrigate eight faddans of sugar-cane, providing that the water-wheel is installed close to the Nile and that eight excellent beasts are available to work it. When the wells are established at a distance from the Nile, each of the mahdal cannot irrigate more than 4 to 6 faddans. Al-Maqriz also refers to the hadbla, which is discussed earlier explained as the bucket of the water-wheel.

It is apparent that the ordinary, contemporary Egyptian water-wheel is more or less the same as the medieval one, since it does not differ appreciably from the one depicted in the Description de l’Egypte, Etat moderne, ii, 1, 501-2; Planches, Tome deuxième, Arts et métiers, Pl. v. The flat horizontal wheel of the sahiba is turned counter-clockwise by a single beast, or pair of oxen. The flat wheel’s rough cogs engage the vertical wheel which carries a long chain of earthen pots (daddal). These clay pots are suspended from ropes and are lowered, mouth downward, into the water. Following the path of the wheel, the pots scoop up water which they spill out into the irrigation channel as they arrive at the top of the wheel on their circular journey. The work of the peasant or his son is toGoods the beast, to watch the turning wheel, and to avoid wasting water on the way to the field.

As for the tibil (water-screw), it was apparently invented by the Greek mathematician and inventor Archimedes (ca. 287-212 B.C.) while studying in Egypt. Observing the difficulty in raising water from the Nile, he is said to have designed this screw to facilitate the irrigation of the fields.

The water-screw has been continuously in use in Egypt when the level of water is not very low, from the times of the Ptolemys until the present. It consists of a wooden cylinder (about 6-9 feet in length) hooped with iron. While the spiral pipe is fixed between the inside wall of the tibal and an iron axis, its upper extremity is bent into a spiral, and its lower end is inserted under the water. One or two peasants crouch at the water's edge, endlessly turning the crank handle. The water rises from bend to bend in the spiral pipe until it flows out at the mouth of the canal.

However, using the primitive implements of the nasifdj, the dailja, the sibija and the tibil, the pre-20th century peasant in Egypt irrigated the land and managed to produce the necessary crops to maintain the economy of the country. Many of the techniques and implements that he devised or used have proved to be efficacious to such a degree that they are still extant.


5. Irrigation in ‘Irak

Since it is impossible here to look at the use of water in all its aspects and in regard to all the problems which it raises, the present section merely deals with irrigation in the same manner as is done for other regions of the Islamic world.

Taken as a whole, ‘Irak is a flat plain irrigated by two great rivers, whose risings and fallings lack however the comparative regularity of the Nile. Since the Euphrates (al-Furût [f.3]) flows at a higher level than that of the Tigris (Dijja [f.3]), the canals which, from ancient times, have connected them run at an oblique angle in relationship to them. Aerial photography, together with other sources of information, has allowed Adams to supplement and complete, for the left bank of the Tigris,
the information of the mediaeval authors and, especially, of Ibn Sarafyln (Serapion). In regard to the zone between the two great rivers, periods of neglect before and after the coming of Islam have transformed part of central Iran into a marshland, the Bahla [q.v.], the drainage of which has not been possible. The rivers and the great canals, constructed and maintained by the state, were important routes for communication, which were not impeded by the bridges of boats across them or by the mills. The upkeep of the smaller canals was the responsibility of local people. An ancient system of customary law regulated the amount and the periods of water used amongst the holders of land along the banks, and specially-appointed officials had the task, through the manipulation of sluices and water-gates, of securing this regulation. The interest shown about irrigation questions by mediaeval authors arises from the fact that, both for the land-tax and for local dues, irrigated land was distinguished from non-irrigated land.

The anonymous author of the Kitb al-Husfl (5th/11th century) has provided us, in the shape of mathematical problems, with some interesting details about the administration of the canals and about hydraulic machinery in mediaeval Iran. He describes various kinds of waterwheels, dindak, the balance, and it is to be understood that an azala = 100 cubic cubits of water, and then spreading it for irrigation purposes, according to the season, and the numbers of men and animals required to work them. Then he moves on to the "balancing out of ground" intended to fix the levels of canals which have to be dug out (see E. Wiedemann, El, art. MEZAN). Finally, he raises the question of the construction and upkeep of the raised canal banks, which he calls bandan, a pre-Islamic term not listed in the classical dictionaries, hence often wrongly read. It is necessary to know the volume of earth, reeds and brushwood which has to be transported, which is counted according to a special unit, the azala = 100 cubic cubits of balance", and it is to be understood that an azala is procured by 33 "spade loads", handled by two men, one digging and the other transporting the earth, etc. in sacks. The provision of materials and the labour, which seem never to have been done by slaves, are paid according to an official tariff.


(C. CAHEN)

6. Irrigation in Persia

The distribution and density of population and the development of agriculture in Persia throughout history have been closely dependent upon the availability of water, and the nature of the irrigation systems has influenced both the siting of settlements and the pattern of society. Precipitation is scanty and seasonal, it is concentrated on the periphery of the country, as also are the major perennial rivers.

As a general rule, rainfall, which occurs between October and May, decreases from the north to the south of the country and from west to east, but in a number of areas the high relief of the Alburz and the Zagros mountains has modified this pattern. Along the Caspian Sea coast and the northern flanks of the Alburz, precipitation exceeds 1,800 mm. near the mouth of the Safid Rud; annual totals fall to less than 500 mm. on the east side of the Caspian near Gumbad-i Khi Discuss. Along the western flanks and summits of the Zagros Mountains, precipitation amounts to between 300 and 500 mm. in some of the higher peaks and to more than 1,000 mm. on the west of Shabzir receive more than 400 mm. In the north-western highlands, between the two belts of high precipitation, there is a zone of moderate precipitation of 350-900 mm. In the centre of the country occupied by the Dasht-i Kavir and the Dasht-i Lut, great sterile deserts, precipitation totals almost everywhere less than 100 mm., though a higher precipitation is found on the eastern borders of the Kavir in the highlands around Birjand and Zâhâddin. Everywhere, with the exception of the Caspian littoral, low and episodic rainfall is a major constraint on agriculture, hence the importance of artificial irrigation.

Dependable supplies of surface water exist only in isolated districts around the margins of the country, but there is nowhere an annual surplus of water, and seasonal surpluses, except in the north and west, are insignificant. Run-off is episodic, and occurs only because precipitation momentarily exceeds the infiltration capacity of the surface. The flow of water in streams and rivers throughout the country is seasonal and highly variable from year to year. Peak flows are too late for winter crops and the minimum discharge occurs when summer crops are in greatest need of moisture. The control of water by artificial irrigation is therefore immensely important for agricultural production and prosperity. Without artificial irrigation the cultivation of plants native to regions where summer rainfall is normal, such as cotton, millet, rice and sugar would not be possible.

There are few great rivers in Persia—the great hydraulic civilisations have no place there. The largest are the Kârûn and the Karâkha [q.v.] which flow into the Persian Gulf, draining almost all the area between ‘Abâdân and Kirmânshâh. Further south are the basins of the Mand [f.v.] and the Shûr, which also drain into the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman respectively. The Safid Rud flows into the Caspian, as also do the Aras [see AL-RASS] and the Atrek [q.v.]. The water of the two last-named, which flow along the modern Russo-Persian border in the north-west and the north-east respectively, is shared with Russia. The central zone of Persia, covering the largest part of the country, is an area of internal drainage. Small rivers flow into the closed basins of Lake Urmiyya (Rûd-‘Izârayyâ) in Ardârây- jânu, into the Hûmûn in Stûran and into dry lakes and saline marshes in structural basins in the East Zagros, the depression between the Zagros and the volcanic axis extending from Kûm to Kirmân, the Džiz Mûrûnîn basin, the southern Lût, Balû- čistân, the eastern highlands north of Birjand and in the frontier zone with modern Afghanistan. South-west of the central desert is the basin of the Zayanda Rûd, which supports ‘Ishâhân and to the south of this, the basin of the Kûr. The discharge
of most streams in the central zone is small. Many of the larger streams, gathering in high mountains, have steep and irregular profiles. Leaving the mountains, they diminish quickly as a result of evaporation, seepage and diversion for irrigation, leaving dry channels, the underflow of which now and then supports an exotic agricultural efflorescence. From ancient times, the water of these rivers and streams has been used for irrigation and has formed the basis on which flourishing civilisations have been established in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. The history of the water use of the Kur in the Marvdasht plain illustrates the importance of the role played by irrigation in the establishment of the early Persian empires in that region and the changes in the prosperity of the region and the density of settlement which took place over the centuries as a result of fluctuations in the upkeep of dams and irrigation channels (see further, G. Korium, Die Marvdasht-Ebeno-Fars, Kiel 1976). For the most part, the rivers flowing into the southern end of the Caspian Sea, apart from the Oxus [see AMO DARYA] appear to have been less used for irrigation in early and mediaeval times than the rivers in central, southern and eastern Persia. Hamid Allah Mustawil states that little of the water of the Zhran River was used for irrigation and most of it ran to waste (Nuzhat al狩alb, ed. 0. Le Strange, 214). Similarly, hardly any of the Tadzhik and Karkharan rivers was used for irrigation, except for that little which watered the lands lying immediately along its bed; most of it was wasted (ibid., 217); and the same, he alleges, was true of its tributary, the Shahrud (ibid., 218), though this was not so in the case of the rivers of the two Ţarums, which also flowed into the Safid Rūd: in summer most of their waters were used for irrigation and little flowed into the Safid Rūd (ibid., 221). The smaller basins of the arid centre of Persia and the south-east, together with the fringes of the basins, receive incoming water mainly by seepage: seepage of many small ephemeral streams. The traditional method of tapping this water is by kānāt (g.v.), which, with its associated network of canals, is characteristic of irrigation on the Persian plateau; hence too the frequent siting of settlements on gentle slopes some distances from the foot of the hills that feed the kānāts. From earliest times, the material basis of the population on the Persian plateau has been provided by kānāt water (H. Goblot, Essai d'une histoire des techniques de l'eau sur le plateau iranien, in Persica, vii [1939], 120). The various systems of irrigation—by river, kānāt, spring or storage dam—are not mutually exclusive; many districts use more than one.

The configuration of settlements has been decided in many cases by the nature of the water supply. Where water is scarce, villages tend to be concentrated; elsewhere they may be more scattered. They frequently flank water-courses and cluster about the outlet of kānāts or round springs. The area immediately round a town or village is usually intensively cultivated with irrigation—even in the dry farming regions there is often a small irrigated area in or near a town or village. Beyond the cultivated land there is sometimes a periphery of marginal land which may be cultivated in years when the water supply is extraordinarily plentiful. Similarly, mountain villages in regions where the rainfall is sufficient for cultivation usually have an irrigated area, however small. In mountain valleys, the villages tend to be situated on rocky slopes rising above the intensively cultivated valley floors or to straggle along the mountain streams. Mountain slopes are often skillfully terraced, and much time and labour is expended on the construction and repair of dry stone retaining walls for the cultivated plots (cf. X. de Planhol, Geographie de l'agriculture, in The Cambridge history of Iran, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1964, 149-50). The need for regular attention to the upkeep of irrigation works has, further, been an important factor in making the village, rather than the isolated farmstead, the typical form of settlement throughout most of Persia.

Artificial irrigation may already have existed in late Neolithic times. By the Achaemenid period, there was an extensive network of kānāts, and with the extension of irrigation there was an expansion of agriculture. It is probable that drainage schemes were also undertaken in different parts of the empire. Later, the Sasanids brought more land under cultivation by clearance and drainage and applied new techniques to irrigation (R. Ghirshman, Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest, Harmondsworth 1954, 239). In Islamic times, control of water for irrigation remained crucial to prosperity and settlement.

Such control is a highly complex matter, and requires for its successful implementation not only technical skill but also political stability. The heavy load of state administration that irrigation systems impose takes a large share of the public revenues; the covering and control both difficult and costly. Flash floods often destroy irrigation works, especially those connected with kānāts, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts. On the plateau, the lowering of the stream-beds through normal erosion results in the lowering of the water-table itself and leaves irrigation canal intakes above the new water level. In modern times, the lowering of the water-table by the extraction of water by pump operation connected with the sinking of semi-deep wells has led to many kānāts falling into disuse, especially those connected with kānāts, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts. On the plateau, the lowering of the stream-beds through normal erosion results in the lowering of the water-table itself and leaves irrigation canal intakes above the new water level. In modern times, the lowering of the water-table by the extraction of water by pump operation connected with the sinking of semi-deep wells has led to many kānāts falling into disuse, especially those connected with kānāts, while spring floods may also cause much damage in lowland districts.

Inadequate drainage, on the other hand, often leads to a rising water-table under irrigated lands, water-logging, salinisation and alkalinisation, which result in considerable loss of output. These processes vary widely in different districts and different years. In some regions, notably Kūhāstān and Sistan, deterioration of the soil because of a change in the water-table due to over-lavish irrigation and inadequate drainage, or both, has been a major problem. Another problem is that ground water in some districts may be heavily charged with soluble salts and be too saline for use in irrigation. This is the case in many districts on the borders of the central desert and in the Persian Gulf littoral.

Natural conditions and agricultural practices cannot alone, however, explain the fluctuation in the history of irrigation in Persia. The shifting of centres of political authority which accompanied dynastic changes and demographic changes resulting from invasion and the increase in dead lands because of the slaughter or flight of their inhabitants has also played a part. A breakdown in the control of water, for whatever reason or reasons, was inevitably followed by a decline in prosperity. The decay of Kūhāstān, which culminated under the Abbāsids, is an illustration of this. Under the Sasanids, the waters of the Karkhā, Diz and Kārūn had been utilised by an elaborate system of barrages, tunnels, inverted syphons, lifting devices and canals (see below). Cereals, sugar cane, rice and dates were produced in abundance. In the last fifty years or so
of Sāsānian rule, irrigation was neglected. Under the rule of the Orthodox Caliphs and the Umayyads, adequate attention was not paid to artificial drainage of the irrigated land, and under the Abbasids the province declined—rising water-tables under irrigated land may have been responsible for the attempts of the Abbasids to irrigate new lands of poorer quality. Waterlogging, alkalinisation and salination, and the hazards of flood, all contributed to the decline of the region which occurred in post-Sāsānian times (see further R. McC. Adams, Agriculture and urban life in early southwestern Iran, in Science, cxxvi, 3511 (1962), 109-22). Changes in prosperity in other regions brought about by a failure to control irrigation have been, perhaps, less spectacular but none the less important. The decay of irrigation and drainage not only resulted in an increase of waste and unproductive land, but may also have led to the spread of malaria (see Malariα), thus contributing to a decline in population and output.

Water utilisation: technical features. Irrigation works, plain take-offs, dams (see Band), weirs, lifting devices, artificial reservoirs and Bandānāt, supplemented by principal and secondary canals, are to be found all over the country; and some are ancient structures.

(i) Dams. Several large dams existed in Khuzistān in Sāsānian times, including the bridge dams at Sīshtar and Dīzful, built by Shāpur I and Shāpur II or Ardashīr II respectively, the dam on the Dārāshīr near Khalafābād, and the dam on the Mārūn at Aradānī on the last, see H. Gauß, Die südpersische Provinzialarchitektur, Vienna 1975, 189-90). They continued in use for varying periods after the fall of the Sāsānians. Repairs and reconstructions were numerous, and the Romano-Sāsānian work at Sīshtar and Dīzful was partially replaced by pointed-arch bridges. The dam at Sīshtar, known as the Band-i Mīrān, had a length of 7,200 ft. and raised the water to the level of the city of Sīshtar, which was situated on a rocky outcrop on the east bank of the Kūr. The dam was built partly by Roman prisoners of war taken in Shāpur I's victory over Valerian in A.D. 260. It had a rubble masonry core set in hydraulic mortar; the facing was of large, cut masonry blocks, held in place by both mortar and iron clamps set in lead. It was pierced by numerous sluices for the purpose of releasing water in time of excessive flow. It took three years to build, during which time the Kūr-i Rūd River was diverted through two by-pass channels. One of these, the Ab-i Gargar, winds its way south for some twenty-five miles and then rejoins the Kūr. When the work of the dam was completed, the entrance to the Ab-i Gargar was closed by a second dam, the Kāyārān dam. This was made of large stone blocks mortared and clamped together, and six sluices were provided to control the flow of water into the Ab-i Gargar. Part of the bridge at Sīshtar and the Band were swept away by floods, and may have been responsible for the translations of Muhammad 'Ahd Mīrān, when governor of Kirmānshāh, undertook repairs to it in the early 10th century (J. M. Kinneir, Geographical memoir of the Persian empire, London 1823, 98-9). When Curzon visited Sīshtar in 1889, there was a gap of over seventy yards in width in the middle of the bridge, which had been swept away by a flood in 1885. The efforts of Nīqūn al-Saltāna, the governor of Agrabātīn, to repair it proved abortive (Persia and the Persian question, London 1892, ii, 374-5). A further canal, the Miyan Ab canal, was cut, apparently to divert water through a tunnel made in the face of the castle rock in order to irrigate the high-lying lands to the south of the city, the level of the water of which was regulated by dams. As a result of the rupture in the Band-i Mīrān and the bridge, the river-bed was lowered at the point where it formerly fed the canal and the land which was intended to irrigate became desertic (Curzon, op. cit., ii, 376).

The Dīzful dam, a replica of the Sīshtar dam, was 1,250 ft. long. When Curzon visited Dīzful, the dam was in a dilapidated condition, two of its arches having recently fallen in (op. cit., ii, 303). After it fell into decay, all local irrigation depended upon rough dams of stone and brush-wood, which were reconstructed after every flood (H. Wulf, The traditional crafts of Persia, Chicago 1967, 285; N. Smith, A history of dams, London 1971, 59, 82; A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and peasant in Persia, repr. Oxford 1969, 236).

South of Sīshtar, where the Ab-i Dīz and the Ab-i Gargar flew into the Ab-i Sīshtar, the main channel of the Kūr, another Sāsānian dam, the Band-i Rīr, of which only the name survives, was located. The name is of interest because it suggests that bitumen (Bir) may have been used to make the dam watertight and solid. Another dam on the Ab-i Gargar, called the Pul-i Bulayt, was added to the Sīshtar system in Islamic times. This was a power dam; mills were installed in tunnels cut through the rock at each side of the channel, the dam providing the necessary head of water to drive the mill wheels (see Curzon, op. cit., i, 372-3). A third bridge dam was built, also in Sāsānian times, over the Karkhā at Fār-yi Pul. It fell out of use when it burst in 1837. Its remains were seen by Sir Aurel Stein in 1933 (Aurel Stein, An archaeological journey to Western Iran, in Geogr. J. [October 1938], 327).

At Ahvāz (Pers.), there was another great dam (but not a bridge dam), probably over 3,000 ft. long, and about 25 ft. thick. Its remains were to be seen until recently. Al-Mukaddasi describes the dam as being wonderfully constructed from blocks of rock behind which the water was held back. He states that the water was divided into three canals, which watered the fields of the estates of the people of the city, and that without the dam Ahvāz would not have been populous and that its canals could not have been used (Ahsan al-takdsim, 412; see also Curzon, op. cit., ii, 347-8). The collapse of the dam in the 9th/10th century brought ruin to the city.

Numerous storage dams and their remains are to be found in many parts of Persia. Although their overall contribution to irrigation was not as great as that of Bandānāt, or of the dams in Khuzistān, they were of considerable local importance and enabled land which could not otherwise have been cultivated to become productive. One of the most interesting systems is that on the Kūr River in Fars, which has provided irrigation for the Kurbāl district to a greater or lesser extent for some 2,000 years. The most famous dam of this complex is the Band-i Amir, built about 349/960 by the Buyid Muhammad 'Ahd al-Dawla ([q.v.], probably on earlier, possibly Achaemenid, foundations. Prior to its reconstruction, the water of the Kūr could not be raised to irrigate Upper Kurbāl. Al-Mukaddasi, who wrote soon after the dam was built, and Ibn al-Balkhī ([q.v.], who wrote rather under 150 years later, describe the dam in similar terms. The latter states that 'Ahd al-Dawla brought engineers and workmen to the place in order to build the dam and spent much money on its construction. The dam was made of
stone set in mortar, reinforced by iron anchors, which were set in lead. Upstream and downstream the river-bed was paved for several miles, and the supply canals extended for over ten miles, serving 300 villages in the Marvdasht plain. Ten water-mills were built close to the dam, the crest of which was wide enough to allow two hundredmen abreast to ride across it [al-Muhammed, 444; Ibn al-Balbi, Fara rauna, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1911, 157-7; see also G. Le Strange, Developments of Irrigation in Persia at the beginning of the 19th century A.D., London 1912].

Upstream from the Band-i Amir there were five other major dams for the irrigation of Lower Kurrâbî. These included the Râmdjîrî dam, built on Achaemenid foundations, which was almost as large as the Band-i Amir, and five downstream, the last of which, the Band-i Kaşâr, was only a few miles from Lake Buhštâgân into which the Kur flows (A. Houtum-Schindler, A note on the Kur River in Fars, its sources and dams and the districts it irrigates, in Proc. Royal Geogr. Soc. 1891, 287-92; see also N. Smith, op. cit., 83-5, and Kortum, op. cit.). By the 6th/12th century, the Band-i Amir, the Band-i Kaşâr and the Râmdjîrî dam had fallen into a state of decay and were repaired by the Sa'djûk governor of Fârs, the Atâbâh Dâjâl al-Dîn Čâvîl Sâlâw (Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern caliphate, 277-8). The Râmdjîrî dam was again rebuilt towards the end of the 6th/beginning of the 13th century, and there were several reconstructions after that date (Smith, op. cit., 53).

In the eastern provinces of Persia there were also a number of dams and irrigation works on the Oxus or Amû Daryâ [49] and on other great rivers and lesser streams. Some of these were repaired, and others constructed by the Muslims. Sîstân was depend-ent almost wholly upon the control of the water of the Hîrmând (Hilmand) River [see Bîrmând]. Zarand, the capital of the province under the Abbâsidâs, was situated near the original capital of Râm Shahrâsîn (Abrasghârîyîr), which according to tradition, had been abandoned when a dam across the Hilmand had burst and the water had been permanently diverted from the Râm Shahrâsîn canal (Le Strange, op. cit., 339-40). From the works of the Muslim geographers, it would appear that Zarandî was irrigated by six dams on the Hilmand near where it enters Lake Zarâb. Some of these may have been of Sàsând origin. The Muslims added various water-wheels to the system. In 286/1285 Zarandî and its irrigation works were destroyed by Timûr, as was also the Bandî Rustâm on the Hilmand River near Bûst, the water of which had served to irrigate all the western lands of Sîstân. Failure to repair and maintain the elaborate system of canals and dams on the Hilmand River resulted in much of the land formerly irrigated and drained being converted into reed beds and swamps. The headwaters of the Hilmand and the main stream are at the present day in Afghanistan. After entering Persian Sîstân, the river divides into two branches, the Pariyaq and the Sîstân rivers. The former flows in a northerly direction, and with its tributaries waters northern Sîstân. The latter flows through southern and south-western Sîstân. Near the Afghan frontier, the Kahâk dam diverts water into the Pariyaq, while another dam lower down, the Bandî-Zâhâk, diverts more water for irrigation. The use of the water of the Hilmand and the construction of new dams has been the subject of bitter controversy between Persia and Afghanistan. The first award of the river waters between them was made in 1872. In 1950 the Hilmand River Delta Commission was set up (though subsequently disbanded).

The water of the Murghâb River in Kûrâsân was diverted by numerous dams and canals for irrigation. Al-Îtâkhirî relates that one march south of Marzû, its bed was artificially dyked with embankments faced by wooden works which kept the river-bed from changing. Under the Sa’djûks, the number of dams and dykes on the Murghâb was increased. These were later abandoned, but after a deep gully, the dam of Marzû converted into a desert swamp, according to Hâfîz Abîrî (Le Strange, op. cit., 397, 402). He states that after Timûr’s conquest of Kûrâsân, various of the andirs and pillars of the state each made a canal leading off from the Murghâb, in order to irrigate the land, and that when he was writing, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, twenty of these were in existence. He describes the city as being in a flourishing condition (Yadkhrîyî-yi Hâfîz Abîrî, hîrmat-i rabâ-i Kûrâsân: Hâfîz, ed. Meydî Harâwî, Tehran A.I.I.S. 1349/1970-1, 36).

One of the most important periods in medieval Persian construction of dams appears to have been the Ilhâân period, when, in the late 7th/13th century and early 8th/14th centuries, several dams were constructed. The great achievement of this period was the construction of a number of arch dams. One at Kibar (Kivar), some 15 miles south of Kûmân, is the oldest surviving example of this type of structure so far located. Built in a V-shaped gorge, which narrows about halfway down to a deep gully, the dam is 85 ft. high and 180 ft. long at the crest, the thickness of which is between 15 and 161/4 ft. The air-face, the radius of curvature of which is 125 ft., is vertical except near the face where there is a slight slope in the downstream direction. The dam has a core of rubble masonry set in mortar (sârî) made from lime crushed with the ash of some desert plant, which makes it hydraulic and results in a strong, hard and highly impervious mortar ideal for dams. The dam has a vertical series of arches on the face, the water-face connected by shafts and galleries to provide passage for the water through the dam walls (though their precise function is uncertain). Two other arch dams, probably also belonging to the Ilhâân period are situated near Tabâs, the Shâh ‘Abbâs, east-north-east of Tabâs, so called because it was repaired in the Safawid period, presumably by Shâh ‘Abbâs I or Shâh ‘Abbâs II, and the Kurî dam, to the south of Tabâs. The latter is remarkable for its height of some 120 ft. (H. Goblot, “Sur quelques barrages anciens et la genèse des barrages-voutes,” in Science-Progrès, no. 353 [April 1973], 15-20; idem, Kêbar en Iran sans douze le plus ancien des barrages-voutes, in Revue d’Histoire des Sciences, cahier no. 6, Smith, op. cit., 65-8). Another dam, a large gravity dam at Sâwa was also built in the Ilhâân period. Hâst Allâh Mustawfi states that it was constructed on the orders of Shân al-Dîn Muhammad Shâhî-Dîwân [see Grouvy, Hâst Allâh amir Muhammad] (Khûshp al-Tâhir, 211). It was situated to the west of Sâwa and east of the point where the Kârâkîyî (Ghâmîrah) joins two streams from Sâwa and Awâ respectively. Although the limestone rock at the side of the valley was sound (as far as is known), the base of the dam was built on river alluvium consisting of sands and gravel, which go down 90 ft., before bed-rock is reached. Consequently, as soon as the reservoir began to fill, the pressure above the foundations drove the
water through the alluvium and the water established a permanent outlet for itself. The dam was abandoned, but the structure survived (Smith, op. cit., 64-5). It is not without interest that a number of dams and irrigation works were constructed about the same time in Yamaan by Sa'di Adjlal, who apparently became governor of Yamaan in A.D. 1274 (J. Needham, Science and civilisation in China, 1973, 997).

The dating of the gravity dams at Khorrud and Kamsar near Kārgān and at Faribān and Turuk in Khorusān is uncertain. The Khorrud dam is attributed to Shāh 'Abbās and the Kamsar dam to Dālahā-āl-Dīn b. Muhammad Khārazm Shāh (Abd al-Raḥāmān Dārūš, Ṣāḥibī-yi Irānīn Timur tāshīd, ed. Irakli Afqeflr, Tehran 1962, 40-1, 42, 43). The Kazvānī dam in Khorusān was made by the Timurīd Shāh Sa'dī Mirzā (855-71/1450-27) (Aṣāṣīd wa mulekābīāt-i ʿarāk-yi Irān tā Shāh Ismāʿīl, ed. Abd al-Husayn Nawāy) (1334/1914, 313). The Sālūm Dam in Khorusān was constructed by Chiyyūd al-Dīn Kurī (760-91/1360-24) (N. M. Clewenger, Dams in Khorusān, some preliminary observations, in East and West, N.S., xix [1959], 393). These dams were still in use in the 1960s, but most of them furnished very little water because their reservoirs were heavily silted up.

Under the Safawīs, there was renewed activity in dam-building and other constructions for irrigation. Shāh Tāhosānp (930-84/1524-76) attempted to divert the water of the Kūrūn into the Zāyandāh Rūd by a cutting tunnel through the mountain ridge which separates them. The work was abandoned owing, it was said, to the foul atmosphere of the workings. Shāh 'Abbās I (958-1028/1548-79) revived the project, but abandoned it after a tunnel in favour of an open cutting. It is reported that at times he employed 100,000 men on this undertaking, but the scheme came to naught. Shāh 'Abbās II (1023-78/1614-67) made another attempt, in which he was assisted by a French engineer named Genest. A dam, 300 ft. long and about 100 ft. high was built across the Kūrūn to divert the water of the river while the channel was cut. Smith, thinks that Genest may have had in mind more than a mere diversion of the river and that he may have hoped to reduce the amount of excavation through the mountains by raising the level of the river. The scheme, however, was also abandoned after 100 ft. of the tunnel was cut. The Hungari dam between the two rivers had been cut. The idea was revived during the reign of Ridd Shāh Pahlavi. Work was begun on the cutting of a tunnel connecting the two rivers. Known as the Kūhrang tunnel, it was finished in 1953 (Smith, op. cit., 72-3). The increase in the flow of water in the Zāyandāh Rūd which resulted has enabled more land to be cultivated in the districts through which the river flows. Shāh 'Abbās II also built, on the foundations of an earlier weir, the Khāqānī Bridge over the Zāyandāh Rūd in Isfāhān. It is a combination of a weir with sluice gates and flood arches above these, with a permanent roadway on the top (Wulff, op. cit., 248; Smith, op. cit., 73-4).

(ii) Wells and lifting devices. A variety of lifting devices operated by men and animals to raise water from rivers, streams and wells have been widely used in the past, especially in Khūzistān, the Persian Gulf littoral, Fārs, in the neighbourhood of Isfāhān, in some districts in eastern Persia and on the shores of Lake Urmīyā (Riddīrīyā). They are still used, but have been largely superseded by power-operated wells. Man-operated wells consist of a windlass set over the well with a large leather bag attached to it. These operated by draught animals are worked by one or more draught animals such as oxen, mules and, less frequently, buffaloes, each draught animal having one or more men working with it. The constructing of these devices varies slightly in different regions, but the general principle is the same. Their operation is both laborious and inefficient. A wooden wheel is set in two brick or stone built pillars, or two heavy upright posts, above the well, connected by a wooden scaffold. Two pulleys are run on axes attached to the scaffold, over which a main and an auxiliary rope run into the well; the wheel end of the main rope is attached to a hook and a ring carrying a wooden cross from which a large leather bag is suspended. An auxiliary rope to which the auxiliary rope is attached. The draught animal is harnessed to the ropes and sets the wheel in motion by walking up and down a runway beginning at the well-head and descending at an angle of about 20 degrees. By this action, the bag is let into the well. When it is full, it is lifted to the surface and emptied itself in front of the well into a trough which carries the water into the irrigation channel. In some wells, a big wooden horizontal cog-wheel, geared to a vertical wheel which turns a basket carrying the bag on the same axis, is used in motion by an ox or mule walking round and round a circular runway made about the well (see further Wulff, op. cit., 253-8, and Lambton, Landlord and peasant, 227-8; and also C. Cahen, Le service de l’irrigation en Iraq au début du XIXe siècle, in BEO, xii [1949-50], 176-89). Curzon describes how water was lifted for irrigation from the Kūrūn above Ahwāz, where the river was confined within banks from 20 to 30 ft. high. Pools were hollowed in the river bank and water was drawn up by means of leather skins and a pulley worked by oxen pacing up and down an inclined plane on the top of the bank (op. cit., ii, 356-7). (iii) Cisterns, water tanks and ponds. These are found in regions in which water supplies are scarce and are especially common in districts on the edge of the central desert, though they are also to be found elsewhere, notably in Fāmixāt. They are supplied by water from kardās, underground springs or rain-water. Some are made with stones or bricks and cement and are of a considerable size. Abd al-Raḥīm Dārūš states that almost all the villages and hamlets in Khūzistān have at least one of these tanks (masārī), and that of Nīyārūs was too 'dharī' by 50 'dharī' and 35 'dharī' deep. He describes the purpose of an istebrāh as follows: "In some hamlets (masārī) the water is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (kardā) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, it is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (kardā) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, it is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (kardā) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. As a result, it takes a long time for the plot to be inundated, because when the quantity of water is small, it is less than [the amount required for] a plot of land (kardā) for the first rotation when water is due to be let into sown land or orchards. 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has [sufficient water] in the first rotation period for three or four pieces of land, and it wishes to divide the water into three or four irrigation channels, some giving more water and some less. A cistern is therefore necessary, so that the requisite amount can be let into each irrigation channel, or so that water from two or three sources can be let into different channels and then divided (zaridga-paymānī namāyand) (Tāzīkā-i Kāshān, 56-7).

Hand Allah Mustawfi describes how small catchpools were made on the edge of the cultivated area round Tān to catch rain water which was used for grain cultivation (Nuṣḥāt al-Bālūd, 143-4).

Irrigation practices and water distribution and measurements. Irrigation practices range from heavy perennial irrigation, land watered less heavily throughout the year or parts of the year, to land watered once or twice a season through the capture of flash floods or water stored in a cistern. The usual method of irrigation is by inundation; for some crops, trench irrigation is used. In the case of rivers, the water is diverted into canals and sub-canals and cross-canals, whence it is led into the fields to be irrigated. The division is made according to established rights of priority, usually (but not always) starting upstream and ending downstream. The water of other sources, if it is prolific, is also divided into various channels and led to different users simultaneously. The division of the water between several users is assured by a variety of mechanical devices, distributors, or runnels with inlets of a fixed size or by the allocation of fixed periods of time. Where water is divided by a weir between a number of villages or users, the size of the orifices at the rim of the weir varies according to the share of the water permanently allocated to the different users. Water is led into individual fields, plots or gardens by breaching the banks of the canals (usually with a spade) for the appropriate length of time.

The rotation period of the water (dawar-i dib) normally begins in early October with the start of the agricultural year and is fixed at so-and-so many days. Within that period, so many shares, defined in days, hours, or minutes, are allocated to the different districts, villages, fields, or plots of land watered by the source in question. A common way of measuring the unit of time is by a kind of hour-glass, the time-unit being the time it takes for a small copper coin to run, i.e. until it is placed in a vessel or water-tight well or basin (Aghnīdēs, Mohammādiān thowres of finace, Lahore 1961, 515). See also Zayn al-Dīn B. 'Ali al-Amin al-Shahād al-Tīni, Kawāfs al-bakhiyya fi gār lamān al-Dimmāgīhīyya, lih. 1291/1875-6, 267). Water in rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins which are not water-tight is, therefore, considered to be mubāh, even if the rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins should be private property. Everyone is entitled to use such water for drinking purposes for himself and for his animals, provided that the animals do not exhaust the whole supply. The sale of the water of privately-owned rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins (for drinking purposes) is permitted by some jurists, though all appear to consider it better to give such water than to sell it (Aghnīdēs, op. cit., 516, and see also Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūsī, al-Nibāyā fi l-fishāṭ wa-l-fatwā, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Bāhir Sārba-zāwīl, Tehran 1333-41/1955-6, 2 vols., ii, 282). The right of all men to use water is confined to the imād (crop-sharing) (usurpation), gāfāb (agreements) and musādāt (agreements for the sharing of fruit and other trees). The general principles concerning water laws are accepted by both Sunnīs and Shi’ahs, but there are differences in matters of detail between them and between the different law schools which, in view of the fact that water laws are based on custom, is not surprising.

(i) The right of thirst (gāfāb). By virtue of the hadith which states that Muslims are partners in water, fire, and grass, the use of water is considered as common (musādāt) to all men, but it may be appropriated by "occupation" (lābīd), e.g. by collecting rain water in a vessel placed outdoors to that end. It cannot, however, be "occurred" until it has ceased to run, i.e. until it is placed in a vessel or water-tight well or basin. (Aghnīdēs, Mohammādiān thowres of finace, Lahore 1961, 515). See also Zayn al-Dīn B. 'Ali al-Amin al-Shahād al-Tīni, Kawāfs al-bakhiyya fi gār lamān al-Dimmāgīhīyya, lih. 1291/1875-6, 267). Water in rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins which are not water-tight is, therefore, considered to be mubāh, even if the rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins should be private property. Everyone is entitled to use such water for drinking purposes for himself and for his animals, provided that the animals do not exhaust the whole supply. The sale of the water of privately-owned rivers, kāndīs, wells and basins (for drinking purposes) is permitted by some jurists, though all appear to consider it better to give such water than to sell it (Aghnīdēs, op. cit., 516, and see also Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūsī, al-Nibāyā fi l-fishāṭ wa-l-fatwā, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Bāhir Sārba-zāwīl, Tehran 1333-41/1955-6, 2 vols., ii, 282). The right of all men to use water is confined to drinking purposes and does not extend to its use for irrigation.

(ii) The right to use irrigation water. According to the Sunnīs (fikrāh), the water of the great rivers belongs to the Muslims in common (Abō Ṭūsī, La livre de l'impôt foncier, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 148) and according to the Shi‘ahs (fikrāh), to the imām. Their water may be used by anyone for irrigation and power provided its use in this way does not harm the community, and anyone may divert water from the great rivers by means of a canal, unless such diversion is prejudicial to interests already acquired. In the case of the lesser rivers, the water of which is sufficient to irrigate the land along its banks without
the construction of dams, anyone may lead off water in a canal to irrigate other land, provided such action is not prejudicial to existing interests. If the water of a river cannot be used for irrigation without the construction of dams, lands higher up have, according to most authorities, Sunni and Shih, a prior right to those situated lower down (cf. al-Mawardi, 386 f. and Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi, al-Nihayat, ii, 283). The Hanafis, on the contrary, hold that lands situated lower down the river have a prior right over those situated higher up, while the Malikis lay down that land situated higher up has the prior right of irrigation until the water reaches as high as the ankles, but if the land lower down has been developed earlier and there is a danger of its crops being destroyed, it has a prior right over land higher upstream. These various views are reflected in existing practice. As to the amount of water that may be drawn off, the Prophet is said to have allowed a level as high as the ankle, and this tradition is widely followed. Al-Mawardi, whose exposition is concerned with the practice of water management rather than the theory, holds that the amount varies with the nature of the land, the kind of crop, the time of sowing, the season and whether the flow of the river is permanent or intermittent (op. cit., 388; see further Aghnides, 517, Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, 210-11).

The right to use water flowing in artificial holes, such as the water of a canal dug by the people of a village, belongs exclusively to the owners of the bed of the canal, and others may not use the water for irrigation. The manner of use is established by the agreement of the co-owners. The construction of mills and bridges, etc., requires the consent of the co-owners. The construction of new canals and irrigation channels under a mudarras or musajjat (govt.) is only allowed in the lands which border the river. The ownership of landed property involves the revivification of dead lands (khayd al-mattat) normally involves the irrigation of the land. Thus al-Mawardi states that land to be revivified for cultivation must be irrigated if it is dry, and drained if it is marshy (op. cit., 380, 382; Aghnides, 500-1; see further Zayn al-Din b. 'All al-Amili, al-Sihdya, iii, 265-7). Revivification concerns ownership, and canals dug to bring water to dead lands belong to those who dug them (al-Mawardi, 389), and wells or handais made in dead lands in order to revivify them belong to those who made them. If irrigated with river water, revivified land pays ushr, and if reclaimed with khayrd water, kharij (al-Mawardi, 382 f.). Al-Muhakkik, discussing the conditions for the revivification of dead lands, states that there is no shar'i text governing these and that reference is to be had to custom. If the intention is the cultivation of the land, ownership is established either by talab, or by bringing water to the land by a water-wheel or some similar method (khayrd, al-islam, ed. Abd al-Husayn Muhammad 'Ali, Nadji 1328/1910, 4 vols., iii, 275-6). New canals and handais to bring irrigation water to dead lands are subject to the law governing harim. Hilar. The ownership of landed property involves also a right over the land which borders it, where it is necessary for the full enjoyment of the property. So far as irrigation is concerned, this is of vital importance in respect of springs, streams, handais and water channels. Accordingly, "borders" are laid down for such forms of property, within which a third party may not undertake new irrigation works, though some jurists lay down that "borders" can only exist in land to which no one has a prior right. The extent of the "borders" varies according to the nature of the water source and according to the nature of the soil (al-Mawardi, 390, 392, 395, 'Abd Yusuf, 153-3, al-Muhakkik, Sharif, iii, 372-3). Al-Muhakkik permits 1,000 cubits (arg) for a handai if the soil is soft and 500 cubits if it is firm (al-Muqaddas al-nafis, 306).

Mudarras and musajjat (govt.). The first is a crop-sharing agreement and the second an agreement for the exploitation of fruit trees and other trees, under which the two parties each have a share in the proceeds. Agreements of this type were known in pre-Islamic Persia. Under the former, water is traditionally regarded as one of the five elements (the other four being land, draught animals, seed and labour) affecting the proportion in which the crop is divided between the two parties to the agreement, the landlord and the peasant. In theory, one share went to each of the five elements, but in practice there was much variation in the shares going to either party, though the ownership or provision of water always played an important part in the division of the crop in the case of irrigated land.

Musajjat was an agreement made between the owner of a garden and another party, who would undertake to irrigate the trees and who would receive in return a specified share of their fruit. It could also be concluded for trees or plants which did not bear fruit, but the produce of which was capable of exploitation, such as the henna or tea plant. It could also be concluded for newly-planted trees which would not bear fruit for some years. The responsibility for cleaning handais and irrigation channels under a mudarras or
mukatūd, sūr al-Mubakrād, Mukhtasar al-ndfī*.

Water or rain paid full (Abū ʿIsâr, while lands watered by river, device paid half—carried on the back of a beast or raised by a lifting water also ceased to be of practical effect.

Soon the distinction between hūrā and land and distinction between ʿishr and land be¬came blurred, the distinction between water and land and distinction between hūrā or according to whether it is found in water or hūrā land. There is, however, some difference of opinion among the jurists over the status of the water of the great rivers and the implications of its status for tax purposes (see further al-Mawardī, 282-3; Aghna
des, 359, 366-7). Land reclaimed with ʿishr water paid ʿishr and with hūrādī water, hūrādī (see above, s.v. Dead lands). When in the course of time the distinction between ʿishr land and hūrādī land be¬came blurred, the distinction between ʿishr water and hūrādī water also ceased to be of practical effect.

What was crucial in assessing the tax-bearing capac¬ity for the upkeep of the great rivers was vested Kharān and ʿisrāwūn, which is dedicated to Sulfūn Uways b. Muhammad b. Hindu shah, it can be taken as a typical example of contemporary practice (as it should be rather than as it was). In some cases, royal farmanīs were issued for the settlement of water disputes—and not necessarily always those of a major nature. A short farman, dated Dhu 'l-Qa'a 953/Apr., 1546 issued by Shāh Tahnānā, regulates a dispute over water rights between Kharānīs and Sulfūs, two villages in Aḏharbāyjan. It orders the peasants and crop-sharers of Kharānīs to act towards the peasants of Sulfūs in accordance with the shaartūnā (imposition of water supply only. In its simplest form, a certain rate was imposed per unit of water (šāb, ʿabādī, ṣūfīna, sāhī). The rate varied from village to village; reassessments were seldom made, but the incidence of taxation might be increased by the imposition of additional quotas. Wells in some districts in southern Persia in the 19th century paid a wheel tax (ṣuq esh-bī) (Stack, ob. ed., ii, 259).

In the case of the declaration of dead lands, tax concessions related to the nature of the water supply were from time to time recorded. The Ilīhānī Ghāzān Khān (694/1295-1304), who attempted to bring about a cultural and agricultural prosperity, classified dead lands into three groups according to the labour required on irrigation works, and gave them tax concessions for three years (see Landlord and peasant, 51).

Water rights and the religious officials: the settlement of disputes. Water, perhaps because it is closely associated with ʿishr and hūrādī, which are among the īmān aḥlis, generally speaking came within the purview of the religious officials. The regulation of the water of the Hari Rūd in the 8th/14th century is said to have been carried out by the Shaykhw al-Islām Nisām al-Dīn Aḥdī al-Raḥīm Khādī, and that of the Zāyanda Rūd in the 12th/17th century is attributed to Shaykh Bakr al-Bakr al-Dīn Muhammad al-Anīlī (see below). So far, however, as the religious officials gave due attention to issues for disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government. Thus when Aḥdī al-Raḥīm b. Tahir (273-308/882-944) found that there was no body of laws on the subject, he assembled the jufbāh of Khu¬rāsān and ʿinkh (not the ʿummalīs) of ferrous metals for the purpose of deciding on the disputes over water (which were of frequent occurrence), they relied for the execution of these, as they did in decisions over other matters, on the officials of the government.
their services for the purpose. The cleaning and repair of canals from the great rivers leading water to individual villages was the responsibility of the owners of the canals. If they refused to carry out the necessary work, they could be compelled to undertake it, since neglect of their duty might result in injury to the community and might diminish the supply of water to those who had a right to it (Abu Ya'uf, 144, 148; see also N. B. E. Bailey, *The land law of India, according to the Mochummadan law*, translated from the Fatawa Alumgeers, London 1873, 49-50). In the provinces, responsibility for the control of the waters of the great rivers was in practice delegated to the provincial governor. With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of local dynasties, this responsibility passed to those who held power locally. There was, therefore, no uniformity of system and information concerning water control and irrigation is patchy. It was presumably the theory that the *imda* had the right to compel the Muslims to give their services for the repair and cleaning of the great rivers which gave sanction to the practice of levying corvées for irrigation works, either of a seasonal nature, as in Sistan (though it would appear that in the early centuries an allocation was made on the *kharaj* for irrigation works, see *Tadhkired-i Mulk*, ed. Malik al-Sharifgarz, Bahar, Tehran A.H.S. 1341/1962, 15). He gives the regulation from Salawid times onwards. Under the *tirid* and *buluk*, the water was led off in canals to the villages which varied at different periods of the year, having a seasonal nature. Thus when Fazl al-Din Mukaddam made plans to restore prosperity in Harat in 653/1257-8 after the depredations of the Mongols, he held a meeting in the Friday mosque and assembled the men of Harat to work in corvées (*baghar*) on the irrigation channels which had silted up (Istizâr, *Rawdat al-djamâât*, ed. Muhammad Kârim Imâm, Tehran A.H.S. 1333/1950-1, ii, 110-12; cf. also Saiyf b. Muhammad b. Ya'qub al-Harawi, *Tihrîk-nîmā*; Calcutta 1944, 111). Some centuries later, Fâqîl Allah b. Ruzbihân Khûndî (d. 927/1512), while still taking the view that expenditure on irrigation works came under the heading of *masâili* al-nawâsib and was therefore a legitimate charge on *khârid* revenue, nevertheless sought to legitimize the raising of special taxes (nawâsib) for such expenditure. He writes, "What is taken in *khârid* from the generality of men for the repair of dams on the Oxus or for the building of walls round the kingdom or other such matters of public interest is a debt which must be paid and a claim which is rightly due, and refused to pay is not permissible; such taxes are not unjust" (*Sûlûk al-malûk*, d.l. ms. Or. 253 [microfilm copy], 119).

There are from time to time references to special departments in charge of irrigation, but, on the whole, it would seem that their existence was the exception rather than the rule. In western Persia, there appears to have been a *dâwin-i db* in the 4th/10th century at the time of the rise of the *bûyids*. The *Târîkh-i Khâm* states that when the Ghûlids and Daylamids conquered Khûmân they abolished the *dâwin-i db* (Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-Kârim, tr. into Persian by Hasan b. Sa'id b. Hasan b. 'Abd al-Mâlik, ed. Djalâl al-Dîn Tîhrànî, Tehran A.H.S. 1313/1934, 53). The only Bûyids who appears to have been concerned to foster agricultural prosperity and hence to have paid attention to the upkeep of irrigation works was *'Abû al-Qâdir* al-Dawla (d. 532/1527), the builder of the *bûlûk* of *Amû* (Hasan b. Muhammad b. Khân al-Kârim, *Tadhkired-i Mulk*, ed. L. Castani, Leiden 1909-17, vi, 505 ff.). About the same time, there was in the eastern provinces an extensive water administration for the Margâhî River, which was under the jurisdiction of the rulers of Ghardîstan. A specially appointed *amir* was in charge of the upkeep of dykes on the river and the regulation of the water supply. He had 10,000 workmen and horse guards under him. 'Abd al-'Îsahb al-Shâhî states that he enjoyed greater respect than the *wâli* (*Masâli* al-masâlih, 261-2; Le Strange, *Lands*, L, 597-8). Under Ya'qûb b. Layyîn in Sîstân, there appears to have been a *mirâb*, who was a government official. Cases against him, in the event of his abusing his power, were heard in the *dâwin-i masâlih* (*Târîkh* Sîstân, 266). Under later dynasties, such as the *Sâlûks*, *Khârazm-Shâhls*, *Ilkhâns* and *Timûrids*, control was, no doubt, exercised over the great rivers by the government, though the sources contain very little information on this subject (see *Majmû'iyâ-yi mansûhâ*; 53 'Abd al-Salîm al-Sâlihîyan, *masâli-i sâlih-i Mughal*, ms, photo-copy in the National Library, Tehran, 80-b-61 for a diploma from 11 Rûmah for the *mirâb* of Bûkhârâ, and see H. Forst, *Die Staatsverwaltung des Grossfeganen und *florâns-šîks*, Wiesbaden 1964, 137). So far, however, as agriculture was fostered by individual rulers, this implied some degree of water control.

Information on the division of the Hac Rûd in the 10th/16th century is contained in an essay written by Kâsinî in *Yâsîn b. Muhammad b. Ya'qub al-Harawi* (*Kismat-i db*, ed. Malik al-Sâfu'ara, Tehran A.H.S. 1339/1960-1, ii, 196). He writes, "What is taken in Khârid from the generality of men for the repair of dams on the Oxus or for the building of walls round the kingdom or other such matters of public interest is a debt which must be paid and a claim which is rightly due, and refusal to pay is not permissible; such taxes are not unjust" (*Sûlûk al-malûk*, d.l. ms. Or. 253 [microfilm copy], 119).
and lands in the bukhār, each portion of the village lands having the right to the water for a fixed period of time (Lambton, The regulation of the waters of the Zayandeh, Rūd, in BSOI, ix [1939], 665-73) within the rotation period. The mirāb in charge of the water was an important official, ranking among the higher officials of the bureaucracy and the court. That he enjoyed such pre-eminence was due in part to the fact that Isfahān was the capital of the empire and the land watered by the Zayandeh Rūd, or most of it, came under the khāṣa administration, which was in charge of the nūbah, those districts around Isfahān which were directly administered by the central government and in which to be found also land and water resources which had been constituted into anbāf or which were the private property (khāṣa) of the shah. The duty of this mirāb was to order the peasants, on the eve of the Naw Rūd, to clean the nūbah (as the major canals in Isfahān were called), lesser canals (anbāf) and channels (dajālāt) which belonged to them, according to established custom. He was to see that the water of the Zayandeh Rūd reached all the districts round Isfahān which had a water right (khāṣa dhā) in turn and according to the share customarily allocated to them from ancient times. The appointment and dismissal of those in charge of the nūbah (muḥāṣf) was his responsibility. He was also charged with the task of deciding disputes and claiming damages concerning the water of the river, though certain disputes of a general nature affecting all the landowners and peasants were referred, according to the royal order, to the wazir of the supreme dinār; in such cases, the khāṣa, muṣaffa and mirāb of Isfahān would go with the mirāb and the wazir of the supreme dinār to the districts, examine the nūbah, canals, channels and runnels and decide the khāṣa dhā of each district on the basis of the dinār registers and settle all claims according to common sense, custom and the practice of former years. In accordance with this practice, many ordeals and decrees (jurām wa ḥabām) had apparently been issued and had become customary practice. Apart from the customary dues (rusūm) which the mirāb received in each district on account of the first water given to wheat (khāṣa dhā) and the water given to wheat when it was nearly ripe (dān dhā), a small amount (kādir) was allocated to him by the khāṣa administration (jarār-i muḥāṣf-i āsrāf) in cash and kind, which he received annually (Muhammad Taqī Dāšqāpārd, Dastār al-mulūk-i Mirzā Rāfīq wa Tadhkīr al-mulūk-i Mirzā Serafīd, in Tehran University, Rev. Fac. des lettres et sciences humaines, xvi/6 [A.H.S. 1340/1962], 403-3; see also Tadhkīr al-mulūk, facs. text, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, Leiden 1943, 83-8). The accounts of European travellers who visited the Šafawī court also show the mirāb to have been an important official. Tavernier states that his office was one of the best offices of the court and much sought after, and he who obtained it was obliged to give large presents (Voyages en Perse, Paris 1907, 67, 23). Besides he writes that his emoluments amounted to 4,000 dirhams per annum (Voyages, iv, 100). Mirzā Husayn Khān b. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Tāshqalādār, writing in 1877, states that the mirāb and that of baillif (muḥāṣf) of the royal kamāt (banāwāt-i ḥażūsa) existed, but that "at the present time there is no one holding these offices. Authority lies with the officials of the bulākh (i.e. the districts watered by the river) and it is not necessary for them to be someone holding these offices as a special charge" (Dīwān-i tāsīyat-i Iṣfahān, ed. Manoochehr Sotoodeh, Tehran, A.H.S. 1342/1963-4, 128).

The mirāb in other large cities was also often a person of considerable local importance and influence. In Šīrāz in the 13th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, there was a hereditary tendency in the office (as there was in many other local offices), the office of mirāb of Šīrāz having been held for many generations in the same family (Fāsān, Fārs-nāme-yi Nūrīf, 1st., 1315/1855-6, 2 vols in one, ii, 74-5).

Apart from the great rivers, water management was carried out by small-scale local efforts. In the case of the lesser rivers, banās and springs, the administration and control of the water was normally in the hands of the users. They might or might not appoint a mirāb, who might also have assistants whose duty was to supervise the allocation of the water to the users served by the individual canals. In some districts, a mirāb was appointed only when water was abnormally scarce. He and his assistants were paid by dues collected locally or sometimes by a share of the crop (see further Lambton, Landlord and peasant, 222 ff.). In Šafawī districts (districts in which large landowners predominated) the mirāb was commonly the servant of the Šafawī.

Modern developments. Land and water were sensitive issues, and under Šīrāz Pahlavi fundamental changes were not, on the whole, introduced. The administration of rivers and the protection of water resources, the basis and rate of which varied on the different rivers, was under the Department of Irrigation of the Ministry of Agriculture. The civil code, various parts of which were promulgated between 1925 and 1935, is largely based, so far as land and water are concerned, upon Šīrī law. A number of other laws concerning the use of water, some based on āsrāf practice and custom, others of a more innovative nature, were passed. Provision for the registration of water rights was made in 1929 and, in 1937, the banān-i ʿunār of 25 māns (the land for water development) was passed. This defined ʿunār as the greatest possible agricultural development by means of, inter alia, the making and repair of banās, the reclaiming of waste lands, the maintenance of irrigation channels and the drainage of marshes. Although on the statute book, this law was never put into operation because of the opposition some of its provisions were likely to create among those who held land (Lambton, op. cit., 1927-3). The law of 29 Urūl-Billī 1323 (1945) authorized the establishment of an irrigation institute under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture and contained provisions for a widespread control of irrigation by the state. These were put into operation somewhat erratically. A number of dams and barrages were planned, and some constructed by the government and by private enterprise, notably at Simnān, Ravānāsir, Šahānḵār, Ābā Daghī and Hamdiyya. Little real progress was made and no hydrographic survey, which was a prerequisite to the efficient management of water by the state, was undertaken (see Lambton, op. cit., 1927-3, 1945, 196 ff., 192-3). There was also some forcible diversion of water to Tehran from neighbouring villages by Rādī Šīrāzī (Afīn Allah Musawīlī, Šāhīs-i ʿiṣrāsī-yi man, Tehran A.H.S. 1344/1965-6, 3 vols, iii, 128 ff.). After the Second World War, there was heavy investment by the government in irrigation under the various development plans, especially dams, mainly for energy but also for irrigation, among them the Dīz dam (the Rūd Shāh Kabīr dam), the Sefīd Rūd dam (the Muḥammad Rūd Šīrāzī dam) and the Karajā dam (see further H. Bobek, Unternehmungen Landes unter Kultur, Frankfurt am Main-
The land reform of 1962 laid down special provisions for the transfer of water rights and the upkeep of irrigation works. These provisions were also put into operation somewhat erratically, and there were conflicts of interest between the land reform administration and various ministries, especially the Ministry of Water and Power, which was set up in 1964. A water nationalisation law was passed in September 1968, which attempted to alter the system of water control radically (see further Lambton, The Persian land reform 1968-69, Oxford 1969, 273 ff; C. Salamanzadeh, Agricultural change and rural society in southern Iran, Menas Press Ltd. 1980; D. A. Caponera, Water lines in Moslem countries, FAO, Rome 1973, 74 ff.).

Irrigation and society. Although it is difficult to generalise on the subject of irrigation in Persia, some few observations can be made on the influence which irrigation has had on society. It was possible through irrigation to introduce new crops and to intensify and diversify agriculture. This agricultural specialisation became the basis of the flourishing civilisations which developed at different periods in the history of Persia. But this process was not uniform over the whole country. Generally speaking, the exploitation of water resources on the plateau would seem to have been more intensive than in the periphery or in regions with a concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. The early centuries of Islam were marked by the growth of cities and towns, round which there was, in many cases, an expanding area of irrigated land, the agricultural surplus of which provisioned the cities and towns. The list of the crops grown in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries given in the work of the Muslim geographers bears witness to a highly-developed agriculture, which depended on irrigation. In the later centuries also, agriculture flourished from time to time, though seldom over the whole of the country at the same time. Periods of expansion alternated with periods of recession, which were the result of natural calamities or political vicissitudes. With the neglect or destruction of irrigation works, land went out of cultivation and the area under grain crops expanded relative to that under cash crops, as appears to have happened in the early period of Mongol domination. Be that as it may, agriculture up to modern times was the major source of the revenue of the state. It was also the basis of the wealth of the ruling classes and of the livelihood of the majority of the population. The well-being of the state and the people was thus dependent upon a well-maintained irrigation system, and prudence, if nothing else, demanded that attention should be given to the upkeep of irrigation. Sharif law recognises this, and permits the expenditure of haward on the upkeep of irrigation works (even if, in practice, funds were often not available, or not made available, and the work was done by corves). Treatises on the theory of government recognise, in general, that the economic foundation of the state was a flourishing agriculture and that the upkeep of irrigation works was therefore incumbent upon the ruler. The sources do, in fact, frequently mention, in general terms, the efforts of individual rulers and their ministers to spend and divert irrigation water, to make hawards and to repair irrigation channels; and they also mention the decay and destruction of irrigation works in time of war and insecurity. This dependence of the state and society upon agriculture and of agricultural prosperity upon an irrigation system which was inherently fragile had certain consequences. In the first place, it produced a certain caution towards experiment and change (whether in the political or the economic field) among those whose income and livelihood depended upon agriculture. The maintenance of irrigation works demanded regular care. This could only be given in conditions of political security. Canals, if not cleaned, silted up and dykes, if not repaired, were breached by flood-water. If the destruction brought by flash floods and storms was not immediately made good, irrigation water decreased. Similarly, without some degree of political security there was no investment in hawards, the digging of which was a highly-skilled operation and the upkeep of which demanded regular care and attention. Secondly, there was a general tendency to seek security in stable and orderly government backed by coercive force. Secondly, the rotation system of the water, fixed in advance and determined by rules observed by the users, imposed the acceptance of a common discipline. Usurpation and the illicit diversion of water brought strife into the life of the local community and disaster to those who were deprived of their due share of the water. This, too, led to an appreciation of order, and since the responsibility for the distribution of water, except in the case of the great rivers (which were controlled by the state), rested upon the local community, who appointed their own water officials, it fostered the cohesion of local groups and communities and encouraged local particularism.

Drinking water. The right to use water for drinking purposes according to the Sharī'ah has been set out above under the right of thirst. The drinking water of villages and towns comes mainly from springs, hawards and wells. In the villages, springs are the main source, and from them water is fetched by the users in skins and earthenware water-pots. In the towns, as for example Isfahan, many houses had their own wells from which drinking water was drawn. Large houses in many towns had a storage tank (al-'anbār), built of fired bricks and lined with waterproofed mortar (sārdīd), in the basement and an open tank (haward) in the courtyard. These were filled whenever the householders' turn to water from the haward or other sources came. Their water was used for household purposes but not primarily for drinking. In districts where water was short or brackish, drinking water might be brought from a distance on the backs of animals (cf. Curzon's description of the water supply of Bushire, op. cit., ii, 234). Covered cisterns (al-'anbār) are common in towns and villages where water is short, especially on the borders of the central desert. They are also to be found along the roads, sometimes associated with caravanserais. Some have their own springs, but more usually hawards or rain water is stored in them. Dome-shaped structures, some 50-70 ft. in diameter, reaching 15-20 ft. or more below the surface of the ground, they are a characteristic feature of local architecture (see Wolff, op. cit., 258-59).

Many, perhaps most, towns on the plateau, especially as they grew in size, were supplied by hawards. Hamd Allah Mustawfi records that the water of Kazvin was originally from wells. The first haward was made, he states, by 'Amir b. Iyasa, who became governor of the town under Mahmud b. Sebuktigin. The water of this haward reached most of the quarters of the town. Subsequently, a number of other hawards were made to serve various quarters of the town. Hamd Allah lists eight (all of which
were wafṣ) and states that according to the conditions laid down by their founders (wafṣiyān), their water was to be used for drinking purposes and for ḥamāmān and was not to be let into gardens or cultivated land (Tārikh-i guzda, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawḵī, Tehran, A.H. 1339/1960, 782). In some places, notably Vardān, wafṣ flows through the houses and the householders have the right to use the water for drinking purposes. Naṣīr-i Khosrow mentions that some of the houses in Arradjan also had a ṣanād running through them (Sefer Nameh, Relation du voyage de Nasiir Khosrow, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text 81; Gaube, op. cit., 44). This was also the case in Ṣaḥḥār (‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣaḥḥārī, ed. Khān Bāḥūr Khān Mawliwalabkhī, Taḏkira-yi Ṣaḥḥārī, Tehran repr. n.d., 10-11).

The provision of drinking water was considered a meritorious action. Many individuals made ḫawāṣṣ and constituted them into wafṣ for the drinking water of a town or one of its quarters. For example, a ṣabku-khānā of a town or one of its quarters. For example, a muḥtasib.

behind dams on rivers flowing from the mountains almost entirely by kandts, Shah's first minister, wished to investigate the 105). In modern times, with the in¬

supply on rain-water for two months in winter and spring (ibid., 100). In Dihdasht, snow was brought from in the middle of the 17th century, the people relying lor example, appears to have been short of water and the water supply of Tehran, which was then supplied in the bazaars and streets of the towns similarly constituted into wafṣ (cf. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Sipind, Taḏkira-yi awfṣ-yi Ṣafafī, A.H. 1346/1927, 360).

A shortage of drinking water in many villages and towns, especially in southern Persia, was a common occurrence (cf. Gaube, op. cit., 54, 80). Bibihān, for example, appears to have been short of water in the middle of the 17th century, the people relying on rain-water for two months in winter and spring (ibid., 100). In Dihdasht, snow was brought from near mountains to supplement the drinking water supply (ibid., 105). In modern times, with the increase in urbanisation, water shortages have been a serious problem in many towns. In the middle of the 17th century, Ḥabīḍī Mīr Ṣādi Ḵān, Muḥammad Shīr’s first minister, wished to investigate the possibility of sinking wells with a view to assuring the water supply of Tehran, which was then supplied almost entirely by ḥamāls, but nothing came of this (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 50:115, Shell to Aberdeen, no. 106, Tehran, 20 September 1831). In recent years, the water supply of Tehran has been supplemented by water stored in reservoirs behind dams on rivers flowing from the mountains to the north of the city (see further, Planoï, op. cit., 437 fl.).

Drinking water in the towns came under the general supervision of the muḥāfiṣīn. If water conduits were in a state of disrepair, it was his duty to repair them, or, if there was no money in the public treasury, to order the townspeople to do so. Similarly, if the source of drinking water was fouled, he could order them to rectify the matter (al-Māwari, op. cit., 524; R. Levy, The social structure of Isfahan, Cambridge 1957, 337). In modern times, the regulation of the water supply of the towns has been under the munici-

palities, and in recent years there has been cannalisa¬

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): P. Beaumont, River regimes in Iran, Occasional publications (new series), 1, Department of Geography, University of Durham 1973; idem, Urban water problems, in G. H. Blake and R. T. Lawless (eds), The changing Middle Eastern cities, 1979; H. Bobek, Klime und Land¬


7. Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain

Since the purely geographical aspect of the topic of water (amount of rainfall, hydrology, etc.) has been or will be treated in the articles on Muslim Spain or al-Andalus [e.g., Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia], the present article is limited to a consideration of the supplying of drinking water to the towns and villages, as it appears from the medieval texts, in addition to a consideration of the customary rules concerning the ownership, use and repartition of water needed for irrigating gardens. The topic of modern irrigation, one especially involving the construction of large dams began during the colonial period of North Africa, will not be examined, but a few words will be said about prayers for obtaining rain, since the procedures followed in the Maghrib were neglected in the article itself.

The works of the mediaeval historians and geographers have hardly any information on the system adopted in the rural areas, but for al-Andalus, there exists a rich geoponic literature (see [1952], 5-275), which has recently been utilised by Messrs. L. Bolens, J.-C. Pellat, I. S. Allouche, A. Bechraoui, A. Solignac, and A. Le Toumeau, among others. It is surprising that al-Mukaddas I (cd. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Description de l’Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siécle, Algiers 1959, xoff.; A. Bechraoui, La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabis (Tunisie), Tunis 1950) rarely neglects to mention the source of the local inhabitants’ drinking water. The installation of a modern water distribution system has reduced the activities of these [231], who have now become largely a tourist attraction.

In Spain, Muslim travellers were able to note the Roman aqueducts which brought water from quite considerable distances, but the Arabs in turn did not fail to construct water channels, in particular to bring water from the sierra to the mosque of Cordova. (On underground channels, known in Spain, and especially at Madrid, as well as in certain regions of North Africa, see [231].)

However, the most original installations, it seems, are in the region of al-Kayrawan, in Byzasene (Tunisia), and are attributable not to the Phoenicians or Romans, as has been thought, but to the Arabs, who developed an earlier existing system by practicing, during the four centuries before the Hellenic invasions, the practice of transporting underground water to thirsty passers-by without asking the slightest return, in order to make a living, they had a regular clientele to whose homes they delivered drinking water. The installation of a modern water distribution system has reduced the activities of these [231], who have now become largely a tourist attraction.

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In general, water is so important in the eyes of the peasant that ownership of it is sometimes independent of that of the soil. Two main ways of acquisition are in effect possible: (a) personal ownership acquired by purchase or inheritance of the piece of land where there is a spring, well, etc., of which the owner can dispose at his own will, subject to his respecting certain rights of use; and (b) collective ownership, in which water is appropriated to each patch of land which can be irrigated by water belonging to the community. The sale or lease of the estate implicitly includes the disposal of a corresponding part of the water, but the land's owner can also sell or lease out the land whilst reserving to himself a right of usage which he can then dispose of however he likes, compelling the buyer or lessee to obtain by some other means the water which he needs.

The customary law which governs the utilisation of the water has very precise provisions which often go back to the period before the arrival of Islam; indeed, the provisions regarding, in particular, the rights of usage affecting the land owners and the water supply, are clearly similar to those of classical Islamic law, which in fact only confirmed those of the customary regulations (see e.g. A. Hamoteau and A. Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, Paris 1893, ii, 219-53, 276-9).

The division of the individual shares is also subject to strict rules, which nevertheless do not always ensure absolute equality between the participants and which do not sufficiently guard against wastage which might well be avoided. The measuring-out is done in various ways. E.g. a copper vessel with a hole pierced in it may be placed in a tank, etc., filled with water; when the vessel itself is full and sinks to the bottom of the tank, a stipulated fraction of the time-share in the water is finished. When the water comes from a basin with vertical sides, one may use a rule whose length is equal to the basin's depth and which is graduated, i.e. it bears notches whose spacing corresponds to a given volume of water. Other methods are still in use. When the share of water supply, whose duration and periodicity vary according to the differing regions and, of course, according to the amount of water available, comes to an end, the arrival channel is blocked up with a mere clod of earth, or a rudimentary sluice-valve, which he needs.

8. Irrigation in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans followed the detailed provisions of the Islamic law according to the Hanafi school, as exemplified mainly in the Kitāb iţāha al-maṣāliṣ and the ḫabd al-ghuṣūb (see Mawāfikātī lāmāhu, ii, Istanbul 1318, 271-22, and Mīqdād, 1262-9, 1270-91; and 1224-53 also). The basic notion is that water, like wild vegetation and fire, is muḥād, that is, open to the use of the public at large. Seas, large-size lakes, great rivers, and subterranean waters are considered to belong absolutely to this category. Everyone is free to make use of these waters so long as no harm is caused to any other. In this case, the individuals had to bear all the necessary labour and expense. But usually the state was responsible for large-scale waterworks on the great rivers. For that purpose it was permitted to make use of public revenues except for sadāh (q.v.). If the state treasury was unable to finance such works, which were considered essential to the public good, the state could appoint a superintendent (nāṣir), who was authorised to employ the local population, if necessary by force, to construct them (Mawāfikātī, ii, 220).

Property rights were recognised over certain types of waters which were regulated and protected. Mānīlāb or privately owned waters were distinguished as either nawr ḍāmīn, in which the waters remaining after use by the owners were free for public use, and nawr ḍādīs, where the water was exclusively for the use of the owners. Shābū (q.v.), pre-emptive right, is in effect in the second case. The reclamation of waste land was legally recognised for individuals, Muslims or dhimmis, who might dig out water-channels (kār or cinnād) or wells, or who might find a spring or drained flooded land. In the Rumm region, individual usufruct was established only with the permission of the imām or sultan, with the condition that the reclamation process be completed within three years. In the Ottoman Empire, possession rights were recognised to those who reclaimed waste land without permission. Reclamation projects were given prior approval by the sultan by special diplomas called tumūlub-nāmes which recognised proprietary rights on waste land as well as on running water and springs within the area delineated by the document. A prescribed amount of land, called kārīn, and surrounding newly-cleared water conduits, springs, or wells, was recognised as the legal property of the owner of the water.

Water in the ēnhāres and ḍandīta (q.v.) was subject to private ownership, and no one could make use of it without previous permission of the owner. In the case of those waters under joint ownership of a number of partners, none of the partners could open new water channels, construct mills, or change the
sequence or direction of water-use without the consent of the other partners. When given, such permission could be revoked at any time. Water was divided between the partners according to the size of their respective landholdings. Partners on the upper reaches of the river were not allowed to dam up the water and thereby cause shortage on the lower reaches. If a dam had to be constructed, water rights were distributed among the owners of the land upstream from there. The owner of a body of running water had certain rights when it flowed through somebody else's land. The owner of the land was forbidden to obstruct the flow of the water and had to permit the owner of the water to carry out necessary repair work on his land. 

The village of Avshani on the Struma river was distributed starting at the lower reaches of the river. The owner of the land was given the right to make use of water at a given interval, which could be the subject of inheritance or devise, but could not be either sold, bequeathed, rented, or given away as charity. However, in Ottoman practice we find examples of owners of water, of individuals or of a waqf foundation, where the water might be sold for use in irrigation. What the state was concerned about was to prevent speculation in the price of water and to prevent the depleting of those who had waqf-i shar, the right to make use of water at a given interval, in favour of those paying higher prices (Ertemen, hâkim-nâmis, dated 1340, in Barkan, Kanunlar, 70).

In addition to the prescription on water use in Islamic law, the Ottomans continued practices and regulations which they found in the conquered lands and enacted new legislation. Concerned about the water supply for cities, water distribution, especially in areas with water shortages, and rice growing, which became a major state enterprise involving water use on a large scale, General Ottoman policy regarding water use and water works was determined to a great extent by the Ottoman land tenure system, which left the direct exploitation of agricultural land primarily to the redeva farming small units. The state did not participate directly in large-scale water or land reclamation projects or in agricultural production, except for the water supply in the cities and for rice growing. Such projects were usually initiated and carried out in the form of waqf endowments by members of the Ottoman house or of the upper echelons of the ruling class. There was no government agency responsible for water projects or regulations for water use. The construction of aqueducts and maintenance of water works was under the supervision of the ser-bundar âlehis, head architect in charge of public works. Under his authority, and directly under a nâzir or superintendent, were the sufiqda, technicians in charge of the maintenance of water pipe system in Istanbul.

**Rice cultivation as a major irrigation activity.** Here one can see how the Ottomans realised large-scale irrigation projects. In rice growing, abundant water supply and maintenance of water courses for constant watering of the rice paddies was crucial, so that the real object of irrigation was achieved. Rice growing was important as a source of revenue for the state, and it helped alleviate hunger in areas of food shortage. The Ottoman state was concerned about was to prevent speculation in the price of rice, the Ottomans encouraged from the beginning the extension of rice growing, either by establishing direct government control over watercourses, or by granting possession or proprietorship of waste (mânsul) lands, particularly in the flooded areas. Official sources conclusively show that rice was widely cultivated in the Maritsa, Mesta (Karaas) and Vardar valleys in the 9th/15th century. The growth of government revenues from rice growing in various regions in the Balkans is shown in Table 1 based on the suâyâr registers from this period (see M. Tavyp Gökdülm, Edirne ve Phaça idaresi, Istanbul 1952, 125-53).

The principal rice growing areas in Anatolia and their respective revenues in 1045/1636 are shown in Table 2 (see R. Murphey, The functioning of the Ottoman army under Murad IV, unpubl. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago 1979). An Italian source of 880/1475 (F. Babinger, Die Aufgründung der Gewasen Ivatco de Promontorio-de Cambis . . ., Munich 1957, 65) estimated at 15,000 gold ducats the revenues from rice production. Idris-i Bâlikli (Hasçk bâlink, the conquest of Filibe, Murad I's reign) states that the sultan's share of the rice production in the Maritsa valley amounted to 80,000 gold ducats in the time of Bayezid II. Besides those mentioned above, there were other important rice-growing areas in the Sakarya river valley and its tributaries in the provinces of Khudawendigar, Sultân-öni, Bolu, Ankara and Kütahya. Archival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Estimated revenue for three-year period in Ottoman ( \text{adhis} ) (50 ( \text{adhis} ) = approx. 1 Venetian ducat)</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>885/1480</td>
<td>2,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>895/1490</td>
<td>2,730,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>903/1497</td>
<td>2,850,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The data provided in Table 1 are estimated revenues for the three-year period in Ottoman \( \text{adhis} \). The conversion factor used is 50 \( \text{adhis} \) = 1 Venetian ducat. The revenues are based on the suâyâr registers from the 16th century. The table shows the growth of government revenues from rice growing in various regions in the Balkans, with a focus on the Maritsa, Mesta (Karaas), and Vardar valleys. The data include a range of years, and the revenues are presented in gold ducats. The table highlights the importance of rice cultivation as a major irrigation activity, particularly in the Ottoman state's efforts to control water use and prevent speculation in the price of rice. The Ottoman state encouraged rice growing by establishing direct government control over watercourses and granting possession or proprietorship of waste (mânsul) lands. The table provides a snapshot of the economic and agricultural activities in the Balkans during the 16th century, showcasing the importance of rice production and the role it played in the Ottoman economy.
The Baklr river valley (Bergama) 133,333
The Devres river valley (Tosya) 233,333
The upper Gediz river valley 283,333
The Menderes river valley and its tributaries (Aydın, Çine, etc.) 198,332
The Baklr river valley (Bergama) 133,333
The Gediz river valley (Dumrilli), Adala, etc.) 160,060

TABLE 2
Estimated annual revenue in aksas (240 aksas = approx. 1 ducat)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Revenue (aksas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Cilicia (Sis, and its environs)</td>
<td>69,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kholkit river valley (Niksar)</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sonda area</td>
<td>140,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kizilirmak delta (Boyabat)</td>
<td>1,333,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Devres river valley (Tosya)</td>
<td>233,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The upper Gediz river valley</td>
<td>283,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Menderes river valley and its tributaries (Aydın, Çine, etc.)</td>
<td>198,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Baklr river valley (Bergama)</td>
<td>133,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gediz river valley (Dumrilli), Adala, etc.)</td>
<td>160,060</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

due to the *timār* holders. Cotton and other crops were also expected to be cultivated on the reclaimed land. Apart from the tithe to be paid to the *timār* holders, and the profit accruing to the *reyyān*, the promoters promised to undertake the expenses of repairing the caravan highway passing through this flooded area and to construct a caravanserai and five fountains. The sultan gave his approval to this project, subject to the willingness of the *reyyān* of the area to work on the reclaimed land.

We find numerous examples of such irrigation and land reclamation projects in the Ottoman empire, always made subject to the approval of the sultan, and made conditional on the consent of the local population and *timār* holders to co-operate. Such projects, with large potential yields, were almost always proposed and realised as *wakf* endowments. This method was the predominant form of land reclamation and irrigation in the Ottoman Empire. Except for rice cultivation, the state seldom took a direct part in organising such irrigation projects. Such irrigation projects were undertaken more extensively in the period of the rise of the *reyyān* and the local dynasties in the 18th century. Under the impact of European commercial expansion during the period, they made efforts to put into cultivation previously unused swampy lands. It was during the *Tanjumād* (1550) period that, under the influence of current ideas from Europe, the state became systematically interested in land improvement and in the extension of agriculture. A Council for Agricultural and Industrial Affairs, the Zirā'at wa ṣānā', Medjlisi, had already been created in 1254/1838. In a questionnaire distributed in 1259/1843, the state attempted to find out the amount of land left out of cultivation due to flooding, and European experts were sent to the Dobrudja, Cyprus, and other parts of the empire, and reports were submitted with suggestions for the improvement of agriculture. The desire for European demand for cotton from the Levant during the American Civil War spurred the Ottoman government to introduce broad measures to increase cotton production in the watery plains in Cilicia, the Aegean coasts, and in Macedonia. This development caused shrinkage in rice cultivation in these areas. Apart from the extensive irrigation works in the Konya plain which were open for use in 1231/1815, no substantial drainage or irrigation project was accomplished by the state until the Republican period. As late as 1945, the area of irrigated land in Turkey was limited to 20,000 hectares.

Regulations on water distribution. In Anatolia and Rumelia, where water supply was generally adequate for agriculture for 9-10 months, fixed regulations for water distribution as in Iran and in the Fertile Crescent were not common. In the dry regions of the central and eastern Anatolian plateau, and during the summer months starting from July, certain regulations were worked out for the distribution of available water sources among individuals. Such arrangements, stemming from pre-Ottoman times, were particularly common in the neighbourhood of large towns where numerous orchards and gardens were to be found. According to the observations of modern geographers, in certain parts of Anatolia where traditional methods survived, the organisation of water distribution was dictated by shortages of water both regionally and seasonally, by the extension of irrigated agriculture, or by aggregation of population (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacustrines*, Paris 1838, 146, 323-8). As to sharing of spring water between several villages, there was usually no formal regulation, unless recurrent disputes forced the government to intervene as an arbiter and to work out regulations. Such disputes usually appeared as arguments over the use of pastures lands, and it was the *hāshī* court which was responsible for settling them in accordance with the *shāhī* rules, as was the case with all matters involving water distribution. This explains the lack of universally-applied regulations enacted by the government.

As a general policy, the Ottomans avoided imposing regulations on water use, and abolished pre-existing taxes and dues on water (see the *bānān-nāme* of Malatya, Barkan, 113). In some districts, the Ottomans retained older regulations for distribution of water, for irrigating gardens and fields, and for water supply to the city. In the province of Karaman, where the Ottomans found the most developed system of water distribution for urban areas, a *mir-āb* or superintendent of water was chosen to supervise the application of these regulations. To distribute water according to the provisions of the *ghara* regarding the *jāhir* water, right in the use of water, and *jāhiria*, or pre-emptive right, was the *mir-āb*’s responsibility. To ensure complete equity, the *mir-āb* appointed, with the approval of the community, several *muqaddas* who oversaw the distribution of the shares. He was also assisted by individuals who performed the work during the actual irrigation process. The regulations tried to prevent various abuses, such as taking water out of turn by bribing the *mir-āb* and others, which reflect the acute competition between the users of water during the summer months. Each user of distributed water paid a fixed fee to the *mir-āb* (for the rates see the *bānān-nāme* published in *JESHO*, xi/1, 116), who acted as tax-farmer for the government. The revenue deriving from *mir-āb*iyah, together with certain connected dues for Konya, amounted to 90,000 akçes in 1273/1856 (see R. Murphy, *op. cit.*). The function of *mir-āb*, apparently originally a Persian institution (see I. T. Khāli, Persian tr. ed. I. Afšar, Tehran 1347, 206-7; *Tadhkiral al-mluluk*, ed. V. Minoerko, London 1925, 84), was performed in other parts of Anatolia sometimes under the name of *sağaf* (see Ewliyâ Cebeli, ii, 397, iii, 29). Ewliyâ Cebeli made the remark that, if it were not for the *sağaf*, the populace would have murdered one another. (For the organisation of water use within the village, see X. de Planhol, *op. cit.*, 325-6.)

As to the techniques used in harnessing water, the Anatolian peasant usually used the simple method of channeling water from the rivers through *kaρār* or arba, but the methods of drawing up water by means of animal-powered wheels or *dılba* and small dams were used. (For an interesting example of building dams for irrigation in the Karaman province, see *JESHO*, xii/1, 123.)

City water systems. The supply of water to the towns was the second main area of concern for the Ottomans. The Ottoman water system in the towns before 857/1453 has not been studied. However, it is known that after the conquest of Istanbul the Ottomans developed quite a sophisticated water system for the city, and applied this system too in other cities in the empire, notably in Jerusalem and Mecca. In Istanbul, the most complex and best-studied example, we see that the system consisted of collecting in reservoirs or *benda* (Pers. *band*) the waters from the two hilly areas in the outskirts
of the city, namely the Khalkall valley and the Belgrad forest, and then bringing this water underground in large pipes and over aqueducts to high points in the city. Water towers or su tevars were constructed to keep the water at a high level and water depots, masalsaks and masBallus, distributed the water in different directions. In order to construct and maintain the system, an extensive organisation grew up under the chief architect or hajgija mihrd-bahzi and the superintendent of the water conduit workers or the su yedidvarl nayr. The construction and maintenance of the water works was financed and organised by suahf, either of individuals or of sultans. The main water conduits and aqueducts came into being to bring water to the complexes surrounding the great mosques which, as we know, served as the nuclei for the development of the city (see Istanbul). The mainstay of this water system was created through efforts under two sultans, Mehemmed II and Sulayman I. In the winter of 860/1456 Mehemmed II gave orders "to bring into the city from the countryside an abundance of water through aqueducts" (Kritovoulos, History of Mehmed the Conqueror, tr. Rigg, Princeton 1934, 109). The Byzantine water works, pipes and aqueducts which had been left to fall into disrepair during the last centuries of the empire, were re-discovered and used by the Conqueror to create the first Ottoman water system (see Tursun Bag, The History of Mehmed the Conqueror, ed. Inalcik and Murphey, Chicago 1978, 55-6). Dalman and Wittel (Der Valens-Aquadukt, 31) maintain that these works were concentrated on those areas of the Khalkall valley closest to the city. The Khik-Ceshme or forty fountains constructed by the Conqueror at the Valens aqueduct or Bezogian-Komeri received its water from this conduit. The rapid increase in the city's population, first under Bayezid II and then under Sulayman I (see Istanbul), together with the construction of major mosques under these sultans, led to a search for water sources at a greater distance. It was under Sulayman I that the second major water project was carried out, this time concentrating mainly the waters of the Khalkall valley which also had been used for the water supply of Byzantium up until 1204 (Dalman and Wittel, 3-9). Dalman and Wittel (14-15) show that the main aqueducts or su-kemen on this line were the work of the architect Sinan, who built them first in 561/1164 and then again in the 15th century as the previous systems had destroyed them. In constructing their water works, the Ottomans made use of the remains of the Byzantine water conduits and aqueducts as well as employing native Greek experts (a certain master called Kiriz Nicola is mentioned by Selâlî, Ta'rifhâh, 5) among the su yedidvarl. It may be suggested at this point that the Ottomans borrowed from the Roman-Byzantine system some hydrological techniques and, combining them with their own traditions, evolved quite a complex organisation to supply water for their huge capital city. Sulayman Sulayman's extensive water pipeline brought to the city and to his newly-constructed mosque abundant water, which was distributed to a number of new fountains. A report by Sinan himself of Safar 976/1568 (Atif Efendi Library, ms. 1734, fol. 263b-263b) gives the following details about the situation at that date. The water newly supplied by both the Khalkall valley and Kirik-Ceshme water pipelines amounted to 81 tülle (one tülle is traditionally defined as the amount of water passing through a pipe of given dimensions in 24 hours, or approximately 60 m³; see Dalman and Wittel, 21-1). At the time of low water level, out of 95 private and public fountains existing at this date, 54 had been recently constructed. The 95 fountains served up 36 tülle of the total water supply (in 1345, I. Topnik found in Istanbul alone 220 public fountains of Ottoman times). In addition, Istanbul had 15 masalsaks using 5 tülle and 1 hamisl (one-fourth of a tülle), 18 wells using 5 tülle and 1 masara (one-eighth of a tülle). The remainder of the water went to the Palaearctic and gardens of the Sultan and grandees in the city, as well as to the public bath houses. The basic system was expanded upon by succeeding sultans, particularly in connection with newly-constructed mosques (see for example, Ta'rifhâh-i Dîvân-î garih Nâr-i Oğlum, in Cevâdski, Istanbul 1235-9/1917-19, 26-31). They constructed water reservoirs and water lines, extending those already in existence in the two main areas of Khalkalline and Khalkal.

Water sources found and brought to the city through government initiative belonged to the miri wafl or state-controlled endowments and were placed under the control of the relevant wafl's administration, which was also responsible for meeting repair expenses. Fearing lest the water supply specified for the use of imperial mosques, palaces and public fountains be cut short, miri wafl water were not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Constant inspection to ensure their proper use was carried out by the su yedidvarl, who even had the authority to enter houses for investigation. When a new charitable institution, a mosque, bath or fountain was to be built, its founder was first required to find a water source outside the city. This water was brought to the city by means of a device called haima, that is, the adding of newly-discovered water to the main water conduits of the miri wafl. This haima water could be taken from the main conduits only at certain specified points. Upon application, the sultan gave his formal permission for the use of haima and recognised ownership rights over this water in a special firman. The gari principles required that such a procedure be followed. Many wells were dug in order to exploit underground water as a further addition to the city's water supply. Such waters became the property of the individuals who discovered them. Despite the close watch kept over the miri wafl waters, there were many instances of diverting of water by individuals for private use. The government therefore closed a strip of land adjacent to the water line to new construction and assigned the population of twelve villages as guardians and repairers of the water lines outside the city. To meet the water needs of the city population, water from the public fountains was distributed in waterbags by zaks or sahbas. The sahbas were organised in two corporations, the arba sahbarl or human water-carriers, and the a sahbarl or horse water-carriers, who were in competition with one another.

In requiring and enlarging the water system of Mecca dating from Abyssinian times, the Ottomans made use of the organisation which they evolved in Istanbul. They sent a team of experts to carry out the construction, and using black slaves and others organised a maintenance crew along the lines of the su yedidvarl organisation of Istanbul.

Bibliography: X. de Planhol, De la plaine pamphyligne aux lais pédésiens, Paris 1936, 137-8, 258-9; idem, Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam, Paris 1958. On irrigation and rice-growing in the Ottoman Empire, docu-
of India (800/1398). The construction of fountains
by Sultan Firuz-Shah (751-90/1353-88) thereon,
tends to suggest that the dam was built with lofty
embankments for the storage of rain water in the
nearby area. The construction of these royal lakes
considerably raised the water level in the area,
and thus reduced the depth of the irrigation wells
in the area around.

The Tughlukid period is marked by much improve-
ment in irrigation facilities in the empire. The
number of lakes and tanks increased, not only in
Dihli but in the provincial towns also. The con-
temporary Persian epigraphs mention the construc-
tion of lakes in Bihar Sharif (Bihar State), Garh
Mukhtasar (Dist. Shahdab, U.P.) and Mandore
(Dist. Sambalpur, U.P.). An inscription at Nawagar
informs us that the malkas (governor), Malik Firuz b.
Muhammad, constructed a large lake in Nawaiwar and
named it Firuz Sagar (Hindi sagar "sea").

The lakes constructed in Dihli are important as
reflecting the progress being made in civil engineer-
ing on the one hand, and the concern of the succeeding
sultans in causing to be constructed more beauti-
ful lakes and tanks than those built earlier on the
other hand. For instance, Sultan Ghiasuddin al-Din
Tughluk constructed aqueducts over the lake in
Tughlukabad, whose traces can still be seen. Referen-
ces are also found to the lakes built during the reigns
of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk and Sultan Firuz-
Shah. The anonymous author of the official history,
Sirat-i Firuz-Shahi, and hagiographies, mention the
famous lakes of Dihli, such as the Hamad-i Tughluk-
Shah, Haedef-i Sultani Khan, Hamad-i Shakhada Fath
Khan and Hamad-i Shanada Mushtar Khan. In the
province, the lakes constructed in Dawlatabad and
Hijjar Firuz are worth mentioning. Sultan Muhammad
b. Tughluk's Haedef, built on a considerable height
in the fort of Dawlatabad, can be seen today. In
Hijjar Firuz, Sultan Firuz-Shah also had a cistern
built in 754/1353 on a raised platform. It was origi-
nally constructed for supplying water to the ditch
evacuated around the fort, but after water from the
newly-constructed canals became available, its
water was used in the gardens and flower beds inside
the fort.

In the 9th/15th century, cisterns appear to have
been constructed by the rulers of the regional king-
doms that arose in the wake of Timur's invasion
of India (800/1368). The construction of fountains
in Dwarka, Gujarath, and other cities in the plains
led to the construction of cisterns, as their water,
flowing through narrow channels from a height, could
make the fountains work. Bhaus's description of lakes
in the Panjab also testifies to the fact that old
lakes were kept under repair, while new ones
were evacuated in the new towns. As the izahāts
assigned by the king to nobles in lieu of cash salary
and allowances were hereditary, at least in practice
during the pre-Mughal times, the assignees con-
structed tanks in their lands for the extension of
cultivation and horticulture. For instance, Yusuf b.
Mullah Dihalan, the muqtaf or judge of the jargana
of Cavadd, in 925/1525 constructed a beautifully-
patterned tank in his administrative charge during
the reign of Shih Shih Sül.

Later on, the Mughal emperors, and the Dakhani
sultans of Biddar, Golconda, Bijapour and Ahmed-
nagar, established reservoirs. Allusions to these
reservoirs in contemporary inscriptions provide in-
sights into the skill employed in their construction.
The Muhammad-Nad, a reservoir built at Bijapour in
1265/1751-2 by Afdal Khan, is a great feat of en-
engineering. The huge tank-like well with
coconuts was built with the money of Tād Sultān,
the wife of Sultan Adil Shāh in Bijapur. The Panj-
Mahall (water-palace) at Nādir and the tank of Mā-
Sīhāb at Haidarābād are notable examples.

In the 12th/18th century, the amirs of Sind and
the two rulers Hayyār All and Tipū Sultan [paw] of
Mysore maintained the traditions of the early
rules. Tipū Sultan took special interest in irriga-
tion questions, building new tanks and repairing old
ones. The huge tank built by him in Doradji possesses
a huge embankment about 15 miles long, and at
places is 45 feet high. He also rewarded other people
who constructed tanks. The āmils (revenue collec-
tors) were entrusted with the responsibility of main-
taining the tanks in the kingdom. All these tanks and
reservoirs maintained the traditions of the early
expansion of the towns and cities many of them
have been filled in and the land used for residential
purposes. In South India, however, they still survive
and are used as picnic spots.

As for the construction of wells, they are mentioned
in our sources either as sīh or la'āt or bāhā. The bāhās
and la'āts [qbp] are step-wells, meant for the use
of men and animals. Evidence available about the
sīh is interesting in so far as it reflects on the use of
the Persian wheel to lift water from the deep wells in
areas around Dihli during the early Sultanate pe-
tiode, indicating, from its comparative costliness,
considerable local prosperity. Only fairly opulent
farmers could afford the installation of this
water-lifting machine.

Sources from the 8th/14th century refer to the
sāhāra and the dārēgā set up on the walls that
were owned both by the state and by the cultivators.
In Devarā in his Māzārī l-kalīna was informed by an
Indian traveller in Arabia, Shaykh Mubarak of
Cambay (Gujarat), at some time in the beginning
of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluk's reign (725-27/1325-
27), that people in and around Diblit set up Persian
wheels on the wells to water their fields and gardens.
The writer refers to the Persian wheels as sawdāk,
whereas the contemporary Indo-Persian writers use
rather the term dārēgā. An interesting anecdote relat-
ing to the Dīwānī l-kalīna about Shaykh Niẓām al-
Dīn Awlīya suggests the presence of the Persian
wheel in Dihli in the preceding century. It tells us that
Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn once came across a dārēgā set
up on a well. The cultivator who was driving the
bullocks for lifting water, exhorted the animals, say-
ing dge barh, dge barh ("speed up, speed up") in a
melodious tone. The sound produced by the motion of
the wheels and the voice of the peasant had such
an effect on the Shaykh that he immediately passed
into a state of ecstasy.

The anonymous author of the Sirat-i Firuz-Shahi
states that dārēgās were set on wells around
the newly-constructed Hamad-i Shakhada-yi Mubarak-
Shāh outside the capital Firuzabad. The haedef
was filled with the water lifted from the wells in
the summer when the rain water was exhausted. He
further informs us that the income from the lake was
endowed by Sultan Firuz-Shah for the benefit of
the poor. The work also contains references to the
bucket (īlāt) made of metal (iron) instead of kāta

1884 Mā
The Persian term **dulab** also occurs in the same passage, signifying the surface wheel which was used to lift water from the **bund**. The **dulab** was used to lift water from the open surface of tanks or rivers, the pitchers or buckets being fixed on the rim of the wheel, which was revolved by the hand.

Later sources reveal that the use of the Persian wheel was quite widespread in North India. Kabir, who flourished during the 9th/15th and the first decades of the 10th/16th century, refers to it in his verses when he likens the rosary used by the externalists to the garland of vessels attached to a **rahal** (Hindi equivalent of the Persian wheel). As Kabir lived most of his life in Tenares, we may assume that he found the Persian wheel being used in the region of modern eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Like Indo-Persian writers, Shaykh Zayn, the **sadr** or minister of Babur, mentions the **karai**. In 935/1529 when he wrote that irrigation for agriculture there. The **sadr**-t翊 (Sargodha District in Pakistan) he found Persian wheels as a common means of irrigation there. The orchards and the sugar-cane and paddy-fields were irrigated with the water of wells lifted thus. Later on, when he occupied the territories of Lahawr, Dipalparr and Sirhind (935/1529-9), he found everywhere the peasants irrigating their fields by means of the Persian wheel, and he describes its structure thus: "They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, six strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel axle, a second wheel is fixed, and close to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, so that the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set up where the water empties from the pitchers, and from this the water is conveyed everywhere. Shaykh Zayn says however that in India, other wheels for irrigation are **dhinkar**, including the leather bucket (karas) lifted out of water by yoked oxen, whilst **dehtis**, based on the lever system, which is still in use, was most common.

Gradually, use of the Persian wheel seems to have spread everywhere during the Mughal period, but they were especially numerous in the Pandharn, the most prosperous region. Even an average cultivator there could afford to set up a Persian wheel on his well, which had been built of bricks and plastered with lime, despite the expenditure. Mughal historians like Abu 'l-xxxx, Hamid al-xxxx, Yaszuf Mirak and Sudjan Rani Bhanderi, mention it as one of the commonest means of irrigation in North India, but since the turn of the 19th century, it have been generally replaced by tube-wells.

As for the harnessing of rivers for irrigation purposes, the construction of large artificial canals began in the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Khbala (695/1295-701/1297) towards the close of the 8th/14th century. Abu Hamid al-xxxx refers to a deep and wide canal built by Ghiyath Malik in the territory of Multan when he describes the revolt of the army and people of Multan against the governor Mughalat. Besides this, Ghiyath Malik seems to have constructed canals in Multan and Dipalpur units. Barani adds that in every territory where Ghiyath Malik served as governor, he constructed canals for the progress of agriculture there. The **Inqilab-i Mahrut** contains a **miftah** (official document) issued by the governor of Multan, Mahir, in the reign of Firuz-Shah, to an official, Kamal Tadj, asking the latter to carry on the repair work of the old canals. Three canals, **Djanuma** (modern Hissar), **Khalud** and **Dianah** are mentioned, and must have been constructed by Ghazi Malik before his accession to the throne in 726/1320.

The credit for constructing a number of canals in the region between the river Sutlej and Dihll goes to Firuz-Shah. First, the vast and tract of Haryanka, where only one crop was raised during the rainy season in a year, attracted the royal attention. In 755/1354, he laid down the foundations of the city of Hissar Firuz Shahi (modern Hissar) and then constructed a double system of canals, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Sutlej and the Djamuna rivers. The **Sutlej** canal, named **Ghiza-Khan**, flowing through Surpur and Sirhind town, met the **Djamuna** canal called **Rajputaw** near the new city of Hissar Firuz Shah. Both of them passed via Karnal. At Hissar Firuz Shah, they discharged their water into a single channel into the ditch around the city. Yasya Sirhindi supplements Shamsi Sirag: 'Affi when he informs us that the construction of canals started in 756/1355. Besides the **Djamuna** and Sutlej canals, he mentions another canal from the Sutlej, the waters of which were conducted up to Dihhjhar (a town in Rohtak Dist.), irrigating a vast and tract of 95 sq. miles. In 757/1356, another canal was excavated from the Chagar river. This flowed past the fort of Sirsuli (town) and reached the town of Hissar. Like Indo-Persian writers, Shavkh Zayn informs us that KhDan Shahan Malkab built planted gardens and constructed canals, serais and bazaars in his 1357.

All these canals were kept under repair by the later Sultans of Dihll. Though Babur complains that there were no artificial canals in India, although they could easily be constructed at a number of places even in the plains, Shaykh Zayn refers to the canal of Firuz-Shah flowing via Dihhjhar, as well as the canal in the 1357 held by Dilawar Khan Lodi's maternal uncle in the foothills of the Panjabb (Diyawan gurad). Babur's description was the most important canal was the **Djanuma** canal (later called western Djamuna canal) that was also cut from the Djamuna and conducted to the capital city of Firuzabad. Besides, the **Sultai** canal (later Khankhur he madhi) was dug in the Siwalik hills and the waters of Sirsuli and Salimani were diverted into it. It flowed past Shakhaband town (to the south of Ambalai). Like their master, some of Firuz Shah's nobles also appear to have excavated irrigation channels in their 1357, e.g. the **Sirj-Khan** informs us that KhDan Shahan Malkab built planted gardens and constructed canals, serais and bazaars in his 1357.

Likewise, the Mughal historians furnish information about the repair of the old and the construction of new canals. According to Abu 'l-xxxx, first Shaha al-Din Ahmad Khan repaired the Firuz-Shah's Diamuna canal, as it had silted during the early years of Akbar's reign. Later, another officer of Akbar, Nair al-Din Muhammad Tarkhun, had the same canal repaired a second time. The reign of Shaha Dihahan witnessed the digging of new canals in different territories. Shaha Dihahan also increased the length of Firuz-Shah's Diamuna canal by reopening it in the hills at Khairabad, and brought its water up to Shaha Dihahanabad (Dihh). This came to be known both as **Nahi-i-bhijaha** and the **Nahi-i-fayd**.
owing to the introduction of tube-well technology, of canals in Baglana cut from the river, and they have almost disappeared.

The Persian wheel also became obsolete, in the 19th century, when the modern canal system was introduced. For instance, there were thousands of canals in Baglana cut from the river, and they supplied water to every village and town during the 18th/19th century. Tippu Sultan, however, built a large canal in the tradition of the Muslim rulers of North India. In 1797 he constructed a dam across the Kavari, a few miles west of Sringapatam, with an embankment of 70 feet high.

This irrigation system survived till the close of the 19th century, when the modern canal system began. The Persian wheel also became obsolete, owing to the introduction of tube-well technology, so that in the Pandjab and western Uttar Pradesh they have almost disappeared.

Irrigation in Transoxiana. [see Supplement].

10. Irrigation in Transoxiana, [see Supplement].

The use of water for irrigation in agricultural production is widely practised in the cultivated areas of the Muslim world where constraints of low and episodic natural precipitation limit yields on existing crops or inhibit the introduction of a wider range of crops. Such areas include the desert lands of North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, the semi-arid zones generally lying adjacent to the deserts, the Mediterranean zone and, in South Asia and Asia proper, the dry tropical climatic regions. The greater part of the Muslim world has explored the possibilities of growing crops in these areas, where it has been possible to begin the cultivation of wider ranges of crops. It should be added that there is scientific evidence that this process of desertification is affecting the semi-desert margins over wide areas. In consequence, it is possible that the surface area where irrigation is essential to agriculture is gradually extending, not least in the Sahel of Africa. In all except the dry tropical zones, the use of irrigation permits stabilisation of output of staple winter grain crops by offsetting fluctuations in annual rainfall and allows cultivation of summer vegetable and other cash crops, which would otherwise be difficult or impossible. In the dry tropics, where hot and wet summers alternate with hot but dry winters, irrigation mainly functions as an aid to cultivation in the winter months.

Irrigation has taken on a special significance in recent decades as population growth has tended to accelerate and as the need has increased for states to provide reliable and augmenting food supplies from domestic sources. While some success has been achieved in encouraging greater use of dryland areas under mechanised systems and with new improved seed varieties, most governments have attempted to reduce the growing and adverse imbalance between domestic supply and consumption of foodstuffs through expansion of the area under irrigated cultivation and better use of existing water supplies in traditional areas. Governments have played the major role in a drive common throughout the Muslim territories to increase the volume of irrigation water at the disposal of their agricultural sectors. Irrigation budgets have often been the major sources of financial allocations to agricultural development, especially in countries such as Iran, Egypt. In the latter country, the continued engineering of the River Nile, culminating with the completion of the Aswan High Dam in 1970, was the main economic preoccupation of the state for much of the modern period. For Tārīqī, the hydraulic works on the Tigris and Euphrates for flood control, waterstorage and generation of hydro-electric power made a large and important claim on national resources, beginning with the first financial allocations of the Iraq Development Board in the 1952-5 fiscal year. The second Iran Development plan (1954/1955-6 to 1957/1958)
was above all concerned with the construction of storage dams on the main river systems of the country, including the Diz, Safid Roud and Karaj structures. Rapid and expensive adoption of irrigation projects has not always been accomplished with regional co-operation or with a critical appreciation of the appropriateness of irrigation technology borrowed from the industrialised states of the world. Exploitation of the irrigation potential of the Euphrates in the period since the Second World War has brought conflicts between riparian states on the division of waters, as storage facilities in Turkey, Syria and Iraq have been constructed without co-ordination. In 1954 and 1975 the flow of the Euphrates at Hitt in Iraq fell to unprecedented levels (9.02 milliard cubic metres in 1954 and 9.42 milliard cubic metres in 1975) as a result of new water storage reservoirs built in the states upstream. In contrast, close liaison was maintained between Egypt and Sudan during the course of the creation of Lake Nasser behind the Aswan High Dam, both to ensure agreement on the division of waters and to provide for the settlement of communities displaced from the lands submerged beneath water level.

A slow response by traditional agricultural areas to the demands of a larger and often higher consuming population led to increasing state intervention in irrigation affairs with perceptible effect from 1954, though particularly from 1958 in Arab countries and 1962 in Iran. With few exceptions, governments favoured centrally financed and controlled irrigation projects, which demanded imported technology and sophisticated management of land, water and farmers by the national bureaucracy. Irrigation developments in the Muslim world have witnessed damaging failures in selecting techniques of an appropriate type by scale and technology. In Iran, the Dez irrigation scheme founded in part, since large farming units created to work the area proved unmanageable. The Libyan government controlled Kufra irrigation scheme in the south of the country, a show-piece designed to demonstrate Libya’s ability to utilise oil revenues to set up permanent non-oil assets, is one of the many high-technology irrigation projects established in the oil-exporting states of the Middle East and north Africa which have outstripped indigenous economic and technical resources and have added little to the sum of domestic food production.

Sources of irrigation water have changed only insignificantly in recent years. Surface and ground water are the mainstays for irrigation water provision, though a number of richer states, notably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have made use of desalinated sea water on a very small scale at extremely high cost. Pumping of irrigation water from deep aquifiers, of which the Kufra scheme is an example, has increased in importance, though in many cases water extraction is faster than replacement rates, or comes from fossil water reservoirs, with clear implications for the longevity of these sources. Considerable scope remains in the area for more efficient use of existing water resources, rather than the expensive creation of new ones.

The total area of irrigated land in the Muslim world has grown very slowly, despite large allocations of resources for the construction of reservoirs and irrigation schemes. In the Middle Eastern heartland of the Muslim world, the proportion of agricultural land under irrigation has remained more or less unchanged at a quarter of the total. Individual states have improved their positions somewhat, above all Egypt, where the Aswan dam has increased both the total area under irrigation and the area under perennial cropping. Estimates of relative reliance on irrigation for the main Muslim states are shown in Table 1, including both traditional and modern systems. The strength of traditional systems has been much eroded in recent years. Underground water channels, handi, faidiq or kähr, have been generally neglected and many have fallen into disuse. The diesel pump has widely replaced other manual and animal-powered water lifting systems. Meanwhile, the addition of new irrigated areas served by modern systems of water storage has been offset by losses of irrigated land rendered infertile through growing alkalinity and salinity as a result of bad water management, inadequate provision of drainage facilities and inappropriate cropping patterns. Most countries of the arid and semi-arid zone are affected by this problem, though none worse than Iraq, where it is estimated that more land is lost annually through the effects of soil salinity than is reclaimed by developments projects.

Despite the expenditure of considerable funds on, and the economic dedication of governments to, the expansion of the irrigated area in the recent past, results expressed in real gains in land under cultivation and crop production have been disappointing in most areas of the Muslim world.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of cultivated land under irrigation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar (Qatar)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen (North)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen (South)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a land so dependent generally on the summer monsoon, where there are few permanent sources of water away from the great rivers and their surrounding terrain where the water-table is high, human settlement depends on artificial means of conserving water from one rainy season to the next. These means, which apply to the domestic water supply as well as to agriculture, have been described in detail; for canals see also Nasir. Many of these utilitarian works, however, are frequently ornamented and decorated beyond the call of functionalism, and are consequently described here.

Many water monuments were constructed before the coming of the Muslims, who continued not only their function and form (except for the elimination of figural ornament and the introduction of the arch) but also their maintenance through civil or waqf funds. The simplest examples are large open reservoirs in and around towns (commonly called "tanks" in India; see Vats and Burnell, intro., s.v.), for example also wadi, wādi, and in the case of Muslim constructions also bāna, of all shapes but commonly rectangular, sometimes with masory surrounds and steps leading well below the average water-level; as the water was used or dried up more steps would be exposed, the shelves being convenient for personal ablutions or for washing clothes; pavilions (kākā, ātari) may be added mainly for ornament (see further on these, above, 9). Similar masory surrounds (kākā) may be provided on river banks or on artificial lakes caused by damming a valley (e.g. the Anasagar at Ajmer, the Picholi at Udaipur [s.v.]). Since open expanses of water cause a perceptible change in the microclimate, buildings might be sited to take advantage of the cooling effects of evaporation (e.g. Firoz Shah's madrasa and other structures on two sides of the Hazīr Khān at Dihl [s.v.], Mahmud Shah's palace, the tombs and the mosque at Sarkā [see gurgār and śīkh, vii. Indo-Muslim architecture]; and many pleasures might be sited in the middle of an artificial lake (e.g. Dāhāgh's Hurin Minār complex at Shāhshupura, for etymologies; also sād, sādah, and in the case of Bahārīs, the name of a locality even where no traces of gardens remain), as in e.g. the garden surrounding Humāyūn's tomb at Dihlī (see plan, Vol. ii, 265, above), where the divisions are marked by water-channels of bricks, named with cisterns at or seats over the intersections; the pattern was followed and augmented in later tomb complexes: notably Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the tomb of Timār al-Dawla and the Tādī Bahārīs (s.v.), the Zafar Mahal in the Hayāt Bahāk garden in the Dihlī fort [see plan, Vol. ii, 266 above]; the tombs would have been used as pleasant retreats during the owners' lifetime.

Tanks and artificial lakes fed from constant sources naturally need provision to be made for the escape of surplus water; overflow tunnels and sluices may occasionally be sumptuously decorated, as at Sarkā in Gurgurāt, but the simpler structures in the local quartiare at Dihlī have a monumental beauty of their own, e.g. that on a water-channel off the Nātalābā canal at Wafrahābā, with an included silt (and fah?) trap; those on the band connecting Tughlukābād with Ādilābād (see plan, Vol. ii, 257 above), where the low-lying fields to the south of Tughlukābād could be flooded to a depth of some 2 m. to create an artificial lake for the defence of the citadel and leaving Gīhyāsh al-Din's tomb as an isolated outcrop; and, more complex, a two-storied sluiced dam, called Sāt pula, built into the south wall of Muhammad b. Tughlak's Dāhānānābād to regulate the storage of water within the city; analyses, photographs and measured drawing of all these in Yamamot e alī, Delhi, iii.

The simple well does not much lend itself to ornamentation, but may form part of a complex, such as the Dāhāgh's, designed to be constructed at regular intervals along the road to Kashmir, of sand? + mosque + well, water from the latter being taken up by fārus (see Fīlahā, vi) to irrigate a small flower-garden. The step-well (bdānī [s.v.]), however, is most frequently decorative as well as functional, providing chambers at various levels close to the water's edge to provide cool retreats in summer; e.g. in Dihlī the Gaudkāt bātī, ca. 630/1233; the circular bdānī in Firūz Shah's Khānī, ca. 753/1353; and the superb Bāhārī bātī at Bāmīr, intro. 9.756; both analysed in Yamamot e alī, Delhi, iii, with photographs and measured drawings. Analogous structures in Gurgurāt, called sā, have the entire well covered at surface level; comprehensive study, including other water monuments, in Yasmin Amrāsī Shārīf, Water monuments of Gujarat..., University of London M.A. Archaeology thesis 1981 (unpublished).

Water was a necessary adjunct to palaces and gardens, and might be provided, when either of these two was beside or close to a river or lake, by a Persian wheel (raḥīla; a further Persian wheel, or series of wheels, housed in a tower, might be used to raise the water to a greater height when it was necessary to provide a sufficient head of water to operate fountains. The water was led through palace courtyards and gardens by stone channels, often with intermediate cisterns which could be highly ornamental, as that in the Lāl bāg at Bidar (plan in Yāzdi, Bidar, 53); in Bābāpur, where all the centre of the city was supplied by underground channels from the Īshān and Tādī bāwrsis, a special water-pavilion, ḍaḥān-saḥar, in the elaborate later Ādīl Shahī style, discharged water from jets into a large stone surrounding tank to make a visual focal point in the city scheme. Under the Mughals, however, the garden was developed more than ever before as a new art form (see nātālāb, ii). The ideal garden shape was a fourfold plan, bahār-bāgh (the name dār-bāgh persists in many Indian towns as the name of a locality even where no traces of gardens remain), as in e.g. the garden surrounding Humāyūn's tomb in Dihlī (see plan, Vol. i, 265, above), where the divisions are marked by water-channels of bricks, named with cisterns at or seats over the intersections; the pattern was followed and augmented in later tomb complexes: notably Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the tomb of Timār al-Dawla and the Tādī Mahāl (s.v.) at Agra, the tomb of Avangāghar's queen ("Bībī kā matbāra") at Awrangābād, and that of Saḍar Dīnān āt Dihlī, where the principal channels are often expanded into stone—often marble—basins 3 or 4 m. wide with a central rank of fountains, terminating on the cross axes in bānārādīs. Similar gardens exist apart from tombs and palaces, e.g. Rām bāgh, Zahrā bāgh, Wazir Khān kā bāgh, Aftār Khan kā bāgh, Āmānāk bāgh, all at Agra (ASI, iv [1871-2], 104 ff.); in his suggestive (but sometimes naı̈ve) Early garden-palaces of the great Mughals, in Oriental Art, NS, iv/3 [1958], 3-40, R. A. Jairazbhoy proposes the latter as the site of Bābūr's original dār-bāgh in India.

Mughal gardens reached their peak of perfection in Kashmir, where at Shringar, Āftār's Nasīm Bāgh, Āsaf Khan's Naṣīmī Bāgh and Dāhāgh's Shāhmir took advantage of the copious natural water supply; 'All Mazām Khan's canal from the
Rāwī made possible Shāhjāhān's Shāhjāmār at Lāhāwar. These make use of ḍabāhīr, water-chutes, an oblique bed of flat or scalloped marble, and āhārīn, cascade, with water flowing in a sheet over a straight edge to fall over a vertical bank of small niches, each intended to hold a small lamp with a shade of coloured glass. Other Mughal gardens are mentioned above s.v. ṽostān. A curious late Mughal water monument is the Fān ḍaktī, water-mill, in the shade of Bāb-ʾAllāh Mughal Masjīd; see below. A spiritual preceptor of Awrangzīb, outside the city walls of Ḍāhurgābd; water brought from a distance falls through some 7 m. to operate a small mill, and the water then flows through two large tanks. Mughal water monuments and gardens were much imitated by Hindu rulers in Rādjaḍāsthān. The Sakhījīyān Kābāgh in Udaypur offers a number of fountains of different designs fed by water under high pressure from one of the city lakes, in a more extravagant taste than any Mughal conception. The small palace at Gāhī, near Muḥāfīzī, is more refined in its elegant tanks and channels, and water is led in copper pipes over the openings of the buildings in order to flow over screens of ḥikā grass, to cool and perfume the air passing through.

The devices of water decoration embodied in the gardens are found also in Mughal forts and palaces (see especially Mughal, v, a). These sometimes involved bringing water from considerable distances (e.g. All Mardān Ḍuḥnānān's canal which supplied the Red Fort at Ṣahājījānābād, Ḏīlī, tapped the Djamūnā at 4 km. away; see W. E. Bayley, Memorandām on the western Jumna canal . . . London 1849). Some of the aqueducts involved are themselves works of art. In the Red Fort of Ṣahājījānābād, the water is further raised in the Ṣahā būrī, from an open pavilion in front of which, with ḍāhrānī and ḍarānī, water flows through a marble channel, the Nāḥi-i bīlghī, which not only supplies the Ḥāyīt Bahāshī and other gardens but also flows through all the palaces on the east wall (buildings marked c, d, e, f, g, h in the plan in Vol. 11, 266 above) at a depth of some 25 cm., whose surface is composed of two layers of different kinds, a shallow basin 3 m. square in the Rāng mābis, carved into the shape of an open lotus flower; this is a shallow basin 3 in. square in the Rāng mahābis, barely covered with water to produce a ripple effect. When still young he left home. When he was about 1780, and his Fadiliyya order was pan-Sūfī in its aspirations. His ideal envisaged the unification of all other Sūfī orders by a recognition of equal worth and by acceptance of his independent counsel. His wūdh and ḍēkīr encouraged a high-pitched, shrieked and ecstatic repetition of the shāhāda, and his religious acts were accompanied by charms, spells, magic mumbers and thamaturgy. The family claimed Ḡirdjīh dawzā from Abd al-Tālib through Yahyā b. Idrīs al-Saghlī. It also claimed Ḡirdjīh dawzā from her as the loss of her sight.

1. Life. Muḥammad al-Mustāfa was the twelfth son of Muḥammad Fadīl b. Māmīn al-Kalāmī, the founder of the Fadiliyya dawzā. This was an offshoot of the Kuntī Bakhshīyya branch of the Kirdarīyya order (see Kuntī) Muḥammad al-Mustāfa was born about 1780, and his order became known as the Fadiliyya. He was born about 1780, and his Fadiliyya order was pan-Sūfī in its aspirations. His ideal envisaged the unification of all other Sūfī orders by a recognition of equal worth and by acceptance of his independent counsel. His wūdh and ḍēkīr encouraged a high-pitched, shrieked and ecstatic repetition of the shāhāda, and his religious acts were accompanied by charms, spells, magic mumbers and thamaturgy. The family claimed Ḡirdjīh dawzā from Abd al-Tālib through Yahyā b. Idrīs al-Saghlī. It also claimed Ḡirdjīh dawzā from her as the loss of her sight. When still young he left home. When he was
16 years old he visited Marrakesh in order to study, and for some time he lived with the Agháil on the border of the Hawd. In 1858 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way he paid his respects and requested support from the Moroccan sultan, Mawlay Abdul-Rahmán, and from the heir to the throne, Sidi Muhammad. He returned to Morocco in 1859, and in 1860 he was appointed as an advisor to the Hawd. He stayed at the casbah town of Tindif. It was then a centre for slave traffic, and was dominated by the Idráí Bhl and the Tádžájákt. MÁ al-Áynayn acquired a reputation for miracles, and he enjoyed the favour of a noted scholar, Sidi Muhammad al-Mukhtar b. Amásh al-Dikáján. He had access to his library and taught and wrote, but he declined an offer to remain as a teacher in Tindif. In 1861 he returned to the Hawd. In 1865 or 1867 he left the Hawd definitively on a journey to the Adrar town of Shinid and to Tíris.

In 1869 his father, Shaykh Muhammad Fadil, died in the Hawd. His legacy was divided between his four principal sons. MÁ al-Áynayn was held in the highest esteem and wielded most political power. After 1873 he chose the barren regions of the Rio de Oro and the Sákiya al-Hamrá as a permanent headquarters for his growing company of novices (hàláníyyá) whose life style owed much to the example of the Kunta Shaykhs [q.v.], and their successors.

These northern districts of the Western Sahara facilitated closer contact with the Moroccan sultans, who were regularly visited by MÁ al-Áynayn and who supplied them with slaves. Meanwhile, he counteracted European encroachment on the Atlantic coast of the Sahara. He married into the principal tribal groups of the region and enjoyed wide support from: the Awlád Dulay, the 'Arúsíyín, Tádžájákt, Awlád Bhl Shí and Ahl Bálnalá. He dominated the Western Sahara caravan routes, and his power grew so great that, according to his son, Sháyk Muhammad al-Mustafta Murábih Rabbuh, Mawlay al-Ásáa (1857-94) entrusted MÁ al-Áynayn with the guarding of the frontier between al-Daghila (Villa Cisneros) and al-Tárfáya (Cape Juhy), as almost the entire coast of the former Spanish Sahara. During this period, MÁ al-Áynayn had neither village nor town. He lived in his tents in the Tíris, al-Karhi, Aswán, al-Dikhábá and Tawrik, but, as the pull towards the north increased, he commenced the construction of a záiyá at Dár Hamrá in the Sákiya al-Hamrá, a fortress, and a small settlement at Máltga in the same region.

After 1866, ties with the Sultanate were particular close. The growing influence of France to the north and the south strengthened the unity and coordination of political and religious policies. In 1897 MÁ al-Áynayn was received in triumph by the sultan, Mawlay 'Abd al-Áziz, who had ascended the throne in 1894. The sultan received the word of the Áynayná and religious instruction from MÁ al-Áynayn. Záiyáy were founded in Marrakesh, Fás and Salá, and lands and estates were bestowed on the Sháyk and his family. He became an éminence grise at court, and he was feared at court on account of his magic power and his fanatical followers. The 'ulámá of Fás gave him the title of ́alá (see kuttá. 2. in my article). In 1895 a major project was undertaken in a magnificent site in Marrakesh, MÁ al-Áynayn commenced his most ambitious project in 1895. This was the building of a zábába, záiyá, mosque, library, political and commercial headquarters at the red beds of Shárá on the banks of the Wayn Silwán in the Sákiya al-Ámrá. The site was close to a road which linked the Wál Nún to the Adrán and Tíris. It was not far from the port of al-Tárfáya, and the terrain was suitable for pasturage, some agriculture and the planting of date palms.

Shárá was, and still is, a complex of low buildings designed in a style which blends the brown dry-stone walling of the Adrán and Tíltí with the decaying urban Hispanic-Moresque of Morocco. Building stone was locally quarried or brought by steamer from Mogador and the Canoey Islands. Moroccan stone masons and architects were employed in the task of constructing a compound to which buildings were annexed. Some were private dwellings for the four wives and many concubines of MÁ al-Áynayn. Others belonged to his sons or accommodated guests, artisans and talismán. Work commenced on a large mosque and a qábare. Space was allowed to house MÁ al-Áynayn's library of 300 books and his collection of at least 500 manuscripts. Other buildings were store-houses, granaries and arsenals.

The design was a compromise between the desert and the sea. Certain parts of MÁ al-Áynayn's edifice were more than walled enclosures inside which tents were pitched and animals were penned.

The work was never completed. In 1903 the French declared the Trárra district of south-west Mauritania a French protectorate. In 1905 the Commissaire général français, Xavier Coppolani, was assassinated at Tádiht by anti-European Saharans who had the backing of MÁ al-Áynayn. In 1906, France occupied the Tagant. As Shárá was indefensible, MÁ al-Áynayn withdrew to his zábába at Tízkat in the Sú. In 1902, the sultan made it the base for his áïyadí (q.v.), and he appealed to the sultan for maximum assistance. Events worked against his interests, however.

The ineffective Mawlay 'Abd al-Áziz relinquished the throne to his brother, Mawlay al-Háit, to whom MÁ al-Áynayn swore allegiance (háya) in 1907. The latter sultan was anxious to achieve an accommodation with the French, so that MÁ al-Áynayn quickly lost faith in him. In 1910 he arrived in Marrakesh with an army of tribesmen of the Anti-Atlas and the Sufi Aq więks who by this show of strength, it was alleged that he announced his claim to the throne of Morocco as Mabdil [q.v.] of the hour, but some authorities doubt the historicity of this reported claim. The religious influence of MÁ al-Áynayn in Morocco was formidable, but it should be remembered that he was 79 years old and was approaching senility. His son, Shaykh Muhammad al-Ámrán, and a brother of MÁ al-Áynayn, Shaykh Sá'd Abtí (Saad Bhl)—who cooperated with the French—both discount such reports as unfounded.

Evidence suggests that MÁ al-Áynayn's eldest son, his successor (áyyála), Ahmad al-Háib or Hayba [q.v. in Suppl.], directed the policy of his father. A major reverse took place at Khábat Tadla on the 23rd June 1910. In September MÁ al-Áynayn retired to Tízkat, and he died there on 29 Shawwát 1328/19 October 1910. His tomb in Tízkat has remained a family shrine. Shárá had been abandoned and was occupied by a French force under Colonel Mouré in 1913. The dome of its zábába, the symbol of MÁ al-Áynayn's authority, was severely damaged, and the library of several hundred books on mysticism, astronomy and theology was burnt.

According to Muhammad al-Mukhtar al-Sú, MÁ al-Áynayn married 16 wives. He fathered at least 21 sons and 30 daughters, and some sources give the total number of his offspring as 68. His most noted descendants, among them his áyyála, were seven sons by his wife, Maymúná bint Ahmad ibn 'Alíyyín, who was born into a lettered household...
among the Barabuh of the Hawd. She was the mother of Ahmad ibn al-Hibah (d. 1915), Muhammad ibn Mustafa Murabbih Rabbah (d. 1924), Tlibih Khayyur, Muhammad ibn Imann and Muhammad ibn Aghyaf (d. 1927-2). These noted sons, together with brothers from other marriages, continued the family tradition of scholarship and sanctity in the Mahgrib and the Sahara. Several of them were preeminent in the fields of theology, legal subjects and on the ideas of their father. Some of them cooperated with theSpaniards in the then Spanish Sahara; others became exiles in Morocco and Mauritania or lived a pastoral life in the Hawd. They strove to maintain the influence and status of the family and to combat European domination of the Western Sahara. In the main, they showed solidarity with the Moroccan royal house and followed the example set by Mâa al-Ayynn himself. The extended family represented, and conserves a representative force in the radically-changing Western Sahara.


According to the Kurrai al-'ayynayn (fol. 72), Mâa al-Ayynn mastered all the disciplines, language, grammar, syntax, elocution, logic, mathematics, the dating of seasons and feasts, the system of Arabic cryptology, jurisprudence, prose and medicine (Arabic and Saharan Hassiniyya). Alongside these studies he gained experience in several branches of the occult. Supernatural power was accepted as part of his personality. Its manifestation could not be separated from his involvement in mundane matters which concerned the day-to-day life of his talâ
dfa or Saharawis. They sometimes found contradictions between their life and the Shafa. Similar problems had been faced by earlier Kunta shayhs and by Shaykh Muhammad al-Mamli (d. 1895) of the Tiris Ahi Birkiitahla. They, too, had devoted followers of Mâa al-Ayynn. They were familiar with attempts by Saharan teachers to resolve these question. Shaykh Muhammad al-Mamli's book on tribal law and custom, Kitab al-Shayks, can be matched, though not surpassed, by opuscules of Mâa al-Ayynn, and likewise his mathematical and astronomical theories. Pamphlets by the latter on tawmmun, prayer, fasting, hospitality, divorce and sexology were widely quoted, and several of these were appended to other works and lithographed. A major work, Fisih al-rub' al-sami al-fahim, thoroughly and logically argues the case for humane treatment of women, slaves, bidders and orphans, and for respect and deference towards kings and sultans. Supernatural revelation accompanied the study of Arabic grammar, phonetics, and prosody. The Kurrai al-'ayynnayn (fol. 74) records that “when he composed a book about prosody one day he left with his mind occupied by certain obscurities. He sat facing a tree, and he began to beat the rhythm of the metres on the ground using a stick which he held in his hands. While thus engaged a burnt brick appeared before him. He raised it with his stick and discovered a treasure beneath it. He shinned it. He returned the brick to its former position and said, 'I do not want it.' Then he arose and sat opposite another tree, and God enlightened him in the matter he sought.”

At least 30 of Mâa al-Ayynn's major works are about Shifism. Nafa' al-munafat wa-tawteef al-nihdyat, lithographed in Fas and twice published in Cairo, is still widely read in the Sahara and is possibly his
masterpiece. In its pages, Ma' al-'Aynayn argued that all Sufi brotherhoods display only trivial divergences. All brotherhoods were of equal merit and ought to combine. His arguments were carried a stage further in his book Madhdah al-makhzawf 'ala 'addab al-taggawnuf, which is outspokenly pro-Ottoman in its sentiments. To the author, the Ottoman state exhibited pan-Islamic eclecticism and was the last hope to counteract the appeasement of the Mahdi who would unite Jews, Christians, and Muslims after cataclysmic events.

Mention has been made of the license allowed by the Tadillya and the 'Ayniya for the use of spells and secret scripts for religious purposes. Ma' al-'Aynayn, an avowed thaumaturge, displayed an interest in the occult and paranormal. Those unsympathetic to Ma' al-'Aynayn have dismissed him as a sorcerer posing as a scholar and have argued that his mysticism was an example of Sufism in decadence. It is clear from the works which he wrote, for example Madhdah al-makhzawf 'ala 'addab al-taggawnuf, where prayers are computed by letters of the alphabet, magic squares and numbers worn as amulets, that the system he used was highly complex and derived from medieval systems invented in the Maghrib. The Hawd is adjacent to Black Africa and has its own tradition of secret scripts. Eleven secret alphabets have been recorded in the Hawd. Some characters in these scripts represent the numerical value of a corresponding Arabic letter, or are based on the skeletal forms of complete Arabic words. Other characters are non-Arabic, possibly Libico-Berber, and are lunette in shape. One Hawd script which is particularly rich in Non-Arabic characters is the al-YasInl alphabet, which relates either to YasIn, its inventor (Abd Allah b. Yasin the Almoravid), or to the letters YasIn which open Sura XXXVI in the Koran. Characters from these Hawd scripts appear in several lithographical works of Ma' al-Abd Allah b. Yasin the Almoravid (r. 1142-1166), or to the School of Sufism in Tenth Century Africa, Cambridge 1976, 125-51. Other sources which discuss aspects of his life and thought are: J. Caro Baroja, Estudios Saharianos, Madrid 1955, 285-335; Un sordo Sahariano y su familia; G. Desiré-Vuillemin, Contribution á l'histoire de la Mauritania, Dakar 1952, 146-157; H. T. Norris, SfjayM al-Mubdir al-Sukhuf, the author of the Forbidden City, London 1933. M'sfajkh Muhammad al-Mam, Ma' al-'Aynayn found it natural to employ such scripts and alphabets for religious purposes.

Over one hundred miracles are attributed to Ma' al-'Aynayn in the Kurrat al-'Aynayn. They range from the rescue of his books and books from the flooding of the Sakiyn al-Hamr28 in 1890 to the exorcism of one of his wives; punishment of robbers by fire; and the illumination of a room by his clothing. Certain of these happenings are patterned on miracles attributed to the Prophet. Nonetheless, they are far too varied to be unconnected with the psychic powers of Ma' al-'Aynayn, which were acknowledged even by his most bitter opponents. His powers of psychological persuasion were employed to dominate the minds of the Saharawis and to instil a fanatical zeal in the 'Ayniya and its allies.

3. Al-ShihultU's portrayal. One of the most objective portraits of Ma' al-'Aynayn towards the end of his life is in Ma' al-'Aynayn al-Qalqami in the folk literature of the Spanish Sahara, in BSOAS, xxxi (1968), 153-56; J. Mercer, Spanish Sahara, London 1976, 103-22, 153-6, 249-50; Al-Moutabbasir, Ma' al-'Aynayn fi 'Ushshamul, in RMM, xxxi (1957), 125-51. Other sources which discuss aspects of his life and career are dealt with in the following works: A. Abd al-Quddus, Haddad, in RMM, 1316. — 2. European sources. A most useful source for the life of Ma' al-'Aynayn is to be found in B. G. Martin, Muslim brotherhoods in Tenth Century Africa, Cambridge 1976, 125-51. Other sources which discuss aspects of his life and thought are: J. Caro Baroja, Estudios Saharianos, Madrid 1955, 285-335; Un sordo Sahariano y su familia; G. Desiré-Vuillemin, Contribution á l'histoire de la Mauritania, Dakar 1952, 146-157; H. T. Norris, SfjayM al-'Aynayn al-Qalqami in the folk literature of the Spanish Sahara, in BSOAS, xxxi (1968), 153-56, 247-76; C. C. Stewart, Islam and social order in Mauritania, a case study from the nineteenth century, Oxford 1973; M. Veuve, Smara, the Forbidden City, London 1933.

(H. T. Norris)

MA'AD (a.), place of return, a technical term in religious and philosophical vocabulary.

The verb 'a'da', 'sawm' signifies "to return to a place". Al-Djawhari treats it as a synonym of rajd/j.'a.

The action of 'sawm is the movement whereby one returns to the point of departure: rajd/j.'a 'abd al-'a'da', or rajd/j.'a 'abd al-'a'dim, either through a continuous progress, in describing a circle for example, or stopping at a certain point and retracing one's steps (cf. Sibwayh, cited by L.J), whence the idea of a return to the origin, to the source. The verb rajd/j.'a is used in many Kur'anic verses to indicate return to God: Then He will make you die and then He will bring you back, that you will testify (al-rajd/j.'a rajd/j.'a, 11: 28). This return takes places after the Resurrection. In the 4th verbal form, 'a'da denotes "to recommence, reiterate". This is the sense which it has in the verses where this root is associated with that of rajd/j.'a, for example (XX, 11): "God begins (yalld'a creation; then He repeats it (yu'adada); then you will be brought back to Him". Subsequently, God is qualified by the titles al-Mubdir and al-Hakim. These terms are not reserved for God. The Prophet said: "God loves
the mukadd mounted on a mukadd". He was asked the meaning of mukadd. He replied "It is a strong and skilled man who is muddād and mu'dād, mounted on a strong and reliable horse which is mukadd and mu'adda". Abū Ubaydah explains that the reference is to a man who volunteers for successive military expeditions and returns ceaselessly to the attack. The well-trained and obedient horse names the same distinctions. It is the notion of this 4th form which is dominant in the Kūrān: resurrection is a recreation. Theologians in fact mainly speak of ṣāda in the sense of a second creation. The idea of return is only implied, to the extent that there must be a return to the point of departure before there can be a recreation. Thus al-Dhawāniy (Irshādā, Arabic text, 317, ed. J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938) quotes Kūrān, XXXVI, 78-81, from which he concludes: "That which has been brought back into existence (al-muṣāda), is the same as that which has been created for the first time." We leave aside the question as to whether substances only, or both substances and accidents are the objects of ṣāda. In the Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn, ed. Istanbul 1928, 232-3, Abī al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī shows that the return to existence of something which has been annihilated is possible, and he expresses himself in the same terms as those used by al-Dhawāniy. Consequently, if ṣāda is a second creation following death and annihilation, the place reached by resurrected persons is the place reached by resurrected persons.

But the word muṣāda is used only once in the Kūrān (XXVIII, 85): "Yes, He who endows you with the gift of Prophecy, it is He who brings you back to a place of return". The term is variously interpreted: some treat it as a synonym of muṣār (place at which one arrives), as in III, 28: "And towards God is the place of arrival"; for others, it is the equivalent of ṣāda (place to which one returns), as in V, 18: "Towards God is your place of return for all"; or it is identified purely and simply as the Next Life (al-akhirā). It should however be noted that the term has been understood in a much more concrete sense: it could denote, according to some, Mecca, whither the Prophet was to return, having conquered the town according to God's promise; in a more general sense, it could be the country where he was born (al-Farrā') or his homeland (al-sā'ib). Finally, the word muṣāda has been interpreted in terms of the verse I, 25: "And when We made the House (i.e. the Kūrān) a place where one returns (muṣāheb); consequently, muṣāheb = muṣād = place of Pilgrimage = ṣāda. In fact, al-Kurtubī explains, a large number of pilgrims and visitors make their way each year to the holy places, and moreover, each one, having left them, desires to return there. Ibn Sīdāh retains the two meanings of Pilgrimage and the Last Life. It may be noted that they conform perfectly, since ṣāda is a departure from the house, involving the leaving of country, goods, family, in order to go to the House of God, which, as al-Ghazālī explains, is the place reached by departure from this earth in order to go to Paradise to see God Himself: seeing the House of God inspires the wish to see the Master of the House. Thus, muṣāda, etymologically linked to ṣāda, taken in the symbolic connection ṣāda-ṣāda, came to refer primarily to the place of return of resurrected persons in the presence of God. It is in this sense that al-Tahānawi associates it with ṣāda and ṣāda, the Assembly for the Last Judgment and the Resurrection. He distinguishes between a physical muṣād (gismāni), which is the return to life of bodies leaving their tombs, and a spiritual muṣād (riḥānā), which consists of the return of spirits restored to their bodies (vudud al-arwāh 'ulā haddāmūn). There can be as many as five doctrines on this subject. The first affirms only the reality of the physical muṣād; this, says al-Tahānawi is the approach of the theologians who deny the existence of a rational soul. He is no doubt referring to certain Hanbalīs, of whom Ibn Baṭṭa is an example, for whom the words nafs and rūḥ retained their ancient Semitic sense of vital principle, breath, even blood. Ibn Baṭṭa writes "We must believe in the call which Isrāfīl will utter to make the dead rise from their tombs". H. Lucost mentions in a note a passage of Ibn Taymiyya: "Men will rise from their tombs and appear before their Master, without shoes, all naked and uncircumcised. The sun will approach them and they will bathe in their sweat". (La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, 94). In regard to the angel of death, Lucost quotes a passage of the 5thādī, attributed to Ibn Hanbal, where it is said "He catches the souls (arassāli), which are then restored to the bodies in their tombs". This point of view may be related to that of al-Naẓāmī, as revealed by Abī al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī in the Fārī bāy'a al-Fīrāk, 145: "The twentieth of these disgraceful doctrines is that which concerns maṣṣad, whereby scorpions, snakes, beetles, flies, ravens, dung-beetles, dogs, pigs, wild beasts, insects will be gathered (fasādānu) on the way to Paradise". In fact, these animals do not have a rational soul, but this does not prevent al-Naẓāmī believing in their maṣṣad.

The second doctrine listed by al-Tahānawi is that which asserts exclusively the spiritual muṣād; it is that of the philosophers. It is known that al-Ghazālī was opposed to the idea of survival of the rational soul only. Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā did attempt to understand in what sense the presence of a sensible human reality in the other life could be philosophically admitted. On this subject, we refer to the thesis of Jean Michot, presented at Louvain-la-Neuve in 1961 (still in manuscript) on maṣṣad in Avicennan thought, where there are to be found minute analyses of the metaphysics and psychology of Ibn Sīnā, based on numerous texts. But it was not only the philosophers who maintained that man is a spirit of which the body is only a "mould" (kalābā). The Muṭṭazīlī al-Mu'āmmār, although he is counted al-Tahānawi among the adherents of the third doctrine, thought, according to al-Baghdādī, Fārī bāy'a al-Fīrāk, 154, that "man is something other than this sensible body, something living, something knowing, something powerful, which is neither at rest, nor in motion, which is not localised anywhere..." When asked if he meant that man is in this body, or in Paradise, or in Hell, he replied "I say that he is in the body insomuch as he controls it; in Paradise insomuch as he enjoys heavenly gifts; in Hell, insomuch as he is punished". Al-Naẓāmī also reckoned that man is a spirit (rūḥ), but by spirit he meant "a rational body which penetrates (maṣṣādādū) this compact body, the life (al-dīn) of a rational soul. He is therefore closer to the preceding doctrine. The third doctrine is that which affirms both the resurrection of the body and of the soul when man is restored to life. It is that which is taught by the Ash'ārīs as well as al-Ghazālī, numerous Ṣafīs and certain Ikhwānīs for whom man is "two things", "the body which is inseparable (maṣṣad) and the spirit which is active, endowed with sensibility and with perception; this is the thesis of al-Baghdādī al-Tahānawī (Maṣṣādī al-Tahānawīyyin, 1, 125; Fārī bāy'a al-Fīrāk, 65). Al-Tahānawi places among the adherents of this doctrine
those who consider that man is "in reality" (bi 'l-haštā) the rational soul, for it is the latter which bears the responsibility of prescribed acts, which obeye or disobeye, which is rewarded or punished.

But this soul is linked to a body; also, "when God wills the gathering together of His creatures, He creates for each of the spirits a body (badām) to which it is linked and in which it acts freely, as was the case here below. But this is not a question of metempsychosis (lansahēq), since it is a case of return (vawd) to the fundamental parts of the body (idh 'aqrār) ašliyya li 'l-badām), although this is not in itself the first body, as is made clear in the Word of God (IV, 58): "As often as their skins are burned, We shall give them other skins in exchange".

The last two doctrines are that which denies mašid and that which characterises this type of thought. Those who deny it are the "physical philosophers" (al-falasifa al-fab).

Al-Fārabi quotes the Kašf al-huṣna: "For the Sūfis, the mašid, they say, are the first and the last body (badām), and in the beginning the mašid, the universal names relating to beings in development (asmā'i kulli-yi karāni).

The arrival in this world of ḥusn viator (zilkh) is accomplished by the route of these second names; his return (rujūs) by the route of the first. This definition relates to the concepts of Ibn 'Arabī, with the journey into God (safar al-tanzih), for whom the names have two faces, one turned towards the Creator and the other towards God (ism al-tanzih), for whom the names have two faces, one turned to¬

It may be recalled finally that the root rādā is only used, in religious language, to express a return to a place from which one does not come again. This is how it differs from the root rađa. In a mystical context, the name rādā is the name of the path (ṭālik) which brings to¬

The notion of mašid is very important in the view of Ibn Sīnā, not only in terms of the destiny of man after death, but also in terms of his life on earth. In fact, God teaches that He "has prepared for those who obey Him a place of return which gives them good fortune (al-mašid al-muṣrīd, Shīfā, Bāb al-muṣrīd, Cairo 1960, ii, 441), which poses the problem of eternal beatitude (iḥād, 445). But in this world men are in need of regulation: "It is therefore in¬

Bibliography: given in the article.
genealogies of ancestors of Ma'add are given in Ibn Khatibya, Ma'drī' (1834; 30 t, 63 t), Ibn Hishām, Sira (579), and al-Ma'sāfir (Ma'drī'), iv, 115-18). Muhammad is said to have forbidden the tracking of genealogies beyond Ma'add (ibid., n. 112, 118 t). In a hadith Muhammad commanded al-Ma'sāfirī, which is said to be the rough clothing (or the way of life) of Ma'add (Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, i, 43; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. 'd, al-llsaa al-Ma'addiyā).

**Bibliography:** given in the article, but see also Tabari, i, 671 ff.; Ibn al-Kalbi, Dakhmarāt al-nasab, ed. Caskel; Ma'sūdī, Tabāris垣, index (evidence of genealogical disputes).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

MA'SAFIR (OF AL-MA'SAFIR), the name of a South Arabian tribe, the genealogy of which is given as Ya'far b. Malik b. al-Żarī'ī b. Udād b. Huma'ay b. 'Amr b. Wasālībī b. 'Arbi b. Zayd b. Kahān b. Saba'; they are included among the Himyār.

The name was also given to the territory which the tribe inhabited and this corresponded roughly with the Turkish Mikhāf, especially significant. The overall picture it presents of the tribe and the area in mediaeval Yemeni historiography. Certainly, the area was controlled by the Ayābidīs, the dynasty founding the Umayyad Ziyād centre on Zubīl, in the 9th/10th century. The Zūray'īds too in the 6th/11th century reckoned al-Ma'sāfir as part of their territory, but it was wrested from them by the Ma'dīds. It must have fallen to the Ayābidī conqueror of the Yemen, Tūrān-Shāh, the brother of Sa'idī, who won over Tīhāmā and the south of the country in the years 568-71/1173-6. The Ayābidīs' successors, the Rasūlīdīs, built military establishments in al-Ma'sāfir in the 7th/12th and 9th/13th centuries, and we hear of a rebellion led by the Ma'sāfirī tribal leader against the Turkish occupation forces of the Yemen in 1028/1618.


(A. Grohmann - [G. R. Smith])

AL-MASAFIR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Muḥammad 'Ali b. Da'Mān b. Sa'd al-Dīn, an Andalusian Mālikī scholar who settled in Jerusalem and died there in 603/1208. Born and educated in Málaga, al-Ma'sāfirī left his native town early in his life and, like many of his companions at the time, travelled east for the dual purpose of performing the pilgrimage and acquiring knowledge. Though the sources mention that al-Ma'sāfirī did some writing, they do not name any of his works. We know of only one extant work, a unique untitled manuscript in his own handwriting, found at present in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and listed in the catalogue (ms. 3010) under the title Biographies of famous women. The manuscript has eleven chapters, of which the first two and the last two deal with biblical figures; the rest of the chapters (now published in Libya-Tunis 1978, ed. 'Abd al-Tili, under the title al-Jaddīf al-żamālī al-shābī al-musāfīrī), which form the main body of the manuscript, deal with post-Islamic women, mainly from the Unayzah period.

Bearing in mind the general paucity of biographical material about women in mediaeval Arabic literature and, in particular, the limited number of works devoted exclusively to them, this manuscript, with its diverse information, colourful anecdotes and copious verse quotations is, without doubt, especially significant. The overall picture it presents for peace. Sawwā must at this time have been on the side of Ma'add and its prince 'Isāmādāl Dāyādān on the side of the Ḥabashīt, the enemies of Saba'. In 98/610 the Ma'addīs with Dāi Dāyā and Ḥamādn adopted Islam and received a letter from the Prophet Muhammad with detailed instructions regarding their obligations. At quite an early date in their Islamic history, many of the Ma'āfīr migrated to Egypt, where with other South Arabs they played an important part in the building-up of the country. A Ma'sāfir was, for example, put in charge of the planning of al-Fustāt by 'Amr b. al-Ās. This migration probably explains the infrequent mention of both the tribe and the area in mediaeval Yemeni historiography. Certainly, the area was controlled by the Ayābidīs, the dynasty founding the Umayyad Ziyād centre on Zubīl, in the 9th/10th century. The Zūray'īds too in the 6th/11th century reckoned al-Ma'sāfir as part of their territory, but it was wrested from them by the Ma'dīds. It must have fallen to the Ayābidī conqueror of the Yemen, Tūrān-Shāh, the brother of Sa'idī, who won over Tīhāmā and the south of the country in the years 568-71/1173-6. The Ayābidīs' successors, the Rasūlīdīs, built military establishments in al-Ma'sāfir in the 7th/12th and 9th/13th centuries, and we hear of a rebellion led by the Ma'sāfirī tribal leader against the Turkish occupation forces of the Yemen in 1028/1618.


(A. Grohmann - [G. R. Smith])
of the character and status of women in early Islam is unexpectedly refreshing: it is an image of a proud, courageous woman with a keen sense of moral values and a high evaluation of her own worth, a woman who had not as yet succumbed to the disastrous consequences of being segregated from the world of men.

In his manuscript, al-Ma'afiri mentions that the year 581/1185-6 in Damascus collecting material for this work, his main source being Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim (d. 600/1203), son of the illustrious Damascene historian Ibn ʿAsākir. In 382/1193, when Jerusalem was regained from the Crusaders, al-Ma'afiri must have been among the numerous Muslims who then fled to the city, for we are told that he was appointed resident preacher of the Aṣkā Mosque by Sultan Sulayh al-Dīn Muqīr al-Dīn ʿUṯayy an (al-Uṯayw an bi-naʿīlāt an-ṭanād wa ṣ-Rūd, Nadīf 1168, ii, 235) puts him second on the list of those who preached in the Aṣkā Mosque after the fate. Al-Ma'afiri spent the rest of his life in Jerusalem, where he became known as al-Hādījī al-Kāsimī. There he achieved fame as a scholar and lecturer, and attained a position of wealth and power, but remained none the less devout and given to charitable works. He continued to strengthen the inhabitants of his adopted city, for when he died large numbers followed his cortège. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākiš (al-Dhawī waʾl-tamāhī, Beirut 1965, v/5, 926) relates that "no worthy person was absent from his funeral and even the Christians who were in the church there joined the procession: they threw some of their garments on his coffin and then began to pass to each other and to hold them to their faces in the hope of being blessed."


MA'ALTHAYA, MA'ALTHAYA (Syrian "gate, entrance", Payne Smith, Thesaurus syriacus, col. 3881), modern Maalthay, the name given to two villages in the former bād of Dehok (Duḥak) in the wilayah of Mawsil in Ottoman times, now in the Autonomous Region of Dehok in Republican Iraq. The two villages were formerly distinguished as Ma'althay al-Naṣrān, "M. of the Christians", but has recently become largely Kurdish and Muslim, like its fellow-village. Ma'althay lies on a small affluent of the Tigris, the Nahr Dehāk, 43 km. to the north-east of Mawil and to the east of the mountains of Kurdistan and the lands south of Lake Van, the modern Turkish vilayet of Hakkari. It owes its name given to two villages was formerly distinguished as Ma'althay al-Naṣrān (E. Tisserant, art. Mawil, in Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, xi, cols. 26-30). It was the seat of an episcopal diocese known as either Ma'althaya or as Bābā-Bābā-Nubahā. The line of Nestorian bishops begins in 410 with Isaac and continues till 1255 with Makšīghīs, apparently the last, whilst the Jacobite line begins with Zakai at the end of the 6th century and continues until Yūţyan Yob in 1258 (J. B. Chabot, ed. and tr., Synodicon orientale, in Notices et extraits, xxvii, Paris 1902, index s.v.; J. M. Fiey, Assyrise chrétienne, Beirut 1965-6, ii, 342-53). The Assyrian Christian community and its church in Ma'althaya of Mawil must have suffered during the massacres by the Kurds of Christians and Yazidis [q.v.] towards the end of the 19th century, and the village seems to have been abandoned by its Christian community eu. 1900-7, and the service books and manuscripts of the church transferred to Dehok (Fiey, op. cit., ii, 973-91).

It had nevertheless been a flourishing place in early Islamic and pre-Mongol times. Al-Baladhuri, 331, records that al-Ma'at (Ma'alla) was one of the places, together with Bābā Naḥṣāra, etc., overrun by ʿUrān's general ʿUrūb b. ʿAbūṣad al-Ṣulami in 204/617. The Arabic geographers expatiate on the fertility and agricultural richness of the district of Ma'althaya and Fayshābūr (= originally, Fīṣḥābūr of Bābā-Nubahā, see Fiey, op. cit., ii, 693 ff.). According to al-Maḳkaddashi, it was small but rich in gardens, and it had a Frūṣī mosque (hence already a Muslim community) on a tell; its specialties included dairy products, wool, grapes and fruit, hemp seed and flax, and dried, salted meat (al-Maḳkaddashi, 139, 145). Ibn Ḥawākī, 217-18, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 211-24; cf. Le Strange, Lands, 93, 124). For Yāḵūt, iv, 278, Ma'althaya was a "little town" (balšaya), but it is possible that this information was already anachronistic by the 7th/13th century.

Ma'althaya's position on the route into Kurdistan gave it a certain rôle in medieval Islamic history, and is mentioned in several times by e.g. Ibn al-Abbar. It was a centre for local chiefs and for the Khurāsīd ruler Karbūn in 566-7/1170-1 in their squabbles with the Turkish caliphal governors of Mawsil (ed. Beirut 1385-6/1965-6, v/7, 353, 359). In 590/992 the Būyūk ʿAḏūd al-Dawla (q.v.) launched an expedition via this route against the Hakkārī Kurds, and crucified their chiefs along the road from Mawsil to Ma'althaya (viii, 709). In 441/1050-5, during the warfare between the ʿUkaylī ruler of Mawsil Muḥammad al-Dawla Kīrwaḥ b. al-Muḳadl and his brother Zā'im al-Dawla Abī Kāmil Bāraka, the former's Kurdish allies marched on Ma'althaya and sacked it (ix, 553).
Thereafter, Ma'ānιhaya sinks into obscurity on the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1843) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1843) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1843) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1843) and A. H. Layard (1846); Badger found there only the wider stage of history, until it was visited in the 19th century by G. P. Badger (1842-4), the French Consul in Mawṣil G. Rouet (1843) and A. H. 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It should be noted, however, that the practice of separating some of these figures from the corpus of the badi poses dates back at least till the 5th/6th century (see S. A. Bensebaker, A Fausum manual for secretaries, in AJUON, xxxvii [1977], 310-12) and may have been initiated by al-RummanI (d. 384/994), though the latter work can be seen as an expression of meta-

aphor and a comparable part of the bistiqal of the badi poses does not state explicitly that these are not to be considered badi figures (see al-RummanI, al-Nahj fi 'l-dalal fi Ikhtila, in Thalath rasd, ed. M. Khulaf Allah and M. Z. Salam, Cairo n.d., 72, I, 3-4, and the quotation in Ibn Rashik, al-'amal, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Hamid, Cairo 1352/1934, i, 214). It should also be noted that it is not correct to think of the history of rhetorical studies since the time of al-KazwinI as being completely dominated by the system he had introduced; works continuing the older tradition which brought all figures of speech under the heading of badi and devoted a separate chapter to each figure (see badi) continued to be written (they were especially popular in North Africa and Spain, see Ibn KhalqI, Makaddima, iii, 292-3 = Ibn Khaldun, Rosenthal, 2nd ed. 1967, iii, 336-8), even though their authors were aware of, and probably influenced by, the new trend represented by the Talqis (Ibn Khaldun suggests that the Talqis was the basic text). In many respects, the later history of Arabic rhetoric presents essential, but still unanswered, questions.

Finding adequate translations of the terms ma'ani and bayan is made complicated by the fact that the relation between grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and between literary theory and literary criticism, is not apparent at first sight. Moreover, the borderline separating the disciplines dealing with these two categories, the 'ilm al-ma'ani and the 'ilm al-bayan, is not always clear. In the Talqis, the definitions overlap, and al-Sakkaki himself seems to regard the 'ilm al-bayan as a branch of the 'ilm al-ma'ani (see Talqis, 77, 156-7, and cf. 77, lines 4-3 from bottom; see also BadiI al-Din al-Sakkaki in Sakkaki, iii, 264-5 and Matlah, al-Sakkaki, 131-5). It is not surprising that al-KazwinI felt the need to criticise and rework these definitions and rearrange some of the material. Considering the etymology of the term bayan and the definition which al-KazwinI gives of the 'ilm al-bayan as "the science through which one knows how to express one and the same concept in ways which differ as to the degree of clarity achieved in indicating this concept, which involves, among other things, avoiding obscenity (istibd) in sentence structure (naaz) and in the relation between statement and theme (istibd, Talqis, 5, 7 = SyrhI, i, 103 ff., 110; see Mehren, 15-16), the translation "Science of exposition" (Mehren, 20: "Darstellungslehre") seems justified; but if one keeps in mind that the 'ilm al-bayan deals only with the similar (istibd) (as an introduction to the discussion of the metaphor), the metaphor (istibd I) (q.v.), the analogy (istibd II), the metonymy (istibd III) and the allusion, statement by implication (istibd IV), the translation "Science of figurative expression" seems more appropriate.

Even more confusing is the term ma'ani, since what is meant is not the study of subjects and themes in poetry (as found in such works as the Kudab-
Ma'dnī al-kabīr of Ibn Khatibya (p.v.) or the Da'irat al-Ma'dnī of Abū Hilāl al-Askarī (d. ca. 400/1009), nor a study of lexicography, but essentially a study of those rules of syntax which have a bearing on the theory of functional, appropriate style, as al-Kazwīnī puts it, "finding the proper expression to meet what is required in a given situation" (the full definition of the 'ilm al-ma'dnī is "the science through which one knows the various existing patterns of Arabic speech by means of which it meets the requirements of each situation"). [auraa'] 'ilm ma'dnī yur'afu bihh ahuwa li-l'afaq li-l-arabiyyya l-falā bidd biḥ yushfa'ī muqaffa 'l-hala'; the translation "Semantics of syntax" suggests itself (cf. al-Sawārī, i, 1146: "the different kinds of sentence and their use").

The awkwardness of the terms ma'dnī and bayān and the difficulty of finding proper definitions for the two disciplines, 'ilm al-ma'dnī and 'ilm al-bayān, particularly in their relationship to lexicography and grammar, has not escaped the mediaeval critics (see the interesting observations in Yāhūy b. Hamza's Tawāz, i, 8-18), and one wonders what determined the choice of these terms. The ma'dnī and bayān sections in the Miṣāḥīh were based respectively on the Dalīl al-Djurdīnī and the Aṣṣār al-balagha by Abū al-Sāhir al-Djurdīnī (see al-Djurdīnī in S. al-Mu'tazzīnī) and it is in these two works that one would first try to find an answer to this question. On p. 64 of the Dalīl, al-Djurdīnī makes clear that composition (nayn) depends on obeying the rules of syntax (which he briefly enumerates), and on p. 65 he declares that determining a correct or faulty nayn always involves a principle of syntax (ma'dnī min ma'dnī l-nayn). On p. 222, II, 4-5 of the Aṣṣār (Ritter's tr., 261 bottom) he qualifies the similarity as ma'dnī min al-ma'dnī, apparently meaning a way of formulating a common syntactic construction. It is possible that al-Sakkālī derived the term from al-Djurdīnī's definition of the nayn as essentially a matter of correct syntax, the more so since the chapter on the ma'dnī in the Miṣāḥīh immediately follows the section on syntax, so that the 'ilm al-ma'dnī could be seen as an extension of syntax into the realm of rhetoric. It is also possible that he based himself on an earlier model: The term ma'dnī al-nayn appears in the famous discussion between Abū Sa'd al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Bīrāb Mattā b. Yūnus al-Kūriyyātī which took place in 310/922 (see Abū Hāniyāy al-Tawhidī, al-Muḥabbat, ed. H. al-San̄dībī, Cairo 1349/1930, 80; also, al-İmām wa l-ma'dnī al-nayn, ed. A. Amin and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 121; Yākūn, Ḳiṣṭāḥ, iii, 117; D. S. Margoliouth in J.R.A.S. [1905], 122), but seems to be used there for grammar in its widest sense. Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) in his al-Ṣābīlī (ed. M. al-İcchūmī, Beirut 1383/1964, 170) uses the term ma'dnī al-kadīrī for the following categories: Ḳīnār, ỉstātsbār, amr, makh, ỉstād, Ḳadīr, Ḳaṣīb, Ḳawāmī, and Ṭalāʾūdūn, nearly all of which appear also in the ma'dnī chapters of al-Sakkālī and al-Kazwīnī. The term ma'dnī has been abandoned because it was too general and had to be associated, as al-Djurdīnī states clearly on pp. 306-7 of the Dalīl, with the use of the ỉstāfā, the ỉndbnāa, and the ṭamālī as well as other tropes (fīrāb al-ṣan̄āfī). It should be noted, however, that al-Kazwīnī (Jāḥ, i, 57-8) and al-Tatțāțīnī (al-Šāhīr al-muṣawwar, 27) quote a definition which gives the term a narrow sense and which was based on al-Djurdīnī (cf. Dalīl, 67-9). However that may be, one cannot deny that there is a certain logic in the new introduction by al-Sakkālī and al-Kazwīnī as long as one sees the 'ilm al-ma'dnī as a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate the change in meaning; al-Bayān as an analysis of figurative expressions which, one might argue, the writer is free to use but which, since they are the product of his creativity and often lend clarity and distinction to his style, are by necessity part of any theory of style; and the Al-Baṣrī as a list of "embellishments" which are not essential criteria of a good style, but which are nevertheless applied quite frequently. It is conceivable that al-Sakkālī and al-Kazwīnī tried to programme the study of rhetoric in such a way that the reader would become familiar first with the elementary skills of composition, then with the characteristics of literature as a form of art, and finally with some stylistic devices used by accomplished poets and writers. It is true that much of what comes under the heading of 'ilm al-ma'dnī is syntax or formal logic; but very often one finds that these statements of rules and principles explain how the speaker ought to convey a certain mood which requires him to emphasize, exaggerate, play on the hearer's imagination, or conform to a given situation by making tacit assumptions about what is known or acceptable to his audience, etc. This unquestionably draws the 'ilm al-ma'dnī into the sphere of rhetoric and oratory. The use of the term bayān may reflect the view that metaphors should be used since they are sometimes more effective than terms used in their proper sense. Or the term may have been chosen simply because it was often associated with this aspect of the Miṣāḥīh (see Bayān, i, 1114; also see al-Rummānī, al-Nuḥayt, 79, l. 12 and cf. A Fatīmī manual, 313-19: al-Rummānī speaks of the metaphor as leading to a baldūtī bayān not possible if the proper term were used). One could suggest that al-Sakkālī had in mind the formulation of a concept in an unconventional, artful manner (and as such different from the common methods described in the ma'dnī chapters) (cf. Bayān, i, 1116 bottom, cf. also al-Nuḥayt, 98, l. 2-15, and A Fatīmī manual, 317, l. 12—318, l. 11), but no other examples of bayān being used specifically as a term for figurative expressions are known to exist; The terms ma'dnī and bayān appear in al-Zamākhshāri's (d. 538/1444 [p. v.) al-Kashgālī and in Fāhrī al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210 [p. v.) Nihāyat al-fīlū Ḳīrātay al-fīlūtī. Al-Zamākhshāri made frequent use of al-Djurdīnī, al-Rāzī's Nihāya is actually a digest of al-Djurdīnī. But both authors use the terms in too vague a way to justify any conclusions, and, consequently, al-Sakkālī, who knew both the Kashgālī and the Nihāya, cannot have derived his definitions from these two books. He speaks however of "scholars" or "leaders" in the 'ilm al-ma'dnī without specifying who they are (Miṣāḥīh, 95, 119, 127; also see Matṭū, al-Sakkālī, 119-20), and this could of course be taken as an indication that he was not the first to introduce ma'dnī as a term for a more or less clearly defined category of rhetorical studies.

How difficult it is to keep the 'ilm al-ma'dnī and the 'ilm al-bayān completely separated appears from the treatment of the ma'dnī as part of the chapter on attribution (zandād) in the ma'dnī section of the Talkhīsh (10-13 = Šahrīb, i, 224-72; cf. al-Djurdīnī, Aṣṣār, 342-5 = 399-402 of the translation); al-Kazwīnī discusses sentences such as "The springtime made the herbage come forth" for "God made the herbage come forth" where there is a "trope of the intellect"
(madğar ah), i.e. the hearer's realisation that it is the creator who makes the herbage come forth, while the terms 'springtime' and "made [the herbage] come forth" are used in their original sense; and "The springtime made the earth come to life" where there is not only a trope of the intellect in the relation between subject and predicate, but also a trope of "unification" (laylat) (the word for "covered the earth with herbage"), Al-Kazwî points out that the hearer cannot do without a "frame of reference" (karima) supplied by an element in the context or the result of logical reflection which enables him to understand that the sentences are not to be taken in their literal meaning (see Matlîb, al-Kazwîni, 353-71, for views on this point by al-Kazwîni's predecessors and followers; see also Mehren, 30-1, 75-9). However, Al-Kazwîni gives no further attention in this section to the association that makes it possible to use "come to life" in the sense of "come forth", since this is a question that belongs to the "ilm al-bayan. It would be wrong, however, to see the "ilm al-bayan as a science that is exclusively concerned with individual words used metaphorically in a certain context (involving, of course, once more a discussion of the karima) and of the associations which make such metaphors acceptable (cf. Mîyâk, 157, ll. 2-3) in phrases such as "I see you advancing one foot while at the same time moving backwards with the other", which are intended as analogies (tangâl), the words are used in their original proper meaning, though the sentence as a whole is used metaphorically to describe somebody who is reluctant to commit himself (Talkhi, 86 = Shu'âb, iv, 143 ff.; see Mehren, 58-9); and in the ananonymy "He has many ashes [around his hearth]" there is no need to attribute a tropical sense to any term in the sentence in order to conclude that what the speaker wants to say is that the man often prepares meals and therefore must be a generous person who entertains many guests (Talkhi, 92 = Shu'âb, iv, 236 ff.; see Mehren, 412). Moreover, Al-Kazwîni considers the tiri dal as essentially a form of simile (tâbâhi) (67 = Shu'âb, iii, 287 ff.; see Mehren, 534); this theory may go back to al-Rûmînî, al-Nahhat, 79, ll. 5-10, see Heinrichs, The hand, 41, 42, and Benebalder, A Fatsadî manual, 313-14, and was adopted by al-Sakkâlî's contemporary, al-Muţarîf (d. 610/1213), see Yahyâ b. Hamza, Tîriâ, i, 280-1 and Matlîb, al-Sakkâlî, 275, as well as by al-Sakkâlî himself, Mîyâk, 157, ll. 22 ff., and therefore introduces a detailed chapter on the tâbâhi in the bayân section before dealing with the tixdâ. The ma'ani chapter, however, also deals briefly with the simile when it analyses the inversion (tâbâhi) which, if we may believe Ibn Khaldûn (see the passage quoted above), included the elements of the rhetorical section of the Mîyâk by al-Sakkâlî himself, as a "reduced size copy" of the Mîyâk which should not be confused with his Mîyâk fi 'l-ma'âni wa 'l-bayan (Sellheim, 315, 333, correcting Brockelmann). The latter work has been recognised by Ahlwardt (no. 7249, pp. 3940-3950) and Sellheim (316) as an independent system of rhetoric, though it may have been influenced by the "standardisation" established by al-Sakkâlî. Matlîb (al-Sakkâlî, 385) goes farther and finds that the Mîyâk is no more than a "reduced size copy" of the Mîyâk, though in his book on al-Kazwîni (pp. 1-7, cf. also 160, 209) he points out some important differences between the two texts. In addition, Badr al-Din Ibn Mîlîk wrote a Mîyâk fi 'l-bayan wa 'l-ma'âni (Sellheim, 315, 333), correcting Brockelmann).
Sharh talghsh al-miftah (see Sharuh, i, 30, 159, 376 and elsewhere) and is preserved in a manuscript in Leiden (see Matbkh, al-Kazwln, 92, 684). According to Matbz, it was written before the (second) Miftahh and was like its companion volume essentially a digest of the Miftah, the first work to reach Egypt. The substantial agreement between the Miftah and the Miftahh appears clearly from a comparison of the definitions of the ma'san and the baydn and, to a lesser extent, from a comparison of the tables of contents. Where the two books show an important difference is in the use of the term badi* (see above) and in the detailed treatment which the badi* receives in the Miftahh (which falls outside the scope of this article).

Much more interesting as an independent study of the sim al-ma'san and the sim al-baydn than Badr al-Din Ibn Malik's Miftahh is another little-known work, the Tirds al-mu'annadin min asr ar al-baydn wa asr-ar sharh talghsh al-adid'il of al-Mu'ayyad bilharr Yahyâ b. Hamza al-Àalawi (d. 747/1346; see Brockelmann II, 186, S II, 242). A curious aspect of this book is that the author apparently knew neither of the two books by al-Qa'idhân nor al-Sakkikl's Miftahh and it cannot be precisely determined where he found the quotations from the Miftahh which so much influenced his thinking (see Matbkh, al-Sakkik, 359-63). In the preface (I, 34), he acknowledges that he used the Miftahh of al-Sakkikl by al-Djurqanj and that Yahya b. Hamza al-Àalawi (d. 652/1254), of whose works, however, he may not have known that the work by al-Sakkikl was a compendium of the Miftahh, and that Yahya the author apparently knew neither the two books by al-Qa'idhân nor al-Sakkikl's Miftahh and that Yahya by the coins the Miftahh to Yahya b. Hamza derived his knowledge of al-Sakkikl. He apparently also feels certain that the work by 'Abd al-Karim b. al-Karim, the Tirds al-adid'il of al-Qa'idhân, or the Tirds al-adid'il of 'Abd al-Rahmân (or 'Abd al-Rahmân) al-Abbasî (d. 965/1550), both of which works have not been published, contain elements of the same tradition.

The popularity which the system of al-Sakkikl and al-Kazwln has enjoyed to this day is shown by such works as the edition by M. 'A. Khâlidî al-Azîznî's Idth Cairo 1360-1370/1940-1950, which contains extensive notes on the interpretation of the text and the history of the genre, and by modern works on the ma'san and the baydn such as the Bshaght as-nasr hâl-lasîr of 'Abd al-Rahmân (or 'Abd al-

As noted earlier, there are numerous commentaries on the Talghsh, as well as supra-commentaries and glosses. An authoritative and informative list of many of these, with valuable information on manuscripts, appears in Sehleim, 310-15. A collection of commentaries which comprises not only al-Kazwln's Talghsh and al-Taftanzânl's Sharh muq'hsharr, but also the Mawdâl al-falshât of Ibn Ya'qûb al-Maghribi (wrote 1100/1696; see Brockelmann, S I, 518), the 'Arâs a'la-fadil al-Bin al-Din al-Sukî (see above), and the Hâshyâ of the Sharh muq'hsharr by Muhammad b. Muhammad 'Arâs al-Atlasî (d. 1230/1815; see Brockelmann, II, 54, S II, 98 and Matbkh, al-Kazwln, 592-7) was published in Cairo in 1917 (and earlier in Bâsil in 1381/1901-2, according to Brockelmann, S I, 516, 36) in four volumes. Mention should also be made of the Sharh 'a'idl al-qismân fi sim al-

The popularularity which the system of al-Sakkikl and al-Kazwln has enjoyed to this day is shown by such works as the edition by M. 'A. Khâlidî al-Azîznî's Idth Cairo 1360-1370/1940-1950, which contains extensive notes on the interpretation of the text and the history of the genre, and by modern works on the ma'san and the baydn such as the Bshaght as-nasr hâl-lasîr of 'Abd al-Rahmân (or 'Abd al-

An excellent summary of the 'ilm al-baydn and the 'ilm al-badî* is found in Mehren's Rhetorik. Mehren based himself on the Talghsh, the two commentaries by al-Taftanzânl, and the 'Ullânî by al-Suyûtî. Other texts were known to the author and occasionally used by him (see pp. 110-113). Mehren also dealt briefly with the 'ilm al-ma'san (18-19), but apparently gave up his plans to deal with this discipline in a separate publication (p. v). However, the technical terms in the ma'san chapters, as far as they pertain to rhetoric, are sometimes the same as those of the baydn which are adequately treated in the Talghsh and they are common badî* terms which can be identified in handbooks composed by authors who followed the "older" school, such as the Tahâr al-tahâr of Ibn Abî l-Ishâr, ed. H. M. Sharaf, Cairo 1383/1963.
Another useful introduction is the article by M. Weisweiler, "Abdalqahal al-Sakkakl's Werk über die Umnahmeleihigkeit des Korans und seine syntaktisch-stilistischen Lehren, in Orient, xi/2 (1958), 77-121, which, though intended as a summary of the Dalal'i, can be used as a study of the 'ilm al-ma'arif and thus makes up in a large measure for the omission of this section from Mehten's book.


W. Aḥwārāt, Die Handbücherverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XVIII Bd.: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften, VI. Bd., Berlin 1894, 365-442 (tables of contents of texts mentioned in this article and of other texts belonging to the same tradition); I. Brogelmann, I, 294-9, II, 22, S I, 515-19, 965, S II, 15-26; A. Maṭlī, al-Dalālah wa我认为 al-Sakkakl, Baghdād 1368/1949; idem al-Kawant wa-ṣawāqir al-Dalālah, Baghdād 1387/1967; idem, Muṣallaha al-baladaha, Baghdad 1366/1946; A. G. Ablwardt, Die Handschriftverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, XVIII Bd.: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften, VI. Bd., Berlin 1894, 365-442. (Tables of contents of texts mentioned in this article and of other texts belonging to the same tradition); B. Reinert, MA'ARIF (ac.), education, public instruction. The word is the pl. of ma'arif "knowledge". The term was already used in medieval times to denote the secular subjects of knowledge or culture in general (e.g. in the title of Ibn Ḫutayba's Kitāb al-Ma'arīf), in opposition to the religious sciences ("'ulūm, pl. of 'ulum").

1. IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN ARAB LANDS

It seems that the official use of the term appears for the first time in the Ottoman Empire in 1838, when a school for educating government officials was established in Istanbul and was named Mekteb-i Ma'arif-i Veli'diiyye. After that, the term was frequently used in Turkish to indicate education. Thus the first governmental body charged with the administration and supervision of the system which was created in 1845 was called Muvakahhat Ma'arif Maṣlaptive, Provisional Council of Education. This was the forerunner of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Ma'arif-i ʿUmmiyeyi Neṣīrāt, established in 1857. It is noteworthy that the first directorate of the new state schools, which had been created in 1839, was called Mehteb-i Küniiyyeyi Neṣīrāt and did not include the new term ma'arif, perhaps because it was a department within the Ministry of Pious Foundations under the Muṣallah al-Talim. The Ministry of Education was renamed in 1920 by the Kemalists Ma'arif-i Veli'diiyye. In 1923, with the language reform in Turkey, the former Arabic-Ottoman Turkish-sounding term was replaced by a purely Turkish one, and the Ministry was renamed Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, Ministry of National Education, which has retained the official term, although ma'arif is still a common word in Turkish for education, along with the neologism ʿelmin.

The use of the word ma'arif for public education became current in Egypt and Iran in the 19th century, almost certainly under the influence of the Ottoman term. Both in Egypt and in Iran the official use of the term to designate the system of education was avoided for about half a century. When the first Ministry of Education was formed in Egypt in 1837, it was simply called Diwan al-Ma'arif (Ma'arif Diwanī) in Turkish, the Department of Schools. Only since the Khedive Ismail's rule (1863-79) was the Ministry of Public Instruction

...
called meşrûf (later, in 1933, meşrûf) al-ma'tûrin. The term ma'tûrin was universally used for "education" in the Ministries of Education of the Arab successor-states of the Ottoman Empire, and until the mid-1930s, also in Iran. Only after the Egyptian Revolution at the beginning of the school year 1954-55, was the Ministry of Public Instruction renamed Wiştâni al-ma'tûriyya wa l-lilâfin, literally "Ministry of Education and Instruction". The Minister of Education explained that the change aimed to emphasize the shift from the static and passive "knowledge" to the dynamic process of education and the teaching of various skills. It may be suggested that additional reasons were behind the decision to do away with the term ma'tûrin. Although the word is of an Arabic origin, Arabic was less comfortable with it in the sense of education than Ottoman, and even modern Turkish. The expression dî współpr al-ma'tûrin, for example, has the double meaning of "Department of Education" and "encyclopedia". The dropping of the old and, from the Arabic point of view, the somewhat clumsy term ma'tûrin should be also viewed against the background of the Arabisation after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 of the official nomenclature, which had retained many Turkish terms in the civil administration and in the Army. Following the Egyptian example, the other Arab countries replaced in the fifties the term ma'tûrin with larbiya or larbiya wa-l-lilâfin for their Ministries of Education. It further seems that the word ma'tûrin in the sense of education is dying out in Arabic in the non-official usage also.

I. The Ottoman Empire and Turkey

The beginning of modern education in the Ottoman Empire. — Islamic society had traditionally the highest regard for the pursuit of knowledge, ilm, but education was considered as a religious or communal matter of no concern to the state. Muslim children were taught the Kur'an and the basics of religion in the Kur'an schools, the mekteb (Arabic maktûb or kuttab [q.t.]). Higher religious studies were given in the medresâ [q.v.] (Turkish pronunciation, medrese). The traditional educational institutions were financed by private donations, but mainly by the wa'arif, pious foundations. The religious educational system was entirely within the jurisdiction of the 'ulama'. The traditional religious education was restricted to the religious aristocracy and was quite uniform, some local variations notwithstanding. The modernised, state-directed, and at least partially secularised education which was called meşrûf emerged only in the 19th century, although there were some hesitant beginnings in the 18th century. These had been prompted by the Ottoman defeats at the hands of the European powers. The Ottoman government realised that it had to improve the training of its officers and that this could be accomplished only by borrowing European training methods and techniques.

As early as 1824, a school of engineering, huuczûk-i hancî, was established in Uskûdar. This first institution was to be shortlived, but in the last quarter of the 19th century more successful efforts to found military schools were made. After the Ottoman army was burned by the Russians, the Ottomans established in 1776 a new Imperial Naval Engineering School, Mihêndîsî-î êğne-yi Bâgir-yi Hümâyûnî. In order to train army artillery officers, an Imperial Land Engineering School, Mihêndîsî-î êğne-yi Derrî-yi Hümâyûnî was founded in 1794 (or in 1795). These military schools were staffed largely by French officers, and European textbooks, especially translated for the cadets, were used there.

Mahmûd II. — Yet the first real educational beginning in the Ottoman Empire belongs to the reign of Mahmoud II (1808-39), who was following the example of Muhammad 'Ali, Egypt's modernising Pasha. Mahmoud's first significant step in the field of education was issuing an edict which stated that "the majority of people lately avoid sending their children to school and prefer to give them to a trade as novices to artisans when they reach the age of five or six because of their ambition to earn money immediately. This condition is the cause not only of widespread illiteracy but also of ignorance of religion... No man henceforth shall prevent his children from attending school until they have reached the age of adulthood...". This edict cannot be considered as a compulsory education law, and it contained nothing to change the traditional aims and structure of elementary education, but it did mark a departure from the past by declaring the direct involvement of the state as such in the education of children. Mahmoud realised that in order to reform the army, the reactionary forces should be eliminated. Therefore he destroyed the Janissaries in 1826, as Muhammad 'Ali had massacred the menzûlas in 1811. This was in order that the greater part of Mahmûd's educational activity took place after that date. It was to be typical of educational development in the Middle East that reform in the school system started from the top, by establishing modern specialised schools to train officers, doctors, engineers and administrators for the army and the civil bureaucracy. The higher, specialised schools were unrelated to the traditional educational system; the elementary schools especially saw very little change until the 1958 revolution. Because of this, students of engineering and medicine in the first higher schools had to study such elementary subjects as arithmetic, Turkish grammar and French. Eventually, the higher institutions of learning had to form their own preparatory sections, until the state gradually developed the higher-elementary and secondary stages of the educational system. An impressive number of higher schools were founded during the reign of Mahmûd II. In 1827 Mahmûd opened a medical school in Istanbul to train doctors for the army, less than a month after the opening of Mahmûd's first secondary school. Among the educational achievements of Mahmûd's reign should be mentioned the first students' mission to European capitals, which started in 1834 (according to one source, in 1827), also by following Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt, who was the first Middle Eastern ruler to adopt his method of training specialists for his army and administration. Another method to raise the educational standards of his army was to establish training units within the military corps (1832).

Toward the end of the reign of Mahmûd II, two schools of a new kind were created, the Mekteb-i Ma'tûrin-i 3elîyê, the so-called 3elî (after a title of Mahmûd II) School of Science, a school designed specifically to train employees for government offices (1838), and the Mekteb-i Ulûm-i 3elîyê,
School of Literary Sciences, to train translators and interpreters (1839). These schools taught, among other things, modern subjects such as French, geography and mathematics. Mahmud's educational system created a new type of school, the rüşdiyye, higher elementary school (from rüşûd, meaning "adolescence"), which was to serve throughout the empire the two principal stages of education as a link between the elementary schools and the higher stages which were somewhat modernised and secularised, although lip-service to religion was always paid. As has already been mentioned, Mahmud's reign also initiated the first government offices which were charged with administering and supervising the new schools, the forerunners of the Ministry of Education. One of them was the Medres-i Umûm-i Nûfûs, the Board of Useful Affairs, established in 1838, which among other things constructed schools. Another body was the Department of the rüşdiyye, Mekâbî-i Rûşdiyye Nesâreti (1839). Despite the impressive record of Mahmud's period, one must remember that the number of students exposed to the new education was severely hampered by lack of teachers and by difficulties of language and terminology.

The Tanzimat. — The period of the Ottoman Reforms, the Tanzimat (q.v.) (1839-76), brought about a real breakthrough in all the spheres of education: organisation, legislation and development. For the first time the Mekteb-i Mevliî and Ministry of Public Instruction, known as the Mekteb-i Mevliî, a Government Board of Education was formed, in the next year it became Mekabî-i Umânîyye Nesâreti, Ministry of Public Schools, and was replaced in 1857 by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1851 the Society of the Learned, Ednûzîni-i Dânîsh, was formed with the purpose of sponsoring Ottoman culture and contributing to education. It was active only for a few years and did not accomplish much. In 1868 a Council of State was set up. The Council had five sessions, after the French model, one of which was in charge of agriculture and public instruction. A Higher Council for general education was formed in 1869 within the Ministry of Education, on which representatives of the non-Muslim communities (milıezes [q.v.]) also served. Subordinate to this central council, provincial councils were established in each province as part of the local government. During the Tanzimat era, important innovations were introduced. For the first time programmes and regulations were issued to all the elementary schools of the empire (1847). In 1870 a similar set of regulations concerning the rüşdiyye schools was circulated. In 1846 'Ali Pasha and Fâlîd, two of the chief reformers, prepared an ambitious but unrealistic scheme to reorganise the entire educational ladder from the şibâyin elementary schools up to the university. With the foundation of the Ministry of Education in 1837, another scheme for the organisation of the school system was prepared, which provided for an elementary school (mekteb-i şibâyin) of 4 grades (ages 7-10), secondary school (rüşdiyye) of 6 grades (ages 11-16), from which the graduates could continue in various higher institutions of learning, including the Mekteb-i Mevliî, a school which was actually founded only in 1859 to prepare civil servants.

In 1851-1856 a comprehensive law or reorganisation of the state school system was issued. This time the scheme was more thorough than previous attempts aiming at the rationalisation of the school system and integrating all that which had been achieved till that date. The Ottoman Education Law was inspired by the European legislation of the day, and perhaps also took the Egyptian Education Law of 1867. The Ottoman law classified schools in the empire into public (tanzîmiyye) and private (hâkkîsiyye). The former were graded as elementary (şibâyîsiyye) higher elementary (rüşdiyye), lower secondary (Mekâbî-I) and higher secondary rûşdiyye. At the top there were higher institutions of learning, technical, agronomic and medical schools, and the state university (Dâr al-Fïlî). Already in 1868 a compulsory education law had been issued, according to which all boys aged 7-11 and all girls aged 6-10 had to go to school. The 1869 law provided for a şibâyin school in every village or town quarter, a rûşdiyye in towns with 50 or more families, and an rûşdiyye in communities with 1,000 families or more. A şubûnîyye secondary school was to be established in every provincial capital. The actual development of the Ottoman education, however, lagged behind this scheme, for lack of funds, teachers and facilities. By 1876 there were only 362 rûşdiyye, and only one şubûnîyye school was opened for a long time to come. As for the University, the first public lectures were held in 1863, but it was soon closed down. In 1870 another attempt to open the Dâr al-Fîlî was short-lived. Only in 1900 was the university finally organised.

The Tanzimat period began with the promulgation of the famous Rûşdi-i Sherîf ("Noble Rescript") of 1839 which proclaimed at least implicitly the principles of the equally of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of creed, and which opened the new state schools to non-Muslim children. The Khâtât-i Hümâyûn of 1836 made these promises explicit. Generally, the Tanzimat period witnessed some genuine attempts to integrate the non-Muslim elements in Ottoman society, and it was realised that this could best be achieved through education. Midhat Paşa (q.v.), the famous reformer and administrator, established in 1869 an English-language school, to which all boys aged 7-11 and all girls aged 6-10 were considered as qualified teachers. The rûşdiyye, the forerunner of the Ministry of Public Instruction, was founded in 1870, and by 1908 there were 33 teachers' training institutes throughout the empire. The Tanzimat period was also marked by the establishment of the Lycée of Ghala-ta-saray, which was to be a conscious copy of the French lycée. The school offered a European-style curriculum in a five-year course and religious education for students of the main Ottoman millets; the Muslim children consulted about one-half of the student body. In its first years, the administration and the staff were mainly French. But in the seventies the French influence decreased and the school became increasingly Turkish in character. Robert College, the Protestant counterpart of Ghala-ta-saray, had already been in existence since 1868. The Tanzimat period is also to be credited with the first institutes of teachers' training. The idea of state supervision of the teachers belongs to the time of Mahmûd II, but nothing had been done before the Tanzimat to train teachers formally; masters graduates were considered as qualified teachers. The first college of teacher training (Dâr al-muhalisînî) for the rûşdiyye was opened in 1848 in Istanbul. The first normal school for girls (dâr al-muhalisînî) was founded in 1870, and by 1908 there were 33 teachers' training institutes throughout the empire. The Tanzimat period saw a determined effort to spread education to the provinces. The váliâyêt Law of 1874 made provisions for provincial educational administration. In 1872 a decree for reform in the elementary schools in the provinces was issued.

Perhaps most important, the organised under-
taking of female education was original to the Tanzimat. Coeducation was practised in the elementary schools, and the first female teachers for girls' trade schools were appointed in 1872.

To sum up, the educational efforts of the Tanzimat meant that new forms emerged; a network of military and civic schools developed; pioneer work in the fields of education of girls and teacher training was started; contacts with Europe continued, including consultations with European education experts; student missions were sent; and the Ottoman School in Paris (1857-74) became a centre for the Ottoman students in that city. The Tanzimat, the gap between the secular and the religious in Ottoman society widened considerably.

The Constitutional, Hamidian and Young Turk periods. — The Constitution of 1876 reiterated the principles of compulsory and free primary education and the concept of a centralised and somewhat secularised school system. The state did not interfere with religious education in the elementary schools and in the medreses, which remained the province of the Jumshud.

Although the long reign of sultan 'Abd 'al-Hamid II (1876-1909) was a time of despotism and political reaction, the sultan carried on his predecessors' educational activities. He imposed strict censorship on curricula and textbooks and his spies belittled the lives of teachers, students and intellectuals. Yet during his rule the literacy rate tripled, many schools were opened, new types of higher institutions of learning were established and the first modern university in the Muslim world was finally established in 1909. During the period 1879-99 the number of the rüşdiyyes rose from 253 to 389. The network of military schools was developed; there were 29 military rüşdiyyes in 1897. In accordance with his overall Islamic and Arab policy, 'Abd 'al-Hamid II paid more attention to education in the Arab and other Muslim non-Turkish provinces than had been done previously. A typical example of this policy was the Fürediye Mektebi, School of the Tribes, which was opened in Beshbaskid in 1894 and lasted until 1907. This school trained teachers, officers and administrators from the Arab, Kurdish and Albanian provinces. In 1883 the sultan decreed that every provincial capital should have its own teacher training college. In the same year he imposed an "assistance tax", a share of which was set apart for education. A medical school was opened in Damascus in 1893; it was then transferred to Beirut in 1916, and finally closed down in 1918. The network of military schools was extended, and in 1904 military schools were opened in Damascus, Bagdad, Erzincan, Erzurum, and Musul. Legal schools were established in 1907 in Konya, Saldırga and Taşköprü.

'Abd 'al-Hamid sponsored the opening of schools for finance (1878), fine arts (1878), commerce (1882), engineering (1884), a school for the blind and deaf (1889), veterinary services (1886), police (1891) and customs (1892). Generally, vocational and technical education was emphasised, and courses to train telegraphic operators and steamboat mechanics were given. The institutions of higher learning developed vigorously under 'Abd 'al-Hamid's rule, although the sultan realised that these could endanger his régime. Indeed, the first revolutionary group was organised in the military medical school in 1889. Similar circles were eventually successful in bringing about the 1908 revolution, which ushered in the period of the Young Turks, or the "Second Constitution", which lasted until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The turbulent last ten years of the empire witnessed some basic changes in the approach to education. It can be stated that in this short period the educational system was transformed through modernisation and secularisation, preparing the road for the future Kemalist reforms. Besides the institutional and legal reforms in Turkish education, which will be presently discussed, new concepts about education came to the fore. As N. Berkes aptly put it: "If the word ma'arif symbolises the era opened by Mahmut II, the term terakki well represents the Mevleviyyet era, and signifies an important improvement over the first." Thus, to the concept of knowledge, the idea of education was now added. This era saw the emergence of the first professional Ottoman pedagogues, such as Saidi al-Husri (who would be later better known as an Arab educator and nationalist), Ridâ Tewfik, Selim Sîri and Ismail Hâkkî, who promoted the publication of psychological and pedagogical literature. While the educational model during the Tanzimat was the French system, the educators of the Mevlevîyyet turned to the Anglo-Saxon education system for inspiration.

There were significant beginnings of secularisation. The first teachers' organisations appeared. The struggle between the fâl'ifa (clerical teacher) and the mu'allim (secular teacher) became more pronounced in the Young Turk period. The idea of the ruling Union and Progress Committee (İttihat ve Terakki Dernegi) that education (ma'arif) was the province of the state, should control and supervise public instruction. As a result of a resolution adopted at its 1916 convention, the Union and Progress Committee transferred the elementary schools, which had been previously under the Ministry of Edebî, to the Ministry of Education. The medreses were merely transferred from the Ministry of Edebî to another religious authority, the Edebî Mevents, the Department of the Şeyhülislâm.

In the legislative field, the 1909-1913 Provisional Law of Elementary Education, the most important law since the Ottoman Education Law of 1286/1869, was promulgated. The law created educational committees at the level of districts and sub-districts, thus delegating administrative, financial and pedagogical responsibility to local authorities. The law placed all the financial burden of maintaining the schools, namely establishing a school, acquiring the land, constructing the building, paying the teachers' salaries and all current expenses, on the people of the countries and districts. This meant in practice that universal elementary education could not be achieved in a long time to come.

In the "Second Constitutional" period, progress was achieved in the sphere of women's education. Educational opportunities for women were extended to the secondary school. In 1911 the first rüşdiyye and in 1913 the first lycée for girls were opened in Istanbul. Trade schools for girls were established, not only for cooking and sewing, but to train nurses and secretaries. In 1915, women were admitted to the University, although in separate classes, to be trained as secondary school teachers. After 1918, women were allowed to work as elementary school teachers.
After the 1908 Revolution, the University was reorganised and the curriculum now included history, philosophy and sociology, which had been banned under 'Abd ul-Hamid.

*Education in the Turkish Republic.* — The educational developments in the Turkish Republic in the twenties and thirties are closely linked with the reforms of Mustafa Kemal, the future Kemal Ataturk [qv.], the first president of the Republic. The Kemalists, committed as they were to drastic cultural change, rightly understood the utmost importance of education for their objects. The revolutionary government in Ankara established its own Ministry of Education in May 1920, while still fighting against the Allied-supported Ottoman government in Istanbul. The Law of Unification of Instruction (Tasfiye-Te'darîk) of 1924 ended the century-long dichotomy between secular and religious education in Turkey and created a fully secular and integrated school system. All educational institutions were placed under the control of the Ministry of Education. The medresses, 479 in all, with a total enrollment of 8,000 (only a third of whom were genuine students) were closed down. To provide alternative higher Islamic education, the Faculty of Theology was opened at the University of Istanbul and 26 secondary schools for training imams and dâbîhs were established. The anti-clerical atmosphere of the period did not encourage the development of these institutions. The Theological Faculty was closed in 1934 and the last imam-hatip mektepleri were closed down in 1933-5, after their enrolment had been continuously dwindling. As for the religious education in regular schools, this too was adversely affected by the secularising ethos of the Ataturk era. In 1928 Islam ceased to be the state religion, and the principle of laicism was accepted. In the same year, the Latin script was adopted for the Turkish language. Artuk himself went out to the people to teach the new script. In the next year, Arabic and Persian were eliminated from the curriculum. In 1932 religious instruction in the secondary schools was finally stopped. There is no agreement as to when religious instruction in the elementary schools was discontinued; some sources date it as early as 1924, others mention 1928, a date which seems more accurate. It seems that religious instruction was simply phased out, although it continued in many village schools. Toward the end of the forties, the public mood became definitely favourable to the reintroduction of religious instruction in schools. The issue came up in the National Assembly at the end of 1947. In January 1949 the Ministry of Education issued a circular, according to which two hours of religious instruction would be given in the fourth and fifth grades of elementary schools to pupils whose parents might ask for it. The coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1950 was a turning-point in the attitude of the government toward religion generally and religious instruction in particular. After 1950, religious education became compulsory for all; parents were required to opt out instead of in as before. At the beginning of the school year 1956-7, religious instruction was introduced to the middle schools, or junior high schools (ora okulları), as well. In 1951 new imam-hatip okulları were established. In contradiction from the early version, these institutions have been successful. Higher religious instruction have been offered in institutes in Istanbul and Konya, but the most important faculty which teaches Islam at the university level is the Faculty of Theology (İlahiyat Enstitüsü) at Ankara University which was founded in 1949-50.

It is not surprising that, due to the administrative traditions of the Ottoman Empire, which had been influenced by the French model, the Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic was centralistic from the start. This Kemalism was justified in part by the determination of the government to create a unified, modernised and secularised education in a country which was fragmented into numerous regions and tribes and which was far from enjoying linguistic and cultural homogeneity. Centralistic educational administration was also needed to overcome the difference or even hostility of the conservative elements, particularly in the countryside, towards the Kemalist Revolution and its educational goals. In 1928 the Ministry of Education was reorganised. The country was divided into twelve regional directorates of education, each being headed by a superintendent of education (ma'sarif emini), directly responsible to the Ministry in Ankara. Since 1949, the organisation of the educational system has been somewhat more flexible, each governor being responsible for the education in his district. He is assisted by an educational council and a director of education, who is more responsive to local needs. In spite of these reforms, the educational system of Turkey, like most countries in the Middle East, is quite centralised, and the state is not only responsible pedagogically, administratively and financially. The Ministry of Education is helped by a National Educational Council (Milli Eğitim Şurası) which consists of educators and administrators and has wide powers in drawing up educational policies concerning curricula, textbooks and school regulations. The Council meets once every few years. The Tenth Educational Council convened in 1961. The Ministry of Education has a virtual monopoly of textbooks. The government controls higher education as well, and inspectors private and minority schools closely. Private institutions have been declining in comparison with state schools.

Scores of higher institutes which train students in such fields as economy, commerce, engineering and architecture were nationalised at the beginning of the school year 1971-2 after the important education law no. 1472 had been promulgated. Education in all state schools at all levels is free of charge. The most difficult task which the education authorities had to face was to raise educational standards and to combat illiteracy in the nation generally and in the countryside in particular. The formal school system was complemented by the Turkish Hearths (Türk Odalıklar), a network of kind of clubs founded in 1923 to promote Turkish culture and economic welfare through lectures, publishing books and opening schools. The Turkish Hearths were closed down in 1931 and replaced by a network of People's Houses and People's Rooms (Halkevi and Halkaladı [see Link], community centres established to diffuse Turkish culture and closely associated with the ruling Republican People's Party. Teachers were encouraged by their Ministry to participate in the activities of these centres.

The Ministry of Education devised several programmes to train teachers for the village schools. One of them was to send soldiers of rural origin and having some education on short pedagogical courses. Since 1936, young villagers who had finished primary school were sent on courses of six months to prepare them to teach in their villages. According to the Village Educators’ Law of 1937, special centres to
train teachers were initiated. In 1940 the law of 1937 was supplemented by the Village Institute Law. Subsequently, the two programmes were united. In addition to his regular teaching assignments, the village educator was expected to teach adults and to help in the social and economic development of the village. The Village Institutes were merged with the regular teacher training colleges in 1954.

All these efforts have produced positive results, and the gap between school attendance rates in villages and in the cities is not nearly as wide as is the case in most Middle Eastern countries. This applies even to education of girls. In the school year 1973-4, for instance, the proportion of girls in state elementary schools in the cities was 46%, while in the villages the percentage was only 37% lower. National schooling rates for children between the ages of seven and twelve, who are obliged to go to school according to the compulsory education law, were 90% already in 1972-3, again a much higher rate than in most countries of the region. The school attendance rates have been on the rise in all educational levels. Consequently, literacy rates rose from 19.2% in 1933 (9.3% for men and 9.8% for women) up to 54.9% in 1970 (69% for men and 46% for women). The progress in the education of women is especially impressive. Coeducation has been a principle in Turkish education since 1927; only when there are special circumstances or professional needs are separate schools for girls established.

The basic structure of the Turkish educational ladder is 5-3-3, i.e., primary school (ilkokul) of five grades (ages 7-11) followed by a junior high school or "middle school" (cemeviokul) of three grades (ages 12-14) and leading to the secondary or high school, lice (lise) of three grades (ages 15-17) or a vocational or a trade school. The ilkokul and the ortaokul comprise the two stages of the "basic education" (temel cetvem). At the orsa level, the student may already start at a teacher training school, which continues four more years at the secondary level. Other courses which last four years after the ortaokul, that is up to the twelfth grade, are the imamhaci okullari and technicians' schools. In addition to regular schools, there are evening schools for working youth. Special mention should be made of the schools which teach in foreign languages. These institutions teach the "national" subjects in Turkish, but the language of instruction of all other subjects is English, French or German, according to the particular school.

Despite the impressive achievements, education in Turkey has yet to overcome many serious difficulties. Teachers' status and salaries are quite low. There is considerable shortage of teachers, since the teacher training schools at the secondary and university level do not keep up with the rapid growth of the student population. In 1972-3 the teacher: student ratio was 1:33 in the state primary schools, in the state ortaokul 1:43 and in the lise 1:39.7. Another structural weakness of the educational system is the small proportion of students in vocational and trade schools at the secondary level, which is well beneath 20%, of the secondary school student population. One result of this is that each year, increasing numbers of the lise graduates cannot be admitted to the universities and other higher institutes of learning for lack of space, although the higher educational system is also expanding very quickly.

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**ii. Egypt**

*Educational development under Muhammad Ali.* — The foundations of modern education in Egypt were laid by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the virtually independent viceroy of Egypt from 1805 until 1848. His ambitions were personal and dynastic, yet he was aware that if he was to establish a powerful state, he had to build a modern, European-style army and an efficient administration and economy. This he could accomplish only with Western methods and advice, since education and learning in Egypt, even more than in the centre of the Ottoman Empire, were wholly traditional and were confined to religious instruction at the kutubs and the madrasas, the most important one being al-Azhar [q.e.d.]. So it happened that although Muhammad Ali had little interest in raising the educational standards of the Egyptian people, his dynamic reign made Egypt the forerunner of modern education in the Arab-speaking world, and a model for the Ottoman Empire, of which Egypt was nominally only an outlying province.

Having destroyed the Mamluks [q.e.d.] in 1811, Muhammad Ali set out to establish the Nizam el-dawla, his new army. For this purpose he started to send student missions to Europe to study various technical subjects, and on the other hand began to found new state schools, bypassing the traditional system of education. France and Frenchmen enjoyed a predominant influence in the modernisation of Egyptian education, at least until the British occupation in 1882. Therefore it is of interest to note that the first student missions, in 1809 and 1810, were sent to Italy (to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome) in order to study military science, shipbuilding, printing and engineering. The foreign language which was taught in the first state school established by Muhammad Ali was Italian. Since about 1820, however, Italian influence was replaced by the French, and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy. The best-known of these was Colonel Seve, who as a convert to Islam became known as Sulayman Pascha. Seve organised the new army and a group of French experts and educators gained central positions in Muhammad Ali's bureaucracy.
to his military duties. In 1830 the **Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction publique**, which in Arabic was inaccurately known as *mddin al-mdhdib* or *mddin al-mdhr*, was established. It was a pedagogical body which was expected to coordinate the schools and the *dinv al-mdjdhibiyah*. A committee was formed, and it prepared a comprehensive scheme for education in Egypt, providing for primary schools, two preparatory schools (known in Arabic as *kuttab 'al-targja* and the one in Alexandria) and special schools. Finally, in February 1837, a separate department, independent of the *dinv al-mdjdhibiyah*, and in charge of the schools, was founded. It was called the *dinv al-mdhr*, the Council of Schools, a term which was more correct than the bombastic French term by which the department became known, *Ministère de l'Instruction publique*. It is true, however, that the *dinv al-mdhr* was the core of the future Ministry of Education. At first, the *dinv al-mdhr* suffered from mismanagement, inefficiency and ineptitude. In addition to its pedagogical functions, it was charged with construction (for a time it was called the Council of Schools and Construction) and with the publication of the Official Gazette (*al-Wahab* al-Migriyya). Initially, the *dinv al-mdhr* was divided into three sections: Arabic, Turkish and engineering. The Delta Barrage and the engineering services were also attached to the *dinv al-mdhr* on account of their dependence on the *Muhandis-hdnc*. The special schools: to Muhammad 'Ali's imperialistic ambitions by the Treaty of London in 1840 drastically curtailed the extent of the Egyptian army and caused the breakdown of the school system in the 1840s. In 1841, only 5 state primary schools remained. The special schools were affected too. The student missions abroad continued, however, and in 1844 a large mission which included several princes (and was called thereafter *khqyat al-anjali*) was sent to France. In 1847, toward the end of Muhammad 'Ali's reign, a programme to establish popular elementary schools, called *mttkhbd al-mlln* (in contradiction from the government primary schools, the *mubtadiydn*), was brought forward. It is probable that Ibrahim Pasha, Muhammad 'Ali's son and successor, took an interest in the project, but his reign was too short to accomplish much and the reforms in the elementary education had to wait until the accession of Isma'il.

**Education under 'Abbas I (1849-54) and Sa'id (1854-63)**: Educational development suffered a serious slowdown during the reigns of 'Abbas I and Sa'id. Although 'Abbas was no more interested than Muhammad 'Ali in educating the Egyptian people, the training of army officers and bureaucrats continued on a modest scale. 'Abbas sent some 40 students abroad, this time mainly to central Europe. 'Abbas declared his intention to organise an Egyptian school there. On the other hand, he favoured and promoted 'Ali 'Umar ibn 'Abbas (the future Mubarak), an able administrator, reformer, and writer, who was to become a key figure in the development of education in the next three decades. 'Abbas weakened the Council of Schools and the educational system in general, but he was interested in the army and founded in 1849 the elite military school, *al-Mudraa al-tumriyya al-nafsiyya*. Of the special schools, only the medical school and the school of engineering remained.

It is generally agreed that Sa'id's educational policy was erratic, and that he aimed at reversing his predecessor's decisions. Upon his ascension to the vice-regal throne, he abolished the *dinv al-*
higher institutions of learning which had been closed. Shaykh al-Talita was recalled from the Sudan, whereas 'Ali Mubarak was sent by the ruler to the Crimean War. Egyptian students were sent to France again. Sa'id's short reign was favourable to the development of foreign and missionary schools; by the end of his reign their number reached approximately 60.

The period of Egypt's occupation (1869-79) — During Isma'il's reign, educational activity was vigorously renewed under the able direction of the European-educated administrators Rashidh Adham and 'Ali Pasha Mubarak. For the first time, education in Egypt was becoming "public" in the true sense of the word, not limited to the task of training experts and technicians for the army and the state machinery. Unlike Muhammad 'Ali, Isma'il made the kuttbis the basis of the elementary education, and the wa'f funds were used to finance them. Immediately after assuming power in 1863, Isma'il reactivated the Council of Schools (daw'at ul-madaris) which became in 1875 the Ministry of Public Instruction (Naqarat al-ma'srif al-ismiyya), with 'Ali Mubarak as Minister. Isma'il gave full support throughout his reign to the initiative of Mubarak and other progressive educators. In November 1869 'Ali Mubarak presented a document which he had prepared with a committee of administrators and notables. This was the Radjub Regulation of 1869, which aimed at promoting elementary education by establishing provincial primary schools, which would be under government inspection and would be financed by wa'f and private contributions. The new regulations provided for the first time for a sort of pedagogical supervision of teachers. The curriculum of the elementary schools was to be somewhat modernised. Of course, many reforms remained on paper only for a long time to come, but scores of elementary schools were nevertheless opened and the principle of state control over all elementary schools was established. Mubarak also put an end to the confusion between civil and military schools and confined the authority of the daw'at al-madaris to civilian schools, freeing them from their military character. The provisions of the daw'at Radjub were complemented by the regulations set down in 1880 by a committee, known as the horayiyun, which provided for three types of schools depending on the size of the community: villages, provincial towns and cities. Provincial authorities were empowered to collect contributions and fees from well-to-do parents and to use wa'f/s to finance schools.

Isma'il's reign should be credited with introducing education of girls and teacher training. The only kind of female education before Isma'il was the School of Midwifery which was founded in 1832. The first school for girls, al-Madtasa al-Suyufiyya, was opened in 1863 but closed down in 1850 was reopened in 1868 under the name the School of Administration and the Islamic Philanthropic Society (al-djam'iyun al-hayriyya al-ismiyya) which was founded in 1875 by the journalist-orator 'Abd Allah al-Nadim for opening community schools, in order to counterbalance the influence of the missionary schools. Al-Nadim accomplished little, however, because of his involvement in the 'Urabi revolt.

Education under the British occupation — After the military occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British controlled the entire state machinery, including the Ministry of Education. Educational policy was perhaps the most criticised aspect of the British rule, since it was highly restrictive and conservative, due to financial and political considerations. Lord Cromer, who ruled Egypt from 1883 to 1907, considered the financial recovery of the country as his most urgent goal and spent less than 1% of the budget on education. Previously, almost all the schools were free; now students had to pay tuition fees. This made even the primary education, and certainly the secondary and higher education, elitist in nature. The British made some efforts to improve the cutubis, turning them in 1916 into elementary (awwaliyya) schools, where nothing but religion and the three Rs were taught. The British intentionally hampered the development of secondary and higher education. They regarded the school as an educational system as a means of training a limited number of Egyptian clerks who were to serve in the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy, and were expected to carry out the instructions of the British policymakers. Cromer conceived higher education as undesirable, since it might lead to political agitation. Therefore the University was opened only in 1908 as a private institution and did not become a state university until 1925, three years after Egypt's formal independence.

Douglas Dunlop, a Scotsman who administered Egyptian education under Cromer, did it in a rigid, contrivistic and unimaginative manner. Strict discipline was imposed both on teachers and pupils. All studies continued to be geared to passing examinations. English was made the language of instruction in history, geography and the natural sciences. Learning by rote continued to be the main method of study. During the British occupation, Egyptian students were sent to study in England only. Whereas before the occupation students travelled to Europe to study mainly technical and industrial subjects, they
now studied humanities and the law. This was in accord with the British policy to keep Egypt an agricultural, not an industrial country.

Many of the higher institutes of learning were closed down, but a few new ones were opened, such as the School of Police and Administration in 1896, a Veterinary School in 1901, a teacher training college for women in 1909, another one for men in 1904 and a College of Commerce in 1911.

As a gesture to ease nationalist resentments, Said Zaghiul, the future nationalist leader and founder of the Wafd party, was appointed Minister of Education in 1906. He enhanced the status of the Arabic language in the school system and exempted many poor children from paying tuition fees.

It is not surprising that the balance-sheet of British educational policy was poor. The illiteracy rate barely changed from 18% in 1917 to 1918 (91.7 per cent) to 1917 (91.3 per cent). In 1924, 230,000 students were enrolled in the madrasa and only 14,000 in the primary schools. High schools of various kinds enrolled some 10,000 students. The number of students in foreign and private schools exceeded by far those enrolled in government schools. There was progress in the education of girls, but the majority of them were in private schools.

**Education under the Monarchy 1922-52** - Although Egypt did not gain full sovereignty in 1922, control of internal affairs, including education, passed into Egyptian hands. During the next three decades, the educational system improved but did not free itself as yet from negative aspects of the pre-British and British inheritance, and further suffered from newly-acquired weaknesses. The Egyptian school system under the monarchy did not reduce illiteracy substantially, and in 1933 it stood at about 80 per cent, and was particularly high in rural areas and among women.

Article 19 of the 1923 constitution guaranteed compulsory and free elementary education; the compulsory education law, passed in 1923, provided for elementary schools of six years, later reduced to five. In 1925 the Ministry of Education planned to universalise elementary education within 23 years. Although quantitative progress was achieved, with student enrolment rising from 809,000 in 1930 to 1,310,000 in 1939, the goal of bringing all children aged six to twelve to school has not yet been reached even by 1981, when only about three-quarters of the children of compulsory education age were in school.

The Egyptian elementary school system was fragmented into several types of schools, a fact which was detrimental to the function of nation-building, and it did not provide equality of opportunity. In the school year 1925-6, elementary schools (madrasa awal al'iyya) were opened to offer free education according to the 1925 law. These schools gave a six-year course (shortened to five years in 1930) and worked usually on a half-day, two-shift basis. The primary schools (madrass tibi al'iyya) charged fees. They had better physical facilities than the elementary schools and their teachers were better trained. Perhaps the most important difference between the two types of schools was that the curriculum of the primary schools alone included a foreign language (usually English), thus making it possible for the pupils to continue their studies to secondary and higher education, while the elementary schools were terminal. In 1943 another kind of school was added—the rural elementary school (madrasa awal al'iyya rif'iyya), and special teacher training colleges were opened for them.

Beside the public schools, al-Azhar provided religious education at the elementary, secondary and higher level. Finally, there were the private and foreign schools, both religious and lay. In 1942-3 more than 25% of the elementary school pupils and more than 50% of primary school pupils were in private and foreign schools. Their role was particularly important in the education of girls. The foreign schools were accused of educating their students in languages and cultures alien to Egypt. Private schools were sometimes accused of being more interested in financial profits than in the education of their students. In 1933 and in 1940 laws were passed which imposed stricter supervision of the state over the foreign schools. These schools were instructed to teach Arabic language and the religion of Islam to their Muslim pupils. After the 1956 Suez crisis, all foreign schools were either closed down or nationalised. The relative importance of the private schools had been declining since tuition fees were abolished in the primary schools in 1945 and in the secondary schools in 1951.

It should be noted that the fragmented and deficient nature of the Egyptian school system was criticised by leading educators and administrators such as Taha Hussein and Ismail al-Kabbani in Egypt and Siwm al-Hijri in Iraq, and some steps were taken to make the system more just and less divisive. English, to make education more accessible to all social classes. The abolition of tuition fees has been mentioned. In 1938 the teaching of English was postponed from the first to the second grade in primary schools to enable more children to transfer from elementary to primary schools. Again in 1944, English lessons began only in the third grade. In 1951 a law was passed which aimed at creating a unified elementary school system of six grades. This was given effect, however, only after the 1956 revolution.

The secondary and higher levels of education developed more quickly than the elementary schools. The number of students in the secondary schools increased from 2,500 in 1913 to 15,000 in 1933 to 122,000 in 1951. This growth created pressures on the university and also created the problem of many unemployed graduates. The familiar weaknesses of the secondary education, such as rote learning and overemphasis on examinations, were not cured. Secondary and higher education were regarded mainly as a means to enter government service. It is not therefore surprising that vocational and technical education were neglected and that their prestige was low.

Higher education also developed and was modernised to some extent. In 1942 the Fath al University (renamed in 1952 the University of Alexandria) was constituted. The Dib al-Uldm, the old institute which trained Arabic language teachers, became in 1945-6 a part of the Fu'ad I University (since 1952 Cairo University). After earlier efforts to reform al-Azhar (1921), further steps were taken in 1936 in the same direction.

Educational administration in Egypt, as indeed in all the Middle Eastern states, was highly centralised, despite some efforts at decentralisation, especially after 1945, when the country was divided into educational zones. The Ministry of the Interior conducted the elementary schools of the provinces. As in Turkey, a Supreme Education Council meets periodically to discuss broad educational policy.

**Development since the 1952 Revolution** - Even the most critical review of the educational policies of the post-1952 regime would admit that the main
school students are channelled to the vocational and African countries. Teachers work temporarily or permanently in Arab is a deficit, mainly in modern languages and technical training. By 1971 the rate reached 52% in 1976. A decision to extend compulsory education to the preparatory school age group has been reached, but has not yet been put into practice. A new unified elementary school of six years, for the ages six to twelve, followed by a preparatory school (madrasa 'ibtida'iyya) of three years, and a secondary school (madrasa 'almawiyya) of three years. According to the new curriculum, the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the preparatory school. The quantitative development has been fairly rapid. In the school year 1973-4 there were about 4 million pupils in the elementary schools, 2.6 times more than in 1952. The preparatory schools had a million students, three times more than in 1952; the secondary schools had 670,000, an increase of three times; and 334,000 students were enrolled in higher education, an increase of six times for the same period. Owing to the improvement in the implementation of the compulsory education law, illiteracy rate in Egypt has been declining, though not dramatically, from 86% in 1952, to 70.5% in 1960 and 36.5% in 1976. A decision to extend compulsory education to the preparatory school age group has been reached, but has not yet been put into practice. The most important change in Egypt's school system has been the structural transformation of secondary education from an overwhelming general or academic education towards technical and vocational training. While all the Middle Eastern states are aware of the need to slow down the growth of general academic education and to train technically skilled manpower, only Egypt has been able actually to realise that ideal. In 1952 only 15% of the secondary school students were enrolled in technical and vocational training. By 1971 the rate reached 52% and has risen to 55% in the early 1980s. Still, technical and vocational education in Egypt has serious problems of quality and status. In the general secondary education, about two-thirds of the students are in the science stream and only one-third in the literary stream, reversing the situation in the pre-revolutionary period.

Egypt has a well-developed system of teacher training for all levels, and all schools will be supplied with qualified teachers in the foreseeable future. In some subjects (such as the social sciences) there is already a surplus of teachers, while in others there is a deficit, mainly in modern languages and technical training. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Egyptian teachers work temporarily or permanently in Arab and African countries.

Despite the fact that the majority of the secondary school students are channelled to the vocational streams for boys and girls, the pressures on the universities are growing rapidly. The universities are becoming increasingly overcrowded and understaffed, and suffer from insufficient space, libraries and teachers. In order to administer the admittance of secondary school graduates to higher education, all applications are processed centrally through a "coordination bureau", which distributes students into the various faculties according to their grades and their preferences. The figures of the academic year 1976-80 are typical: 227,500 students sat for the final secondary school examinations and 333,000 passed. From these, some 80,000 were admitted to the universities, and the other 253,000 proceeded to their studies in the various institutes for higher learning.

During the 1960s considerable decentralisation of higher education was made. The universities were granted a measure of independence. Many regional universities were established, some of them new, others as branches of existing universities.

Between 1961 and 1976 Egypt had, in addition to the Ministry of Education, a Ministry of Higher Education in charge of the universities, higher institutions, student missions and the like. In 1976 it was announced that the Ministry of Higher Education would be abolished and its responsibilities would return to the Ministry of Education. It should be pointed out that the Higher Council for the Universities, a body which lays down the national policy concerning the universities, has wide powers, and many have rendered the Ministry of Higher Education redundant.

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Arab provinces in agreement with the Ottoman government was short and was stopped by the First World War.

In the interwar period, most of the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire were subject to European domination in varying degrees.

Libya was occupied by Italy from 1911 until 1943. During that period, the educational system was controlled by the Italians, and Italian became the main language of instruction in state schools after the third grade. From 1943 until 1951, when Libya became independent, the British administered the educational system in the Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the French controlled the province of Fezzan.

In Palestine, which became a British mandate, the Arab school system was controlled by the Department of Education whose director was always British. There were in the system some Arab inspectors and administrators, but they did not make the educational policy. The British influence on Arab education in Palestine was very strong; the standard of English required for the Palestine Matriculation examination was high, but as a result led to the emergence of an elite of Palestinians with a high level of education and culture.

Transjordan was also placed under a British mandate until 1946, when the state became independent. Unlike other Arab states, Transjordan did not experience political struggles, and the transition from British control to purely Arab administration was smooth. Thus the Jordanian educational system had all the benefits from British assistance and advice without the tensions of other Middle Eastern countries. This was possible because of the rudimentary and primitive conditions of the Transjordanian school system at that time.

Iraq also was placed under British mandate until 1932, and the school system was administered by the British after 1925. However, the country enjoyed a large extent of independence and developed her education in a national spirit, although the school system was influenced by British teaching methods. In the days of the mandate, a British adviser was attached to the Ministry of Education but the office was abolished prior to the termination of the mandate. Leading Iraqi educators were influenced by British, American and French methods of education.

Under the French mandate following the First World War, education in Syria and especially in Lebanon underwent an extremely strong French influence, both in organisation and curriculum. The Ministry of Education in Lebanon was established in 1928 and replaced the High Commissioner's Service de l'Instruction publique, but the French advisers could still interfere in the policy of the Ministry of Education. Only after Syria and Lebanon attained their independence, and especially after the withdrawal of the French troops in 1946, were they able to assume full control over their educational systems. In Lebanon, the French character of the educational system was retained; the French educational ladder was not changed with the termination of the mandate, and the Lebanese system is still outstanding in the area in its close resemblance to the French model. Upon the attainment of independence, important decrees on education were issued, the foremost among them being that Arabic became a compulsory language; that the teaching of national subjects, such as the history of Lebanon and the geography of the Middle East, was made compulsory; and that schools could choose English as a first foreign language instead of French.

On the other hand, Syria changed the nature of her education as soon as the French left. Under the mandate, French advisers had been attached to the Ministry of Education, and in Syria too French influence was spread by the teaching of French in schools and through French private schools. Now all traces of French influence were removed from the educational system, and the teaching of a foreign language was postponed to the intermediary school.

Upon the establishment of the Arab states after the First World War, their governments showed that they were aware of the importance of education as a factor in nation-building and as a tool for progress. It was in the interwar period that illiteracy was first faced as a national problem. The first reliable educational statistics in the Arab world date from that period.

Whereas the traditional educational system was considered a religious and communal matter of no concern to the state, now, on the contrary, the new nationalist government education was regarded as another agency of the state rather than as an integral part of community life. This feeling was partly justified by the highly centralised nature of the Ministries of Education in all the Arab countries. The Ministry exercises almost unlimited powers over the school system. It determines curricula, acts as a publisher of textbooks, administers public examinations, constructs or supervises the construction of schools, trains, appoints, transfers, promotes and dismisses teachers, and finances all educational activities. According to Ottoman education laws, village communities were responsible for the construction of the school buildings. Nevertheless, the idea of municipal initiative, control, or financing of education has not yet taken root in the Arab world.

There is a marked uniformity in the structure and organisation of the Ministries of Education in the Arab states. The Minister of Education, who is a cabinet member, is assisted by a Director-General. The Ministry functions through departments for elementary education, secondary education, vocational and technical training, teacher training, curricula and textbooks, personnel, statistics, etc. The country is divided into education districts, which are identical with the administrative division of the state. In each district there is a bureau of education, which is a miniature copy of the central Ministry in the capital. Generally, the regional directors of education have little independence; they are charged with implementing the decrees issued by the Ministry and have to report local problems to the capital. Most of the school systems in the area are administered by the government. After attaining independence, the Arab states started to impose much stricter control over the numerous private and foreign schools which had been established and flourished under the protection of the European powers. Now the Ministries of Education demanded that the national subjects be taught in the private schools in Arab and Palestinian citizens of the host country. The closer inspection of the private schools and progress in the implementation of the free and compulsory education caused the proportion of pupils in private and foreign institutions to decline, especially in the primary stage. Even in Lebanon, the only country in the Middle East where private education is more important than state education, the weight of state education has been growing. Under the French mandate, a state elementary school system emerged.
it served mainly the Muslim population, which was less attracted to the private Christian institutions. A state system of public secondary schools started to develop after 1949. Total arabisation of the school system was emphasised as an expression of national sovereignty. Nevertheless, minorities were allowed to use their language in their schools, as demonstrated by the 'Irākī Local Languages Law of 1937 which provided for the use of Kurdish and Turkish as the medium of instruction, with Arabic as a second language, in the regions where these minorities constitute a majority.

The need to train teachers was one of the most urgent tasks facing the Ministries of Education. The teachers were the same uncertain status as the teaching profession below the university level does not attract the best men and women, and the social status of the teachers is lower than it was in past generations. Until the 1930s there were multiple ways and levels in which teachers were trained in the Arab world, ranging from courses lower than the secondary school up to two years above the secondary school. In recent years, with the tendency to standardise the educational levels and methods in the Arab world, the most common teacher training college begins after graduation from the preparatory or intermediate school and lasts four or five years. In recent years, with the rapid growth of higher education, the training of teachers for secondary schools is entrusted to the university schools and faculties of education. In the interwar period, all the Arab countries suffered from shortage of trained teachers; only Egypt and 'Irāk came near to self-sufficiency.

Recently, this situation has improved considerably, but there is still a shortage of teachers for certain subjects (mostly foreign languages, the sciences and technical training). Generally, the teacher shortage worsens as one goes higher up the educational ladder.

The most formidable problem with which the education authorities have had to cope has been the widespread illiteracy, which reached 80-90% of the population in most countries of the region in the interwar period. Since adult literacy campaigns have not been efficient in the middle East, the main burden was placed on the elementary schools. Generally speaking, the principle of free elementary education was accepted throughout the Arab world at an early stage. Yet the idea of legislating for compulsory education stage to apply also to the intermediate school. Other countries, including Egypt, are contemplating doing the same, but will probably do it officially only after reaching full or nearly full attendance rates at the elementary stage.

Achich, the difficulties in bringing all children to school are similar in the Arab countries, although their severity varies from one country to another. It is difficult to provide education for bedouin tribes or for small and remote villages. The realisation of the importance of education was not universal a few decades ago. Parents have been reluctant to send their daughters to school, especially after puberty, as they regarded this as contrary to traditional morality. Until today, the illiteracy rate among women is higher than among men and the percentage of girls who attend school is lower than that among boys; that among women, especially in the countryside. Many parents refrain from letting their children go to school because they need their help in the field, the workshop or at home. This tendency has been strengthened by a widespread feeling that the curricula taught at school are unsatisfactory and irrelevant to the needs of the community. Besides, there are not enough qualified teachers. Another problem is a severe shortage of classrooms, and many classes are lodged in rented rooms. Schools often operate in two or even three daily shifts because of scarcity of space. Many children do not enter school at all, and many pupils fail to graduate. Children who leave school after a few years relapse into functional illiteracy. Of course, some of the shortcomings were in the past caused by lack of funds. This factor has been fundamentally changed in those countries of the region which have large incomes from oil, although it has made its notable impact on education only recently. Yet, generally, some of the above-mentioned difficulties have been alleviated recently, and education in the Arab world has been making a qualitative as well as a quantitative progress. The beginnings of systematic planning of national education by the Arab states, including five-year-plans, belong to the 1960s, and have helped to clarify the problems and to approach them more efficiently.

Although demand for secondary education has been growing rapidly, the elementary school is still terminal for some 70-75% of the pupils in the Arab world. The promotion from the elementary to the secondary (or intermediate) stage is determined by passing external examinations, except in the few countries which have made the intermediate stage compulsory. In the interwar period, access to secondary education was extremely limited. Usually, there were no secondary schools outside the towns, and although there were dormitories attached to a few schools in the cities, the vast majority of the population which was rural was deprived of post-primary education. Besides, tuition fees were a serious barrier for poor students, although there were some exemptions on the basis of good grades or financial need. By 1950, tuition fees in the state secondary schools had been abolished throughout the Middle East, and in the 1960s the universities, too, became free
of charge. The popularity of secondary education should be partly ascribed to the fact that it is considered a gateway to higher education and then to a government post. Another motivation for study in a secondary school was exemption from military service or the possibility of service under favourable conditions in some countries.

The weaknesses of the secondary education are well-known, and are in fact an inheritance from the pre-modern period: the overemphasis on rote learning, discipline, examinations, the heavy load of subjects to be taught and frontal lessons. Most of the secondary schools in the region are not equipped with sufficient libraries, laboratories and playgrounds. Secondary education has been overwhelmingly academic; vocational and technical education have been neglected or even looked upon with disdain. In the recent two decades, official attitudes toward vocational and technical education have been changing, but among the Arab states of the Middle East, only Egypt has accomplished a structure change in secondary education by channelling over half of the students into technical and vocational schools.

In the first decades of their independence, the educational ladders in the Middle East differed widely from one Arab state to another. The school system was influenced both by the elements inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which on their part had been shaped by the French model, and by the example of the European mandatory powers. Since the end of the Second World War, the Arab educational systems have been drawing closer to each other, and efforts have been made to coordinate the curricula, the organisation, and the terminology of the educational systems. Egypt has been the object of emulation in a secondary school was exemption from military service, or the possibility of service under favourable conditions in some countries. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences have been called for coordination of the school systems. Many inter-Arab conferen¬
ces. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences have been called for coordination of the school systems. Many inter-Arab conferences have been called for coordination of the school systems. Thus today the educational ladder of 6*3-3 is the most common pattern in the Arab world, although there have been other variations, such as the Lebanese pattern, Kuwait (4-4-4), and 'Irak (6-3-2). There are other differences in the curricula, mainly in the teaching of foreign languages and religions instruction. There is a tendency to postpone the teaching of the foreign language to the intermediate school. Yet in Lebanon, Jordan, 'Irak and South Yemen, it is taught in the primary school. 'Alawi Arabia and Sudan devote more hours to the teaching of Islam than other Arab states.

Occasionally, conferences are held to discuss and coordinate educational and cultural policies of the Arab countries. Thus in 1947 a convention was held in Lebanon to coordinate methods of teaching Arabic. In 1957 the important Agreement of Arab Cultural Unity was signed by Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and was joined a year later by 'Irak. The agreement called for coordination of the school systems from all the cultural, pedagogical and organisational aspects. Over the years, various inter-Arab conferences and conventions have been held which have dealt with the teaching of civics, textbooks, examination conditions in some countries, educational planning, the teaching of the sciences, illiteracy, etc.

Bibliography: The bibliography on the history of education in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states is vast and of greatly varying quality; it is accordingly impossible to try to give anything resembling an exhaustive list. The best sources for the current educational developments in the area are the official reports and publications of the Ministries of Education and reports and studies prepared by UNESCO and by other regional and international organisations.


2. In North Africa


However, the problem of quality remains outstanding in the framework of Arab-French bilingualism. In the first place, the process of apprenticeship of the French speaker gives him a privileged place at the outset in acquiring competence in communication through language expression (aptitude at varying the message according to psycho-social-cultural conditions, in connection with purilo-linguistic communication (skill in transmitting a message orally or by means of writing in accordance with the rules of the languages). Hence the option of keeping up Arab-French bilingualism, 25 years after independence, forms part of a project concerning with general culture: (1) primacy for Arabic ("the language which expresses the Tunisian cultural identity and authenticity"); and (2) the opening-up of the educational system on the problems of development defined by the Fifth Plan (1977-82), the aim of educational policy being to favour the development of education, alter the orientation of primary teaching, improve its quality and its impact by developing the child's personality, thereby ensuring for him at one and the same time an intellectual and a manual training (this latter orientated towards the industrial and agricultural techniques built into the teaching), reduce losses of pupils and the inequalities of fortune and fate, and thus facilitate the integration of young people into the economic life of their home districts and regions.

Yet this attachment to French language and culture has always provoked debate between the supporters and opponents of bilingualism since independence. The problem of arabisation (باير) has always stirred up controversy, sometimes violently, and has released religious, political and philosophical passions, as it endeavours to make some people realise their "linguistic, and even cultural, mutilated state". A process of acculturation is felt to be at work here: (1) the French language—considered as one which is widely-spread through the world and one which gives access to a culture with a universal, scientific and technological character—presents itself as a strong rival to Arabic, the bearer of deeply-rooted values, and seen as the language of communication and of liberation; and (2) the two cultures, Arabic and French, express a class antagonism between the comfortably-off classes and the rest, and a confrontation between modernism and traditionalism.
the elite, since "primary education is a right for everyone, secondary education is a necessity, and higher education meritorious". Lengths of the stages of education: primary, 6 years; secondary, 7 years (3 years of a common core and then three branches leading to baccalaureates in letters, mathematics and sciences or mathematics and technology); and higher, 7 years (3 years of a common core and then three branches leading to the baccalaureates in sciences, the medical and biological sciences and the human and social sciences, totalling in 1982 53 units, the Faculty, Schools and Institutes).


B. Algeria. On the eve of independence in July 1962, the educational system inherited from the colonial period (ie. the French system as it existed before 1966) was kept in being, like all the other institutions which were not contrary to national sovereignty. Under the stimulus of a Ministry of National Education, this system slowly evolved and then changed radically after 1970. The slow period of evolution consisted mainly of an adaptation of the content of syllabuses (concentration of studies on Algeria), the gradual Algerianisation of the teaching personnel (accompanied however by a massive appeal for co-operation from other Arab countries) and the arabisation of a certain number of sectors: the first two primary education years in 1956 and then the higher classes, with the preservation of the French development for the basic foreign languages. From the third year onwards, immediate arabisation in secondary and higher education and the opening-up of official channels in the Arabic language.

In 1970 a fairly important change took place. The Ministry of National Education was split up into a Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education and one for Higher Education and Scientific Research. At the side of these two there was set up a Ministry of Basic Education which started to put into effect a parallel system of education, but one completely organised. In 1971-2 higher education was completely reorganised. The essential preoccupations of the Algerian government which lay behind this reform were the following: "to form the type of cadres of which the country has need, a cadre engaged in the work of socialist reconstruction and filled with the Algerian national personality and the socio-economic realities of the country. From this follows the new shaping of the subjects of teaching and educational qualifications and their integration within educational frameworks based on a new criterion indicated by the sectors requiring these skills. A student must accordingly be directly operational". The organisation of these subjects of teaching was inspired by what existed in certain western countries and those of the East: the substitution in place of an annual curriculum structure of a system of semesters, units of teaching (modules) and the consequent institution of continuous control of courses. The application of these reforms got under way only with great difficulty. Moreover, it required the recruiting of a considerable number of assistants, often at the expense of quality. The establishment of courses of instruction in Arabic parallel to and not instead of those already being carried on in French developed extensively in this period. This distinct monolingualism has not been without serious consequences for the cultural unity of the country.

In regard to primary and secondary education, the system was extensively remodelled in 1957 (by the application of law no. 7635 of 16 April 1957). Henceforth it was to be made up of three levels: preparatory, basic and secondary. The basic school, a fairly original concept, had as its aim the providing of a basic education for all, compulsory and lasting nine years (up to the third grade class of the old system). In order to get the system into operation as quickly as possible, the ministry in charge of this sector of education was in 1958 divided up into a Ministry of Basic Education and Instruction and a Secretariat of State for Secondary Education.

The lack of personnel at the teaching level has led to the extensive establishment of a grade of elementary (Brevet élémentaire) teachers (instructors) or of a grade of elementary teachers (monitors). This last group made up 42% of teaching personnel in 1965. By 1976 it was only 14.8% and had disappeared totally in 1977. On the other hand, because of the drive towards homogeneity in education, non-state education (secular and confessional) was integrated with public education (Kur'ān schools, madrasas and ariyas in 1963, private education in 1977). In the same year, all the institutions within the
jurisdiction of the original educational system, which was dissolved, were integrated in the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.

Other forms of education have also been made possible by other Ministries, who have started "institutes for technology" or institutes for higher studies in order to provide trained personnel for "institutes for technology" or institutes for higher studies in order to provide trained personnel for their own needs. A Ministry for Professional Education has been in being since 1981.

The growth of those undergoing education has been rapid and great since 1962, at all levels, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Higher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>378,925</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>266,183</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>4,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,157,248</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>4,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>6,747,777</td>
<td>298,880</td>
<td>15,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>2,547,847</td>
<td>428,000</td>
<td>4,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3,104,950</td>
<td>792,180</td>
<td>93,857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average annual rate of increase: 8.17%
action which guided the Moroccan government's educational policy after independence: making attendance at school available for all children of appropriate age; unifying the different types of schools left behind by the colonial power; the arabisation of curricula and the language of instruction; and the moroccanisation of the body of teachers.

The results obtained after a quarter of a century of massive investment in the educational sector are impressive, as the following table of the school enrolments shows:

These figures demonstrate the size of the financial resources devoted by the state to public education—almost 25% of the annual budget—which have enabled the transformation of the embryonic educational network inherited from the Protectorate into a vast and complex system.

The present educational system, whose structure is to a considerable extent modelled on the French one, comprises three levels. Primary school lasts for five years and accepts children from the age of seven. This first level is completed by a nationally-organised examination (the certificate of primary education) which gives access to the following level.

Secondary education is itself divided into two stages. The first four years, forming the first cycle, are common to all pupils. Then at the end of this, specialist educational advisers divide the children, according to their aptitudes and wishes, into differing channels of the second cycle. The fifth year of secondary education offers two options of general education (scientific and literary) and two technical ones (commercial and industrial studies). In the sixth and seventh years, the choice is even more varied, with a spread of six channels, each one leading to a distinct type of baccalauréat.

Higher education comprises two groups of institutions. In the universities, which are controlled by the Ministry of Education, students can follow the usual groups of studies, such as arts, law, economics, science and medicine. At the side of this channel of classical university education, which 90% of students of higher education follow, there exists a complete network of specialised schools and institutes of higher education functioning under the control of different technical government departments and aiming at training engineers and the middle management grades which will work in the public and semi-public sectors. Among the most important of these are the Mohammed Veterinarian School, the National School of Public Administration, the National Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics, the National Institute of Posts and Telecommunications, the Higher Institute of Commerce and Business Administration, etc. There further exists a certain number of pedagogical institutions (regional schools for primary teachers, regional pedagogical centres and teacher training colleges) intended to prepare Moroccan teachers in order to replace foreign instructors, especially in the scientific disciplines.

Considerable progress had been made towards arabisation. All literary topics are taught in the official language. The arabisation of scientific courses has spread outside the regular academic framework and will be progressively extended to the secondary and higher levels.

From the legal aspect, it should be stressed that school attendance is compulsory till the age of 13 and that education is free at all levels. Moreover, over the last 12 years or so, the government has adopted a policy of granting very generous scholarships for the large majority of students of higher education.

Nevertheless, despite these very positive results, the Moroccan education system has for several years gone through a severe crisis of development whose main components can be set out in the form of three paradoxes with interconnected effects. In the first place, despite a great increase in public expenditure on education and in the number of children enrolled in the schools, making primary education general remains a distant ideal because of the population growth (3% per annum). In the second place, a significant share of the resources devoted to the educational system is wasted because of the high rate of these having to repeat courses or abandoning them altogether. Finally, educational planners find themselves faced by a lack of correspondence between the "products" of the educational system and the employment needs of the labour market, above all in the scientific and technological fields.

The sum total of these difficulties which the Moroccan educational system has come up against, like those of many other young countries of Africa and Asia, has led the authorities in the Ministry of Education to prepare at the present time a long-term reform programme which will allow the Moroccan educational institutions to be better adapted to the needs of a changing society and to enable them to play a more positive rôle in the country's development process.

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(J. SALMY)
Before the appearance of secular education in Iran, what primary education there was was essentially that of the maktab or skütâb [q.v., where children from the age of six or so learned the rudiments of reading and writing. Islamic religion and some arithmetic. These maktab, as small-scale, informal, locally-organised institutions, continued to exist in the small towns and villages of Iran till after the Second World War, although after 1925 they had to use Ministry of Education textbooks.

Organised higher education may be said to go back to the pre-Islamic medical school and hospital at Dhourshâphûr in Ahwaz (see GONDAGH), but under Islam, the medresâs [q.v.] took over the function of higher religious education, teaching, however, in the Safavid period to become exclusively centres for the training of the Shi'ite clergy, so that by the end of the 19th century, there was virtually no awareness in Iran of the modern intellectual and scientific progress of the West, and little attention was paid also to the rich heritage of classical Islamic scientific and secular literary production.

The impetus for the acquisition of modern Western science and technology began to be felt by the leaders of Iran under the Russian threat to the northwestern provinces of Iran early in the 19th century. Abâbs Mîrzâ [q.v.] the enlightened Qâdir crown prince directly concerned with Iran's defence against Russia, and his able minister Mirzâ Buzurg Kâfîn-i Mâlam [see Kâm-i Mâlam-i Fârâbî], tried to modernise the Iranian army; he told the British envoy James Morier in 1809 that "no pains have been spared to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and theory of fortification which they had gleaned from French and Russian books translated by 'Abbas Mîrzâ's order" (see A. K. S. Lambton, Persian society under the Qadjârs, in JRCAS, xlviii [1960], 122-39).

Negotiations with the embassy sent by Napoleon under General Gardane in 1807-9 (see R. M. Savory, British and French diplomacy in Persia, 1800-1820, in Iran, JBIJS, x [1973], 31-44) for training the Iranian army included the project of sending 200 Iranian students to study in France, but this project never materialised. In 1811 and 1813, seven students were sent to London for training, and this was the first attempt by the state to acquire an element of modern science and learning through sending students abroad.

Modern Western-type of education dates from the establishment of the Dâr al-Funûn, the term being a rendering of "école polytechnique", in 1851 (see Qâmî'). In 1848, Násir al-Dîn Shâh began his reign and immediately appointed Mirzâ Ta'âl Kâfî, later called Amir Kâbir [q.v. in Suppl.], as his minister. Amir Kâbir ushered in many reforms, and prepared a project for the establishment of a modern-type university, mainly to train experts for the army and the higher echelons of the civil service. He started on the necessary building and engaged a number of professors from Austria for it. The university was inaugurated by the Shâh in 1851, only a few days after its initiator, Amir Kâbir, had fallen from power.

The Dâr al-Funûn was a combination of a military college and a secular university. Branches of study comprised infantry, cavalry and artillery sciences; medicine, physical sciences, mathematics, pharmacology, cartography, history, geography, and the Persian, Arabic, French and Russian languages. In addition to the Austrian professors who were engaged for six years, a number of European experts already in the service of the Iranian government were assigned to teaching posts, as well as a number of native Iranian scholars.

For the first year, 150 students were enrolled. Studies were free, and students were given a free mid-day meal and two uniforms per year. It had a theatre and a model factory attached to it, and was well-equipped with laboratories. Although the Amir Kâbir was executed soon after the opening of the Dâr al-Funûn, it continued its work. Amir Kâbir's reforms, and particularly his founding the Dâr al-Funûn, were not applauded by the powerful Muslim clergy, but as he had linked it with the needs of national defence, it was difficult for them to oppose it (see F. Adamiyyây, Amir Kâbir va Irân, Tehran 1348/1969).

The Austrian professors wrote many textbooks in their respective fields, and these were translated into Persian; thus not only was modern science introduced into Iran, but also, the foundations for modern Persian scientific terminology were laid.

The Dâr al-Funûn was a landmark in the history of Iranian education, both as the first organised attempt to introduce modern science and technology and also as the first attempt by the state to assume responsibility for public education. For over forty years its work was responsible for the education of an élite class of intellectuals who were in no small measure responsible for the establishment of constitutional monarchy in 1906 (see F. Adamiyyây, Febr-i Asr, Tehran 1340/1961).

Násir al-Dîn Shâh became increasingly suspicious of the new learning, and education stagnated in the later part of his long reign. In 1855, the Ministry of Science (Wiwârât-i Uliyâ) was created. In 1858, 42 students were sent to France to study in various scientific fields. In 1871 a modern school with European teachers was established in Tabriz.

In the last decade of the 19th century, two colleges of higher education were established which later became faculties of Tehran University. One was the College of Political Sciences, primarily intended for the education of future diplomats, and the other was the College of Agriculture, with training at secondary school and university level. With the creation of the Society for Promotion of National Education, many philanthropically-inclined citizens were encouraged to endow and start their own private schools on modern lines.

The reformist movement which had started early in the reign of Násir al-Dîn Shâh was fully conscious of the inadequacy of the traditional maktab-madrasa type of education, and worked towards the adoption of a modern Western-type of education. Mirzâ Mâlakam Khan [q.v.] was the first to propose a national system of education, similar to the French one of primary, secondary and university stages (see Admiyyây, op. cit.). Others, more nationalist and anti-clerical, like Mirzâ Fâhî Makâm-i Fardûsî [q.v.], Mirzâ A'âl Khan Kirmâni [q.v.] and Tâlibov, demanded a secular system of education.

The constitutional period, beginning in 1906, inaugurated a period of upheaval for Iran, with the re-imposition of despotic Qâdir rule, pressures from outside powers during the First World War years and finally the downfall of the Qâdir [see MAJâ'IS-e TAVâRBî and KâDIR], yet a great deal was done for education between 1906 and 1925.

In 1920 the Majâlî passed the administrative Law of Education which established the Ministry of Education (Wiwârât-i Ma'ârif va Awkal va Sânû'ât-i Mustarjâf), whose responsibilities included also, as its name implied, pious endowments and the fine arts.
Responsibility for public education was assigned to this Ministry. In 1917 the Fundamental Law of Education made the Ministry responsible for the provision of basic education for all children aged from 7 to 13 years of age. This law also recognised the existing state of education: primary, secondary and higher stages. Private schools were recognised, but they all had to carry out the curriculum ratified by the Ministry of Education. Corporal punishment was banned in all types of school (see further on the provisions of these laws, Issa Sadiq, *Modern Persia and her educational system*, New York 1931).

In 1918 the Central Teachers' College was established for training secondary school teachers. A number of French teachers were engaged to teach modern sciences, and eminent Iranian scholars came to be associated with this college, later called the Higher National Teachers' College. When the University of Tehran was established in 1935, this College was incorporated into the University to form its faculties of Arts and Sciences. In 1921 the School of Law was established and a number of European teachers engaged to teach modern jurisprudence. In 1922 a law was ratified by the Majlis establishing the Supreme Council of Education, which was the legislative and supervisory body with regard to all matters pertaining to education. Thus with the education acts of 1910, 1911 and 1922, the foundations were laid for a national system of education.

With the advent of Rıdā Shāh Pahlavi [r.], Minister of War in 1921, prime minister in 1923 and voted as Shāh by the Constitutional Assembly which deposed the Qādjar dynasty in 1925, a new era began in the history of Iran, one marked by unification of the country under a strong central government, economic progress, the first steps towards emancipation of women, a resurgence of Iranian nationalism and further progress in education.

The need for trained people in higher education prompted the new Shāh to introduce a law into the Majlis authorising the Ministry of Education to send at least ten students abroad every year for higher education; the first group left for France in 1928. Scholars sent abroad under this law provided the future universities with the bulk of their teachers and also manned important posts of state. At the same time, the government engaged a number of foreign professors to teach at centres of higher learning. Whereas there were 283,000 students in primary schools in 1941, the figure rose to 4,476,000 in 1976. Secondary school enrolment rose from 23,000 to 2,337,000, and university enrolment from 3,567 to 11,54,000 in the same period. The increase in educational expenditure was from 154 million rials in 1941 to 260 billion rials in 1976. In addition, in 1976 there were some 69,000 Iranian students studying at foreign universities, mainly in the United States and in Western Europe.

Under Muhammad Rıdā Shāh Pahlavi [r.], there was an enormous growth in all fields of education. Whereas in 1941, the figure rose to 4,476,000 in 1976. Secondary school enrolment rose from 23,000 to 2,337,000, and university enrolment from 3,567 to 11,54,000 in the same period. The increase in educational expenditure was from 154 million rials in 1941 to 260 billion rials in 1976. In addition, in 1976 there were some 69,000 Iranian students studying at foreign universities, mainly in the United States and in Western Europe.

In 1943 a law ratified by the Majlis made the University of Tehran autonomous. Between 1949 and 1950, new universities were established in Tabriz, Ahvaz, Isfahan and Mashhad. In 1962, Pahlavi University was established in Shiraz, in 1957 the National University opened in Tehran, and in 1962 the Arya-Emir Technological University was inaugurated in Tehran. By 1964, eleven new institutions of higher education had been established. In 1963, the law establishing the Literacy Corps or "Army of Knowledge" (Sipāh-i Dāmiš) was ratified. According to this law, young men of military age, with secondary school certificate, could choose to undergo four months of training as primary school teachers and afterwards teach for 20 months in remote rural areas, this being regarded as in lieu of military service. Between 1963 and 1969, some 1.3 million children and adults had been taught by the Literacy Corps in 24,000 villages.

In 1963, the system of primary and secondary schools was reorganised. The primary school was allotted 5 years, the "guidance" school 3 years after the primary school and the last four years of secondary school could be devoted to specialised studies relevant to the university course which the student planned to follow. Alternative vocational and technical schools were provided after the primary school and after the three years of "guidance" school, this system marking a considerable improvement over the previous one.

In 1968 a new Ministry of Science and Higher
Education was created to deal with ever expanding higher education. The new Ministry authorised the establishment of private colleges of higher education, higher education. The new Ministry authorised the establishment of private colleges of higher education, but the experiment was not a successful one, and all the private colleges were nationalised in 1974. Also in 1974, education at all levels was declared free by the Shah.

The demand for the growth of secondary education had created a large number of applicants for university places. Notwithstanding the fast expansion of educational facilities, only a fraction of the applicants could find places. The accumulating number of young people whose levels of aspiration had been thereby raised, but could not be satisfied, was another factor responsible for the discontent that led to the 1979 Revolution in Iran, but the consequent closure in effect of the universities as potential centres of resistance, and the relegation once again of women to an inferior status under the Khumayyid régime have diminished rather than enhanced educational opportunities.

MA'ARRAT MA'RIN or MI'RIN, a small town in North Syria (lat. 36° 50' N., long. 36° 40' E.). It is 40 km. to the north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mán [q.v.], 30 km. south-west of Aleppo or Halab [q.v.], and 12 km. north-west of Sarmlu. It owes its importance to its position between the districts of the Djazr and the Djubal al-Summak and its vicinity to the town of the Djazr and notably Ma'arrat Mar' in. As the chef-lieu of a nahiya of the mukāfat of Halab, situated in the district of the Djazr, Ma'arrat Mar' in had 3,000 inhabitants in 1930 and 5,000 in 1945, and came under the kādī of Idlib.

The name of the town is often given in the form a'arrat Mar' in, but it is also called Ma'arrat Mar'in, which some authorities, such as al-Mukaddasi and Abu T-Fikād, connect with the name of Kinnārūn [q.v.], the 'āmil of which the town formed part, just as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān [q.v.] was sometimes designated Ma'arrat Him in by an allusion to the a'āmil to which the town belonged. In the 8th century, this town, situated in the bāb of Antiyya [q.v.], is called Ma'arrat Munīr; the monastery of Bēth Mari Kānūn was there. In the chronicles of the Crusades, one encounters the names Megenat Basrin or Menguaret; Munīr. In Isma'īlī's Guide (7.4), one reads Maarrat Moucerin.

History. In the year 1063, after having defeated a large Byzantine army drawn up between Halab and Ma'arrat Mar' in, Abu Ubayda [q.v.] conquered this town, which surrendered on the same conditions as Halab [q.v.]. In the Abbadid period, under the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861), 'Amr b. Hārbar, originally from Ma’arrāthā al-Buraydiyya, a locality near Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, held the office of governor of Ma'arrat Mar' in. A century later, in 357/968, a revolt against the Abbasid caliph Malik al-Rummān was suppressed by Sunfcur al-Bursuki [q.v., governor of Mawān, formerly served as the market for this region which was the capital of a fief of the Banū Kilab, sent one of his amirs, Abū Maṣrūn Sulaymān b. Tawil, to attack Ma'arrat Mar' in; the place was captured and its commander taken prisoner. In 454/1062, a short time before the death of Ma'izz al-Dawla Thālib, the Byzantines succeeded in making themselves masters of the town by trickery. Asad al-Dawla 'Atiyān succeeded his brother in Halab but, in 457/ 1065, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, with the help of the Kilābīs, was successful in turning out his uncle and setting himself up in his place. However, some discontented Kilābīs helped 'Atiyān to attack Ma'arrat Mar' in in 458/1066 and recapture it from his nephew. In 496/1007 the Franks besieged Antiyya, where the Saldjukid governor Vaghi-Siyākī resisted them. During the siege, the Franks went in Saraf 497/January 1008 to pillage some of the towns of the Djazr and notably Ma'arrat Mar' in. In Djumādā II 497/June 1908, Antiyya was taken; Vaghi Siyākī escaped, but he fell from his horse at Armanāz, not far from Ma'arrat Mar' in and, mortally wounded, is said to have been killed by some Armenian woodcutters who carried his head to Bohemond.

After having taken Harim [q.v.] in Shābān 492/July 1008, Raimond Pilet, with a detachment of the army of the Comte de Saint-Gilles, crossed the Rūdā and captured the town, which was integrated into the Frankish defences to the east of the Orontes. When Baldwin of Edessa had been taken prisoner, the Frankish garrisons were attacked in 497/1004 in the district of the Djazr by the inhabitants of al-Fu'a, Sarmlu and Ma'arrat Mar' in, who inflicted heavy losses on them and drove them out of the region. Richān of Halab received a good reception and occupied the town, which came to play the role of frontier-post (Magże) for the Muslims. In 505/1115 the population of Ma'arrat Mar' in, which had been left by the Shāh Isma'ilis, who were numerous in the district; two years later, in Dhū 'Alī-Khađa 507/ April 1117, a group of Isma'ilis recruited in Ma'arrat Mar' in, Aflunīya, or Mar' in, and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, tried to attack Shayzar during Easter, but were repulsed by the Banū Munīkīn.

In 514/1120 Tughlaqūn and Igbūlūn, lords of Halab, arrived to besiege the Franks who had withdrawn to Ma'arrat Mar' in; when Baldwin proceeded to the rescue of the Crusaders, the antagonists reached a peace agreement granting the Westerners a certain number of places, including Kāfārākh, al-Bār [q.v.] and Ma'arrat Mar' in, whence the Franks could keep a watch on the Turkomans. The Frankish fief of al-Aṭārib extended as far as Ma'arrat Mar' in at that time. In Radjab 520/August 1126, when Ak Sunqūr al-Bursuki [q.v., governor of Mawān, invaded the territory of Sarmlu, he found the Franks camping in front of him near the cisterns (baṣād) of Ma'arrat
Magra; they retreated several days later to their territory because of their lack of provisions.

For several years, the region of the Djaaz was to witness the constant passage of Crusaders and Muslims. In 524/1134, Imad al-Din Zangi, having become adab of Mawjil after the assassination of Ak Sunkur, profited from the conflict which broke out between Alice of Antioch, widow of Bohemond, and her own father Baldwin II, to acquire the most outstanding parts of Ajnabir and Ma'arrat Masrin, which he captured for a while from the Franks. In 527/1134, the amir Sawak, lieutenant of Zangi in Halab, undertook a plundering expedition against the Djaaz and the citadel of Zandamah; he surprised the Franks near Harim, invaded the territories of Ma'arrat Masrin and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, and returned to Halab loaded with booty.

In 57/1127, Salih al-Din, in order to bring the Imam of Haddhahyya to reason, mounted a punitive expedition against their territories of Samra, Ma'arrat Masrin and the Diabal al-Summah, which inhabited him massacred; he then entrusted to Shihab al-Din al-Harimi, his maternal uncle, the district of Hamat [q.v.], which was rich in fortresses.

In the Ayyubid period, Ma'arrat Masrin often changed masters; in Dmaikd 1 60/July 1222, al-Malik al-Salih, son of al-Malik al-Zahir Shuhdu, acquired the territories of Shughur and Bakas, Rafa' and Ma'arrat Masrin, which he was to exchange later, around 622/1227, for some places situated to the north of Halab, such as Asyatub [q.v.], and Ramlanda. In 617-8/1219, the region was devastated by the Khazarimans (see KHARAZIMIANS).

In the modern period, the town seems only rarely to have been visited by travellers. The consul J.-B. Rousseau speaks of it in 1814 in his description of the part of the region that is one of the most fertile and rich in the world. To the west of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, since classical times there has been cultivation of olive trees and vineyards; near the town, in the gardens, grow pistachio and almond trees, while to the east, stretch fields of cereals (corn and barley). The region produces three essential commodities: corn, olives and raisins for immediate export, which leads to "recruiting concentrations in great masses of these specialized products" (Chelemba, 1910, p. 70). If one accepts the identification of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man with Ara, the existence of a human settlement on the site of the present town very near to Tell Mammis dates back to the first millennium B.C. In fact, Ara is mentioned in the Assyrian texts among the conquests of the empire in 738 B.C. There is no doubt that it is the same town which appears under the name Ara as one of the Greek-Roman cities of the Antonine itinerary which is identifiable with the Megara of Strabo and which becomes Mursa in the Latin chroniclers of the Middle Ages, while the Western historians of the Crusades call it La Marre or La Maire.

According to the Arab authors, the form Ma'arrat al-Nu'man designates in the Umayyid period a town and a district situated in the fourth climate and belonging to the Khand of Hims; then, from the time of Harun al-Rashid, it was incorporated in that of Hims in [q.v.]. This is why the geographer Ibn Khuwaridjih (d. before 278/891) designates this region as one of the "Bakhtiyar" [v.]. According to the "Baladhi" (d. ca. 275-862), it is situated on the eastern fringe of a massif similar to that of Hims, called "alkhiz" [v.]. In the period of the Fatimids, the region was at one time called Dab tu Knisk "the town of palaces", al-Dimashki speaks of Dab tu Kusru, "the one with two palaces".

The second part of the name of the town, according to the "Baladhi", repeated by al-Harawi, is taken from a Companion of the Prophet, al-Nu'man b. Baqrd al-Anuwi [q.v.], who, in the sulpah of Mi'inawin, was governor of Kifta and the region of Hims and who was killed in Ma'arrat on the death of Yazid, the governor of Ma'arras is said to have been Nu'man b. Baqrd, who himself died in 68/688. There is another tradition according to which the second name is taken from al-Nu'man b. Baqrd al-Sufi, of the Banu Tanbih family who lived in the town and the region. Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, since its establishment, has become an important crossroads and active economic centre. The town is situated on the north-south axis, which, from Homs at the foot of the Taurus, goes as far as Palestine passing via Halab, Harim, Hims...
them, but was taken prisoner at nl-Buraghithl.

b. Sa'Id, commander of this place, went to meet nomads penetrated into Syria from Na^irt: when they killed many people there and took captive of Ma'am t aI-Nu

5

They drew near to Ma'nrrat Al-Ku'mun, Mu'adh

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mand of the $&bib nl-KhAI. devastated the region of

Safi Yahya al-Maghribl whom Saladin visited. This was a place of pilgrimage frequented in the 7th/i3th century. It is in this village that there lived the

buried in Dayr Sam*ftn ia al-Xakira to the south-west.

...
Maarrat al-Nu'man was to change hands several times. In 431/1041, the Hamdanid Nasir al-Din Ali confronted the Mirdasid Thimãl, master of Halâb, and took possession of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man. In 452/1060 Thimãl, in the course of an expedition against his nephew Mahmûd, stayed in the town whose inhabitants had to suffer the enemy occupation. Five years later, after entering Halâb, Mahmûd the Mirdasid, sent Hârân, a Turkish leader, to capture Ma'arrat. On 478/1085, and in September 666, Nu'mân penetrated into the town with more than 7,000 men comprising Turks, Duyaml, Kurds and men from the al-Awdî tribe. They had established their camp on the walls in front of the gate where public prayer was performed. These troops were disciplined, and respected the olive groves and vineyards, only taking water for their beasts without paying. They left the town to help Mahmûd in his struggle against the Kilâbîs.

The first attacks from the Byzantine territory advanced in 524/1131, under the command of Sundân, against Halâb; they went as far as the Dijaz and devastated the territories of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, Kafar Tâb, Hamât, Hims and Rafânîyya. Shortly after, the Saljûqids made their appearance in North Syria. In 572/1176-78, Tutûg, brother of the sultan Malik Shâh, made the inhabitants of Sarml in and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, whose eastern villages he plundered, pay large sums. In 580/1187, Ma'arrat belonged to the 'Ukaylîs; at the beginning of Rabî' II/August, Salûmûn b. Kuthumûn who, the preceding year had seized An-rajal al-Bira, set about sacking «Msrâj Shâh, made the inhabitants of Samûl and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, whose eastern villages he plundered, pay large sums. In 592/1199, barefoot, as leader of the Pilgrimage, he re-established on the town and demolished the ramparts. Raymond of Saint Gilles returned, gathered his men and abandoned Ma'arrat, which he evacuated on 22 Safar 592/13 January 1100, barefoot, as leader of the Pilgrimage. In 592/1199, Monsieur and Tûgûshîn, abâbî of Dimashq, allied against Halâb, and marched to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, whose region was at that time part of the numbers of the Assassins (see al-mu'assasat al-Hâkîmîn). On 25 Rabî' II 593/13 September 1100, Bursûk of Ma'arrat was defeated by Roger of Antioch at the Battle of Tall Dûnî, to the north of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, on the road from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. Two years later, after the assassination of Lu'lu' at Halâb, the Franks controlled the roads linking this town with Dimashq. In 524/1131 Baldwin II marched on Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, and in the following year, Ridwân concluded a treaty with the Franks of Antioch according to which Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, the Dijaz situated to the north of the town, Kafar Tâb, al-Bâra and part of the Dijal al-Sumûrât revolted to the Franks. Several years later (592/1199) there is mentioned the escape of an important group of Muslim prisoners from the citadel of Ma'arrat.

At the beginning of Dümâdâ I 559/560 of April 1153, Zangi captured Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and drove the Franks out of the citadel; he re-established on their lands the Muslims who could show their titles and deeds, and for those who had lost them he checked the payment of háshîd in the land registers before restoring their lands. The following year, at the beginning of Şa'ban/mid-April, the Basileus John II Conomos traversed the territory of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, without attacking it, and proceeded swiftly towards Shayzar which he besieged in vain.

During the great earthquake of 524/1131, of which Hamât was the epicentre, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was seriously damaged. Nûr al-Dîn visited it in Ramadam 552/October 1157. In this prince's time, this town was situated on the southern border of the Halâb region and the customs dues (mu'âlîd) on merchandise were paid there. Nûr al-Dîn founded a dovecot there, a resting-stage for the pigeon post before being suppressed at the beginning of the 15th century.

In 574/1179, certain villages of the bâna of Ma'arrat were given in 492/1157 by Salûmûn to the amir Shams al-Dîn Ibn al-Mu'azzâm. In the Ayyûbid period, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, due to its position on the border of the territories of Halâb and Hamât, changed hands more than ten times in less than a century.

In 545/1153 Salâmîn went from Halâb to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân in order to go on pilgrimage to the Shaykh Abu Zakariyyâ al-Maghribî, who lived near the tomb of the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abî al-Asîl. In 587/1191, al-Malîk al-Muzaffîr Tâht al-Dîn 'Umâr seized Ma'arrat to the detriment of al-Mu'azzâm, and died shortly afterwards. Two years later it was given by al-Malîk al-Zâhir Ghâdî al-Mu'azzâm Muhammad. In 596/1199, Ibn al-Mu'azzâm was in possession of Amûfiya, Kafar Tâb and 25 places in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. The following year, during a campaign against Hamât, al-Makîk al-Zâhir Ghâdî sacked the surrounding area and plundered the town, which sporadically formed part of his domains. In 592/1199 an agreement was reached between al-Malîk al-Adîl, sultan of Egypt, al-Malîk al-Zâhir of Halâb and al-
Malik al-Mansûr Muhammad, who received Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. This town is situated to the north of Shayzar, Alânâya and Kafar Tab, three possessions of al-Malik al-Zâhir, the amir of Halab, whose forces, together with some Bedouin allies, pillaged the territory of Ma'arra from time to time.

In 604/1207-8, the governor of the town was Mursîj b. Sâlim b. al-Muhammadîbîb, vassal of al-Malik al-Mansûr Muhammad. After Babbara, with the agreement of the Sultan al-Âqal, to al-Malik al-Nâşir Kîlîlî Arsân [q.v.], lord of Hamât. In 620/1223, al-Malik al-Muâazzam ʿÎsâ, prince of Dimashq, attacked Ma'arra: al-Nu'mân, whose governor fled, leaving the task of negotiating to the notables, who included the father of the historian Ibn Wâsî. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam nominated an administrator.

In the decade which followed, the town was disputed between al-Âqal Môsâ of Damascus and al-Mâgazzar II Mâmûd of Hamât. The latter reconquered the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân in 637/1240. In 655/1258, on the death of al-Malik al-Kâmîl in Cairo, Ma'âra and its citadel were seized by al-Malik al-Nâşir Yûnûf of Halab after a short siege assisted by mangonels. Expelled by Cîngî Khan [q.v.], the Kâfurâzmaân crossed the Euphrates in 638/1240 and entered Syria, passed to the south of Halab via Dâbiâl and Samâm, and plundered the region as far as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, governed at the time by al-Malik al-Mansûr Muhammad. After Baybars' victory at Ayn Dâjût [q.v.], the al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Kutuz [q.v.] in 658/1259 handed over to al-Malik al-Mansûr the towns of Bâfîn and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, which had been taken from him by the amir of Halab. From this time onwards except for short periods, the town and its region was to remain in the hands of the princes of Hamât: Abû ʿUrdâ, an Ayyûbî prince, geographer and historian, also received them in 685/1285 from the sultan Muhammad b. Kâliân in 700/1300; but three years later he was forced to cede them to the ruler of Halab. This is why, in 718/1317, he gave up to the sultan as a donation in the proper official style, the town and castle, which did not prevent him from ceding the town to Muhammad b. ʿÎsâ at the end of the year.

Under the Mamlûks, at the beginning of 742/1341, the principality of Hamât was suppressed; the province belonged from then onwards to the ruler of Egypt, and the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân constituted a milâkî of this province. After the Battle of Marjî Dâbîk [922/1516] the town became Ottoman, in 928/1518 it was on the northern border of the province of Dimashq. A century later, the traveller Pietro della Valle (ii, 156) passed by Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, where he found a prince of the Ottoman dynasty.

In the 17th century, Ma'âra was situated on the southern border of the passâûli of Halab and the northern border of that of Dimashq, where the road from Bâls passes to the Mediterranean, crossing the Orontes at Dîlâr al-Âqal. Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was in 1583 as a "poor town commanded by a 'sangiac',", and says that it is surrounded by walls (Voyage, vi, 703; Suite du Voyage, iii, 97-8). Franz Ferdinand von Troilo, a German traveller in the middle of the 17th century, found in the town "two fine inns, one dilapidated, the other in quite a good state" (Reise Beschreibung, Dresden 1676, 428). It is in this period that an Arab family settled there coming from the region of Kûyûa, sc. the al-ʿÂzm family who, in the second half of the 17th century, were set out on a political career which was to be prolonged into modern times. About 1650, two of its members, Kâsim and Ibrâhîm, reached Dimashq, then went on to Hamât and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. Ibrâhîm, a dînîdî, served in the Ottoman army, settled in Ma'âra and was put in charge of organising the defence of the town against the attacks of the Turkomans. His son, Isâmîl Pasha b. al-ʿÂzm al-Nu'mân, was born in Ma'âra in 1707/1708-60, where he occupied himself with agriculture, and in the town of Dimashq in 1725, where he held a sufficient family figure to be nominated governor of Dimashq, on 23 Dîmâhkâ II 1137/9 March 1725 (being removed at the end of Dîmâhkâ I 1143/December 1730). In this period, Pococke, who visited Ma'âra, describes it as a poor town with an independent agha who was paying a tribute to the Porte and levying taxes on travellers. (A description ..., ii, 145-6). Isâmîl had two sons, As'ad Pasha and Sa'id al-Dîn. The first was born in 1171/1760, and was first muftîsulam in Hamât and then governor of Dimashq in 1263/1847. In the 18th century the city, like Hamât and Hamât, was one of the lifetime grants (masâbîr) of the pâshas of Damascus, who held it from the sultan and who himself sub-let it to an agha. In Radjab II 1750/October 1771, ʿUmmân Pasha al-Kurdî, governor of Damascus from 1760, was removed, and lost the masâbîr of Ma'âra, which Muhammad Pasha al-ʿÂzm then received.

In the middle of the 19th century, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was the most northerly locality of the passâûli of Halab, which was then governed by a muqadda, then it became a hadîd of the îmâm of Halab and, in 1873, the residence of a kâfin-muhammadî. According to Sachau, who visited it in 1879, the town had about 400 houses, and led an easy life in the midst of a well-cultivated region. On the other hand, Max van Berchem, a few years later, saw only "a large, miserable-looking village ... in a well-cultivated plain." In 1913, one of the rare telegraphic offices of Syria made Ma'arrat al-Nu'man the link between Hamât and Halab.

From the time of the establishment of the French mandate in the Levant, this town became an active centre of resistance by the Syrian nationalists. In 1929, the Mawâlli shepherds tribes held much of the lands through which one had to pass between Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and Halab. Since 1963 the town has benefited from the economic, industrial and agricultural development of the Hamât-Hamât zone.

Monuments. The town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân has protected by a wall which was often attacked and damaged, and then repaired; it had seven gates like many cities of the East: Bâb Halab, Bâb al-Kabîr, Bâb Shîbî, Bâb al-Dîmân, Bâb Hûnak, Bâb Hîms and Bâb Kâfiîah. Defence was also assured by a mediaeval fortress of circular plan called al-Kal'a, built on a mound serving as its foundation and dominating the countryside to the north-west of Ma'îra. It was situated at the entrance of "the great ravine which, from al-Bârs, traverses the eastern side of the mountain, followed by the road which linked the inland plains of the west with the valley of the Orontes" (Tchalenko, iii, 123). After the Crusaders' attacks, it was restored by Zangi in the 6th/12th century. A dovescote (lurdî al-hamâm) set up by Nûr al-Dîn in the 6th/12th century linked Hamât and Halab by means of travelling pigeons until the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

The Great Mosque of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân occupies the site of an ancient temple which had given way to a church which was turned into a mosque after the arrival of the Muslims. Built on a height in the middle of the city, it was reached by 13 steps; ex-
tensive re-use of ancient remains bears witness to the antiquity of the sanctuary, whose roof is flat. In the courtyard, two kiosks are supported by shafts of ancient columns; the cupola which protects the abductions basin and its fountain rests on ten ancient columns, and the drum which provides a passage between the decagon of the ground plan and the circle of the cupola, is pierced by semi-circular bays. The square minaret of the Great Mosque, one of the most beautiful in Syria, bears on its west face the signature of the architect Kāhir b. ʿAlī b. Kānit al-Sarmanī, who in 559/1166 built the town's Shafiʿi madrasa. Creswell attributed this date to the construction of this monument. Herzfeld, stressing the strict relation which exists between the decoration and construction of this five-storeyed minaret and that of Halab, built between 485/1090 and 487/1092, dated it from 550/1155 at the latest. There is every reason to believe that Nur al-Dīn had it repaired after the great earthquake of 555/1166. Later, this minaret, after the quake of 565/1170, was to undergo other damage and to be repaired in 595/1199 by the architect of the Shafiʿi madrasa.

Some stelae of very ancient origin surround the Great Mosque, and in the city there are still some remains of covered, vaulted streets like Jerusalem. At the time of his visit to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Naṣir-i Khusraw saw an ancient column to cubic height, with an inscription in non-Arabic characters which was regarded as a tabletman, as at Ḥimṣ and Aţantkiya, protecting the town from scorpions. According to Albert of Aix, quoted by Cl. Cahen (La Syrie du Nord, 163, n. 5) there was in the period of the Crusades, in the southern part of the town, a church of St. Andrew, of which some foundations still survive. According to Syrian texts, there was also a Monophysite monastery, whose location is uncertain. There are in the town and its environs a large number of sculptured balustrades and columns in basalt originating from ancient Christian tombs.

To the south of the Great Mosque is situated a Shafiʿi madrasa, whose foundation is some time attributed to Nūr al-Dīn. Following a sculpted inscription on the lowest course of the arch of the doorway, it was built in 595/1199 in the reign of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibn ʿAlī Muhammad by Abuʾl-Fawāris Nadjī. The building also bears the signature of the architect Kāhir b. ʿAlī b. Kānit. This madrasa is entered on the east side by a door which is a trefoiled arch opening on the vestibule covered by a pyramidal cupola on pendentives. In its axis, facing an oblong court, there is a very large khanqāh, at present encroached upon by dwellings. On the south, the prayer hall opens on the courtyard by three doors; the khanqāh, a large niche, is preceded by a cupola on pendentives creating a zone passing from the hexagon to the circle of the cupola. On the north side, some rooms are laid out and, at a north-east angle, is placed the tomb of the founder surmounted by a cupola. Also at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān should be noted a gate of the Ottoman period which lies to the south of the Great Mosque in the eastern part of the town. It is a great, square khanqāḥ in cut stone with huge stables and a small mosque in the middle of the courtyard. An inscription above the fine southern doorway, dated 974/1566-7, informs us that this building is due to the generosity of Mūsā ibn Saʿīd, deified diār al-Anatolía (d. 981/1573-4). A second inscription at the vaulted north entrance is a poetic text giving in a chronogram the date 1166/1752-3, presumably the time of Aḥmad Pāgha al-ʿAzm.

There are many places of pilgrimage or oratories in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: the Makki Ṣabī al-ʿĀlī Sinān b. Nūr, often cited as a ǧīḥmī or mukhāṣṣ, is situated outside the south walls of the town. The tomb of Yūṣuf (Joshua) is probably on the site of an ancient pre-Islamic sanctuary. Yūṣuf says that this is not the tomb of Yūḥaṣa', which is actually in the vicinity of the modern town. The minaret of the Great Mosque, built by the architect of the Shafiʿi madrasa, crowned by a cupola, is pierced by semi-circular bays. In the bay above the door, that this place of prayer was reconstructed on the order of al-Malik ʿAlī al-Ṣadrī while Murshid b. Saʿīd al-Muḥāṣṣib governed Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The ground plan of this small-scale makām is little different from that of a madrasa with its rectangular court, its deep façade facing the entrance and the north and south faces occupied by the inner chamber and prayer hall. Above the entrance arch rises an octagonal minaret with a small cupola supported at the top by four columns. The modern mausoleum of the illustrious blind poet, Ibn ʿAlī al-Maʿarṣīr [r.u., where there is a part of his epitaph on a stele fragment in stone, is situated in the town.

In the vicinity of Bāb Shīh, there is the tomb of Sīh, third son of Adam, who spent part of his life in Syria. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. Anāmīr b. ʿUṣayr, grandson of a Companion of the Prophet, is mentioned in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān by al-Baladhuri, and again by Ibn Bāṭtūta and Yūḥaṣa. There was also a Monophysite monastery, whose location is uncertain. There are in the town and its environs a large number of sculptured balustrades and columns in basalt originating from ancient Christian tombs.

In 1953, Tchalenko remarked on the subject of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān: "Due to its situation as much as to its urban character and the importance of its mevala monuments, this site demands a special study, like several other small towns situated on the edge of the massif."

that I could not discern a full grown camel from a tender young camel, recently born" (see his correspondence with Abū Nasr b. Abī `Isā, Amīr, the Dī'ī, 'Iṣā', in Yākut, i, 296, cf. D. S. Margoliouth, Abū 'l-`Alā' al-Ma'arrī’s correspondence on negotian,

In J.R.A.S. [1920], 317). This defect was, however, more than compensated by his extraordinarily retentive memory, which in later biographical collections was to reach fabulous dimensions. Ibn al-`Adīn [98], who is otherwise very reliable, inserted in his monograph concerning Abū 'l-`Alā' a "Chapter about deep understanding, natural ability, quick and brilliant memory, shining thought and penetrating insight in connection with Abū 'l-`Alā'" (al-`Inda', 531-84). That Abū 'l-`Alā' started his career as a poet at the early age of 11 or 12 years, is not at all surprising to us in view of, for instance, similar statements which concern youthful poetry by al-Mutanabbi [98], cf. R. Blachère, Abū 'l-`Tayyāb al-Mutanabbi, en poète arabe, Paris 1935, 27. Abū 'l-`Alā' completed his religious, linguistic and literary education, in that he read the text materials required, under supervision of different scholars, in the first instance those at Ma`ṣara and Aleppo. Among his teachers were, according to Ibn al-Kifli, Ibn Khālid, in Tarīf, al-bu‘aydā', 3, "companions from the circle of Ibn Khālawayh's friends", as one of the participants in the literary reunions at Sayf al-Dawla's court in Aleppo. This grammarian and expert on Karānim readings died in 379/980-1, when Abū 'l-`Alā' was still very young. None the less, we find Abū 'l-`Alā' regretting Ibn Khālawayh's loss to Aleppo in rather strong terms: "Would that God might protect Aleppo, because that town, after Abū `Abd Allāh b. Khālawayh's death, ceased to wear any ornament, neither spangle nor bracelet; thus it was found to be far removed from `alāma`" (Risālī al-Ghūfrān, 518, cf. 518-9). Among his teachers should further be mentioned Muhammad b. `Abd Allāh b. Sa`dī, who was a hawīya of al-Mutanabbi's poetry. Ibn al-`Adīn mentions (al-`Inda', 518) how Abū 'l-`Alā', at one time reading al-Mutanabbi's Dī'ī under his supervision, corrected Ibn Sa`dī's rūṣā. By comparing the passage concerned with that found in a manuscript from Ṭārīf, Abū 'l-`Alā' s correction was proved to be justified. From this incident we may conclude that Abū 'l-`Alā' had already at an early age some acquaintance with the poetry of al-Mutanabbi, for whom he was to entertain great admiration at a more advanced age.

Regarding the next phase of Abū 'l-`Alā',s life, up till his journey to Baghdad, `Adīn express two different opinions. Some historians suppose the poet to have travelled to some other cities apart from his Baghdad journey. They would have him visit Antioch and Syrian Tripoli so that he might profit from the local libraries. According to Ibn al-Kifli, Ibn Khālid, in Tarīf, 30, and other historians following him, the poet on his way to Tripoli made a slight detour to a monastery so called in memory of Jesus's birth (Greek: Ιόνιου, see Ibn al-Kifli, loc. cit., n. 4). There he listened to a monk discussing Hellenic philosophy, producing in his mind certain doubts which could afterwards be recognised in his poetry. Some other historians however, are of a different opinion. For example, Ibn al-`Adīn is one of those who deny the poet was under the influence of any religious school. As far as Antioch is concerned, Ibn al-`Adīn bases his argument on the political situation in Syria: during all Abū 'l-`Alā' s life-time Antioch lay inside the Byzantine frontiers. From the ex-
pulsion of the Muslims by Byzantine authorities from that a town, Ibn al-Adim infers that "it is neither conceivable that a library should have existed there nor a librarian, as much as that town is inconceivable for somebody to travel to in order there to pursue knowledge" (al-Iṣāf, 555). Concerning the supposed existence of a library at Tripoli, also an alleged motive for Abu 'l-'Ala's travelling, Ibn al-Adim points out that such a library was only founded in 471/1080-80, many years after the poet's death (op. cit., 555). Despite Ibn al-Adim's strong arguments, recent researches after all tend to accept the possibility of an actual visit to the towns mentioned, as may be deduced from certain allusions in Abu 'l-'Ala's poetry (see H. Lacout, La vie et la philosophie d'Abu l-Hasan al-Adim, Paris, 1961, 235). The poems of the first half of Abu 'l-'Ala's life were collected in his Dīwān, which was called Sa'd al-sund ("The first spark of the tinder"). Here and there in this collection, the poet's reactions to contemporaneous political developments in Syria may be found. About that time, the dynasty of the Hamdānids (q.v.), with Aleppo for their centre of authority, began to lose much of its power, which having attained its utmost degree in Sayf al-Dawla's days, under his successors gradually was to vanish, finally making place for another line of heirs, the Mirdānids (see S. Zakkar, The end of Aleppo 1049-1094, Beirut 1957). Meanwhile, the relative independence of the northern Syrian territory was increasingly threatened from the north by a renewed access of Byzantine military power and from the south by the appearance for the first time of the Fatimids (q.v.). At the same time, there was hardly any support to be expected from the Būyid ṣarī'is and their nominal overlords, the 'Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdād. During the reign of the successors of Sayf al-Dawla, in particular Sa'd al-Dawla and Safi al-Dawla, the Fātimid ṣarī'īs began trying to extend their influence from Egypt into northern Syria. Especially at the time Sa'id al-Dawla started his rule, Aleppo came to be the object of several prolonged but futile sieges (Ibn al-Adim, Zubdān al-balad wa ta'rikh al-Dar al-Islām, Damascus 1951, i, 185-92). Abu 'l-'Ala took keen interest in these developments, as is apparent from at least four laudatory poems found in his collection, the Sābi al-sund. In these poems, important personalities from either party at war are the subjects of his praise. Thus he eulogizes one Bābālātālān, who was a Fātimid general, in his poem with rhyme-word ẓannahm (Shurik Sakf, i, 600), while in two other poems of his (the one with rhyme ḥa ṣarī'ī, Shurik Sakf, iii, 1087, and the other with rhyme wa ṣalū, op. cit., iii, 1096) a certain Abu 'l-'Hasan 'All b. al-Husayn, one of the Banu I'mām (q.v.) is lauded. The latter had originally acted as a ḥa ṣīd and waṣīl in the Hamdānids' service, but having betrayed his masters he filled the Fātimid post of financial and administrative superintendent of the army (mustaḥbī al-dāwā) to try to conquer Aleppo for the Fātimid cause. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Sa'īd al-Dawla, too, who only with great difficulty stood his ground in Aleppo, can be found at a nasīṭah in Abu 'l-'Ala's poetry. In the rāḥil of a ḥāṣida, even his name is mentioned, though in a rather allusive way, "[10] The camels kept asking me, upon which I answered, saying, Our destination will be Sa'id [however, the name excepted, sa'īd also means "fortunate"]). Thereupon the amir's name came to be their good omen" (from the poem with rhyme mālīd, Shurik Sakf, i, 25). All these laudatory passages are, however, rather curious, because they do not fit the image given by Abu 'l-'Ala himself in the Preface to his Dīwān (Shurik Sakf, i, 10), where he says, "I have not knoced so as to be heard at the doors of great lords, whilst reciting my poetry, no more did I praise with a view to acquiring a reward". This contrast between explicit intention and real practice may be explained by the assumption that the poet in such cases had been pressed to compose this sort of poetry against his will (cf. Ibn al-Adim, Baghbat al-albāb, l. 2152a). It was in 395/1004-5 that Abu 'l-'Ala had to sustain the painful blow of the death of his father, Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Salāyim, who had been the first one to teach him. This date given by 'Imad al-Dīn, Khorādat al-bāyār, ii, 5 and Ibn al-Adim, al-Iṣāf, 394, 5, is corroborated by Yalcut, Udabī, i, 165, who erroneously mentions 397/1006-7, which year is correspondingly given by the majority of Western biographers (about the chronology, see 'Aqīsh ibn 'Abd al-Rahāmīn, Bint al-Ṣ̄̄aḥīf, i, 195, 50-72). Reacting to his father's decease, the poet composed an elaborate elegy ( rhyme 'ādājī, Shurik Sakf, ii, 907), in which we find him praising his father's poetical talents in glowing terms: "[36] O master of rhymes! How much did their obedience to your wishes contrive, that in your view eloquent Persia hardly surpass the level of the evocative barbarians!" Three years after this event Abu 'l-'Ala is reported to have left Ma'arra in order to settle at Baghdād, where, however, he was to stay for merely one-and-a-half years. The poet himself pointed out what motive was prompting him to travel to Baghdād, for in his letters it is explicitly mentioned that nothing more than the libraries in that place excited his interest (Margoulho, Lettres 40 and 44, cf. Risālät al-ʿalāmīn, 147, 289). From his Sābi al-sund we may know the poet to have been in touch with several personalities employed in Baghdād libraries. One of these was Abū Manṣūr Muhammad b. 'All, who was a custodian in the Dār al-Ṣ̄̄if (q.v.), and for whom Abu 'l-'Ala composed a long ḥāṣida ( rhyme ṣ̄̄iḥat, Shurik Sakf, iv, 1046). Another librarian and scholar was Abū Ahmad 'Abd al-Salān al-Baqrī, "who had been entrusted with the supervision of Dār al-Ṭabāʿ at Baghdād" (Ta'rikh Baghdād, xl, 57-8), and to whom Abu 'l-'Ala having returned to Ma'arra was to address a poem ( rhyme ʿarwā, Shurik Sakf, iv, 1527) in which he ventilates his melancholy remembrance of Baghdād and mentions their weekly conversations on Fridays. About both these librarians, see Lacout, La vie et la philosophie ..., 127. Despite the benefit he might have reaped from a prolonged stay at Baghdād, it was not long before the poet again took his departure. It seems that he got into trouble financially, which need not surprise us in view of his unwillingness to compose laudatory poems for the Baghdād nobility, in which aspect he shows himself quite different from, for instance, al-Mutanabbi. Another reason why he did not stay any longer in Baghdād is given by Abu 'l-'Ala himself, in addition to the one already mentioned, in a ḥāṣida ( rhyme bi-tāhbita, Shurik Sakf, iv, 1654) addressed to Abu 'l-Kāsim 'All b. Muhammad al-Tamūlī, son of the well-known author of Nihāyāt al-muḥāsarah (see Yalcut, Udabī, v, 301-9, vi, 25, 67, cf. Broekelmann, I, 232), the poet later on explains his uneasy position in one poetical line, "[36] There were two reasons which caused me to leave you: a mother whom I have not been able to meet after all, and money reduced to the amount of uselessness."
Apart from these explanations explicitly given for his permanent departure, some other events are mentioned by the Arabic historians, which also might have induced him to leave Baghdad. Thus an incident is reported to have happened in the literary salon of an important ʿAlawi sheikh, al-Muʿtadā, brother of the Shīʿī poet al-Rādi (Brockelmann, I, 404, S I, 704, and I, 82, S I, 132). Having expressed some strong criticisms of al-Mutanabbi's poetry, al-Muʿtadā had been the target of a concealed but none the less a very severe attack from Abu l-'Alāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al-Mutanabbi. As a result, al-Muʿtadā had him dragged by his feet out of the salon (for details, see Margoliouth, Letters, p. XXVII, and Abu al-Rahmān, Abu l-'Alāʾ, 168). On the other hand, some late authors, among whom Ibn Kālidī (36.) in al-Bīdāyā, xii, 73 (sub anno 449), report him to have been expelled from Baghdad by the local fāhād. The poet is said to have aroused their anger by asking some critical questions concerning the application of certain rules of fāhīh. For an evaluation of this, as it seems, rather anecdotal report, see Lamotte, La vie du musulman, p. 26, 195, and al-Rādi, Abu l-'Alāʾ, 15-16.

In Ramādān 400/1010, Abu l-'Alāʾ began his return journey, but having come home he found his mother already dead. His Dīwān contains two elegies (rhymes iḥlās, Shuṭū el-Sayf, iv, 1729, and rhyme ḥamāmī, iv, 1453), in which he gives expression to his feelings of sorrow: the announcement of her death was a terrible blow; he would have preferred to precede her into death, but now the only consolation left is for him finally to be buried near her tomb. He is hoping to meet her again on the final day of resurrection, the day of goat shearing, which was a mode of celebration and idem, al-Insāf, 566-8. What happened in Maʿarra and the poet's reaction to it make it already evident that Abu l-'Alāʾ did not totally seclude himself. In the context of his house became the goal of frequent visits by matricies, scholars and pupils, whilst at the same time he kept up an extensive correspondence in prose by way of his Risālas. However, his poetical correspondence such as is found in his first collection of the Sāḥi al-sand probably belongs to the pre-Baghdad period. From those with whom the poet was in contact, the following personalities may be mentioned:

(1) The governor of Aleppo, appointed by the Fāṭimid, Abu Shuʿayb Fārābī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rādi, ʿAbd Allāh ʿAziz al-Dawla (reigned 407/1017-9 till 417/1027-8), Ibn Ibn al-ʿAdm, Zubdat al-ḥalab, i, 213 ff.). Abu l-'Alāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al-Mutanabbi, the Shīʿī poet and a waxir appointed by the ruler of Mayyafār-Sīr, tried to discuss with the poet an invitation from the Fāṭimid Imam al-Hakim for Abu l-'Alāʾ to go to Cairo, but the poet finally decided against the suggested stay in Egypt (see al-Insāf, 570-4, 577-8).

(2) Abu l-ʿĀṣim al-Maghrībī, who was a son of Abu l-Ḥasan al-Maghrībī, the Harmandānī kāhir mentioned above. In 407/1017-9, at the time when al-Hakim had almost all members of the al-Maghrībī family executed, Abu l-ʿĀṣim succeeded in escaping the massacre. After many persecutions he was finally appointed a waxir in Maryāfār-Sīr. He was the addressee of several Risālas (i.e. Margoliouth, Letters, numbers I, II and XXXII) written by Abu l-'Alāʾ, who finally dedicated an elegiac poem to him on the occasion of his death (see Lusīṭ, ed. Zand, ii, 431 Bombay, 346, rhyme l-ṭirāṣah).

(3) Abu Nasiʿ Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Munḥīz, both a poet and a waxir appointed by the ruler of Manyāfār-Sīr (cf. Ibn Khalīkīn, 56, ed. E. A. B. J. in Taʾrīf, no. 59). When visiting Abu l-'Āṣim, this poet is said to have asked him some rather critical questions regarding his ascetic way of life (Ibn al-Kīṭīb, Ibn, in Taʾrīf, 63).


Among Abu l-ʿĀṣim's school of pupils should be reckoned Ibn al-Sid al-Balṭāyawi, who in the Muslim West was to write an excellent commentary on Abu l-ʿĀṣim, Abu Shuʿayb Fārābī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rādi, ʿAbd Allāh ʿAziz al-Dawla (reigned 407/1017-9 till 417/1027-8), Ibn Ibn al-ʿAdm, Zubdat al-ḥalab, i, 213 ff.). Abu l-'Alāʾ, who was a fanatical admirer of al-Mutanabbi, the Shīʿī poet and a waxir appointed by the ruler of Mayyafār-Sīr, tried to discuss with the poet an invitation from the Fāṭimid Imam al-Hakim for Abu l-'Alāʾ to go to Cairo, but the poet finally decided against the suggested stay in Egypt (see al-Insāf, 570-4, 577-8).

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Abū l-`Alā' had a much more serious, though indirect, intellectual contact in his fairly extensive correspondence with Abū l-`Alā'. As the poet advises a practical ascetic way of life, there Abū l-`Alā' rejects the eating of fish, meat, milk, eggs and honey, at the same time declaring himself to possess some esoteric knowledge which should remain concealed. The resulting exchange of letters was finally stepped as a senseless business by al-Mu`ayyad. The latter in his last Riāda made it clear that indeed, Abū l-`Alā' at no time whatsoever might be expected to give any details concerning the esoteric knowledge claimed by him; see Margoliouth, Abū l-`Alā' in his correspondence (p. 53). It so happened that Abū l-`Alā' died in 449/1058 just after this correspondence, and therefore it need not surprise us that some Arabic historians try to find evidence for a connection between the correspondence just mentioned and the poet's death. For instance, Ibn al-Habbāriyya (q.v.) in his (lost) book Fuhl al-marā ăn (apud Yahyā, Uṣdāba', 1, 194) says that he committed suicide in order thereby to avoid being deported by command of the Diwān, who intended, the author suggests, to punish the poet for his heretical ideas. This rejection of it is at the same time he died from natural causes, and this opinion finds some corroboration in a report which mentions that the physician Ibn Butlān (q.v.) was in attendance at Abū l-`Alā' s deathbed. In his very last moments, the poet asked a member of his family present to get pen and writing-paper, so that he could dictate to him something. But in doing this, Abū l-`Alā' committed, as against normal expectation, some errors in his dictation. Thereupon Ibn Butlān declared the end to be at hand, "Abū l-`Alā' is dead already" (Ibn al-Kifṭ, Ḥadīth, II: Taṣfīf, 63). In many passages of his poetry, the poet has shown that he regarded procreation as a sin, and that he preferred universal annihilation as the best hope for humanity. He therefore never married, and is said to have desired that the following verse should be inscribed on his grave: "This wrong was by my father done to me, but never by me to anyone". A great deal of Abū l-`Alā' s work is supposed to have been lost as a result of the Crusades, which caused much devastation in Syria, at Ma`arra included (cf. Ibn al-Kifṭ, Ḥadīth, II: Taṣfīf, 63). A list of all his works, either lost or still remaining, can be found in Moustapha Saleh, Lûte des œuvres d'Abū l-`Alā', in BEO, xx (1970), 275. From these still existing, the following works may be mentioned in chronological order, as far as possible.

1. The Sabh al-sand contains states labatory poems, some of which have been mentioned above. In this Diwān the poet often follows the tripartite division of the classical ḥabīd into masbūb, ṭahlīl and mašīb, but occasionally he rejects the masbūb or eliminates it completely. In this respect, however, he cannot be compared with the poet Abū Nuwās (q.v.), who all his works, either lost or still remaining, can be found in Muṣṭafah Sāliḥ, Lisāt al-awār al-Abhari is reported to have read as a pupil under the supervision of Abū l-`Alā' in the works of the master for a period of four years (Ibn al-Adīm, al-Insāf, 920). To the tradition of this scholar a third commentary called Diwān al-Sabt, was written in the Muslim East, at Samarkand, by Sādīr al-Adādī al-`Asmī b. al-Husayn al-Khārizmī (see Sūrak Sabt, 1, 18, for al-Khārizmī s chain of tradition, and in general, Broekelmann, I, 255, 8, 452-3, for all the different commentaries preserved).

For further names of those who came into contact with Abū l-`Alā', see the two different chapters by Ibn al-Adīm, the one "Treating of those who read under Abū l-`Alā' s supervision and transmitted on his authority, i.e. 'ibn, ūbūd and ṣaḥīḥ" and the other "About the great respect which is paid by them to Abū l-`Alā' in his Sabh, the poem ... two different chapters 420). To the tradition of this scholar a third commentary called Diwān al-Sabt, was written in the Muslim East, at Samarkand, by Sādīr al-Adādī al-`Asmī b. al-Husayn al-Khārizmī (see Sūrak Sabt, 1, 18, for al-Khārizmī s chain of tradition, and in general, Broekelmann, I, 255, 8, 452-3, for all the different commentaries preserved).

Some (c. 800 years later) Abū l-`Alā' had a much more serious, though indirect, intellectual contact in his fairly extensive correspondence with an important Ismāʿīli propagandist, the Poet (being blind) is asking his travelling-companions to trace a distant flash of lightning in the land of the beloved, but when sleeping he himself can discern her deceitful phantom visiting him. The ūbūd in his kashfīs is usually most elaborated: one may find all sorts of descriptions, like emaciated camels tired by long travelling, the mirage; among the animals found in the desert, are mentioned the antelope, sand-grouse, ostrich and chameleon. His
The subject matter of the poem is the poet's own life and works, which he describes in great detail. The poet's own life is described as a series of events and experiences, including his travels, his acquaintances, and his relationships with other poets. The poet's own works are also described, including his poems, his letters, and his conversations with other poets. The poet's own thoughts and ideas are also described, including his views on life, death, and the hereafter. The poet's own experiences are described as being full of challenges and opportunities, and he describes how he has learned from these experiences.

The poet's own works are described as being full of beauty and wisdom, and he describes how he has used his experiences to create something new and original. The poet's own thoughts and ideas are also described as being full of creativity and originality, and he describes how he has used his own experiences to create something new and original.

A more recent treatment of the poet’s philosophy as it appears from a number of passages in Luzim is found in I aoust, ‘La vie et le philosophe d’Abu l-Fufi’al-Ma’arri, in BEO, x, (1943-4), 119-56. In the lines cited, Lautus supposes an influence of certain ideas eclectically elaborated and found at the outset of the philosophical and religious school of thought of the Bāṭinīyya (fufi’), which was to be contain a number of chapters every one of which contains strophes with their endings always in one particular letter.

This one gets Fasāl qaṣībat humāma, Fasāl qaṣīyat ba‘th and so on, following the order of the Arabic alphabet. A major part of this work is lost, only its first four having been discovered in 1918-19 in a not quite complete version, to be edited later by Mahfūz Hāssan Zanāfī, Cairo 1356/1938, in a critical edition. The book holds among various other subjects thoughts about God: His omnipotence, justice, goodness and eternity, in addition to and contrasting with a sharp observation of the inescapable changes of fate which dominate man in his ordinary daily life. The idea of God is frequently seen as connected with unavoidable predestination and eternal retribution, which in its turn exhorts man to practise asceticism. The use of rhymed prose, the warnings against impeding judgement and the oaths applied now and again by way of confirmation, may all be considered a reason why later historians supposed this book to be an emulation of the Kūrā’s: the author allegedly aimed, in writing it, at excelling the Kūrā’s in its āyāt (q.v.). In this context, some late historians who apparently never saw the Fasāl with their own eyes are even found altering its title to al-Fasāl wa l-qaṣīyat ma‘nā (or fi ma‘ṣīḥiyya or ma’ṣī’īn) al-BAṣīr wa l-qaṣīyat (i.e. “Chapters and endings and/about the emulation of Bāṣīr and the scholarly eminence”).

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For a supposed coherence between the internal rhyme in a strophe and its contents, see R. Hartmann, Zu dem brief al-fasāl wa l-qaṣīyat des Abu l-Fufi’al-Ma’arri, in Abh. Pr. Ak. W., Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin 1944). A more recent treatment of the poet’s philosophy as it appears from a number of passages in Luzim is found in I aoust, ‘La vie et le philosophe d’Abu l-Fufi’al-Ma’arri, in BEO, x, (1943-4), 119-56. A very restricted number of letters written by Abu 7 ‘AU’ on several occasions and addressed to various members of his family and acquaintances (see the biography above). The letters have been composed in a very flowery style, overdone with proverbs, rhymed prose and illustrative verses. There exist two editions of the Rasā‘ūl, the first by Shāhān ‘Atīya, Beyrouth 1894, and a second one, with English translation preceded by a Preface containing the biography and a discussion of part of the work, by D. S. Margoliouth, The Letters of Abu l-‘A lawsuits, Oxford 1898. Further, a critical edition of Letter XXX (Margoliouth’s numbering) has been prepared by Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh, Rasā‘ūl fi taswī‘iyāt Abu l-‘A lawsuits, Cairo n.d., but later than 1945.

Rasā‘ūl al-Šāhīd wa l-qaṣībat (Letter of a horse and a mule), which among other works now lost was addressed to Abū Shugā’ Fāṭik ‘Aṣiz al-Dawla, the governor of Aleppo, on behalf of the Fātimid emperors (see above). This supposedly lost Rasā‘ūl has recently been discovered in Morocco and subsequently edited with a critical apparatus and introduction, by ʿAbd al-Rahmān “Bīn al-Shātī‘” (Cairo 1975). Abu l-‘A lawsuits completed this voluminous Rasā‘ūl in about 411/1021, i.e. the year of al-Mahmūd’s disappearance, when the imām al-Zahrā’i acceded to the throne in Egypt (cf. op. cit., 553 where the author qualifies the letter as amīr al-muwāminin).
Another important development, reported upon in the *Risdlal*, occurred in 468/1077-8, when `Aziz al-Dawla ordered `Abd b. Mirdas, a Bedouin leader and afterwards founder of the Mirdasid dynasty, that he should bring his (i.e. `Abd's) mother inside the walls of Aleppo (*Risdlal* al-`Abd, 220, cf. Ibn al-`Adil, *Zaidat al-Madhjib*, 201). This move was meant to reassure the inhabitants of Aleppo, in view of rumours about a threatening Byzantine attack. The tension caused among the population in North Syria is a theme in the *Risdlal*, in which Abu `I-`Ali`a gradually introduces a number of animals who, being gifted with speech, give among other things their opinion on the political situation in Syria under `Aziz al-Dawla's reign. A direct reason for the composition of the *Risdlal* was a problem of taxation. Then the question of land owned by members of Abu `I-`Ali`a's family, for the use of which they would owe a certain amount as taxation due to the *bayt al-mdl* (p.7) in Aleppo. At their request, Abu `I-`Ali`a is writing his letter in order to ask for the annulment of the amount imposed, considering that the land concerned is a waterless tract, giving only a small yield. Then Abu `I-`Ali`a describes a mule, al-`Abd al-Dawla, which, blindfolded, is drawing water in order to continually fill a cistern, without, however, profiting from its own labour so as to quench its thirst. Such an animal is described as grumbling at first, but then it starts talking. While thus introducing the first of his speaking animals, Abu `I-`Ali`a explicitly bases himself on quotations from the *Kur`an* (XXVII, 28, 29), where an ant in the valley of ants and a hoopoe are described as talking, with Sulayman understanding their utterance. On the other hand, Abu `I-`Ali`a elsewhere in his *Risdlal* compares favourably `Aziz al-Dawla with Sulayman, both of them adhering to the same qualities of wisdom and understanding. Next to the mule, a number of different animals appear on the scene of action, among these a horse, a camel and a fox. The mule wants the horse to convey a complaint to `Aziz al-Dawla about the mule's hard life, but the horse, referring to its noble forefathers, haughtily refuses this mission. In the second instance, the camel declares himself prepared to convey the mule's complaint. The mule being erudite, at first intended to cast its complaint in a poetical form, but with respect to the camel it drops its original plan for a reason which reflects Abu `I-`Ali`a's own attitude towards poetry, "I do not like being insulted with the image of human beings bringing poetry with them, in order to aim at some profit." (K. al-`Sahi`i, 219). Instead of this, the mule then wants the camel to convey strange tidings, which have one meaning directly evident in hearing them, although in reality they have a second esoteric meaning (loc. cit.). The message appears to consist of sorts of riddles involving words with two different meanings (cf. the *ta`ari`fa* in Abu `I-`Ali`a's poetry). When finally the fox arrives on the scene, the situation alters; a vague clamour is suddenly heard from the nearby town, and at the mule's request the fox undertakes to make a reconnoissance. Then the clamour heard is explained by a suddenly-developing panic among the population in view of an impending Byzantine military expedition. Abu `I-`Ali`a now begins to make frequent allusions to various political developments of the contemporary period. He mentions, for example, the joint-rule of Basil II Brugarocous and his brother Constantine VIII. He further speculates on the settlement of the succession within the line of the Macedonian dynasty. In view of this, and being aware of the fact that the elder brother remained without children, whereas Constantine had only three daughters, the author wonders whether the Byzantines will deem it suitable to appoint a woman as their Empress (R. al-Ghfran 450, 606). In his *Risdlal*, Abu `I-`Ali`a seems somewhat to ridicule the governor of Aleppo, who is continually designated with honorific formulae after his name, such as "May God prolong him for ever" or "May God give him a great victory". With some humorous feeling, the author mentions a group of slightly more than 30 slaves (shimrus), who either had been bought at some time by `Aziz al-Dawla from the Byzantine emperor or had been granted by the latter. The exact number of these slaves, and then their circulation as enjoined by the Fikihid governor, are correspondingly compared with the number of *'arajah* (sarad here meaning "last metrical foot of the first half-verse") formally given by Arabic prosodists, and with the reduction (kaddif) of metrical feet (R. al-`Sahi`i, 691-2).

Finally in his *Risdlal*, Abu `I-`Ali`a has somebody make a remark on the exceptional dexterity of `Aziz al-Dawla, who is able, whilst horseriding, to handle two swords at a time; but then it is remarked upon as much more wonderful that this prince was once seen reading in the *Risdlal* al-Qarqur [*rab*] by Khall b. Ahmad [p.7], see (R. al-Ghfran 700-5). In this particular interest shown by `Aziz al-Dawla that Abu `I-`Ali`a pretends to introduce many sayings relating to the principles of metrics. Besides a great display of erudite learning in technical terms for various phenomena in metrics and rhyme, one also finds in the *Risdlal* many quotations of poetry which in some way frequently contain descriptions of animals. Such a display of learning and the poetical lines quoted, though originally composed via association, often tend to interfere with the smooth and logical development of events in the *Risdlal*. The same phenomenon can be found in the *Risdlal* al-Qarqur which was composed at a later date. On the other hand, the *R. al-Ghfran* is distinguished from its predecessor, the *R. al-`Sahi`i*, by a much greater amount of irony and derision at its protagonist, who is Iba al-Karrib—as compared with `Aziz al-Dawla in the first *Risdlal*—and also by its greater interest shown in religious questions. For further details, see P. Simon, *Enigmatic allusion and double meaning in Masarr's newly-discovered Letter of a Horse and Mule*, in JAL, xii (1981), xiii (1984).
given (cf. the meaning of the Risāla's title "Letter of Forgiveness"). While travelling in the Hereafter, Ibn al-Kārīb is able to pay a visit to Hell, where he is described having discussions with the devil, Iblīs [q.e.], and the poet Bashāhī b. Būrū [q.e.], marked out as a heretic. Among the general aspects of the R. al-Ghafūr, in its full extent, may be mentioned here, first, the delights of Paradise, which can be reduced to words like 'Ains, relating to all possible morphological variations of Death. For example, where it says in the Kurān (LV, 25 ff.), "We have made them grow up new and made them virgins, loving and of equal age, for those on the right . . .", Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā is found having them grow like fruits of the tree in Paradise (R. al-Ghafūrān, 289-8).

Another remarkable aspect of the Risāla is the idea of compensation granted for any harm suffered during one's earthly life, this compensation being extended to both human beings and animals. To the latter belongs, for example, a wild ass, killed and skinned by a hunter during its existence on earth. Thereafter its hide was used for the fabrication of a well-bucket, of which in their turn pious men took advantage for their fāhēm (193). Thus there appear to exist in Paradise two completely different categories: first the material of Paradise, represented by the virgin promised in the Kurān, and by animals, for the purpose of hunting, both of these destined to increase the joys of the blessed; and in the second place there exist human beings and animals destined to enjoy themselves in all eternity on account of their earthly sufferings. As concerns Ibn al-Kārīb, the ironic attitude of Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā is very evident, where he is describing the formal act of Ibn al-Kārīb's Ṭābāna being testified by official witnesses in a mosque at Aleppo and the subsequent rejoicing in Hcaven (517-22). For the comparison between the R. al-Ghafūrān and Dante's Divine Comedy, see the now rather obsolete study by Miguel A. Palacios, La Escatología de Dante (1924). For a comparison between the Risāla and Dante's Divine Comedy, see the now rather obsolete study by Miguel A. Palacios, La Escatología de Dante (1924).


8. Risāla al-Mulmānīyya is especially concerned with questions on the morphology and etymology of certain Arabic words. Thus in the Muḥaddidain of this Risāla (ed. I. Kravkovskiy, Leningrad 1934), a reply is indirectly given and based upon a realistic and literal interpretation of the pronouncements given in the Kurān and Tradition. For example, where it says in the Kurān (LVI, 35 ff.), "We have made them grow up new and made them virgins, loving and of equal age, for those on the right . . .", Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā is found having them grow like fruits of the tree in Paradise (R. al-Ghafūrān, 289-8).

9. Mulmās-s-sabil ("What is scattered on the road") is a very short work which was always to remain well-known after Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā's poetry. Especially in the Muslim West, it has frequently been the object of attempts at emulation (mawṣūda). The titles, and some short quotations from, such emulations are given in Hamid al-Dīn Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Muṣṭafā, Muṣābāt al-magāfirān li-Mulmāṣ-s-sabil, in Tāʾūf, 455 ff. For the edition of a complete mawṣūda of Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā's Mulmāṣ-s-sabil, see the one composed by Ibn al-ʿAbdār, in Saḥāf al-Dīn al-Munajjī, Risāla al-Ghufrān, 95-5. Beirut 1963, 33-72. The Mulmāṣ-s-sabil consists of tiny paragraphs containing rhymed prose, which alternate with other paragraphs containing some poetic lines, with, however, the restriction that each paragraph of rhymed prose is more or less identical with the subsequent paragraph of poetry as far as its contents are concerned. Thus contents are not very orthodox nature and no break can as yet be discerned with traditional morality and literary tradition. The editor Ḥasan Ḳurān Ṭābāna says that there may be a work of the poet's old age, in which he is shown to revert to the original religious principles (cf. Kravkovskiy, Iṣṭāʿara s-suṣūna, ii, 85).

Finally, let us consider the author's surviving commentaries existing up till now on the Diwan of other poets.

1. Muṣābāt al-bihām is a commentary on the complete Diwan of Muṭanabbi, which Abu 'l-ʿAʿlā probably wrote in the prime of his life. This rather simple commentary, of which so far no edition is available, has been discussed by Kravkovskiy, who also gives some examples from the Arabic text of this commentary, in Al-Mutanabbi ʿAbd al-ʿAʿlā, Petrograd 1910 = Iṣṭāʿara s-suṣūna, ii, 63-115.

2. Al-Lāmī al-ʿAttār or al-Thābit al-ʿAttār is a very extensive and as yet unread commentary on a great number of verses selected from al-Mutanab-
recited their respective poetry; see Tammam al-Buhlutl, Damascus 1978.


Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Walid b. Abl 'Ublda al-Walid was a commentator on verses selected from the Divan of the poet al-Bubturfs poetry. It was written by Abu l-'Ald al-Ma'arrl, and therefore quite different from the Diwdn, critical ed. by As'ad in the 457/1065 (on him see further and only died in 541). It is available in the critical editionSharb id-Khallal al-'Iibrtzl, critical ed. by M. 'Abduh al-Insdj, Cairo 1944. 25-6 of the editor's seals is khdss" in the context of the French Marquis de Bussy, but army offices in BerAr and then as chief minister of the Deccan in the service of the first NigSml of Haydar-Ahmad. His policy in the latter post extended scale and was unfinished at the author's death, hence completed by his son Mir 'Abd al-fjayy in 972, which is a slightly revised version of a previous study, Abu 'l-'Aid al-Ma'arrl, see above; it was conceived on an early representative of Kadarl ideas. For further reference, see Moustapha Saleh, Abu 'l-'Aid al-Ma'arrl, bibliographie critique, in BEO, xxii (1979), 379-397 ("Deuxnme partie: etude critiques modernes").

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1904-1909. (Ed.)

The text of 'Abd al-Hayy's recension was published in the Bibliotheca Iranica series, ed. Maulavi 'Abdur-Rahim and Maulavi Ashraf 'Ali, 3 vols. (Beirut 1982-93). The whole work has been much used for the many studies which have recently appeared on the Mughal nobility and landholding class.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1904-1909.
executed after the insurrection of Ibn al-Ash'ath [q.v.], in 83/793. He was probably born around 20/640 or even earlier. He had contacts with Mu'awiyah (r. 66/669-85), and 'Abd al-Malik appreciated him so much that he sent him as an ambassador to Byzantium and entrusted him with the education of his son 'Abd al-Aziz. According to a rather detailed, but perhaps fictitious report he played a certain political role as early as 38/66, during the negotiations between Abu Musa al-Ash'ath and 'Amr b. al-As at Damascus after the Battle of Siffin. His reputation was based on his juridical competence. Traces of his Jatuq are still found in our sources. In his use of precedents he obviously did not differ between prophetic tradition and the sunna of the caliphs; he adhered to decisions of Mu'awiyah (on attitude which later jurists were completely unable to understand), and some of his hadiths go back to Ummay (reigned 23/643-650) whom he may still have met personally. Although probably born in Kufa, he did not appreciate the juridical tradition connected with 'Ali (if it existed already at his time); his father, a companion of the Prophet, had already attracted the attention of his Kufan neighbours by his Ummayi leanings. We do not know why and when, in spite of his favoured position at the court of 'Abd al-Malik, he joined the ranks of the Kadariyya, a movement which soon affected the entire city of Mecca together with his brother Sa'id, and evidently executed by order of the caliph himself, at Damascus.

Later tradition tended to explain his fate by his Kadari convictions. But this must not have been his primary motive. We do not have any detailed information about his thinking; he was not a theoretician like his younger contemporary al-Hassan al-Basîf [q.v.]. Much of our material results from a damnum memoriae which was initiated by predestinarian circles. But this was a slow process which did not begin before 190/709, when al-Hassan al-Basîf had died, and was only finished in the second half of the second century when the Kadiariyya [q.v.] as a whole was boycotted by the majority of the ahî al-hadîth. A decisive moment for the development was apparently the Kadiari take-over under Yazid III in 116/734; anti-Kadari groups in Syria as well as in Basra then discovered Ma'bad as a bad example of a doctrinarian who had tried to push through his ideas by means of a revolution. According to them, he had been "the first who talked about kadar in Basra". Later on, not earlier than 126/748, this statement was modified by the assertion that he had taken over his ideas from a Christian or a Magian convert among the Aswara by the name of Siman or Susayha (also other forms are given). The persons responsible for this campaign are to be found in the predestinarian wing of the school of the Hasan al-Basîf (e.g. 'Abdullah b. 'Ubayd, died 130/749 or 140/759; 'Abd Allah b. 'Awn, died 151/768). They wanted to detract the attention from the fact that their master himself had been close to Kadiari theories. For them, the decisive point was that al-Hassan al-Basîf, in contrast to Ma'bad al-Diuhan, had not drawn negative political consequences out of them.

Biography: A detailed "biography" is given by Ibn 'Asakir in the unedited part of his Ta'rîkh Dimashq, but there are lots of other (normally short and biased) reports. The material available up to now has been used in J. van Ess, Ma'bad al-Diuhan, in Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 1974, 49 ff. Cf. also W. M. Watt, The formative period of Islamic thought, Edinburgh 1973 (index s.n.; Redwan Sayed, Die Revolle des Ibn al-'Abbâd und der Konradier, Freiburg 1977, 360 and passim. (J. van Ess))
Kumkard), states that Ma'bar "means the crossing in 466), "the coast of the Cholas). Bibl., from their capital ut 'the realm Colatnapjalain, but not exactly, to the Coromandel coast (the latter terra Ma'bar to the Coromandel coast occurs iu *Abdation from Indian and Chinese vessels (in this context, the west of Cape Comorin, root with serious competi¬tion must be considered less satisfactory than explanation must be offered by Yule who was cl An alternative has been widely interpreted as being a reference to crossing point. In its application to Coromandel this has been widely interpreted as being a reference to crossing point. In its application to Coromandel this	
MANNAR...This is the third of three or four days journey to the east of Kollam (Quilon), the first locality in Ma'bar belonging to Rä Kumhuri (Cape Comorin) (tr. in Nainar, op. cit., 55).

Al-Ma’bar’s description of the geographical extent of Ma’bar corresponds more closely to the Coro¬mandel coast than that offered by Wassyf and Rashid al-Din, and indeed, after Abu ’l-Fidä’s time the term Ma’bar seems to have become increasingly associated with the east of South India east of Cape Comorin rather than east of Quilon; nevertheless, Ma’bar, even in this truncated form, may not be considered synonymous with Coromandel. The latter is defined by Hesbon-Jobson (1862-8) as: “the Northern Tamil Country, or... the eastern coast of the Peninsula of India from Point Calimere northwards to the mouth of the Kistna, sometimes to Orissa”; thus Ma’bar extended south of Coromandel to include the shoreline of the Palk Straits and the Gulf of Mannar.

The term Ma’bar, although originally an exclusively Arab designation, gained considerable currency beyond the confines of the Muslim world; thus Marco Polo (ca. 692/1292) writes at some length concerning "the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland" (Yule, Marco Polo, ii, 327-50). In a letter also dating from 692/1292, or possibly one year later, John of Monte Corvino describes the coast of Malabar. The compilers of Hobson-Jobson (1862) suggest that ‘Ma’bar’ may simply be an at¬tempt to give meaning in Arabic to a local South Indian name; however, no suggestion is made as to a possible Dravidian etymology. A fourth possible explanation is that the "crossing" referred to was that from the well-known Arabian Sea to the less familiar Tota al-Rih (i.e. "beneath the wind", the Bay of Bengal and the seas of Southeast Asia), a region where Arab merchants power, supreme to the west of Cape Comorin, met with serious competition from Indian and Chinese vessels (in this context, note the descriptions of Ma’bar offered by Yäkût and Wassyf, below).

According to Yule, the earliest application of the term Ma’bar to the Coromandel coast occurs in Abd al-Latif’s short description of Egypt (al-lajab wa'l-jifār fi tūmār al-masābdhah wa'l-bawladhā al-mudīyāna bi-vand Mur, see De Sacy, in Bibl., 31), a study written ca. 600/1200, when the Chola rāja, Kulottunga III still ruled over the eastern Deccan. Although it is not certain for its mat-weaving industry, mentioned in this passage, see P. K. Nambiar, op. cit. in Bibl., passim.

Mediaeval Arab scholarship in unclear as to the exact extent of Ma’bar. According to the geographer Yäkût, "Ma’bar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java" quoted in Nainar, op. cit. in Bibl., 55. In his Tarjūyat al-anjar mu‘izz al-dīn al-tāhirí (700/1300), the historian Abd Allah Wassyf states that Ma’bar extends in length from Kollam [Quilon] to Nilavari (Nilgore), nearly 500 parasangs (i.e. 1,800 km.) along the sea-coast (in fact, the distance is nearer 1,200 km. (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 32).

In his Dībdī al-tawārīkh (710/1310), Rashíd al-Dīn repeats Wassyf’s description of Ma’bar almost word-for-word, but elaborates somewhat on the products of the region, mentioning alken stuffs, aromatic roots and large pearls (tr. in ibid., i, 69). According to Abu ’l-Fidä, Khōl Khājem al-bulūdī (ca. 731/1330), Ma’bar is the third shībān of Hind, beginning at about three or four days journey to the east of Kollam (Quilon), the first locality in Ma’bar being Rä Kumhuri (Cape Comorin) (tr. in Nainar, op. cit., 54).

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the arrow of any holy warrior had not yet reached") (tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 85-6).

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, however, the powerful Chola Kingdom which had dominated the south-eastern Deccan for over four centuries, entered a period of final decline. In ca. 656/1259, Bébêndra IV, the last Chola monarch, fled from power; his territories were divided between two rival Hindu kingdoms based on Madurai and Mysore (Basham, op. cit., in Bibl., 26). In 708/1308 the third Khâdîj sultan, ʿAbî al-Dîn, having defeated the invading Mongols, felt it time to turn to the military conquest of the Deccan. Under the capable generalship of Mâlik Kâfîr, the Muslim armies subdued the Yâdava rulers of Devagiri and the Kâkâtiya rulers of Warangal; in 710/1310 Kâfîr broke through to the southern Deccan, and for the first time Muslim armies were able to despoil the great Hindu temples of Malabar: It was a direct consequence of this victory that Ibn Battûta, who visited the Deccan in or about 729/1328, found the Dravidians of Maʿbar under the rule of a Muslim sultanate with its capital at Madurai (Gibb, op. cit., in Bibl., 261-5).

The success of Muslim arms in the southern Deccan was nevertheless to be shortlived. Within a few years of Maʿlik Kâfîr’s invasion, the independent Hindu kingdom of Vîjâyânagar was established in 731/1336. Maʿbar passed under the control of the rulers of Vîjâyânagâr in 772/1370 (Thapar, op. cit., in Bibl., 1, 325); under a succession of Hindu rulers, the region was to maintain its independence from the Muslim north until the early 15th century. Ibn Battûta, who visited the Deccan in or about 729/1328, found the Dravidians of Maʿbar under the rule of a Muslim sultanate with its capital at Madurai (Gibb, op. cit., in Bibl., 261-5).


Mâbēn (A. mā bar) “what is between”, in the organisation of the Ottoman palace, the intermediate appartments lying between the inner courts of the Saray and the Harem, a place where only the sultan, the eunuchs and the womenfolk could penetrate and where the corps of secret pages known as mâbēn, an elite group from amongst the forty köşg adâlîs, waited on the monarch for such intimate services as dressing and shaving him (see knsâh 99a).

Till the end of the 11th/17th century, the Mâbēnîs were headed by the Sîlaâdâr Ârba or Sword-bearer, as chief page. But under Ahmed III (1223/1713-1757) there was a reorganisation of the palace service, involving the decline of the white eunuchs’ influence, elevation of the Sîlaâdâr Âska’s position...
and depression to some extent of the Ḥubbaydīya, henceforth regarded as inferior to the principal pages of the Ḥaṭayy Oda or Privy Chamber. Hence there were now three grades of pages there: (1) the Ḥubbaydīya Ḥaṭisi or Superior Ḥaṭasi (so-called because they were gilded or silver-plated daggers, ḥbild, in their belts); (2) the Ḥubbaydīya; and (3) the Inferior Ḥaṭasi, with no special designation. Writers from the late 18th and 19th centuries, such as the Ottoman historian Şafi and the European D'Ossion, mention several specific offices held by the principal ones of twelve Ḥubbaydīya (thus numbered by D'Ossion), headed by the Bey Cuhaddar or Head Vazir, the Ṣir Ḥakib of Confidential Secretary (both still highly influential because of their close contacts with the sultan), the Ṣarıkeli Ḥakib or Chief Turban-folder, the Ṣarıkeli Ḥakib or Chief Coffee-maker, etc.


(C. E. Bosworth)

MADAGASCAR, with its 627,000 km², the third largest island in the world, after New Guinea (695,000 km²) and Borneo (639,000 km²). Its area is slightly greater than that of France (550,880 km²), of Belgium (30,000 km²) and of Holland (33,000 km²) combined. The large African island is oriented from north-north-east to south-south-west, measuring 1,000 km at its greatest length and 380 km at its greatest width, with a coastal perimeter of 4,900 km. It has a population in excess of 8 million inhabitants which is increasing at a fairly rapid rate (3.2 %).

Although the Comoros (see KOUR) are entirely Muslim, Madagascar's Muslim population is confined to the north-west coastal region and the south-east, where the descendants of the first Muslims to arrive on the island remain. However, archaeological studies have shown that the Muslims of the Indian Ocean were the transporters of the initial African population, and were responsible for trade between the Great Island and the rest of the world from the 10th to the 18th century. In the 19th century, Indian Muslims engaging in commerce settled in their turn.

In the religious sphere, Malagasy Islam has always tended to be absorbed by the traditional religion, to such an extent that continual contributions are necessary for the maintenance of Muslim establishments. Most curiously, in the south-east of the island a tradition of Arabic-Malagasy manuscript writing is perpetuated.

The island has been known by the names of Malagasy by the Arabs; Buki, literarily, the place where there are (mi Buki) by the Beraters of neighbouring East Africa; Isle of St. Lawrence by the Portuguese who discovered it in 1506 on the feast-day of this saint, to August; and finally Madagascar, according to the narrative of Marco Polo. The un-vocalised spelling Jiyamr has given rise to the play on words Ḥayrat al-kamar "Island of the Moon" which was employed by Portuguese historians in the 16th and 17th centuries and which apparently survived until the end of the 19th century among the seafarers of Southern Arabia.

The name of Kour seems to figure for the first time in the Kitâb Sīrat al-Murad of Muhammad b. Musá al-Karazmi (d. 290/855 or 230/845), in the context of the famous "mountain of Kour" (Daqbāl al-Kour) which was believed to be the source of the Nile. But the interpretation as Dajbal al-Kamar "mountain of the moon" was ancient as early as the 9th century, since it is encountered in the Ψργνώνεκραία of Ptolomy, whom the majority of Arab geographers and al-Karazmi in particular took as their model. The mountain known as that of Kour or the Moon is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who have described East Africa. It is totally different from the homographic term Kour, which in the 17th century, as Tringham has shown, signifies the Great Island, but also the neighbouring archipelago of the Comoros, which alone has retained this name to the present day.

In his study on the Ψργνώνεκραία en les ancienures navigations interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud (in JA, xil-xiv [1910]), Ferrand suggested an association with the name of the Kmers and that of the island of K'un-lun of the Chinese texts, a daring association, even though these Chinese texts are by no means ignorant of Africa. More interesting for our purposes would seem to be the comparison, by the same Ferrand, of Wāk-wāk with μακάκα.

The term Buki, which denotes Malagasy in Swahili, and Bokini, Madagascar, have been madaciously linked with Buki (people of the Celebes) by J. C. Hébert. In Madagascar, the term appears in literature for the first time in 1625, in the writing of the Portuguese Father Luis Mariano.

The current name of Madagascar is revealed to us in the writing of Marco Polo under the form Madigascar (cf. The book of Sto Marco Polo, ed. H. Yule, revised and corrected H. Cordier, ii, 471 ff.). As was demonstrated by Yule a long time ago, Marco Polo did not visit Madagascar, spoke of it only through hearsay and presented under this heading certain information relating to the neighbouring East African coast. In this sense, the question may be regarded as settled. As Ferrand already indicated in studying ares this chapter of Marco Polo, Madagascar is without doubt a slightly incorrect compound, the name善良者 Zangbdr, Zangdr, Zangbdr, meaning "land of the Malagasy", in the same way that the former has the sense of "land of Zang or the Zangs" (cf. Trois mytologies malagascies, in Mémoires Soc. de Lingu, de Paris, xiii [1905-6]). This reconstruction is based on the following facts: in the previously mentioned account, Father Luis Mariano tells of a kingdom in the south-east of Madagascar which he calls Matusassi, Matisassi, Matusasi (or Matakasi). Three years later, in 1625, Father Almeida, travelling in the same region, also mentions a kingdom of Mutasasi. In his Relation published in 1651 by Morisot (Relations véritables et curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar et du Brésil, 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), Cauche refers to a province called Madagache and known by others as Madagas, whose inhabitants he calls Malaques and Malagues. He also employs the name Madagonaros, but in the broader sense of the inhabitants of the entire island. Flacourt (Histoire de la grande ile de Madagascar, 1661, i) says: "The Island of Saint-Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, Madagasse by the inhabitants of the land, Mauhtias by Ptolomy, Cerne by Pliny... but its true name is Madagasse". Later writers have all been inspired to a greater or lesser extent by the work of Flacourt; therefore, there is no purpose in employing their testimony. These variant readings may be reduced to two: Madagascar and Majagasi.
which correspond exactly to the two major categories of dialect: dialects with voiced dental (ṣ and dialects with liquid dental (r). It is the latter form that has prevailed throughout the island, sometimes with the shibbant Madagasari, sometimes with the fricative Malagasi. Both are paroxytones. In addition, the modern colloquial language frequently employs the alliterated form mada-gasi and even gasi. These observations seem to justify the interpretation proposed above for the name of Madagascar which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet Malagasy-Madagasari, Madagascar-Madagasari remains obscure. According to the morphology of the language, it may represent a compound mada or mada-gasi which resembles nothing known, since it consists of the voiced form mada-gasi, or of the unvoiced form noted by the Portuguese mada-kasi. Furthermore, it is not known whether this is a western Indonesian construction or a Banu construction. Whatever the case may be, it is likely that here we have a foreign tribal name, the origin of which, eastern or western, cannot currently be explained by reference to the ancient and modern language.

The account of the Periplus of the Ethiopian Sea, probably written by a Greek of Alexandria in the 3rd century A.D., describes a voyage along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the port of Rapa. Madagascar seems to be unknown to the author of the Periplus, and it is probable that it was still uninhabited. Indonesian and African migrations seem to have populated the island only in the 2nd or 3rd centuries of the Hijra, at the earliest.

In about the year 943, the island of Zabag, probably situated in the archipelago of the Comoros, was the object of invasions by marine pirates possibly based on Madagascar. The book of The marvels of India by Buzurg b. Shahriyār, a Persian of Rumhurmuz, states in fact: "Ibn Lākit tells me that he has seen the people of the Wāk-wāk perform amazing things. It is thus that in 334/943-4, they came upon them in a thousand ships and fought them with the utmost vigour, without however achieving their end, since Zabag is surrounded by a strong defensive wall around which stretches the water-filled estuary of the sea, so that Zabag is at the centre of this estuary like a fortified citadel. When people of the Wāk-Wāk subsequently came ashore there, they asked them why they had come specifically there and not elsewhere. They replied that this was because among them there were to be found products sought after in their country and in China, such as ivory, tortoise-shell, panther hides and ambergris, and because they were seeking out the Zandj, on account of the ease with which they endured slavery and on account of their physical strength.\r\n\r\nThis Periplus, however, does not contain the reference to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa, which the author devotes to the history of Aden, particularly in 626/1228. From Madagascar to the coast of India, at the end of the 13th century, Ibn al-Muqaffa wrote a geographical treatise, of which the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris possesses, under no. 22.34, a copy once belonging to Abu l-Fālād and dating from 714/1314-13. This treatise contains an interesting association between the Arabic people and the people of Kunr, which Ferrand summarises thus: "The Kunr, who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa, as brothers of the Chinese. They dwell originally with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the world, that is to say, in the interior of the continent of Asia. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Kunr towards the islands. After a certain period of time, with dissension erasing among the Kunr who had emigrated to the islands, the king and his family emigrated again, made their way to the large island of Kunr — Madagascar and the king established himself in a town of this large island called Kunriyya. These Kunr, having arrived on the large island, grew in number and proliferated in the various capitals of the island in question; but new divisions provoked a new exodus and a large number of them departed to settle in the south, at the commencement of the inhabited territory, along the mountain range which bears their name." (Ferrand, Relation, p. 157-158.)

A contemporary of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Mudhhafīn al-Shaybānī of Damascus, wrote his Tartībih al-Mustasbirīn in ca. 1230 (B.N. ms. 6021). In the 25 folios which the author devotes to the History of Aden, there is mention in folio 72 a-b of voyages by the Kunr from their country of origin to Aden and, in particular, in 626/1228, from Madagascar to the coast of Africa and to Aden (cf. J.A., xiii [1913], 406-81).

The following authors al-Dimashqi (ca. 723/1323), al-Nawwārī (d. 732/1332), Abu l-Fālād (1273-1331), Ibn al-Muqaffa (no. 1275) and al-Wardi (1356-1422) tell us nothing of substance about the island of Kunr. The place which some of them place on the great African island are in fact situated in Ceylon or further east, or are unidentified (cf. Ferrand,
安全;从 6 点的 Tikk Na'sb 是在 6 点的 Ihsba (= 罗 440, the coast is entirely to the south, Na'sb is at 8 点的 Ihsba; Bandar IladOda, on the western coast, at 4 点的 Wabaya (?) (according to others, at 9 点的 Ihsba; the island of Malta, on the eastern coast, and Bandar Kdxl, on the western coast, at 9 点的 Ihsba). The eastern coast consists of the inhabited island called Munawwara (one of the southern Maldives). To the south of the island of Kumr, its numerous islands called Tirsalgha (the Mascareen group?); they are at 12 点的 Ihsba (= 36 hours of travelling from the island of Kumr.)

In his Kitab al-Muhandis al-fakhar (fol. 73 b of the same manuscript), Sulayman al-Mahri provides a second description of the island of Kumr which does not differ from the foregoing. Four pages previously, in fol. 72 b, the same author mentions some other ports of the island of Kumr with their latitude calculated according to the elevation of the Great Bear: Island of Munawwara at 12 点 Nasa' (the Sfascareignes group?); they are at 12 点的 Ihsba; the island of Anjouan, which is at 20 点的 Ihsba; Birmaruh, on the eastern coast, Ashmil, on the western coast, at 9 点的 Ihsba; the island of Jibril (Jibril al-Sarbar), on the eastern coast, and Bandar al-Nuf on the western coast, at 8 点的 Ihsba; Nohjin (?), on the eastern coast, and Malawin (?), on the western coast, at 7 点的 Ihsba; Manshara, on the eastern coast (true latitude 22° 08° 30'), and Bandar al-Shub (part of the shoals), at 6 点的 Ihsba; Bandar Hadda, on the eastern coast, and Bandar Kuf, on the western coast, at 4 点的 Ihsba; Wabaya (?) (according to the Turkish text of Suyyid Ali; this name is illegible in ms. 2539), on the eastern coast, and Bandar Hit (or Hayt), on the western coast, at 3 点的 Ihsba; Bandar Hadda (ise), on the eastern coast, no name known on the western coast at this latitude, at 2 点的 Ihsba; and Bandar Kus (or Kaws), on the eastern coast, and the bay of Kuf, on the western coast, at 1 点的 Ihsba.

A number of these ports, including Sa'da, Manzaladh and Birmaruh have been rediscovered and have been subjected to archaeological studies. Those of the north-west were also known through an oral tradition,
In the light of recently discovered data, the settlement of Madagascar may be summarised as follows. Between 700 and 1000, Indonesians and Africans created through biological and cultural cross-breeding the proto-Malagasy civilisation in the north of Madagascar and, no doubt also, in the archipelago of the Comoros (especially at Mayotte).

From this period onward, Muslim seafarers of the Persian Gulf and the Hadramawt took part in migrations and in commerce. In particular, they taught navigation to the Bawlil peoples of the east coast of Africa, as a result of which Bantu migrations were extended to the islands. The Muslims established after the 10th century contacts between Siraf and Suqar on the one hand, and the Malagasy Comoran ports on the other. A green ceramic, called Sassano-Islamic, has been discovered at Irodo, in the far north of Madagascar, a site dated to the 10th century by the RC 14 test.

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Muslim establishments frequented by the latter proliferated, especially at Bemaraha, Arambarotelo and Mahalaka. The ceramics imported then were of the sgraffiato type, very similar to that of Takht-i Sulayman. The first stone-built mosques appeared at this time, as well as ston-built houses, fortifications and well-shafts. At the turn of the 14th century, the influence of the Hadramawt became perceptible, corresponding no doubt to the monopoly control of the gold trade in the region by the Mahdali.

The 14th and 15th centuries constituted a golden age for the Muslim settlements in Madagascar. The towns of Vohemar, Sa'da, Langail (Manzaalagi) and Kingani were particularly prosperous. They imported fabrics, pearls and Arab and Chinese ceramics. They exported rice, livestock, and chlorite slate.

At the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese invaded the Malagasy coasts. They sacked Kingani, Sa'da and Langail. Despite certain vicissitudes, the Muslim settlements of Madagascar were never to be subjected to the Portuguese crown. Progressively, commerce developed with other foreign nationals: French, English, Dutch and even Danish.

In the 16th century, the slave trade became important. Settlements controlled by Malagasy signified as Sa'da, but enlivened by native-born or immigrant Muslims, became intensely prosperous. African slaves were imported to Madagascar to cultivate the crops of Sakalava farmers; but, at the same time, Madagaskans taken prisoner in the course of internal wars were exported to the Mascareignes (Filliot). In the 17th century, Langail declined, but commercial activity continued at Boeiny. Vohemar was prosperous at this time, but it too declined in the 18th century. In the second half of the 18th century, Boeiny was supplied by Majungs which, together with Nosy Be, has remained a major commercial centre until the present day. Indian Muslims settled in Madagascar in the 19th century in the course of trade missions to Majorca and Nosy Be. Malagasy Islam is active among the Antakarana and the new converts (mordis/mumari), especially following the conversion of Tsimaro in 1843.

In the south-east, certain of the Antambahoka and Antaimire, possessors of sorato (Arabico-Malagasy manuscripts) still respect the authority of Islam, while also professing Malagasy customs.

Finally, still among the Madagascar of old stock, there should be counted the descendants of the former inhabitants of the Muslim trading-stations of the north-west called Antakaize. Among them live some Malos, more recent arrivals from Africa and many of them converted. These various Malagasy Muslim groups may be numbered at around 100,000. They live in the coastal towns, but also in the urban settlements of central and western Madagascar, the descendants of Indian Muslim immigrants. 15% of these Indians are Sunnis; some of these Sunnis have introduced a ceramic type from Sind which has gradually replaced the local Malagasy pottery of the north.

Among the Shi'ite Indians, predominant are the Sokofis (q.e.), the most numerous (about 5,000); the Khodja (on whom some 2,500 arrived shortly after 1900 with Amode Khodja by way of Majunga, but whose most active centre is at Nonotsana; and finally, the Agahas [q.v. see AGHA MAHRJ] (5,000), who arrived ca. 1885 and are linked to a remarkably structured international organisation.

Among the foreign Muslims of Madagascar, there are a number of Somalis and Yemenis who have settled since the colonial period, and 25,000 Comorans who live mostly in the north-west, but no longer dwell in Majunga, which they evacuated following the tragic events of December 1976.

The inhabitants of Madagascar all speak an Indonesian language modified by a Bantu substratum. Vérin, Kortak and Gorlin (1968) have acknowledged three groups of dialects, giving a separate place to the group of the north, apparently more isolated in ancient times than the centre-east and west-south groups.

In the article on Madagascar in EB, Ferrand clearly showed the lexical contribution of African in Malagasy, whereas the Arabic contribution was minimal, which could emanate from the language ancestral to Comoran and Swahili, but also from more recent borrowings from Swahili, at the time when, in the 15th century, this language was commonly spoken in the Muslim coastal settlements.

The basic vocabulary of Malagasy is 90% Indonesian, but in addition to Bantu expressions, there exist some words of Sanskrit origin; scholars are divided as to whether this Sanskrit lexical stock was brought to the island by the original Indonesian immigrants, or was absorbed through later contact with Indian civilisations.

Certain words of Arabic origin have made their way into Malagasy through the intermediary of Swahili (e.g. sokony, Ar. sakhsa "rudder"). But others have been introduced directly through borrowing.

Among these borrowings from Arabic are the following:

1. Some commercial terms, e.g. misana (misain) "scales", but also the names of days of the week, described by Ferrand in the following terms: al-d'um (xotna, asabofsy, talata, alarobia, alakamtsy), al-sabt (xi-kkantis, al-d'um). Among the Shi'I Indians, predominant are the Sokofis (q.e.), the most numerous (about 5,000); the Khodja (on whom some 2,500 arrived shortly after 1900 with Amode Khodja by way of Majunga, but whose most active centre is at Nonotsana; and finally, the Agahas [q.v. see AGHA MAHRJ] (5,000), who arrived ca. 1885 and are linked to a remarkably structured international organisation.

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1. Some commercial terms, e.g. misana (misain) "scales", but also the names of days of the week, described by Ferrand in the following terms: al-d'um, talata, alarobia, alakamtsy, sona, asaboy, alakadhy (Ar. al-ihtaynay, al-thaladh), al-arbid (al-khamsa, al-d'imma, al-sabi, al-abed). It will be noted that the Arabic definite article has been retained for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday and omitted for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are given here in Merina dialect; the forms of the other dialects show only minor phonetic variations.

2. The names of the twelve months in the dialect of the Merina and that of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: alakaday, alaoro, aladisoa, asoetoey, alabaxy,
and difficult; it has however been successfully achieved under satisfactory conditions. The Malagasy phonemes b, d, f, h, l, m, n, r, s, have been transcribed by their Arabic equivalent; d is represented by a subpointed s. The other phonemes are rendered thus: Malagasy g by ژ, gutturals by ی, and sometimes by j; the group دگ also by ژ, the phonemes t and r, as in the English drive and travel (they are pronounced further back in the non-Merina dialects), generally by ژ, sometimes by ی; with a samim (for example antemery “date-palm” is rendered by ی and only the context indicates whether ژ should be read dr or t). Malagasy h is represented by و, the phoneme ح by Arabic ـ; Malagasy ح by ـ, but Arabic ـ is also pronounced ـ; Arabic ـ, when used in the current language, is pronounced ح by ـ and in modern Arabic-Malagasy sometimes by ـ. The non-Semitic Islamised peoples who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and have found it necessary to transcribe the occlusive ـ, have recourse to various notations. The Malays have rendered it by ـ. The Persians, and following their example, certain Muslims of the Comoro archipelago, by ـ. The Swahilis of East Africa by ـ. The Malagasy adapted an unexpected solution; until the 18th century they rendered ـ by ـ, meaning the appearance of a vertical naklidh, then by ـ. Unlike in Malay, each letter is vocalised, which facilitates the reading of Arabic-Malagasy texts, in spite of graphical variants which are too numerous to be mentioned here.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions have therefore become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy month. When mentioned in conjunction with a day of the week, they replace the name of the day of the week, which the Arabic-Malagasy texts very rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems already to have fallen into disuse in the current language, and is hardly ever employed except in witchcraft.

4. Shikili (dialectal variants shikly, sikidy; At. شكل “figure”) is the divinatory art. It has as its object the finding of remedies and is practised throughout the island, with minor variations, between one tribe and another; shikli, to use the form generally employed, is a direct derivation from the قلم al-tram “science of sand”, or Arab geomancy (cf. the Kitāb al-Fasl fī mā'ill al-akram of the shaykh Muhammad ibn al-Zamāl, Cairo 8th n.d.).

Although today it constitutes nothing more than a precious relic, Arabico-Malagasy remains an essential element of the patrimony of the Great Island. The manuscripts which exist emanate from the regions of Vohiopeno and Fort-Dauphin. The most ancient are stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but some also exist in various European countries (Norway especially), and naturally enough in the Malagasy Academy, as well as in the region of Vohiopeno (south-east).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the king Andrianampoinimerina invited some Antainoro soothsayers to the court of Tananarive, including the eminent Andriamahazonoro. Arabico-Malagasy was thus held in high regard in Fueva until the beginning of the reign of Radama I. The latter subsequently had the Latin alphabet adopted for the writing of Malagasy.

The enterprise of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was both delicate...
houses in al-Maddin with them.

of 30,000 in the late 6th century.

of the cathedral church of the Catholikos. This city was mainly

quarters at Kufa, they took the doors from their

made their own peace terms. Sa'd occupied the

goal of East Africa prior to A.D. 1500, in Geographers

Quadrat and the Tropics

Interim in Iran and World Archaeology, 11/2[1970],

G. Ferrand - (P. Verin)

al-MADANIN, *"the cities" (pl. of al-madina),

Kottak and Gorlin,

Music de l'Homme, Paris

The native population of al-Maddin was fairly

The Exilarch and Catholics remained there and in

By the late 1st/early 8th century it was also a Manichaean

The main change was the replacement of the

Sasanid upper classes by a small Muslim Arab

garrison posted from Kufa (300 horsemen in 43661,

led by Kufan notables (Baghdad), the tribal leaders of Aaq and prominent early Muslims

(buyid al-nasr) who married local women at first

and acquired local land. Their Friday mosque was in

Madinan al-Atkha.

In the early Islamic period, al-Madina was con-

sidered the key to the Kufan territory because it con-

trolled the main road to the east and served as the

administrative centre for the Diyala region (and

Diyah) under the governor of Kufa. Salman Al-

Farsi, who died there in the caliphate of 'Uthman

(23-35/644-656), was an early amir. Hudhayfa b. al-

Yaman, the first fiscal agent there under 'Umar,

established the tax rates for and Duiibah and died

at al-Madina in 36/657. However, early Muslim
government at al-Madina often combined the re-

sponsibilities for war, worship and finance, and resided

in the White Palace. Al-Madina al-Atkha was also

a mint for post-reform Umayyad dirhams.

Because of its proximity to Kufa and the Muslims of al-Madina appear consistently as pro-4^Alid and anti-

Sharijfi. Sa'd b. Mas'ud, 'Ali's governor 56-40/666-

660 secured the city against the Khawarij in 37/657.

In 42/662 al-Hassan b. 'Ali retreated there and stayed

in the White Palace before coming to terms with

Mu'awiyah. In 43/664 the governor, Simak, prevented

the Khawarij of al-Mutawwar from crossing to the

eastern city from Beharay. The Muslims of al-

Madina supported the 4Alids in the second fitna

and in 65/682 Sa'd b. Hudhayfa, an early caliph there,

joined the "Penitents" of Sulayman b. 'Sa'd with

170 Shi'is from Kufa who had settled in al-Madina. The

Shi'is of al-Madina suffered the consequences of

their partisanship later when the Azdjar Khawar-

rijid sacked the city in 68/682 and massacred the

Muslim population. The city was also occupied by

Shabib in 70/696. By the 3rd/9th century, the

Shi'is of al-Madina were extremists (ghulat). The

Harmaniyya sect which believed that whoever knew

the Imams could do as he liked was founded there and

supported the 4Alid rising of 103/724. The extremist

labaliyya sect was there in the 4th/10th century.

Although al-Mansur (135/751) stayed briefly at al-

Rumiyah, where Abu Musa was in 137/754

killed, al-Madina declined in political and commer-

cial importance after the foundation of Baghdad

in 145/762. Most of the population, the Catholics

and the Exilarch moved to Baghdad. The White

Palace was partially demolished by al-Mansur, and

although he ordered it to be rebuilt in 128/772, it

remained ruined. Its demolition was completed by

al-Muhtadi (289-95/902-8) in ca. 290/903, and the

materials used to build the Taj palace at Baghdad.

By the 3rd/9th century, al-Madina's importance was

more agricultural and the position of al-

Madina tended to be combined with that of Baghdad

and other places, although the tombs of Salman near

the Iwan and of Hudhayfa near the river had been built

at Aspand by then. By the 4th/10th century, al-

Rumiyah was deserted, but the rest of the town on

the east bank was a flourishing suburb of Baghdad,

with brick buildings, markets and two Friday

mosques, while there was a large fire temple on the

west bank.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
There was still a small town on the east bank in the 5th/6th and 7th/8th centuries. The office of Šāhāni was held by local people and the tomb of Šāhān was visited annually on 15 Shabān by Sufis and barbers of Bagdad and on variable dates by Shāfīs. There was a village of Šāhāni, situated on the west bank and come found at Tell Baruda confirming settlement at Behrāsī as late as the 7th/8th century. Behrāsī remained a small Sawāt town in the 8th/9th and 9th/10th centuries.

The tomb of Šāhān was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan Murād IV (1932-1934) and restored in 1904. The village of Šāhān Pāk has grown up around the tomb in the modern period, with Sufis for Šāhān pilgrims who often stop there when visiting the other Šāhāni shrines.

On 23 November 1915, in the battle of Ctesiphon, the Turks defeated the Anglo-Indian army of General Townsend, stopping its advance towards Bagdad at a time east of the ruins of the Iwan.
This procedure is certainly to a high extent pos-
tated already by the working method of his sources; in opposition to Abü Mişqaf for instance, 'Awâna b. al-Ĥakâm [q.v.] hardly ever gives isnâds which go back to the account of an eye-witness. Sometimes isnâds even fall altogether, and this again may depend on the nature of the source at our disposal in which al-Madâ'ini is quoted. Even in passages where al-
Mādâ'ini summarizes the accounts of several authorities (see al-Tabârî, ii, 1236, 1236, 1308, ii, 35), or in an 'adab work like the Kitâb al-Tâ'amî, the style of giving information does not change; there is only the detailed rendering of the stories without com-
mentary. Not the subtle saying or the polished turn of speech seems to be important, but the historical framework in which the words quoted were uttered.

Al-Madâ'înî pertinently compares al-Madâ'înî with the latter's contemporary al-Dîdîbîz when mentioning al-Dîdîbîz's death (Mura'id, v, 33 f. — § 3145):

"Among the transmitters (râwîn) and scholars no one has written more books than he (al-Dîdîbîz). To be sure, al-Madâ'înî too has written very much, but he limits himself to reproducing what he has heard, while the works of al-Dîdîbîz— notwithstanding their well-
known (dogmatic) deviations—illuminate the mind of the reader."

The variety of al-Madâ'înî's interests brings about the fact that he refers to a considerably larger group of authorities than Abî Mişqaf, the historian of the preceding generation with whom he may be compared in that their working methods show resemblances. But when describing events which are interrelated through causality, he apparently relies on a smaller number of authorities. He then turns on works of, among others, 'Awâna b. al-Ĥakâm, Abî Mişqaf, Abî Bakr al-Îdâhî (Salâmî b. Abî 'Abdî d. 319/937, see ibid., x, 28 ff.), Hammad b. Salâmî (d. 167/783, see ibid., iii, 11-6), Abî T-Yâkânî (see ibid., i, 216 ff.; for the list of his works, see Fihrist, q.v.), al-Mubârakî al-Dâbbîî and Allâ b. Mişqaf. But, as is shown—among other things—by the descriptions of interrelated events, he also makes use of earlier works by authorities who have not yet become renowned to us as historians.

As direct transmitters of al-Madâ'înî's works are mentioned Abîdîrâhîm b. al-Îsâhî al-Îsâhî al-Kîfî (who is said to have heard the reading of all the books of al-Mâdînî, see Vâfûh, ibid., i, 407 ff.), Abî Bakr al-Îmâmî, Abî Khâyâthbîna (who is reported to have learnt from him all about the âyât al-nîsâ, see ibid., i, 198 ff.), and al-Ĥârîrî b. Abî Usânî (ibid.), Al-Bâliqâ'î (q.v.), 'Umar b. Shâbba (q.v.), Khâlîfâ b. Khâyâthbî (see ibid. Khâyâthbî al-Îsfâsî) and Išhâb b. Târîkhî al-Mâsîlî (q.v.) also prove to be his direct transmitters.

In the quotations from al-Mâdînî's works there are parallel passages which are nevertheless divergent from one another. In order to explain this it should be kept in mind that, during his long life as a scholar, al-Mâdînî certainly revised and completed his earlier works in later years, and that they have been transmitted as such. The material is overlapping, due to the fact that he wrote monographs on individual persons (like for instance the Kitâb al-Ĥârîrâh al-Unâdîdî b. âYâsîf) or on separate subjects (like for instance the Kitâb al-Tâ'amî, in which al-Îdâhî b. Yûsîf is also taken into account), as well as compendia (like the Kitâb al-Îkhâr al-
shu'ufîa' al-kafrî, It is possible that al-Mâdînî himself is responsible for the different forms and lengths with which material appears in the various
The two works which have been preserved are: Kitāb al-Mudaffāʼ mān Karayk, ed. Abū al-Samā‘ al-Harrūn, in Nava‘dī al-maddahiyya, i, Cairo 1951, 57-60, and Kātib al-Ta‘ādī, ed. Ibn ‘Abbās al-Mubarrad, Damascus 1950/1956 (see Index), so that those parts which have not been preserved in the manuscripts of al-Madā‘in’s work can be reconstructed. In the two instances which have come down to us, the author uses footnotes and refers to ca. 80 authorities (a few transmitters, other scholars and mainly persons who can be traced in al-Tabarī’s Tarīq) mostly just for one quotation. From a comparison with al-Mubarrad’s work, it becomes clear that al-Madā‘in compiled from abundant historical material about the way in which the caliphs, prominent and learned men sought consolation, for themselves or for others, for the death of a close relative or friend: poems, philosophical or lexicographic explanations are hardly sought consolation, for themselves or for others, for the latter’s work are also found in the Kitāb al-Ta‘ādī (d. 286/899), ed. Muhammad Dibadji, 471; al-Iṣlām, Ta’rīḥ Nadjaf 1965.

There are certain titles, include: A‘. al-Faraj b. Ya‘qūb (see below) quoted by al-Mubarrad. It is, however, probable that in all cases “Abu Muhammad al-Madā‘in is meant.

Bibliography: ii, 19, 204, 249, viii, 271, 272, 273, 278; Ibn Abī ‘1-Hadīd, iv, 34-53; see U. Sezgin, K. al-Mu‘āwīya and Muhammad b. Sirin, it may rightly be assumed that this material was also to be found in the monographs which he wrote on these men. The description of the epidemics of the plague was certainly also found in the Akhbar al-qādīn (see below, quoted by) Ibn al-Maddā‘in.

declined: in Tripolitania, e.g., the number of zawiyas decreased from more than 12 in the 1880s to about 9 in 1918 and to 7, all in the town of Misrata, in 1925 (L. Massignon, Annuaires du monde musulman, Paris 1923, 97).

Today, the original Madaniyya seems to be limited to Egypt, where it is under the direction of a grandson of the order's founder. Its followers are encountered mainly in the coastal area between Sidi al-Barrani, where this grandson lives, and Alexandria. Active lodges existed (in 1961) in both of these towns, in the towns of Marzé Mattréh and Eimg ar-Alarab, and in the oasis of Siwa.

plunging his foot or his fingers into the sea and withdrawing them. For their part, the Rasul of the Chwis al-Salaf attributed the tides to the heating of the rocks on the sea bed by the moon's rays. Ibn Rushd (d. 592/1196), in the Expositio media of the Meteorum (cf. Aristotle, Osmera opera. Averroes' Commentary, vi, Venetiis, 1560, 29-30) seems to have been influenced by the theory of haterothemes relating to the straits, for he says that the waters flow into the Ocean from the seas higher than it and it flows into the lower seas; meanwhile, in the latter, the waters are set in motion by the winds which arise in their midst because of the moon's heat, and flow towards the Ocean in an upward movement, while the Ocean sinks. We know that the establishment of harbours is presented for the first time in a graphic and systematic manner in the Atlas cartographi of 1375 (see D. Gnechen, Les indications relatives aux mers dans les anciens xivies du mer, in AITS, xxxviii [1949], 671-71), but in some earlier Arabic texts, particularly those which concern the Indian Ocean, some passages figure which allow us to state that the phenomenon was known and put to good use by sailors: also, for example, in § 17 and p. 16, n. 2 of the Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde (1871), ed. French tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948 (in the rest of the world, cf. Bede, apud Duham, in S.M., iii, 204, note, in Science et civilisation en Chine, iv [1965], 912). It is hard to know to what extent the Arabs were aware of these theories, for we do not know the chain of possible transmitters. In any case, we find in Arabic texts an echo and development of certain doctrines sketched in antiquity. Also, Ibn Khurradadhbih (250/864) gives quite a fair explanation of the phenomenon, and al-Khul (d. 268/883) wrote a Risala al-Madd wa l-Djazr (cf. E. Wedemann, Al-Khul's Schriften über Ebbe und Flut, in Annales der Physik, lxii [1922], 374-89) which is not the same as that which, bearing the same title, was studied and translated by the author of the present article (in Mem. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, xiii [1971-3], 125-22; a résumé of this Risala, Barcelona 1959). The explanations given by Abū Ma'ṣūr al-Balkhi (d. 272/886) in his Kitāb al-Madd al-Madlul (translated into Latin as Introductorium in astronomiam) are interesting as having rapidly become known to Christian authors. Also, for example, the text attributed provisionally by R. C. Daies (see Isis, livi [1966], 455-74) to Robert Grosseteste, is, in the order and arrangement of the ideas and despite the mention of the Brijdijh which it contains (see 439, 460, etc.), in large part derived from Abū Ma'ṣūr, as can be appreciated by comparing it with the Introductorium (see 465, 466, 465, 466, 467 of Daies and the résumés of L. Martinez Martin, art. cited, passim). For Abū Maṣūr, the tides depend on the movement of the stars and are due to the "attraction" of the moon: the waters of the tide come up holing from the sea bed, which explains why they are warmer than those of the ebb; he analyses the inequality of the ebb and flow in the two hemispheres and establishes eight distinct causes for it, of which some very reasonable ones are of an astronomical or topographical nature.

As for al-Maṣūdī (d. 346/956), he sometimes follows the Introductorium in his Murūj al-ghubab (i, 244-55 = §§ 259-69) and presents all kinds of theories, of which some are purely para-scientific; in the Tanbih (French tr. Carra de Vaux, 196-45), he states that there are some authors for whom the tide is due to an angel who produces the ebb and flow by

the intensity of the marine currents, especially in straits, asserted that the seas had variable levels which were due, like the tides in the Ocean, to the height of the moon: when it rises and sets, the flow begins, and when it passes by the upper or lower meridian of the observation place, it ends. It was also observed that the height of the tides depended on the position of the sun and moon on the ecliptic (opposition, conjunction, quadratures) and on the position of the observation place (Seleucus, Hipparchus).

However, the classical author who is most interested in these problems is Posidonius of Apamea (135-50 B.C.), who arrived at a series of generally exact conclusions after having studied the authors mentioned above and having listened to the accounts of the sailors of Cela. His opinions were adopted by Pliny, Seneca and Cicero. On the other hand, Pompomius Mela (ca. 42-5 B.C.), if he clearly accepted the moon's influence, also presented two other hypotheses: for him, the tides were the result of the earth's breathing (which is also asserted by Brunetto Latini, d. 1293) or of the cavities in it (cf. R. Altamagia, La conoscenza del fenomeno delle maree nell'antichita, in AITS, xxxviii [1949], 893, and La doctrina della maree nell'antichita classica et nel medio evo, in Memorie della Reale Accad. dei Lincei, 1904). It is hard to know to what extent the Arabs were aware of these theories, for we do not know the chain of possible transmitters. In any case, we find in Arabic texts an echo and development of certain doctrines sketched in antiquity. Also, Ibn Khurradadhbih (250/864) gives quite a fair explanation of the phenomenon, and al-Khul (d. 268/883) wrote a Risāla al-Madd wa l-Djazr (cf. E. Wedemann, Al-Khul's Schriften über Ebbe und Flut, in Annales der Physik, lxii [1922], 374-89) which is not the same as that which, bearing the same title, was studied and translated by the author of the present article (in Mem. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, xiii [1971-3], 125-22; a résumé of this Risāla, Barcelona 1959). The explanations given by Abū Maṣūr al-Balkhi (d. 272/886) in his Kitāb al-Madd al-Madlul (translated into Latin as Introductorium in astronomiam) are interesting as having rapidly become known to Christian authors. Also, for example, the text attributed provisionally by R. C. Daies (see Isis, livi [1966], 455-74) to Robert Grosseteste, is, in the order and arrangement of the ideas and despite the mention of the Brijdijh which it contains (see 439, 460, etc.), in large part derived from Abū Maṣūr, as can be appreciated by comparing it with the Introductorium (see 465, 466, 465, 466, 467 of Daies and the résumés of L. Martinez Martin, art. cited, passim).

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not allow us at present to elucidate this question with certainty. We can nevertheless mention the early presence (well before the 17th century) of these mullahs in Lequeitio (cf. José A. Garcia Diego, Dos Pedro Bernardo Villarclo de Berrioz, in Revista de obras publicas, August 1972), and probably in other places on the Basque coast which we know of indirectly, but from information of the same author, at Errotatxiki, Bustinia, Baracaldo, Oro and Plencia.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Martinez Martin)

MADDAH (Turkish médall), an Arabic word which means “pamphletist”; the term was used by the Ottoman Turks as a synonym of hkbah-khān (Arabic ḥāfiz) and skghnma-khān to designate the professional story-tellers of the urban milieus; it was used in the same way by the Persians, but more rarely; as for the Arabs, they used it, in a fairly late period, to designate the “begging singers of the streets” (see Köprüüzade M. Fu‘ād, Médallbbr, in Türküyati Mecmüs, i [1935], 11-12). In North Africa, however, the médall is a kind of “religious minister” who goes to festivals to sing the praises of saints and of God, and holy war, and who is accompanied on the tambourine and flute” (Dossy, Supllm., a.v.); he is also the hāl of the éde (q.v.), who, at a late date tours the country and cities, recounting heroic legenıes and stories drawn from the répertoire of the story-tellers of the Middle Ages, sometimes recited today by bands, and which are sketched out very often without any connection with the subject of the story. The activity of the médall, his technique and his sources, would merit being made the object of thorough research.

In an early stage of the evolution of their art, the Turkish médalliks or khānma-khās derived their themes either from the traditional epic, the skγhmanma (whence their name of skγhmanma-khān) and the historico-legendary works relating the acts and deeds of the champions of Islam such as Hamza, All, Abu Muslīm, Baṭṭāl, or the first Turkish conquerors of the land of Rūm, such as Dānishmand Ghāzī. From the 11th/12th century onwards, the term médall begins to take on a more specific meaning to designate the teller of realistic accounts drawn either from old, classic collections such as the Thousand and one nights or from popular stories, or else inspired by scenes from the everyday life of the cities of the empire. The teller of edifying stories on religious and heroic themes, called khānma-khān or skγhmanma-khān for preference, retains the monopoly of the epic-romantic narration in the urban milieus, sometimes in simple sessions of declaiming. However, Evliya Celebi, when he describes (Scyphat-nāme, i, 325) the procession of the guilds in Istanbul, mentions the médalliks and khānma-khāns under the same rubric, as numbering eighty: it can be deduced that in the 11th/12th century, the two terms were still synonymous and the same artist could perform both kinds of narration. It is only from the 18th century onwards that the médalliks specialise more and more in the narration of entertaining narratives on realistic themes, and these supplant, at least in oral tradition, the heroic themes. The public audition sessions of this latter type survived until the second half of the 19th century; a document of 25 January 1884 informs us that at this date, in a Čekıldar café (on the outskirts of Istanbul) a “reader” of narratives drawn from the skγhmanma used to find an interested audience (see Metin And, Geleneksel Türk iritvaron, Ankara 1969, 69-70).

Numerous texts have come down to us of great heroic narratives of the chivalrous romance types of the Western Middle Ages; some, such as the A Aventi-nama [see Aانتار, شاهر], or the deeds of Abū Muslim and Baqīʾ [Baqiʾ], were translated or adapted from Arabo-Persian literature; the others, such as the Dānishmand-nāme were composed by Turkish authors; they attest, by their style and subdivision into chapters presented as auditory sessions on successive evenings (see I. Melkoft, La Geste de Melik Dānishmed, ii, Paris 1960, 16 and passim) that, from the earliest centuries of Turkish written literature, these works were not written only for the individual reading of the educated, but also constituted the narrative répertoire of the skγhmanma exercising their art before a collective audience.

As for the collections of realistic narratives, not a large number are extant and they are not of an early date. They are of two kinds: some, abridged texts of oral narration, sometimes written by the story-tellers themselves with a certain pedantry of style, to be offered to the sovereigns or dignitaries, and to be read individually by an elite public: the others appear as outlines to serve as an aid to the memory of the story-tellers themselves. The oldest of the collections of realistic narratives go back to the 10th/11th century, and, for the most part, they remain unpublished.

Of the poet Dženāni (d. Mubarraz 1004/September 1594) there has come down to us a collection entitled Bešeyfi al-alhār, composed after 998/1589 as an offering for Murid III. Information on the biography and work of this poet, gathered by Köprüüzade (op. cit., ii) informs us that his collection of realistic and fabulous stories had been used by a médall of the court nicknamed Egledge to divert the sovereign during narration sessions. A copy dated 1073/1663-64 has been preserved in Cambridge University Library (Brown, Supplementary hand-list, Cambridge 1922, no. 1555/6, Cr. 685/8).

The work of Dženāni contains accounts of very varied themes: scenes from everyday life, “true life” adventures of his contemporaries with djinn or vampires, accounts of journeys combined with themes of popular stories and legends. The author is, very often, anxious to inform us of the origin of his narratives and to mention his informants; on the whole, he drew largely on oral tradition. One of the narratives (fols. 19/19a) is the oldest version of a hik̄ayə [see ناى], iii of which the author of the present article has collected, under the title of Yarali Mahmud, three versions of the dažis of Eastern Anatolia (see P. N. Boratav, Halh hik̄yeyelî ve halh hik̄yeyefi, Ankara 1946, 19, 160-1). Two narratives of the collection (fols. 15a-17a and 19a-23a) are variants of stories inventoried in the international catalogue (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, Types of the folk tale [= AATh], Helsinki 1954, nos. 1310 and 938) and in the Turkish catalogue (W. Eberhard and Boratav, Türkervo Glansen Volks- märcken [= TTV], Wiesbaden 1953, nos. 178 and 136). In the same manuscript (fols. 19a-21b) is inserted the collection of a certain Nāḡrān (or Nāghān?) who was a contemporary of Selim II (1566-74); the compilation of his work would then be earlier than that of Dženāni’s collection (cf. fol. 19a-2b of the ms.). His narratives present the same characteristics as those of Dženāni; he says, in his introduction, that he has compiled his texts from the stories related in the evenings among friends. He has divided them into three chapters: (1) stories
about sovereigns and vizards; (4) anecdotes about poets; and (5) adventures with beautiful women. The Kitâb-i Kânât (2) of Zâin al-Geliz, dated 995/1586, is of the same period; the copy preserved in the British Museum (Cr. 7396) contains 88 leaves. It is composed of realistic stories drawn from oral tradition; some adventures take place in towns such as Istanbul or Samsun; there are also narratives inspired by folk tales (fol. 43a-44b; AaTh 1540, 1600, 1643, 1775; TTV 372, 374, 377, 399) and popular jokes (fol. 86b).

From the 11th/12th century we possess the texts, always in an abridged form, of a whole cycle of narratives, relating the adventures, in turn gallant and fantastic, of the bourgeois of Istanbul: people of various trades, courtiers, men of independent means, slaves, ladies of all categories are the heroes. At times, the sultans himself intervenes to arrange things to the satisfaction of the listeners—and readers—by chasting the wicked and rewarding the good. The composition of a series of those short novels of manners is attributed to the poet Tiili Ahmed Celâbi, a courtier of Murad IV (see Köprüsilâcie, op. laud., 33 fT). Four of these texts have come down to us: Lütfi-ı Alâiine, entitled Siyâhsâlî Kâmânos in a slightly altered version, with the names changed, Kanâl Süleimân, and Kâzım Muğâfi; the latter is lithographed edition issued, later, as printed ones—of the first three: a manuscript of the Sancas Mumâfif is preserved in the Istanbul University Library, no. 1286. It is to be noted that in the texts of these narrative works the story-teller himself is involved in the adventure; he is the principal character of Kâzîl Bahâcâ; and in all cases he is invited by the Pâgalhâ “to relate the adventure by word of mouth”. This particular characteristic of this genre is already attested by certain compilers of the 10th/11th century. Two other narratives with the same characteristic, Dâhiâ Celâbi and Tayyarde, of which we possess printed editions, belong themselves to the narrative cycle of the reign of Murad IV (see Boratav, op. laud., 122 ff.; O. Nutku, Meddâli ve medddhâ hikâyeleri, Ankara 1976, 69).

Other collections remaining unpublished, which were probably compiled as an aid to the memory for the use of meddâli—sometimes by the story-tellers themselves—deserve mention: from the 18th century, Kâzîl-i Dâhiâ u Dâhiâ (cf. the narrative of the same title analysed by Nutku, op. laud., 93, 100, reff. to fols. 16-19, 39-56, 179-209), composed by Şeyhâlî Muğâfi Dâsh, of 104 leaves (Brit. Mus. Or. 13326); copy mutilated at the beginning and end. — Kâzîlifâ (or Afdîfâ?) 19 adâm by the names of 16

The narrative technique of the meddâli followed a parallel evolution to that of the théâtre. Gradually as realists, as romanticists, as purists, the narrative was enriched by dramatic elements; the actor was substituted for the story-teller; he embodied the deeds, by miming and, by changes in the intonation of his voice, the various people of his narratives; and indirect speech gave way to direct speech animated by dialogues. It is this other aspect of the art of the meddâli which has interested specialists in the history of the theatre as much as the researchers on the narrative genre.

According to the testimony of literary and iconographic sources, as well as of direct observers, the meddâli used to perform his art in a public place (in a café usually), and used to install himself on a platform, at a higher level than his audience; he held in his hand a cane which he used for making a noise; a napkin placed on the shoulder was used to obtain, by its application to the mouth at the desired time, the various effects of vocal intonation of the person imitated. The meddâli began and ended his narrative with deditory formulas which contained, essentially, excuses for the situation in which the listeners might be vexed by the tortuous resemblance of
The later madhhabs of the beginning of our century attempted to enlarge their repertoire by drawing on themes in the popular novels of contemporary authors (see Boratav, *Turkische Volkserschliissigungen und die Erzahlerkunst* [German tr. of the Hokh buddeyye ve hokh khidyeysigig, Ankara 1946; Sft fl., 121 ff.; idem, *Bibliothek ve erzahlii, ii*, Ankara 1945, 130 ff., 176).


**AL-MADHARA**

name of a family of high officials and revenue officers, originating from [Al-Takhl, who held important positions in Egypt and Syria between 266/879 and 322/938. The name is derived from a village Madjaraya, in the neighbourhood of Wasi (see Alam-Safan, *Kisleh asdms*, fol. 495a; Vakht, *Muqajam*, iv, 382).

Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Madhara with the nickname of al-Atas ("the partially deaf one", see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), was given the control of finances of Egypt and Syria in 266/879 by Ahmad b. Tuluun, and so became the founder of his family’s influence. He appointed his son Abu ‘l-Fath al-Faful, a member of the House of al-Madhara, as vizier by the caliph al-Radi, he appointed Muhammad b. Tushdi al-Ikhshid, who in Ramadan 323/August 936 was able to enter al-Fustat without fighting. Abu Bakr Muhammad went into hiding until Abu ‘l-Fath al-Fadl b. al-Furat came to al-Fustat and arrested the Madhara. He was forced to disgorge great parts of his wealth and the Ikhshid put him in prison until the death of Ibn al-Furat in 327/939. After his release, Abu Bakr Muhammad soon attained honour and influence again. Under the young Abu ‘l-Fath al-Fadl b. al-Furat he held the de facto position of vizier, but was overthrown and put into prison in 335/946 during a rebellion plotted by Abu ‘l-Fadl Danfar b. al-Furat. A year later he was set free by Kamar [q.v.] and retired into private life. He died in al-Fustat on 11 Shawal 345/16 January 957, having been a devout Muslim who, between 301/913 and 322/938, performed the pilgrimage yearly and was lavish in distributing favours to the inhabitants of the Holy Cities. With him died the last important representative of the Madhara.**


**MAHHIDI**

a large tribal group, now inhabiting in the main the areas of Chammar and Radif in the modern Yemen Arab Republic. The traditional genealogy, given by e.g. Ibn Durayd, *Fihihib*, ed.

Mādhīdj appear in pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions as maqām (see A. Jamme, Sabean inscriptions from Māshar Bīdūs (Mādrī), Baltimore 1962, 316, 372). In the year 510 contiguous tribes of the tribe accompanied the Ḥimyarite king Māḍīq ar Yūsuf on an expedition into central Arabia, and in 521 they were amongst the tribes nominally influenced by Ḫums and sent by Ḫān Nuwārī (q.v.) against the Christian centre of Najḍrān.

The tribal lands of Mādhīdj in early times are said by al-Bakrī to have been situated near a certain place called Tārī on the road to Yemen (see Māqām, Cairo 1936-7/1954-5, 309). In the period just before the rise of Islam they participated, together with their sister tribes Ḥadīf and Murūd (q.v.) in warfare against 'Amīr b. Sufār'i, which included a famous "dājp," much hymned in old poetry, at Fayy al-Rih (see al-Balād, iii, 528). Towards the end of Muhammad's mission in Medina, when he was extending his control over the outlying parts of Arabia, the Prophet utilised Mālik b. Murāh b. Ḥašāna as the component group Ḥašāna of Mādhīdj as an envoy to the south-western tribes; and in 506 he confirmed Farwa b. Musayvi of Murūd as Muslim governor over the tribes of Murūd, Mādhīdj and Zubayd (Ibn Hisbām, 950-60, 75). Whenby consequent demands of Zubayd, which in 513 he made to Muhammad for the dangerous and anti-Ḥumayd movement. At Sīfin, Mādhīdj and Ḥamḍān placed themselves under the leadership of Mālik al-Ashtar (q.v.) of the kabila Nakhṣ (or Mādhīdj); they fought valiantly as part of al-Ḥidaibāli b. Ebb Bakrī's "Army of destruction" in Afghanistan in 79/698 (see E. Bosworth, in Iṣā, 1 [1973], 277 ff.); and they took part in the revolt of the old Arab tribal aristocracy shortly afterwards under Ibn al-Ashtar (q.v.). They do not, however, seem to have produced any poets of great significance.

In the post-classical period, those elements of Mādhīdj or their kābālūd who had remained behind in south-western Arabia played a part in the torturous politics and military events of the region. For example, contingents of the tribe rallied to the aid of the Zuray'īd b. Sabīb b. 'Abī 'Sā'īf in his successful struggle against another element of the tribe, 'Abī b. Muḥammad, in 531/1136. In 541/1151 also, Mādhīdj, and particularly Dījan, joined the Zuray'īd forces of the Imām b. Trumān b. Ḥisān against the Ḥātimi family of Yām controlling the Šanīs'īs area. A long series of hostilities ensued, after which the Zaydīs and their Mādhīdj allies were repelled from Šanīsī and the latter, after a personal appeal to them in Dharām by Ḥātim b. Ahmad, swung round to the Ḥātimi side against the Zaydīs. Dījan were also prominent in relieving the Mādhīdj siege of Šabīb b. Zīmar b. Zayd b. Aden, begun in 561/1775. The Zuray'īd leader, Ḥātim b. 'Abī, having residual claims for seven years, journeyed to Šanīsī to enlist the support of 'Abī b. Ḥātim, the son of Ḥātim b. Ahmad, whose family of Yām, it will be recalled, controlled the area. They too were Ismā'īlīs, as were the Zuray'īds, 'Abī b. Ḥātim agreed to help break the siege of Aden, but only, he stipulated, with the assistance of Dījan from Dharām. The Zuray'īd, Ḥātim b. 'Abī won over Dījan, so that an alliance of his troops, those of 'Abī b. Ḥātim from Šanīsī and those of Dījan descended on Aden and were able to drive away the Mādhīdj, killing many. At this stage Dījan returned home, much to the disappointment of 'Abī b. Ḥātim, who appears to have had territorial designs on Mādhīdj land in Tihāna.

Bibliography (in additions to references given in the text): Ibn al-Kabīr, Castel, Gamharat ansāb, i, Taballūn, 258 ff., ii, Register, 358-2; Hamdānī, 8ība, ed. Mīlker, 92, 97 and passim (spelling erroneously Mādhīdj); Westenfeld, Register zu der genealogischen Tabell. . . , Göttingen 1855, 299; H. C. I. White, Yemen, its history and social history, London 1862, 217; G. R. Smith, The tribes and early Yasaids in the Yemen, London 1924-5, ii, 61-2. (G. R. SMITH - C. E. BOSWORTH)

Mādī (Ar. "preterite", a technical term of Arabic grammar used to denote the verbal form devoted to the expression of past time; its counterpart is muddāri (q.v.), the term denoting the author verbal form "resembling" [the noun] and devoted to the expression of the present and future (bikārī, usūrīal).

The majority of Arab grammarians define the verb as a word which indicates the matching bātīd of a happening (lādīf) with a time (yamūdū). Already Shawkānī considered (Kūfī, 1, 11-12) that the verb is formed to demonstrate that a happening has taken place (mašā'ān) in time which has gone past (mādāla) or that it will take place in time which has not yet gone past (lām yamūdū). In regard to the past, one of the earliest definitions is that of al-Zādījī (K. al-Ṭāsī, 89): "an occurrence in the past is one which has already existed, and whose existence is formed to demonstrate that a happening has taken place (lādīf) and one in which gets information about it (khubub bi-yamūdū)." Ibn Yāṣīf sets forth the same idea (Shawk al-Mufassal, vii, 4): "an occurrence in the past is one that no longer has existence (ji'dmā) after it did in fact exist, and whose affirmation (bikārī) takes place at a time posterior to its existence".

However, the Arab grammarians very soon saw that the mādī was not used solely to express an occurrence in the past, and al-Ṭabarī (Shawk al-Mufassal, ii, 229) enumerates the different cases when this verbal form expresses a time different from the past. First of all, the mādī can express the future, viz. in a request (lādīf) by means of a prayer (đīfā'ī) or an order (nāmat), and in the expression of future happenings by determining (bātīd) their occurrence (muddāri), for in these two cases, the speaker positively desires the taking place of the occurrence, and it is as if it had already taken place and was past; in the reply to an oath (yamūdū), unless it is negated by (kāsaam), in the expression of a condition (bikārī), if it is preceded by (mā). In a circumstantial
clause, if it is preceded by mū — "so long as". The mādiḥ can moreover express either the past or the future when it follows the particle a- of equivalence (istina? in an alternative; the relatives hawā'yānā and kuddānā in a phrase comprising two parts; a particle of urging (thabidā) in an incitement; and the relative pronoun al-ḥādi, at the outset of a phrase comprising two parts, because in all these cases, there is a nuance (nā'da) of a condition. Finally, in an enunciatory (naddid) speech: utterance or a productive (kāfī) one, the mādiḥ has the value of a present; thus, for example, in bitru, the act of selling is realised (yaḥyakti) in the present (ḥiš) by means of this word which brings it into existence (mādiḥā lahu), whereas with abitru, the act of selling is realised by another word.

From the morphological point of view, the Arab grammarians consider that the form of the mādiḥ is "based" (mudhī) according to the vowel a or the vowel u in the third person, and according to the absence of the vowel u in the first person.

**Bibliography:**


(G. Troupeau)

**MADIḥ, MADIḥ.** (ar.), the normal technical term in Arabic and other Islamic literatures for the genre of panegyric poetry, the individual poem being usually referred to as wadādi (pl. waḍāddi) or maddī (pl. maddī)). The author himself is called maddi or, as considered professionally, muddi. This root itself is sometimes used without lexical connotations, as also are commonly the various other roots signifying "praise": kāfīd, maddī, dī, dī, thīs, gīra-l, etc.

1. In Arabic Literature.

As both an independent unit and a component of the kudma (q.v.), the genre has been so widespread in Arabic literature at all times that only a few poets prided themselves on not writing in it at all, or as rarely as possible, e.g., Abu ‘l-Mu‘allā and al-Munāfī. Some, like al-Mu‘addibī, were panegyric poets before all else. The high proportion of panegyric in Arabic poetry has been one of the major obstacles to full appreciation of the latter by the average Western reader, who tends traditionally to be concerned with criteria of "sincerity", "criticism of life" and "seriousness of purpose". Such a lack of sympathy ignores the fact that virtually all pre-modern Arabic poetry had to be written, for socio-economic reasons, under patronage or to commission. "Political" panegyrics are still written in most Arabic-speaking countries.

The somewhat exiguous and sporadic written tradition of Arabic poetic criticism is usually more preoccupied with biography, excesses, prosody and tropes than with genres in any Western sense. But most discussions of poetry refer to the category of mādiḥ, and a few attempt to distinguish it from other genres, particularly its counterparts: fihāri, muqaddas, personal or group boasting; ridádi, marthiyā/marshid, elegance or lament, and kāfīdi, poet, like an actor, abuses some of the relevant articles (for each). The last (kāfīdi) is more rare than the converse of mādiḥ, while the other two may naturally contain elements of panegyric. In the case of the elegy, this is almost invariably so: some (e.g. the celebrated and courageous elegy by Abu ‘l-Hasan al-Anhlārī on the executed Būyid vizier Abū Tahrīr) are virtually pure mādiḥ, though it is usually obvious that the subject is deceased, and a note of sincere regret is often present, as in that particular instance. Special types of mādiḥ are numerous, two of the most common being poems of excuse or apology, and poems celebrating victories or other happy events (see below also).

Besides individuals, a panegyric might be addressed to a land, a city or a group. By no means all such poems were expected to produce immediate or direct material benefits; some expressed simple gratitude, some to a recipient with fine poetic taste of his own, and some were produced as an inescapable duty of one of pensioner status. When a panegyric did not produce an expected result, it would sometimes be followed up by an appendix (which some critics, again, would classify as a special type of "reminder panegyric"). According to period and circumstances, the panegyrist might claim his own poem, or might deputise a talented rādi to do so; or it might simply be received and read by (or to) the subject himself (al-maddī). The mādiḥ is usually (and was expected to be) exaggerated in statement and style. However, according to Kudāmā (see Bibl.), only personal and "moral" qualities might be praised; and all these (in men) are subsumed under the categories of intelligence, courage, justice and "modesty" (līfā). (It should be noted that the relatively rare poems in praise of women are classified by Kudāmā as "erotic"!) Al-‘Aṣūrī (see Bibl.) is in general agreement with Kudāmā, but Ibn Rasākh (see Bibl.) would allow praise of physical attributes and of ancestry and "association". Another corrective to excessively gross exaggeration is the generally agreed condition that the primary qualities praised should be appropriate to rank and function—courage in a military man, justice in a judge, and so on. On this basis, Kudāmā would even regard the mādiḥ as potentially applicable to vagabonds and bandits for the good qualities necessarily inherent in their style of life.

With all this, the mādiḥ tends in practice to a stereotypical homogeneity, so much so that some panegyricists (e.g. al-Bulharī on several occasions) had no difficulty in offering the same poem to a second or further patron, where the original reception was inadequate or relations had become strained in the meantime. Some panegyrics (as well as elegies) were obviously "rewritten" for general contingencies.

Tāhā Husayn (and others: see Bibl. under pseudo-Kudāmā) have argued that the above critical posture towards the mādiḥ clearly derives from Greek sources, particularly Aristotle. This position, however, seems to be seen as exaggerated; what influence there was can only have been—as with philosophical and scientific ideas—remote and indirect.

**Bibliography:** As indicated, most Arabic works of literary criticism do not really discuss genres as such, and the Western studies have tended to follow suit. The following are the essential items: Abu l-‘Abbas Ahmad Thālab, Kawsar al-‘Aṣūrī, ed. C. Schiaparelli, in Proc. of the VIIIth Intern. Congr. of Orientalists, ii (Semitics), fasc. 1, Leiden 1917, 473-84, also ed. M. A. Khafadī, Cairo 1386/1966; Kudāmā b. Ḏiya‘ar, Nahd al-‘Aṣūrī, Constantinople 1392/1983, also ed. S. A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956; (Pseudo-) Kudāmā, Nahd al-nubb, ed. T. Husayn, etc., with valuable introduction, Cairo 1352/1933; ‘Abd ‘Abd al-‘Aṣūrī, Kitāb al-Ṣifā‘alayn, Constantinople 1320/1902; idem, Dīwān al-muṣīlī, Cairo 1352/1933; Ibn

(G. M. Wickers)

2. In Persian

It appears from the written records that survive—chronicles, official correspondence, and narrative poetry and prose—that formal, conventional praise (*madhī*, *siltāyih, shaddād*) of rulers and their chief officials was a pervasive feature of Islamic Iranian court life from its inception. The most-highly-developed vehicle for *madhī* was the panegyric ode, or *kasida-yi madhīša*, a genre that was already fully articulated by the time of Rūdākī. Indeed, Rūdākī’s joint panegyric of the Sāmānids ruler Nāṣr b. Ahmad and the Saffarid amir ‘Abd al-Dār (which is both the earliest example we have of a complete *kasida-yi madhīša* and a work of considerable stylistic maturity.)

The opening portion of the *kasīda*, called variously the *nasīb*, *tāghīb* or *taghazzul*, presents pleasing images that are usually drawn from a conventional repertory—the arrival of spring, the departure of winter, the lover’s complaint, the garden. Yet many *kasidas* celebrate particular occasions, such as the departure of the monarch on a hunt or a campaign, or his successful return from one, or the birth of a son or the receipt of a gift, and when they do, the occasion provides the governing metaphor of the *madhī*. The opening portion concludes with a line or two of transition that shifts the focus of the poem to the person of the patron (*ma‘amīdah*), whose name and title are mentioned—either fully or in part—in a line called the *gurun-gāz* or *tāghīst*, which marks the formal boundary between the opening section and the panegyric proper (*madhī*).

While the images of the *nasīb* have, in the majority of instances, a narrative or metaphorical unity, those of the *madhī* do not. They present the *ma‘amīdah* in a series of stereotyped poses drawn from the spheres of activity special to his office. For the monarch (*sulāh, amir, ‘abād*), the *madhū* of preference throughout most of Islamic Iran’s history, these were the court—in both its formal and informal aspects—the hunt, and the battlefield. Thus in any given *kasīda-yi madhīša*, the monarch will appear, in no particular order, as the chosen of God, a fearless and heroic warrior, a superb huntsman, the unyielding refuge of the weak and needy, a cheerful reveler, and, of course, a generous patron of poets.

In keeping with the stereotyped and iconic quality of these images, the metaphors employed in the *madhī* are richly hyperbolic. As a warrior, the *ma‘amīdah* can portray Rustam and Isfandiyār, the paramount heroes of the Iranian national epics, to flight, and even terrify the forces of nature. As a monarch, he is served by the rulers of the great empires of the world—the *bāyar* of Rūm, the *rā‘ī* of Hind, the *bāshā* of Turkistān and the *taghīh* of Cūr. As a patron, his generosity outdoes that of Hātim Tāp̄i, and even that of nature; and so on.

The final section of the poem is the *dū‘ā* or prayer, but there is usually a bridge passage between *madhī* and *dū‘ā* in which the poet addresses himself directly to his patron, either to plead for reward or to boast of his skill, or both. The *dū‘ā* itself is quite brief, no more than two or three stanzas. As its name suggests, it is a prayer for the enduring, indeed, the perpetual, prosperity and rule of the monarch and his court. This prayer is expressed in language that elevates the monarch above the sphere of the mortal to that of the semi-divine. He is identified with the enduring processes of nature, which undergo change, but not decline. “So long as *ma‘mār* comes every Spring, May you reign and prosper.”

As must be apparent from this summary description, the purpose of the *kasīda-yi madhīša* is to celebrate the institution of rule, not the ruler. One finds no individualised portraits of the monarch here, nor of any of the other officials who filled the role of patron and provided the model for subsequent rulers and their poets. Although Iranian courts from that time to this have generated an endless stream of royal patrons and eulogists, and the *kasīda-yi madhīša* has attracted master poets in virtually every period, no later court has achieved an exemplary status comparable to that of the Ghaznavids.

The Ghaznavid period also saw the appearance of what might be called the spiritual panegyric or anti-court *kasīda*. That is, the Ghaznavid bureaucrat and literateur-turned-Islamist propagandist, Nasir Rukhsar (762-1242), used the language of court poetry and the genre of the *kasīda* to compose works that revile secular rulers and rebuke court poets for devoting their art to praising them. His argument runs that since Mahmoud cannot assure the poets’ well-being in the next world, they should rather expend their skill in celebrating those rulers of eternal, spiritual power—the *Shī‘ī imāms*—who can.

The example of Nāṣir Rukhsar found few imitators in the centuries immediately after his death—although influence on the great *khūṣīr*-century *kasīda* writer, *Khūshā Shahravand* (d. 1248), can be seen in that poet’s pilgrimage *kasīdas*—but in the Safavid period, the spiritual panegyric virtually replaced the secular. Later dynasties reestablished the secular as the preferred mode. There was a final efflorescence of the *kasīda-yi madhīša* under the Kādis that was, in large part, stimulated by the rediscovery of the poetry of the Ghaznavid panegyrists.

Unfortunately, the fantastic exaggeration of the panegyric style has proved so unpalatable to
modern students of Persian poetry that they have not given the Ḷaṣīda-yi madīḥa the careful attention that its central position in Persian literary history merits. The prevailing approach to this substantial body of works is to treat the opening portion as the only true poetry, and to ignore the contents of madīḥ and ḵāṣīda—which make up two-thirds or more of any poem—as of negligible interest. The assumption is that court poets wrote panegyries only out of economic or political constraint, not sincere, personal conviction, and this want of sincerity vitiates the literary interest of their work. The studies by Gh. Yāsīn, Farruqī Shahtānī, Baghdad 1341/1963, and J. W. Clinton, Mazhdur: Damghānī, Edinburgh 1972, are among the few exceptions to this rule. None the less, even the madīḥ-as well as the ḵāṣīda—of every conceivable rhetorical device, the hyperbole and the paradox, became the paramount way for the literati to attract the attention of potential patrons for the purpose of securing employment or obtaining rewards and favours from them. The initial introduction of an aspiring poet, for example, to a grandee may have been through the introduction of an aspiring poet, for example, to a grandee may have been through the good offices of a friend or teacher, but ultimately it was the persuasive and pleasing madīḥ that forged the most lasting association with the patron or assured the most urgent favour. One may cite, among many other cases, the example of Muhīm Šara Faḍlī [q.v.], who launched a successful career as al-ʿālām secretary to several princes thanks to a ḵāṣīda he presented to Sultan Suleyman at the suggestion of his mentor Dīlūfī [q.v.]. On the other hand, the Persian Celebi, Tadhkira-yi Laflfl, British Museum, London, ms. Add. 24,957, fol. 28r, and Riyādī, Riyād-ı shuṭra, Nūrūsmaniyeh, Istanbul, ms. Šatīr, fol. 110, and the experience of the poet and vizier Ahmad Pāshā [q.v.] who, having been incarcerated for an indiscretion, secured his release with a panegyrical ḵāṣīda to Sultan Muhīm Šara Faḍlī II (see Laflfl, Tadhkira-yi Laflfl, Istanbul 1341/1861-7, 78, and Ali Nīḥār Ţarlan, Ahmad Pāshā darām, Istanbul 1936, 60-9).

In structure and form, the traditional ḵāṣīdas, including those composed by the Ottomans, remained fairly constant. Following the exordium (nasb or taʿlīf) and, sometimes, a short set of lyrical couplets (takhakkūl), the poet very ingeniously eased the reader or listener into the madīḥ by means of the device known as the gür-ḵūnā (see Gibb, Hist. of Ottoman poetry, 1, 84) in which the real purpose (maqāṣid) of the poem was revealed, either by openly naming the patron who was to be the subject of the encomium that followed immediately or by a clever allusion that barely left any doubt as to the identity of the patron (see Faṭār lā, Edirne, delebeşyunda nasn, Istanbul 1966, i/2, 73-80). The madīḥ was then followed by further praise in the daʿāʾī soliciting prayers for the patron and mentioning the poet’s name.

Frequently, the above format and sequence were disregarded in favour of the more direct approach. Forsaking the exordium and the gūr-ḵūnā, the panegyrist began his ḵāṣīda with the madīḥ (see Nadīm dawār, ed. Ḳaṣīf Nīḥād, Istanbul 2358/1920-2, 34-6, and contract 21-4, 22-8). This tendency became especially prevalent when indirectness and indirection replaced praise and adulation as the purpose of the poem. Particularly in the 19th century, when acclamation of new ideas or of a certain political point of view displaced the praise of the individual, the madīḥ became the essence and indeed the only section of the ḵāṣīda (see Muhīm Šara Faḍlī, Šīr taḥfīl, Istanbul 1969, 23-5, and Kenan Akyuṣ, Bes teʿṣirinde türk şiiir autolojisi, Ankara 1970, 61-3). As a feature of the ḵāṣīda, the message, spirit and language of the madīḥ was necessarily determined by its particular function and objective. It was made up of a varying number of couplets extolling such attributes or virtues, real, imagined or fabricated, of the individual or concept as courage, wisdom, justice, piety, generosity and benefits. It was mainly characterized by extravagant laudation that was often completely unjustified or misplaced, and by the use of every conceivable rhetorical device, the hyperbole of which was sustained by epithets and allusions that only those familiar with the elevated Islamic literary tradition could comprehend and appreciate. The epic similes and the imagery which were an intrinsic part of the madīḥ were considerably removed from the realities of a restricted social milieu.
that expected, accepted and even cherished ingenious flattery and procacious insincerity garnished with flowery language. However, the madāh, as some of the examples given above indicate, had a certain utilitarian function and, incidentally, may very well have met a need in its symbolism and reflection of an aesthetic ideal, as recently suggested by W. G. Andrews in his Introduction to Ottoman poetry.

It must be noted, at the same time, that it, along with many other verse forms, affords one many fine illustrations of the Turkish literary genius, versatility and inventiveness.


4. In Urdu

Eulogy probably existed in Urdu poetry from the earliest period of literary activity—certainly as far back as the second half of the 16th century A.D., though few early examples have survived. Two broad categories developed, according to the subject of the eulogy, sc. the secular and religious. The first was addressed to rulers, governors, nobles, and other rich or influential lay persons: it was usually termed madâh rather than madâh, other terms being 'a'rif and stisilâq.

The religious category had its own distinctive terminology, though usage was not completely uniform, and might depend, to some extent, on the vagaries of copyists and editors. Praise of God was called bând, that of the Prophet Muhammad wa'l. That of the fourth caliph, 'Alî, and of subsequent Shi' hūsân, was called manâkabât, whilst eulogy of other religious figures, living or dead, including the first three orthodox Caliphs, was generally called madâh or 'a'rif.

Like other major poetical genres in Urdu, madâh was derived from Persian. In some instances, Persian eulogistic odes were translated, or more properly adapted, into Urdu. More often, the same (metre and rhyme) of a Persian ode would be imitated in an Urdu ode. The debt to Persian models was no secret; from the 16th century onwards, there are frank admissions or indications by various Urdu poets that they are vying with Persian poets in the mastery of the madâh bâsîda. The chief poets to whom they were indebted were Aawâr, Khâkânî and Urb, Muhammad Khul Khub Shir (ca. 1568-1615) begins a ná't ode: "The name of Muhammad in the world is to me like a hundred Khâkân." It is worthy of note that 'Uff was court poet to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in Dihlî, and died there in 1590-1, when Khul Khop Shir was in his early twenties.

Apart from Indian local colour, including Hindu references, it is difficult to distinguish any single major feature in Urdu madâh which breaks completely new ground. Nevertheless, some poets achieved such mastery in it that they seemed to breathe new life into it, and thus they gained recognition for their originality.

Urdu madâh has been composed in almost all poetical forms, including muddârass, muddânas, muddâz, tarqî-kând, tarqî-kând, and, extremely rarely, even ghâzal. But the eulogy form par excellence was the bâsîda or ode. True, this form was used in other fields, particularly satire. But such has been the predominance of eulogy, that the term bâsîda is usually understood to mean eulogy", as an abbreviation of bâsîda-yi madâh khuwâ. Consequently, any account of Urdu madâh must, of necessity, show how the pre-Islamic Arabic ode, as modified in later Arabic poetry, and brought to India via Persia, was adopted and adapted to the new environment. Unfortunately, it is hard to find an account of the Urdu bâsîda form which is full and explicit without being discursive or biased. In some accounts, the pre-Islamic ode, as exemplified in the Mu'alla'âbâdî, is over-emphasised, and there is too much reliance on Ibn Khâtayba and Ibn Ragîh. What is lacking is a definitive comparison of the Persian and Urdu bâsîdâs. Though most Urdu eulogists were not unfamiliar with Arabic poetry, its chief influence on them was in vocabulary. Occasional mention of Arabic bâsîda-writers, such as Dhâwî's reference to Labîd, al-'Alîsh, Dîjâr and al-Ma'ârif, must be regarded chiefly as "name-dropping" designed to impress the hearer, rather than an indication of indebtedness.

It may be that al-Dînârî's Kastâlî al-bâsîda, which was translated into Dakhânî Urdu by Muhammad al-Râfî around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, influenced the religious bâsîda; and Ka'îb b. Zuhâyr's celebrated ode in praise of the Prophet, Dinât Su'dâd, was at times mentioned by poets and critics to justify the inclusion of an explicitly erotic prelude in ná't odes. But the bâsîda which came into Urdu poetry via Persia is as much akin to that of 'Abbâsî poets such as al-Mutânâbî, al-Bâjhîrî and Abu Tammâm, as to the pre-Islamic ode.

The form of the Urdu madâh ode was fully developed by the middle of the 18th century, if not earlier. Like its Arabic and Persian counterparts, it was a monochrome poem, usually in weighty metre, with elevated and rich diction, of roughly between 30 and 150 verses. The two hemistichs of the first verse, called the ma'dâh, also rhymed: and if the bâsîda were long, there might be one or more subsequent verses with this internal rhyme at irregular intervals in the poem, known as ma'dâh or sub-miadâh. The erotic theme was seldom used, and the poet's ability to sustain it was regarded as a proof of his skill.

There were four main sections to the bâsîda. The first was the tambîd or prelude, usually called tashbîh, a throw-back to the erotic prelude or madâh of the Arabic ode. The opening verse (ma'dâh) however, was considered so important in attracting the hearer's interest, that it is often discussed as if it were a separate section, not merely the start of the tashbîh. The erotic theme was seldom used, and was often ironized on unless it were chaste. A wide range of other topics was substituted, whether singly or in combination. Pride of place was given to the description of spring, an ode with such a tashbîh being called a bâsîda bahârîyya. This topic was considered particularly suitable, as suggesting youth and vitality, which were regarded as implicit in the term tashbîh, and flattering to the madâh or subject of the poem. Moreover, this topic allowed for description of natural scenes, gardens, flowers and birds, which was part of the poet's stock-in-trade.

This theme might be extended by a comparison
between spring and autumn. Further, the two might be depicted as kings or generals marshalling their armies to fight another, spring, of course, being the victor. Like practically all tahqīb topics in Urdu, this extension of the spring motif goes back to Sawdā (1742–51), who is generally regarded as both the pioneer and the finest exponent of the full kafīda form in Urdu. Amir Minā Ḥāwi (1858–1900) developed this theme further in one ode, by a vivid description of the actual battle. But, according to Sahar, (op. cit., in Bibl., 236), this had already been done in Persian.

Again, the tahqīb might be devoted to the days of youth, or complaints of the times in which the poet lived, or of his own misfortunes. Fikhrī (“pride, boasting”), philosophising and moralising were other topics. As the basic form of the kafīda was stereotyped, poets were always searching for fresh ways of composing the tahqīb: for it must be borne in mind that the madhī ode was frequently recited to the patron in public, in the presence of other poets and men of taste and learning. The poet’s reputation and his reward were at stake.

One interesting device was to turn the tahqīb into a disputation or manslaughter. In Persian, Asadī-ya Tūsī the Elder is said to have initiated this device, with mun BTC3urati between night and day, and heaven and earth among others. In Urdu, Sawdā has one between greed and reason, whilst Amir Minā Ḥāwi pairs knowledge and imagination, and comb and mirror. Into this category should go the mubattama (colloquy) favoured by ʿĀzīz Lakhnawi (1882–1935), as, for example, one between beauty and love (husn wa-ṣugh).

Occasionally the tahqīb consisted of an anecdote, possibly with dialogue, and somewhat dramatic. When intimate in tone and straightforward in language, it could form a charming contrast with the high-faux praise which was to follow. A fine example of this is Sawdā’s ode to ʿAlī Dawlā Rustom Dāng, chief minister of the Mughal emperor, with the rhyme-āmīn (Kulliyat 393 f.). The poet begins by relating how, prevented from sleeping or eating by the autumn, he consults Doctor ʾAjīl, who prescribes blood-letting and a purgative. The poet asks for an alternative prescription for his illness. He suggests that Sawdā take his complaint to the court of ʿAlī (that is, ʿĀṣīf al-Dawla) under whose protection the weak ant may be revenged on the elephant. Hearing this, and taking his kafīda as a present, the poet attends at court. This kafīda of only three verses leads to the praise, which is almost an ode within an ode.

The third section was called madhī or mansūd, and it was the most conventional. The qualities described had to be appropriate to the status of the mansūd. Thus a ruler or emir was praised for justice, manliness, nobility, virtue, fear of God, generosity and clemency. To men of religion, other qualities were appropriate—learning, asceticism, attendance to religious duties. But the distinction tended to be blurred when the kafīda developed in north India. Thus Khālīṣ Andjumān’s (op. cit., in Bibl., 261 f.) remarks that Sawdā hardly distinguishes between secular and religious subjects in this respect. In addition to the personal qualities of the mansūd, the poet could refer to his environment and associations, and the trappings of power and wealth. In praising a ruler, his sword, horse and elephant might be described. According to Ḥāghīnī (op. cit., in Bibl., 107), this was not so in the Deccan—though it must be pointed out that Kul ʿAbī Shāh certainly refers to ʿImām ʿAlī’s sword Ḥūj al-Ḥūj, and Wāḥī Dākaqk (1667–1707) to the mule Duldul given to ʿAlī by the Prophet. With Sawdā, sword, horse and elephant were described fairly briefly. But some later poets such as Dāgh of Dhiī (1631–1903) somewhat extended these descriptions, and turned them into separate sections, with headings such as dar ʿiśār-i ṣur and dar ʿiśār-i pil. A lesser 19th century poet, Kalk, of Memrāt (1832 or 1837–1859), includes such sections, admittedly shorter than Dāgh’s, in odes to fairly undistinguished recipients. To the present writer, this clear division of the kafīda into sections other than the four main ones was a continuing tendency which started before Sawdā. The latter interpolates a qaṣīda in one kafīda, but Wāḥī had already done this. Unlike Sawdā, however, he did not have several mansūds in one ode.

Thus the contents of the madhī section was restricted. Nor could the poet escape by making it brief, as is courtesy required that the tahqīb must not be longer than the madhī—so if the latter were curtailed, so must the former be. Hence the mode of expression was all-important in the madhī section. This was dependent on a rich and pompous diction, similes, metaphors, and all the apparatus of sawdā al-ṣawādā, with considerable play on words. Some of this was derived from Persian, but in any case, after Sawdā it rapidly became clichéd-ridden. To give but one
example, a ruler or minister was often compared with Solomon. Sawdā expressed this neatly in the eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already mentioned:

Kuch ham nahein dhūdūn men Salaymān zān ṣādīqān Šūs al-dīn pī Āṣaf-i-Dawla hār thān nam. ("Your splendor in the world is no less than Solomon’s!), Although on (people’s) tongues your name is Āṣaf Dawla) (Kulliyāt, 295).

This verse loses part of its effect, unless one knows that, in Muslim lore Āṣaf [b. Barāḏīyā] [gr.] was Solomon’s Grand Vizier. Exaggeration in praise was taken for granted, though some 11th century poets such as Shāhīb (777–1066) disparaged it. Shiḥbī Na’il- мира in his famous study of Persian poetry, Shiʿr el-ṣāyṣ, (1968–1972) (Shāhīb, 200) allowed to lay down conditions for acceptable panegyric. Firstly, such as Qhālib (1797-1869) disliked it. Shibli Nil- мира, a ruler or minister was often compared with the person praised must be praiseworthy; secondly, the qualifications contained in him must be genuine; thirdly, the poet must describe them convincingly. Shiḥbī admitted that all these three conditions were never fulfilled by any Persian poet, and went on to commend the sincerity of Arabic madāʾī, in a way which would strike many Arabists as idealistic, if not naive. At the same time, Shiḥbī denied that the khāṣida caused subservience in the poet and egotism in his patron, since both realized that what was said was “pure exaggeration and word-play”. Shiḥbī was not speaking of Urdu madāʾī, but what he says of Persian could equally apply, and is often quoted by modern Urdu critics. Dhwāk (1769–1854) is generally regarded as second only to Sawdā as a eulogist, yet he exaggerated like other poets, calling the Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II “shadow of God and deputy of the Prophet of God”. This poet’s biographer, Tāwāf Ahmad Shāhu (ed. ctd. in Bibl., 249–32), quoting this and other examples, justifies them by saying: “the person praised seems to be not an individual, but a symbol of his time. In this sense, Dhwāk’s praisé is very near to reality and realism.”

The final section of the khāṣida was called the ḥādīma: and the term madhī would be applied to it as a whole, or merely to the last verse or two—since an impressive ending to an ode was considered as important as an impressive beginning. In contrast to Persian practice, except with Ūrī, the Urdu eulogist usually gave his ḥādīmūs. This would normally be somewhere in the ḥādīma, though there are instances where it is given earlier, alternatively or additionally. Sawdā may be said to have realized the function of the final word of his eulogy of Āṣaf al-Dawla already quoted, and gives it again in the ḥādīma. Not is this the only khāṣida in which he gives his ṣabkūlūs in the first verse. The secular ode’s khāṣīma has two sub-sections, ṣabkūlūs and ṣawādī. The latter is the poet’s request for recompense, for which critics laid down various conditions. Summarised, they require the poet to steer a middle course between perfunctoriness and importunity—between taking the patron’s generosity for granted and implying that he was mean. Some poets disdained begging: Dhwāk, in his extant odes, avoids it, sometimes substituting the expression of his inability to praise his patron adequately. Sawdā also often avoided begging. Dhvāk ("prayer, blessing") was the expression of the poet’s wishes for long life and prosperity for his patron. In the religious khāṣida the ḥādīma was somewhat different. The poet might express his own faith, and ask for a blessing to maintain it; and he might pray for the triumph of Islam, with suitable variations where the manadābī was a Shiʿī imām. Here Sawdā was often fictitious, a good example being the manadābī to Imām ʿAlī with the rhyme ṣūr (Kulliyāt, 43–7), which ends with the four requests, the last being that all "friends in both the two worlds may recognize the authenticity of the pure imāms". Some indication of the style expected in the ḥāṣīda, has already been given. It was regarded as a linguistic and stylistic tour de force, and occupied a position in Urdu literature comparable to that of the maḥbūbī in Arabic. The poet was allowed to go to extreme limits of abstraction to demonstrate his skill and learning, using, in some instances scientific technical terminology. Thus Ḥuṣţī used much philosophical vocabulary. Ḥuṣṭī—the interpretation of extraneous material—was common. This often took the form of quoting from some other poet, Persian or Urdu, which suited the Indian environment, with its numerous languages, was for the poet to introduce homilies or verses in several languages. Every poet was expected to know Persian and Arabic, and he would normally know one or more of the other literary languages of the subcontinent. Ḥuṣţī was addicted to this sort of virtuosity, and is said to have incorporated material from ten or more languages apart from Urdu. Dhwāk was rewarded with the title of Khāṣīma-yi Hind by the Mughal emperor for a khāṣida in seven languages, of which only a few lines have survived. Thoroughly assimilated to his environment, Dhwāk’s praise is very near to reality and realism. The poet’s ability to write a good khāṣida was often said to be a hallmark of poetic skill.
argued (Tanwir Ahmad Jalawi, pp. 225) that should not be accounted a poet”. Thus it has been stages based on geography, and obviously overlapping in Urdu. Further information

Encyclopaedia of Islam, V

him, but seldom equalled him and never surpassed j varied in theme and manner, his gur£z neat, and his is poet. His lamhid madth is concerned. For his ka*lda of any link so far as the

earlier. They are addressed to Hacjrat MIran Muhvl of conformity with the four-section form described only two, to Muslim saints, show clear signs of kafidas, 40 come to light, we must acquiesce with those who of the later kastda. They are all religious. |

GolkondS [sec

Imshd* wrote odes, and gave of his best in them, in

models. And there is no denying that he was, and

varieties, is in praise of King George III of England. During the same period, Musbafl wrote over 50 kafidas. He was definitely influenced by Sawd¢, and resembled him in the variety of his tashbib topics. But though he has a persuasive protagonist in Abu l-Laylj Sidhjl, he is not favoured by critics in general. He was the first famous eulogist of the Lucknow school. But, owing to political upsets in Dihll, due to Allah and Marthas incursions, many Dihll poets gravitated to Lucknow, including Sawd¢ himself at the age of 60.

Still, Dihll had its distinguished eulogists in the first half of the 19th century. Pride of place goes to Dhwaw [q.v.], considered second only to Sawd¢. Much of his mad/th poetry is lost. Of what remains—22 kafidas, a madh, and a few shorter poems and extracts—all is secular save a few fragments. The general scope of his eulogy poetry is narrower than that of Sawd¢. For example, it is nearly all addressed to the Emperor Akbar Sha¥a II and to his son Bahurdz Shah II. Whether or not Sawd£ does not show Sawd¢’s range, nor his ability to appeal by directness at times, he is by no means stereotyped. One tashbib, for example, is a delightful description of happiness. Dhwaw was a learned man, whose hobbies were astrology, music and medicine, and his language is both rich and dignified. His contemporary Ghali (r.v.) (1797-1869), often considered the prince of Urdu poets, is not generally included among the leading eulogists, and he too was proud to indulge in mad/th, except when absolutely necessary. S. F. Mahmud Ghali, 200 single quotes and comments, the tashbils of two early manhabat odes to Iwns All; and the originality and individuality present in his ghalal is found also in his mad/th. Yet another contemporary, Mu’min (1800-54) excelled in ghalal, but also wrote nine kafidas, only two of them secular. He has been praised by Briffl for his originality in the form. Finally, in discussing the Dihll school, Dagh [q.v.] (1831-1905) deserves mention. His Urdu dhusin contains six odes, all secular. Five of them are addressed to the Nizam of Hyderabad, at whose court he spent the last 14 years of his life. Mention has already been made of his inclusion of sections on horse and elephant.

Mad/th thrived at the court of the Nawaljets of Oudh [see AWADJ] until 1856, when the British exiled Nawaljets All Shah to Calcutta and the court of Ramb¢ took its place. Two types, or, more properly, two tendencies, have been mentioned by critics—the more forceful and dignified based on Sawd¢ and the Dihll school; and a softer type, influenced by ghalal, and by the licentious Lucknow atmosphere. Most of the poets of the Lucknow school of eulogists are now forgotten. Not so, however,

Encyclopedia of Islam, V
Amir Minał. It is sometimes said that the Urdu 'kaṣida' began with Sawādí and ended with Dhawk; but it would be truer to say that it ended—or nearly ended—with him. His poetic output was of considerable scholarship, compiler of the first two volumes of an Urdu dictionary which, if completed, would have been on a very large scale. His mastery of words stood him in good stead in his madīh odes, of which only 28 have survived. Of the two Lucknow types, they are more akin to that based on the Dihlí school. Most of them are secular, and have a dignity bordering on the epic, especially in the varied tashbīhs. His language is at times heavy; but in general, it is less intricate than Dhawk's, and superior in beauty and freshness. He spent 43 years as a court poet in Râmâyân. In 1710 he was invited to join Dīgh in Hyderabad, but died there shortly after his arrival.

By this time, the maddīh 'kaṣida' was becoming obsolete. After the Indian Mutiny, India came under British control, and those splendid courts which had nurtured eulogy poetry were a thing of the past; though some rulers of the "native states" patronised poetry, it was not on the same scale. Poets increasingly introduced their new poems to the public in mughāl 'gas', newspapers and magazines, or at meetings of cultural and learned societies. A new function to perform: by bringing to light virtues that played by Ahmad Sfjawld and Hafiz, unlike that played by Ahmad Sfjawld and Hafiz.

Yet the madīh 'kaṣida' was not merely a useless and regrettable by-way of Urdu literary history. At its best, it had a sort of Baroque brilliance. Its style, even when the kaṣīb was devoted to tаήnм, differed from that of qаάdа. It had a strength and dignity which, derived in part from the early narrative mаhмац, in its turn influenced the 19th century mаrкhааа. Its rich vocabulary and idiom influenced not only other poetry, however, but also prose. Without the kaṣīb, it could be argued, Urdu-e-maddīh—high literary Urdu—would have been much the poorer.


3. In Swahili

Praise poetry is an important category in the literatures of several Bantu peoples, such as the Zulu, Swazi, Tswana, Rwanda, etc. It is a general aspect of African oral traditions which has survived Islamisation in the literatures of the Somali and Hausa. In Swahili, some of the oldest preserved manuscripts contain praise poems, in the first place the famous Ode of Longo in self-praise. Praising oneself (Swah. hujianga, hujiunsa) is a common aspect
of many African oral traditions, and this includes extolling one's ancestors, commemorating their exploits as well as one's own. Liongo's Ode is composed in the waistami metre of 15 syllables in the line. Cf. v. 8.1: "If I am a young lion, I have instilled the wish to die in my heart! I fear only the disgrace when the enemy sees my back." The lines are arranged in couples of two lines, the last line rhyming in -ma throughout the poem; this is the oldest-preserved type of metre other than dance songs. This structure became the model for later poets who were Muslims (unlike Liongo) and who composed hymns to the Prophet Muhammad in verses. In particular, the Burda of al-Bajiri and the Hamzayya are still recited during Swahili ceremonies.

The Swahili word muda'ah is normally limited in meaning to the praises of God, many of which are nowadays sung in the mosques, for which reason they are simply referred to as dua. Numerous are the dua that have been composed in Swahili, some in the waistami metre, many in the easier but equally serious ukuwafi metre. Swahili verbs like sabihi and utenxi refer exclusively to the praises of God.

The verb sifu or older sijui corresponds with the noun sifa, which can mean "quality, description" as well as "praise name", as in Kulla sifa njama ndake Nabiiya 'All worthy praise names are for the Prophet', the first line of the Maulid of Barzanji. Sijui is used likewise for praising living men and women (for the praises of the dead, see MAFIDIN). These praise poems fall into two categories, those for religious leaders, such as saints and shaikhs and those for political leaders. Lamu is the centre for the poetry in praise of religious leaders such as the Egyptian Ahmad al-Badawi and 'Abd al-Karim [q.v.], as well as the founding shaikh of the mosque at Lamu. This poetry is published in Lamu and Mombasa in Arabic script.

Inserted in the Swahili epic songs there are many praise poems; one of the oldest is Ali's praise of himself in the Ulima wa Hericha (Hericlés) which is itself traditional: "I am the lion of God. He has given me the sword and the plaque. He made me the Breaker of Cities, He tool to punish the Kafirs. The Prophet praises himself in the same epic in the letter to the Emperor Heractés, and there are several passages in which he is praised by others, as the "first-created seal of the prophets, God's favours". Other heroes, like Umar and Mibidah also praise themselves and are praised in the epic.

The Swahili tradition of composing praise songs was put to good use by the German administrators, who encouraged Swahili poets to write praises on the German governors and even on the Kaiser; one successful poet was even sent to Berlin and received by the Kaiser and "richly rewarded", exactly as a Muslim prince ought to have done. The poet's name was Hamisi Auwi, and the refrain of the poem is "Who has the true authority if not the Kaiser?"

The First World War produced some interesting songs, one in praise of General Smuts, who defeated the Germans south of Mombasa, and a new category of political songs, called the Beni dance songs, in which groups of (originally military) dancers praised their own "regiment", and chided rival dance groups, with political allusions.

Since independence, political verse has seen a new prosperity. The preparations for the elections are not complete without songs of praise for the leading candidates. Many of these songs are simply referred to as "praise name", as in "All worthy praise names are for the Prophet", the first line of the Maulid, see Knapper, Four centuries of Swahili verse, London 1979, 92-4. For the Hamzayya, see Knapper, The Hamzayya deciphered, in African Language Studies, ix (London 1968), 32-8. For the Burda see Knapper, The discovery of a lost Swahili manuscript from the eighteenth century, in African Language Studies, x (1959), 1-39. On the Burda, see idem, Swahili Islamic poetry, Leiden ii, The two Burdas. For the Maulid, see idem, in Swahili metre, in African Language Studies, xii (1974), 108-29. For the Maulid of Barzanji, see Swahili Islamic poetry, iii, 339 n. For the Ulima wa Hericha and the Emperor Heraclés, see Knapper, Traditional Swahili poetry, Leiden 1967, ch. 5. For the exploits of Mibidah in Swahili epic, see J. W. T. Allen, Tenali, London 1972. For the poetry of the German period, see C. Velten, Prose and Poetics of the Swahili, Berlin 1907, 345, and J. Knapper, The antecedents of World War I in Swahili literature, giving a translation of the poem on Smuts. For an example of "election poetry", see idem, A survey of Swahili songs, Toronto, forthcoming. For the Beni dance songs, see idem, Four centuries of Swahili verse, 1979, 37-8. When President Nyerere met President Bandu of Malawi at Dar es Salaam Airport in 1964, a special song was sung in praise of the President. (J. Knapper)

**MA'DIN** [Ar], "mine, ore, mineral, metal". In modern Arabic, the word manmad jami' denotes "mine", while mu'addin means "miner" and dijamid is a mineral.

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and other uses. Iron ore was indispensable for the manufacture
of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other 
mixerals such as mercury, salt and alum, as well as 
pearls and precious stones, were necessary for every
day life. The empire was richly endowed with the 
various mineral resources; the mining industry was 
an extensive one and the metals, whether precious 
or not, were the object of a certain amount of 
international trade.

The article is divided in the following sections:
1. Economic aspects
2. Mining technology
3. Mineral exploitation in the Ottoman empire
4. In Islamic art

1. Economic Aspects

In the period of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid 
caliphs, the output of the mines in their dominions was apparently sufficient to meet the demands for some of the most important metals. In later periods when the empire was dismembered into various kingdoms one often vying with the others, many of the Islamic countries needed one or several of the metals and had to import them from non-Islamic regions. This was due to the fact that the metaliferous ores were distributed over the Islamic countries very unevenly. Some of them had rich deposits of several metals, others almost none. Certain regions on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world were relatively rich in metals, especially IlAfic, FarghAna, Ushrusana, in Central Asia and the mountains near Hamyan (eastern Ghur). Also, Fars had many mines which were very productive. The same was true for the country on the western frontier of the dar al-Islam, namely Spain. Al-Kazwini (AlKazwini, i, 339) could write that in this Islamic country there were mines of gold, silver, lead and iron in every district. It seems that mining, which had somehow declined in the Visigothic period, was revived and flourished under the rule of the Spanish Umayyads.

In the times of the caliphs, there were still in 
Arabia a considerable number of mines, from which significant quantities of gold [see uhar] were derived. Egypt had the famous mines of Wadi al-Allaf1, on the eastern shore of the Nile [see AllAla'li]. There were also gold mines in Ushrusana and IlAfic, near Shash and at Harat. But altogether, the output of gold in the Islamic countries was not sufficient for the regular coinedage of gold didar, especially after Spain had slipped away from the 'Abbasid empire. This is clearly borne out by the slow spread of gold coinage in the eastern countries of the caliphal empire. In fact, the Islamic countries were always dependent upon the supply of gold from the present countries of Senegal and Mali. When they had established their rule over the whole of North Africa and with this, the northern terminals of the commercial routes which were the outlets for the trade with these gold-producing regions, the mints of Trak and Persia could be supplied with sufficient stocks of gold. Didar began to be struck in Marw in 842, in Rayy in 849, in Sa
tarkand in 861 and in Ashkarbaydjan in 884. The success of the Fatimids in gaining control over the former 'Abbasid province of Egypt was undoubtedly to a very great extent due to their riches in West African gold.

On the other hand, there were in the caliphal empire rich silver [see fatwa] or argentiferous lead mines which made it possible regularly to strike silver dirhams. Most of them were in the countries then contained in the extensive province of Khurasan. The most renowned were those of Panjalat, not far

from the eastern sources of the Kibbi river, and in 
Djarbij, in the same district. Others were in Andal
orah, to the east of Balch, in the neighbourhood of 
Tis, and in Farghana. The province of Fars also had silver mines. In the flourishing period of the 'Abbasid empire, in the 9th century, the output of all these mines must have been considerable, as the gold-silver ratio changed, silver becoming cheaper, although the quantities of gold increased. Spain, too, was rich in argentiferous ore. It was exploited in the districts of Murcia, Alhama, Cordova and Beja (in the present Portugal).

Copper (mulad) was derived from mines in several 
provinces of the caliphal empire; in Sardan in the province of Fars, in some places in Gilan, Ashkarbaydjan, Balkh, Ushrusana, Farghana; and in the Muslim West, in Ili in the Oud Saoura (in Western Algeria) as well as in Spain. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source. However, the accounts of the Arabic authors of that period leave no doubt that the copper production of the empire was not sufficient for the manifold employments of the metal. For copper was needed for the striking of locally-circulating small coins (falsa), the roofing of mosques, the covering of gates of towns and public buildings, but above all, for the thriving industry of fabricating copper utensils, e.g. kettles, receptacles and various other vessels. The big mudhurms of Samarkand and the copper vessels manufactured in Farghana and in many towns of Persia were renowned all over the Islamic world. So from early times, copper had to be imported from Europe. In the period preceding the Crusades, when trade between Khwarazm and Persia, on one hand, and Eastern Europe on the other, was intense, apparently great quantities of copper were imported from the Urals. A report of al-Idrisi obviously refers to that period.

Metaliferous ores which contained lead (hasa, 
aswah) and tin were not lacking altogether in the caliphal empire. Lead was taken from mines in the 
neighbourhood of Balch, at several places of Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia, al-Madjdiana (in eastern Algeria) and at Cabra in Andalusia. But the demand for this metal was very great. It was used for aqueducts, for the installation of public and private baths and for the roofing of public buildings. So it is doubtful whether the production was sufficient, and whether additional quantities had not therefore to be imported from non-Islamic regions. This was certainly the case as far as tin (hadid, hadi) was concerned. Tin was found in Spain, in the province of Algarve, and in the Arabic Geniza letters, dating from the last years of the roth century and the beginning of the 11th century, testify to the export of copper, lead and tin from Spain to the Near East. But already in that early period, tin had to be imported both from Cornwall and Devon in Britain and from Malaysia. The name given to tin by the Arabs, viz. hadd (q. v.), after Kalah, a well-known port on the peninsula of Maleca, bears witness to this fact.

Iron (hadid) deposits were insignificant in the 
Near East but one could procure sufficient quantities from other provinces of the caliphal empire and neigh
boursing countries which were tributary to the caliphas and their successors or otherwise dependent upon them. Armenia had mines which produced excellent iron, such as that, for instance, used for the Kusali swords. On the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, near Darband, there were iron mines which supplied a flourishing industry of weapons with raw material.
The province of al-Mawrî, Fârs, Khurâsân (near Nîqâpur), Fârîhsân and Shâbân also had rich iron deposits. Even in Kîrmân there were some iron mines. In Spain, iron was taken from mines in the Guadaluquivir valley, near Córdova, Toledo and Murcia, and elsewhere. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited, from Morocco to Libya; iron ore was produced and exported from Sicily, and some mines were worked in Nîbâa and on the Red Sea coast. The supply was sufficient for the production of various utensils, such as knives, needles, scissors, chains and lances. This industry was highly developed in Khârism, in the major towns of Khorâsân such as Harât, Nîqâpur and others and also in al-Mawrî and in Toledo in Spain.

The term talîsh (calcamine or trity) was used to denote the natural zinc ores, especially zinc carbonate, or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major centres for talîsh were in the province of Kîrmân, but it was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Mercury (nâfâ) came chiefly from Spain [see al-Mârî]; another source was Fârîhsân.

Salt (sâlîf) was produced in numerous localities and, in some areas, on a very large scale, notably in the southern Sahara [see arâlî]. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khorâsân, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (âzâlây) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Ishfârî, the major source was in Chad; it was exported to all the countries of North Africa and to Egypt.

Egypt was further a major production centre for both alum and natron (nasrûr [g.v.]).

Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos (tulîz) from Badakhshân, out of which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made.

Coal (jebâm) was also known and was used in some areas such as Fârîhsân where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (tânâmûr, pl. tânâmûr) and its ashes utilised as a cleaning agent.

Petroleum (naff [g.v.]) deposits were exploited on a large scale.

Precious stones of various kinds were mined.

Arabic works on lapidary such as al-Birûnî's K. al-Dîwâniyya are celebrated, and deserve detailed study.

Rubies were mined in Badakhshân and were also brought from Ceylon. Diamonds came from Hindûstân and Ceylon, agates from Yemen, emeralds from Egypt, turquoises from Nîqâpur, lapis lazuli from Egypt and nars from Yemen; Cornodhun came from Nîbâa and Ceylon. Rock crystal (hilâds [g.v.]) was mined in Arabia and Badakhshân. Diving for pearls was a flourishing industry, and coral was obtained from the coasts of North Africa and Sicily [see further, dîwâhân, in Suppl].

When the empire of the caliphs crumbled, the unevenness of the distribution of metal deposits resulted, of course, in some countries suffering a temporary or permanent lack of important raw materials. Although the countries which had belonged to the empire remained to a great extent an economic unity, exchanging their products and keeping their economic structures, the stopping of the supply of metals which served as raw materials for manufactured goods and bullion for the mints was used as a weapon in the political struggle. Medieval statesmen were of course aware that cutting off the gold supply of the enemy's country meant weakening its financial resources and that curtailing its supply of iron dealt a blow to the production of arms.

Already in the second half of the 13th century, the supply of the mints of 'Irâq with bullion for the coinage of gold dinârs was deficient, as the mines in the provinces which had remained under the sway of the 'Abbasid caliphs, or accessible to them, were poor. The dinârs of the later Buwayids of 'Irâq and southwestern Persia were debased on a large scale. Even the mines of Wâdî al-Âlîbâd yielded in that period insignificant quantities of gold. Ibn Sa'd, writing in the 14th century, reports that the gold derived from these mines was worth no more than the expenses paid for the work. Consequently, Egypt was during the Ayyûbîd and Mamlûk periods wholly dependent upon the supply from West Africa, that is, the gold mines of the countries called by the Arabs Ghâna or Tarkûr. This supply rendered possible the regular coinage of gold dinârs of full weight and excellent alloy until the 15th century, when the Portuguese diverted to themselves part of the West African gold. In the year 1425, the dinârs of the Mamlûks was debased for various reasons, one of them probably being the reduced supply of bullion. The coinage of 'Irâq and Persia became from the middle of the 13th century essentially monetarist, as the silver money predominated overwhelmingly.

Even the supply of the Islamic countries with silver was in the later Middle Ages very irregular. In the 13th century, silver coinage was still in use in some countries of West Africa, but the silver famine, so that the striking of silver dirhams had to be discontinued. The catalogues of recently-found coin boards of the Sâlîfûs, like that published by T. Khudjaniyâzov (Abshabad 1979), confirm the supposition of a great silver famine (see also M. A. Seyfeeddini, Monetisze deso i desmoten obrachczenie w Azerbajdzianie XII.-xiv. w., i, Baku 1975). There were several possible reasons for this phenomenon. It may be that the campaigns of the Mamlûk of Ghâna in India and the fall of great quantities of gold from the subcontinent to Afghanistan and to Persia brought about as a consequence the export of silver to the newly-conquered provinces (this being the opinion of Blake). According to another hypothesis, the silver famine resulted from the loss of enormous amounts of dirhams, which were used as payment for the commodities purchased by the Muslim merchants in Russia and were finally hoarded there. Against the latter supposition one can adduce the fact that the silver mines in the Islamic countries began when the trade with Russia had already considerably declined. Perhaps the technological shortcomings of medieval mining were a major reason for the silver famine; al-Ishfârî recounts in fact that work on the "Silver Mountain", on the way from Harât to Sarakhs, had to stop because of technical faults and the lack of wood for melting the ore. But it seems that the shortage of silver was in that period a world-wide phenomenon, which was felt in India too (cf. S. Digby in BSOAS, xxxvii. 449). Anyhow, at the end of the 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century, silver coinage revived in 'Irâq, in Syria and in Egypt. Apparently this was made possible by Central Asian silver being brought by the Mongol conquerors, or flowing to the Near East in the wake of their campaigns, when trade between Central Asia and the Levant had been intensified after the establishment of Mongol rule over Persia. This supposition would be enhanced by the fact that a new crisis which happened in Syria and in Egypt in the middle of the 13th century was overcome after a new invasion by the Tatars.
monetary system based on a silver dirham (of 1.29 gr.). In the early days of the Thalhîbî rule, the increase of good silver coins in circulation was a striking feature of monetary development. When Thalhîbî himself again struck gold dirhams, the profit rate was based on the gold-silver ratio of 1:21. That means that great amounts of silver were available and that it was consequently cheap. The bullion was undoubtedly supplied both by mines in the Middle East and in Central Asia. Hamd Allah Mustawfi, writing in the 1330s, has included in his Nushtal al-balâb a list of silver mines, most of them in Central Asia. But there were also, according to his account and to other sources, rich mines in Qumishkhîne, between Amasya and Erzindjian, and in Lâfî in Asia Minor. Ibn Battûta recounts that Syrian and Idrâfi merchants came to Qumishkhîne to purchase the white metal. But the quantities of silver recovered from these mines were by no means sufficient for the needs of the mints and the silversmiths of the Near East. Egypt and Syria were in the later Middle Ages supplied with silver both from Central Asia and from Europe. The American chemist A. A. Gordus has elaborated a method of neutron activation which renders it feasible to find out the origin of silver by establishing its gold impurity. By this method, he has found that the bullion used by the Mamlûk mint for striking silver dirhams was very diverse, coming both from Central Asia and from the European countries. Another silver famine from which the Near East suffered at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century came to its end some years after the campaigns of Timûr. So the supposition that this was due to the renewal of trade with Central Asia and the flow of silver therefrom to the Near East is at least a good working hypothesis. However that may be, the supply of silver to the Near Eastern mints was sufficient throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries, though it slowly diminished. The difference between the gold-silver ratio in that region, at most less than 10:1, against 21:1 or more in Europe, brings it home.

Just as the Persian and Turkish countries were in the later Middle Ages richer in silver, so the supply of copper was much more abundant. In these countries and in some neighboring ones, there were indeed mines which produced good and abundant copper. Some of them were in Aghardâvî, others in Armenia, Syria and Egypt, which urgently lacked copper deposits, had to import it from Europe. The abundant issue of copper coins in the manufacturing of manifold copper vessels would have been impossible if the Venetians and the Genoese had not carried to the Near East heavy shipments of the German, Slovakian and Bosnian copper. The countries of the Maghrib, on the other hand, could supply themselves with copper, produced in the mines of Morocco, such as at Dal and elsewhere. But they had recourse to the import of silver coins from Europe. The Near Eastern countries also lacked lead and tin and were reduced to purchasing these metals from southern European traders, who, imported them from Serbia, Bosnia, Germany and England. The Persian countries were supplied with lead from mines in Bakhâr, Ughrîsâna and Farghânâ.

Even as far as iron was concerned, the resources of the Near Eastern countries were utterly deficient, and they were dependent upon a supply from Europe, where this export trade was stigmatised by the Church as treason against Christianity, and transgressors were threatened by ecclesiastical and secular authorities with severe punishment. Neverthe-

(E. Ashtor)

2. MINING TECHNOLOGY

1. Islamic mines

In the vast Islamic empire, minerals played an important part. There was a great need for gold, silver and copper for the minting of coins and for other uses. Iron ore was necessary for the manufacture of iron and steel for arms and implements. Other metals such as mercury, salt and alum were indispensable for everyday life. The empire was richly endowed with the various mineral resources, and the mining industry was an extensive one. *Ma’din* (pl. *ma’dadin*) denoted "mine" in Arabic sources, and *mu’tadsin* means "miners". In modern Arabic, the word *madad* denotes "mine", while *ma’dadin* or *mu’tad* is now used mostly for "metal" or "mineral".

Information on Islamic mines occurs in geographical works, in alchemical treatises, in books on mineralogy and in various other sources. But these, and archaeological discoveries, have not yet been studied in the distribution of Islamic mines. We shall mention here only some of the minerals and a few of the mining centres, since it is not possible here to list all the mines.

Gold (*dhabab* [ق.غ.]) mines were found in western Arabia, Egypt, Africa and in some eastern Islamic lands. But the first major gold mining area was at Wādī al-‘Allākī, which is a right-bank tributary of the upper Nile. It lay in the Bugja country, which was between Egypt and the Felicion and Nubia (see *feg*). The mines were in a desert area between the Nile and the Red Sea. The nearest towns were Aswān (see *aswān*) on the Nile and *Ayyāb* (q.v.) on the Red Sea. The second major gold mining area was called by al-Bīrūnī the Maghrib Sudān. This is the area south of the Sahara in Senegal and on the Upper Niger in Mali. According to al-Idrīsī, *Wangara* was the most important gold mining centre on the upper Niger. Salt, cloth and other commodities were exchanged for gold.

Silver (*fajla* [ق.غ.]) was either mined individually or in association with lead ores. The major silver mines were in the eastern Islamic provinces. Prominent among these were the mines of the Hindi Khus in the towns of Pandjhir and Dīrājānā, both in the neighbourhood of Balkh. According to one report, there were about 10,000 miners working at Pandjhir. Other important silver mines were in Spain, the Maghrib, Iran and Central Asia.

Lead (*wurub, ra’sās*) was obtained mostly from galena (lead sulphide), which was of very common occurrence. This lead ore is often associated with small quantities of silver. Only two other lead ores have any importance as raw materials. One is cerasite (lead carbonate) and the other, which is of minor importance, is anglesite (lead sulphate). Lead ores, especially galena, were exploited in Spain, Sicily, the Maghrib, Egypt, Iran, Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.

Copper (*nahad*) ore deposits were exploited in various areas, including the important mines of Spain in the west, and several deposits in the east, such as those in Sīdījīstān, Kūrīn, Marī, Farghān, Būkhār, Tūs and Harāt. The copper mines in Cyprus were always an important source.

The word calamine or tutia (*taḷ manière*) was used to denote the natural zinc ores (especially zinc carbonate), or the white zinc oxide which was obtained during the treatment of the ores. The major mines for tutia were in the province of Kūrīn in the east. Tūsia was available also in various mining areas in Spain.

Tin (*ra’ wa* [غ.غ.], *basīr*) came from the Malaysian peninsula, which was known as *Kāla*, hence the name *ra’ wa* for the metal.

Iron and steel were in great demand in the Islamic empire. Hence iron ores were utilised whenever it was feasible. These ores were distributed in most Islamic lands. Five major iron mining areas were utilised in Spain. These included the mines near Toledo, and near Murecia. In the Maghrib, about ten iron mining areas were exploited in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. These included mines in *Diqābal al-Hadīd* in the Atlas mountains, the *Rīf, Gawr al- Hadīd* in Algeria, and Madīnījīn al-Ma’dīn in Tunisia. Iron ores were produced and exported from Sicily. Iron ore was mined in the Libyan desert and in the Fārs. Egypt exploited those ores that were available, for example in Nubia and on the Red Sea coast. Syria was famous for its iron and steel metallurgy (*Damascus steel*), and the iron ores were obtained in the south and in the mountain ranges between Damascus and Beirut. The Islamic countries of the east (al-Maṣḥīrī) were better endowed with iron ores than Egypt, Syria and Ṭūrāk. The province of Fārs had at least four important iron mining centres. There were also iron mines in *Khūrīsān*, in Transoxania, in *Aṭharbāyjān* and in Armenia.

Mercury (*phēg*) came chiefly from Spain. Al-Idrīsī mentions the mines to the north of Cordoba, where more than one thousand men worked in the various stages of mining the ores and extracting the mercury. Another source was Farghānā in Transoxania.

Salt (*milb*) was produced in numerous localities. It was an essential commodity, and production was undertaken in some areas on a very large scale for export purposes, for example in the Maghrib, where the salt mines were on the desert edges in the south. Salt was produced and carried by caravans south of the Sahara to be exchanged for gold. Thousands of men and camels were involved in these operations. Other important salt mines or production centres were in Khūrīsān, Arabia and Armenia.

The alum (*daďab*) of Yemen was famous for its quality, but according to al-Idrīsī, the major source was in Chad. It was exported to Egypt and to all the countries of North Africa. Egypt was also a major production centre for both alum and natron. Among the many other minerals that were known and utilised was asbestos from Badakshān, from which wicks and fire-resistant cloths were made. Coal was also known and used in some areas such as Farghānā...
in Transoxiana, where it was mined and sold. It was used as a fuel for ovens (tanâyra, sing. tanâyra), and its ashes were utilised as a cleansing agent. Petroleum deposits were exploited on a large scale (na'ab 'al-kaš). The technique of drilling vertical shafts and horizontal tunnels was a familiar operation in the Islamic countries if we remember the great tradition of constructing the underground fanā'ī systems (q.v.), with the exacting technical experience which they require.

More often, however, in underground mining miners preferred to dig horizontal adits into the slopes of a mountain and follow the veins, rather than to sink shafts. This method was easier and less expensive for a miner who was working for himself. It is noticeable that the reports of mines with vertical shafts usually apply to mines owned by the state. A vivid description of the silver mining activities in Pandžīr in eastern Hindustan, where 10,000 men were employed in the mining industry, is given by Abu 'l-Fida'. He says: 'The people of Pandžīr made the mountain and the market-place like a stove because of the many pits. They only follow veins leading to silver, and if they find a vein they dig continuously until they reach silver. A man may spend huge sums of money in digging, and he may find silver to such an extent that he and his descendants become rich, or his work may fail because he is overpowered by water or for other reasons. A man may pick a vein, and it is possible that another man picks the same vein in another position. Both start digging. The cost is that the miner who arrives first and intercepts the passage of the other miner wins the vein and its results. Because of this competition, they execute a work that devils cannot achieve. When one arrives first, the expenses of the other are wasted. If they arrive together, they share the vein and then they continue digging as long as the lamps are burning. If the lamps are extinguished and cannot be relit, they stop their progress because anyone who reaches that position would die immediately. (In this business) you will see that a man starts his day owning one million, and by nightfall he owns nothing. Or he may start poor in the morning and by evening becomes the owner of uncountable wealth (Ṭabarīn al-bulūd, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1849, 465).

The main tool of the miner was the pickaxe (rū'abār, šābara). It had a sharp end to peck the stone and a flat end to hammer or to drive wedges. There were also various hammers, chisels or wedges, crow-bars, hoes and shovels. Windlasses were used for hauling ores and materials out of the mines. An efficient and simple form of windlass was used in the iron mines in Syria, and is still used in constructing the fanā'ī system in Iran, in drawing water, and in the building industry. Here an assistant sits on a bench on one side of the mouth of the shaft or well, pulling the horizontal bars of the windlass towards him with his hands and pushing the opposite ones away with his feet at the same time. The ore is loaded into a small bucket about 30-35 cm. in diameter, which has two handles. The rope is attached to the bucket by hooks fastened at its end. More sophisticated capstans were used for haulage also, when loads were heavier. Oil lamps were used for illumination. The lamps were useful for aligning the direction of the digging, and were also good indicators of the adequacy of fresh air supplies, as was the case in the silver mines of Pandžīr. In Arabic technical literature, there are different designs of ingenious lamps. One such design, suitable for outdoor use and protected against being extinguished by winds, was described by the Banī Mushīj. Ventilation was an important problem. In Pandžīr,
as we have seen, with thousands of small miners working for themselves in a frantic search for silver, capital investment was kept to a minimum, and no provision for ventilation was usually made. The miner simply abandoned the digging if the lamps stopped burning. In the more organised mining work, especially in the state mines, a means of ventilation was always provided. This would be essential, particularly when miners were working for a long time without stopping. This is what we mentioned. Special ventilation shafts were provided. When installing a drainage system, several shafts were needed for this purpose, and these also served as ventilation shafts. Special ventilation shafts have been found in Iran, and some of these go back to pre-Islamic times. The problem of ventilating wells and mining shafts attracted the attention of Muslim engineers. They designed special ventilating machines. Al-Bīrūnī describes a device for a machine for use in wells which kill those who descend in them. If a man uses this machine in any well, it will neither kill nor harm him. This machine is suitable for wells that kill and for dangerous pits. If a man has this machine, which we shall describe, with him, he can descend in any well immediately without fearing it and it will not harm him” (Kitāb al-Hiyat, Arabic text ed. A.Y. al-Hassan, Aleppo 1981, 374, Eng. tr. D. R. Hill, Dordrecht 1970, 240).

The technique of water raising by water-wheels was highly developed in Islamic civilisation, and it flourished in North Africa and Spain. The above passage by al-Kazwīnī is important, and should prompt us to stay in water, even for days”. Archaeologists have found a screw pump in a mine near Cordoba with an oak screw and a barrel of sheet lead, but R. J. Forbes has expressed doubts as to whether this pump was really of Roman date (Studies in ancient technology, vii, Leiden 1966, 240).

We now come to a discussion of the drainage of ores. This is the next important step, the sifting and washing of ores. Such operations were usually conducted at the mines’ sites before the transport of the ores to the metallurgical centres. The ores were pounded or reduced in size, and in the case of gold ores they were crushed or milled to a finer degree. The milling operation was more important with the red gold which occurs in quartz veins. Milling or crushing of these ores was done either by querns or by water driven trip-hammers. Al-Bīrūnī in his Jamālsīr, 233, 4, discusses this operation: “Gold may be united with stone as if it is cast with it, so that it needs pounding. Rotary mills (kāṣifūn) can pulverise it, but pounding it by mashādjin is more correct and is a much more refined treatment. It is even said that this pounding makes it more red, which if it is true is rather strange and surprising. The mashādjin are stones fitted to axes which are installed on running water for pounding, as is the case in the pounding of flax for paper in Samarqand”. This is an important text since it indicates that water driven trip-hammers (mashādjin) were already established for crushing ores before the 4th/10th century.

3. Pearls and underwater resources.

The exploitation of corals and pearls involved very extensive activity. Pearls of the Gulf area were highly valued; the Chinese considered them to be the best pearls. The operations were organized by entrepreneurs. One of these would hire divers for two months and pay them regularly; such enterprises were often highly profitable. However, we read detailed description of the great dangers which faced the divers. Al-Bīrūnī gives in his Jamālsīr again (495-50) a detailed description of a diving operation, including a description of a new diving gear: “I was told by a man from Baghdād that divers had invented in these days a method for diving by which the difficulty of holding the breath is eliminated. This enables them to frequent the sea from morning to afternoon, as much as they wish and as much as the employer favours them. It is a leather gear which they fit down their chests and tie it at the [edges] very securely and then they dive. They breathe in the air from inside it. This necessitates a very heavy weight to keep down the diver with this air. A more suitable arrangement would be to attach to the upper end of this gear opposite the forehead a leather tube similar to a sleeve sealed at its seams by wax and bitumen, and its length will be equal to the depth of diving. The upper end of the tube will be fitted to a large dish at a hole in its bottom; two of these are attached one or more inflated bags to keep it floating. The breath of the diver will flow in and out through the tube as long as he desires to stay in water, even for days”.

An ingenious dredging machine was designed by the Banū Mūsā in their Book of ingenious devices. They say: “We wish to explain how to make a machine by which a person can bring out jewels from the sea if he lowers it, and by which he can extract things which fall into wells or are submerged
in the rivers and seas." This worked on exactly the same principle as the modern clamshell grab (Kišāb al-Ḥiyal, text 376, Eng. tr. 342).


Much information about metallurgy can be gained from the alchemical and chemical treatises. There was a close relationship between the work of the alchemists and the metallurgists, and the Arabic sources reflect the experience gained in the laboratory and in the metallurgical furnace.

Gold. Speaking about native gold which is collected from gold mines, al-Birūnī says that it is usually not free from impurities and therefore this gold can be refined by smelting only, or by other methods. He gives details of the amalgamation method that was used in the mines on a commercial scale: "After pounding the gold ore or milling it, it is washed out of its stones, and the gold and mercury are collected and these are put on a pail of leather until mercury exudes from the pores of the leather. The rest of the mercury is driven off by fire" (Dīnosāhir, 234).

He further describes how gold is mined from the deep waters of the Sind river: "At its sources there are places in which they dig small pits under the water, which flows over them. They fill the pits with mercury and leave it for a while. Then they come back after the mercury has become gold. This is because, at its start the water is rapid and it carries with it particles of sand and gold like mosquitoes' wings in thinness and fineness. Water carries these particles over the surface of the mercury which picks up the gold, leaving the sand to pass away".

The cupellation process was used extensively both on the laboratory and the industrial scales. The gold is alloyed with lead in a special crucible and it is then oxidised by means of a strong current of air blown on to the surface of the molten metal. The base metals such as copper are drossed, while the gold and silver remain as a button of silver-gold alloy. The separation of the gold from the silver was done by what is known as the salt and sulphur process. The liquation process was also used in combination with the cupellation process. What is new in these processes—and this was an Islamic innovation—is the use of nitric acid in the separation of gold from silver. Dīnosāhir b. Hayyān (907) described this process, and it was also mentioned by other later writers. Gold was tested by various methods. These included the touchstone (al-mashāk), measuring the specific gravities, and noting the speed of solidification of gold after it had been removed from the furnace.

Silver and lead. Unlike gold, native silver was not found in alluvial deposits or in the sands and gravel of rivers, but was to be sought in mountainous regions in embedded veins. In general, however, native silver was not abundant, and the main source was from galena (lead sulphide), which was usually associated with small amounts of silver. The first step would be to obtain the lead itself (which usually contains silver) from the earth and stones (i.e. the galena). This was done first by roasting, followed by smelting, oxidating to soluble sulphates. "The metals which were not among the original seven were obtained from the sulphide ores, on exposure to air in the presence of water, are oxidated to soluble sulphates. "The Moors then found that if water containing copper sulphate is allowed to run over iron, pure copper is deposited and the iron dissolved. As iron was cheap and abundant in Spain, this discovery yielded an efficient method of recovering copper from sulphide ore, and direct mining of copper ore became less necessary". (Singh et al., A history of technology, I, Oxford 1979, 11).

Sometime silver was associated with gold in what is called electrum. Here also, as we have seen, methods were adopted to separate these two precious metals. Silver was also obtained from its ores, or from lead or copper ores.

These different sources of silver necessitated the application of various techniques which were mastered by Islamic smelters and chemists, such as roasting, smelting, oxidation, liquation, leaching, cupellation, and amalgamation. Many of these techniques were given here, but these methods fascinated the alchemists and were largely responsible, in our opinion, for the vast alchemical literature that resulted from the alchemists' experiments with stones (abhād) and metals (mubād).

Tin, zinc, antimony and arsenic. Tin was one of the seven malleable metals or bodies. It was brought mainly to the classical Islamic countries from the Malaysian peninsula and, to some extent, from Southern Europe and Africa. Tin was not known as a distinct metal by the early Islamic metallurgists and chemists. It was first known, and used extensively, through tutān (zinc oxide) which was one of the stones (abhād). Later, as we shall see, zinc (rub al-tulīya) was known as a distinct metal. Tutān is usually the pure zinc oxide which is obtained from natural zinc carbonate. Various authors described the method of producing the pure product from the natural one. The ore is placed in furnaces which contain long ceramic rods. Upon heating the ores, the smoke of tutān ascends and adheres in films to the ceramic rods. Al-Muhammadī, 470, saw the "curious tall furnaces in the mountain villages" in Kirman. They later also attracted the attention of Marco Polo when he visited the same area. Before the roth/tenth century, rub al-tulīya (zinc) as a metal was known and was used with copper to form brass. It replaced kharsatīn as the seventh metal. Ibn al-Fadlī in the al-Taba'at Akhbarī gives several compositions employing rub al-tulīya (E. Windemann, Die ßslichen der Arabischen Wissenschaft, I, Hildesheim 1970, 706).

Antimony was obtained from antimony sulphide (Sb₂S₃) and was one of the constituents of copper alloys. Arabic chemical books described this process. Antimony was unimportant as a metal. But we read a description of the "preparation of the mercury of arsenic sulphide". This was a preparation of metallic arsenic from its sulphides. We may note that these metals which were not among the original seven were given such names as rub al-tulīya (or "mercury of arsenic sulphide"). The same remark applies to mineral acids, which were not classified originally, and hence were attributed to their salts.

Copper and its alloys. Copper was usually obtained from the sulphide ores. It seldom occurred as oxides or carbonates. These latter ores required only the simple treatment of heating with charcoal, while the sulphides (rubḥīl) required roasting, smelting with fluxes and partial oxidation. An interesting discovery took place in Spain. The sulphide ores, on expelling the air in the presence of water, are oxidated to soluble sulphates. The Moors then found that if water containing copper sulphate is allowed to run over iron, pure copper is deposited and the iron dissolved. As iron was cheap and abundant in Spain, this discovery yielded an efficient method of recovering copper from sulphide ore, and direct mining of copper ore became less necessary". (Singh et al., A history of technology, I, Oxford 1979, 11).
and others. The third group is the military treatises and chemical treatises of Djubir, al-Razi, al-Djildaki.

The second main group of sources is the alchemical authorities on this subject known until now being in particular, have been a source of controversy.

In the history of technology, the history of iron and steel, and the history of Damascus steel is exemplified in Sūrat al-Iladīr, LV 704-705.

Of uncertain composition. This uncertainty existed since al-Bīrūnī's days, but the general opinion is that it was a kind of copper alloy.

A cheaper quality of alloy was called by al-Bīrūnī and by some authors ray. This was a kind of bronze alloyed from copper and lead. It was also known as ray and was used for hardware.

Kūršūni was a metal (or alloy) which was listed as one of the seven metals of early Islamic alchemy. It was attributed to China. All Muslim writers said that it was not available and was extinct. A time came when it was replaced by zinc in the list of the seven metals. Some historians now think that Kūršūni was another alloy (or metal) of uncertain composition. This uncertainty existed even since al-Bīrūnī's days, but the general opinion is that it was a kind of copper alloy.

5. Iron and steel.

The importance of iron (ḥadīd) in Islamic civilisation is exemplified in Sūrat al-Iladīr, LV 25: "God sent iron down to earth, wherein is mighty power and many uses for mankind". Indeed, iron was considered as essential as food and clothing and it was always a source of power. Even after the sword had ceased to be a major military weapon, the manufacturing of iron and steel in our days is a basis for industrial civilisation and hence for economic and military power.

We have seen that iron mines in the Islamic empire were spread from Spain in the west to Transoxania and in the east there were famous steel production centres like Harāt, Bukhārā, Damascus, Yemen and Toledo. Iron and steel technology in the Islamic lands has had a long and flourishing history, associated with the sword until recent times, and the excellence of steel for these swords was represented by Damascus steel. As is the case with other major issues in the history of technology, the history of iron and steel, and the history of Damascus steel in particular, have been a source of controversy. Islamic iron technology was ignored and the important sources were not taken into consideration.

At one extreme, some writers have alleged that Damascus steel was alien to Damascus and to Islamic lands.

In this vast subject, we can only give extracts from some of the major Arabic sources, the best authorities on this subject known until now being al-Kindī and al-Bīrūnī, both of whom had critical minds that rejected legends and subjected scientific knowledge to actual observation and testing. The second main group of sources is the alchemical and chemical treatises of Diarbīr, al-Rāzī, al-Djildaki and others. The third group is the military treatises which discussed the manufacture of steel for swords, its heat treatment and the care for its ārid; but there are numerous other sources of information, all of which deserve attention.

Types of iron and steel. From studying some of these sources, we conclude that the following main kinds of iron and steel were utilised in the metallurgical centres: (1) Wrought iron (narmākht); (2) Cast iron (dāy); (3) Meteor steel (ghabrīkht); and (4) Manufactured steel (fālidh).

Wrought iron (narmākht) is soft and it is the "female". It could not be heat treated, but could be used where strength was not important, and it was used as a raw material for manufacturing steel (fālidh).

Cast iron (dāy). It is very important to know that cast iron was produced, since this was not realised by historians of technology as a mixed ignored. al-Bīrūnī says in his Diwandīr that dāy is the water of iron and that it is the liquid which flows during the melting and the extraction of metal from iron stones. Al-Rāzī defined dāy as water of iron. In a commentary by al-Djildaki on the Kitāb al-Hedus by Diarbīr, we read the following description of the production of cast iron: "Chapter. Learn, brother, that it is your comrades who found (yastubīb) iron in foundries [especially] made for that purpose after they have extracted it (i.e. the ore) from its mine as yellow earth intermingled with bare and various veins of iron. They place in the founding furnaces designed for smelting it. They install powerful bellows on all sides of them after having knuckled (yastubīb) a little oil and alkali into the iron. Then fire is applied to it (i.e. the ore) together with clinders and wood. They blow upon it until it is molten, and its entire substance (fuṭa) is rid of that earth. Next, they cause it to drop through holes like [those of] strainers, [made in] the furnaces so that the molten iron is separated and it made into bars from that earth. Then they transport it to far lands and countries. People use it for making utilitarian things of which they have need" (ms. 4221, Chester Beatty Library, fols. ra-ra-b).

The properties of this cast iron can be summarised from al-Bīrūnī's Diwandīr as follows: (1) It is quick to flow like water when smelting iron ores; (2) It is hard and whitish-silver in colour. Its powder had sometimes a pinkish reflection; (3) It cannot be forged to make swords; (4) It does not resist blows. Its shatters into pieces: "breakage and brittleness are characteristic of it"; and (5) It is mixed with wrought iron in crucibles for making steel. Dāy was sold as a raw material in the 9th/15th century. We learn that there were at least two commercial brands, one from Tirāl, the other from Istakhr.

Meteor steel (ghabrīkht) is often mentioned in early Arabic literature, with the comment that this was a rare material.

Manufactured steel (fālidh). Fālidh was usually manufactured in the molten state. It was made, in some cases, from wrought iron bars by cementation. The iron bars were packed with charcoal and heated until they absorbed enough carbon. In the molten state, steel was made in Islamic lands by the following methods: (1) By decarbonisation of cast iron; (2) By carbonisation of wrought iron; and (3) By the fusion of a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron; here we obtain two qualities of steel, depending upon the degree of fusion.

We have given above a text from al-Djildaki commenting on Diarbīr describing the production of cast iron. Let us now give the rest of the text to see
how the rods of cast iron are utilised to produce steel by carbo-nisation: "As for the steel workers, they take the iron bars and put them into the found ing-ovens (masafih) which they have, suited to their objectives, in the steel works. They install firing equipment (al-bahr) in them (i.e. the ovens) and blow fire upon it (i.e. the iron) for a long while until it becomes like gurgling water. They nourish it with glass, oil and alkali until light appears from it in the fire and it is puriﬁed of much of its blackness by intensive burning, night and day. Keep watching while it whirls for indications until they are sure of its suitability, and its lamps emit light. Thereupon, they pour it out through channels so that it comes out like running water. Then they allow it to solidify in the shape of bars or in holes made of clay fast. They like larger crucibles are left out of them reﬁned steel in the shape of ostrich eggs, and they make swords from it, and helmets, lanceheads, and all tools". This reﬁning of iron from its blackness is a decarboxylation process already. First, the Lisan al-`Arab states that steel (fil`ith) is reﬁned iron.

The other method of producing molten steel in crucibles by carbo-nisation wrought iron is described by the following text from al-Biruni in his al-Biruni, 256:

Al-Razi b. All, the Damascus blacksmith, (wrote) a book describing swords, specifications for which were included in al-Kindi's treatise. He commenced by dealing with the steel composition and the construction of the furnace (hiz) as well as with construction and design of crucibles, the description of the variety of clay, and how to distinguish between them. Then he instructed that in each crucible five rails of horsehoes should be placed, and their nails, which are made of marabukan (Pers. 'soft iron'), as well as a weight of ten dirhams each of nusab and golden marcasite stone, and brittle magnesia. The crucibles are plastered with clay placed inside the furnace (hiz). They are ﬁlled with charcoal and they (i.e. the crucibles) are blown upon with ﬁsh belows, each having two operators, until it (i.e. the iron) melts and whirls. Bundles are added containing siklabi (nyrobalan), pomegranate rinds, salt [used in] dough and oyster shells (sanafi al-lu`lu`), lit. 'pearl shells') in equal portions, and crushed, each bundle weighing forty dirhams. One [bundle] is thrown into each crucible: then, if the crucible is blown upon violently for an hour. Next the crucibles are left to cool and the eggs are taken from the crucibles'.

The third method of producing molten steel in crucibles by mixing cast iron wrought iron was also described by al-Biruni. This was the method of producing cast steel in Harat. Two qualities of steel could be obtained. One is obtained if the components are melted equally so that they become united in the mixing operation and no component can be differentiated or seen independently'. Al-Biruni says that "such steel is suitable for files and similar tools". A second quality of steel is obtained if the degree of melting of wrought iron and cast iron is different for each substance and thus the intermixture between both components is not complete, and their parts are shifted and thus each of their two colours can be seen by the naked eye and it is called firind'.

Some of the above important texts were conﬁrmed by observers and travellers who described the making of crucible steel in Bukhara in the last century. In 1530 Anossof, a Russian expert, was in Bukhara and found that crucible steel was made by carbo-nising wrought iron with charcoal and other organic matter. Later Massalski, another expert who was also in Bukhara, wrote in 1841 that Damascus steel was made there from a mixture of wrought iron and cast iron, as al-Biruni had reported 900 years earlier, from Harat. Observers thought that these reports were conﬂicting, but it is now clear that there is no contradiction; steel was made from different materials, and the quality obtained varied with these materials and with other manufacturing conditions. (P. Anossof, in Annuaire du Journal des Mines de Russie, 1841, 252-253; Massalski, in ibid., 257-258).

The Damascus sword and the Firind. C.S. Smith noted that "in comparison with the relative neglect of structure by the European metallurgists, the enjoyment and utilisation of it in the Orient is impressive. In the Orient, stel to display patterns depending on composition difference was in use contemporaneously with the European pattern-welded blade, and was therefore continually developed to a high artistic level" (A history of metallography, Chicago 1965, 258). The best achievement in this direction is the Damascus sword, which were made in all the Islamic centres and in India. Because of its excellence, its name was given later to all swords with a pattern. Islamic lands exported imported steel and swords. They imported from India and also exported to it. Al-Idrisi mentions that steel of eggs were cast in Harat and then sent to India. Al-Idrisi says that iron was exported from the Maghrib to India. In general, we may say that Islamic lands and India formed one area of Damascus steel culture.

Patterned swords (with a firind or ghamchar) were in use before Islam. Imran al-Kaysi (d. ca. 540 A.D.) describes the firind of the sword as resembling the tracks of ants. Another poet, Awn b. Radjar, a contemporary of his, describes the blade of the sword as if it has a water whose wavy streaks are like a pond over whose surface the wind is gliding. In fact, in Arabic poetry the beauty of the sword with the firind was always a source of inspiration. Damascus steel was thus a speciality of the Islamic world and India for many centuries; as Smith states, "The geographical distribution of these swords seems to have been practically coextensive with the Islamic faith, and they continued to be made well into the twentieth century" (op. cit., 14).

In Europe, steel was produced by heart-carbonisation of wrought iron rods. To imitate the firind or pattern of the Damascus sword, they resorted to placing together strips of iron and steel and welding these together; but these imitations never matched the qualities of the true Damascus steel.

Cast iron was ﬁrst produced in Europe in the 15th century A.D. and crucible steel in the 18th one. But a steel comparable in quality to Damascus steel was still required. For more than 150 years, a large number of metallurgists in European countries carried out extensive research on Damascus steel, including eminent scientists like Faraday, Smith, in a chapter "European attempts to duplicate Damascus steel", says that these attempts failed to reproduce true Damascus steel; what happened later was that the "interest in the duplication of the blade declined as European steelmakers developed their own techniques and the introduction of Bessemer and Siemens processes gave homogenous steel more adaptable to large-scale production".

There were, however, some advantages behind
The melting process; historians reported experiments of these metals. Iron melting was given special attention to elongate and hammering (to drive in) to obtain steel similar to that of the eggs that are obtained in Harâk by melting.

Furnaces, crucibles and other equipment.

We can learn much about Islamic metallurgical equipment from a study of the alchemical equipment. The isilând operation is mainly the melting of ores to obtain metals. There was, according to Al-Râfi‘, “equipment for melting metals (adâsid) and stones” and there was “equipment for the further processing of these metals”. Iron melting was given special attention in the alchemical apparatus. We can safely assume that the alchemical apparatus was the pilot-plant size of the actual metallurgical equipment. Sometimes the details in construction were identical, as we shall presently see. Iron production from ores was achieved by blast furnaces. Further research will reveal how the design of these furnaces had developed in Islamic lands. We know that cast iron was produced before the 4th/10th century. Al-Dîldîkî (see above) gave a description of the melting process; historians reported experiments on the casting of large field cannon from cast iron at the turn of the 15th/16th century in Egypt; and at the end of the 15th/16th century, a typical blast furnace in the Lycian mountains was 16 spans (3.84 metres) high by 7 spans (1.68 metres) wide and was constructed from masonry. Twenty men worked on the site. Layers of fresh wood and iron ore were stacked in the furnace; two horizontal bellows gave the necessary blast of air, each being operated by one man. The air from the bellows was combined in one outlet, and iron that accumulated at the bottom was taken out in small amounts. This iron was decarbonised in several hearth furnaces and forged on the same site in order to produce wrought iron for making useful articles. About 450 kg. a day were produced from this furnace; similar furnaces were in use in the Maghrib.

Crucible steel was melted in small crucibles. The text by al-Bîrûnî which was cited above on the making of crucible steel by a smith in Damascus shows that several crucibles were put in the furnace. Several bellows were used, each operated by two men. Such an installation was still used in 1840 in Bûghârân to make Damascus steel, and was of the same design as that described by Dâbir ten centuries earlier.


3. MINERAL EXPLORATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Our treatment of the subject of mining and metallurgy in the Ottoman Empire is based on the assumption that both in terms of the laws enforced and the organisational principles applied, and even the types of minerals exploited, Ottoman mining can be clearly divided into two distinct periods. The first period, the rise to Ottoman history up until the mid-17th century, while the second is concentrated in the last few decades of the existence of the Ottoman state as the mining industry developed under the impact of foreign investment. Because of the wide scope of the subject both from the standpoint of periodisation and the profusion of ancillary topics involved, the focus is limited to these time periods whose first-hand archival documentation we have studied most closely (i.e. the 9th-10th/16th-17th centuries) and those subjects which have been least studied, namely the history of the Ottoman mining industry. For the principal publications in the important fields of Ottoman mining law, and Islamic and Ottoman metallurgy, see Bibl., sections II-III, and for developments in Ottoman mining during the 17th century see V.

In what follows, mining law and administration are first discussed under the following headings: A. Administrative modes, and B. Organisation of labour, and then there is a description of the principal mineral types and their geographical distribution. In this second section, the principal subdivisions are as follows: (A) Classification of mineral types and (B) Marketing and distribution. A/I. Bullion and other smelted ores, i.e. 1. Gold; 2. Silver; 3. Copper; 4. Iron; 5. Steel (including some data on prices of the principal metals). A/I.1. Crystalline formations and other minerals mined from pits in their solid state, or extracted through a process of distillation from their liquid state, i.e. 1. Alun; 2. Sulphur and Saltpetre; 3. Salt [see Mlil]
Finally there is a short summary of major developments in Ottoman mining in the post-Tanzimat [1876] period, and brief discussion of mining technology in both the classical and the modern periods.

Introductory remarks on the economic importance of the mines and uses of metals in the Ottoman Empire.

Possession of and control of the sources of mineral wealth was of critical importance to the state. The Ottoman interest in the conquest of Serbia from the early 8th/14th century arose in part from a desire to secure the rich silver production of the Balkan mines, thus providing a vital financial basis for further expansion. In a very real sense, the mines were the ultimate source of prosperity for the emerging Ottoman state and an assured supply of metals of military importance such as lead, iron and tin was essential to state security. Because of the critical importance of their uninterrupted production, mineral resources were carefully protected and closely regulated by the Ottoman government (see below on market organisation, distribution and supply).

One of the principal uses for precious metals was to supply the imperial mints located throughout the empire, usually in the vicinity of the mines. While during the reign of Süleyman I (926-74/1526-66) the treasury enjoyed an abundant surplus, requiring even the opening of a treasury annex at the Yedi Rule fortress in Istanbul, in the 11th/17th century production levels lagged far behind money in circulation. Information from the state treasury budgets from the time of Murad IV (1032-75/1623-91) indicates that while the mines produced silver for striking some 160 million akçe, deficit spending at the level of 200 million akçe a year and more was common (see the Kepeci budgets listed in the Bilâl.). In order to balance the budget, recourse was commonly made to the practice of debasing the currency. The following list shows the steady drop in the silver content of the akçe over the 150-year period 1450-1600:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>no. of akçe struck from 100 dirhams raw silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>half-century leading</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up to 1566</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1566-1584</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584-1600</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1611</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611-1640</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


For an idea of the relative stability of the akçe’s silver content before the 16th century, compare the table in Inalcik (1951), 678.

Despite these measures, the surpluses stored in the Sultan’s inner treasury (hâshin-yi nderûm) periodically became depleted to dangerously low levels. According to the report of the Venetian bailo Conterini, after the large outlays for the Ottoman re-capture of Baghdad in 1458-66, the inner treasury reserve sank to only 15 million gold pieces (Barozzi and Berchet, Relations, 1, 353). No new sources of silver were discovered or exploited, and by the 19th century state bankruptcies became an almost chronic problem, leading in the end to the establishment of a foreign-controlled public debt commission (see suvrû-i uthûmûnu). Parts of the silver-producing areas of Spain had been ceded to Austria as early as the treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, and from that date the Ottoman mineral resource base in the Rumelian provinces continued to shrink.

According to Islamic law, minerals and hidden treasures made up a special category, rihâz, whose product was made subject to the payment of a one-fifth tax, the so-called hûm-i şerû (Halebi, 1, 130-5). Building on these principles laid down in the canonical law, the Ottomans introduced some refinements and customary practices in their own administrative law as it applied to mining, taking into account new conditions and changes as they occurred over the course of time. The reign of Bayezid II (886-928/1481-1512) was perhaps the most important period for the standardisation and codification of Ottoman mining law. Since there already exists a rich literature on this subject (see Bâlûc, section III), there is no need to enter into the details here except to emphasise the fact that Ottoman practice incorporated applied knowledge from previously existing Saxon mining law. The extent of their indebtedness to their predecessors in this field is indicated by the use in the Ottoman hâshin-names of Saxon and Slavic loan words for many technical terms and specialised skilled professions.

Administrative modes: the factors determining Ottoman mining activity through the ages.

There were three principal ways in which mining activity was organised in the Ottoman Empire and the choice as to which mode was to be employed was determined to a large degree according to the nature of the source of the capital invested to bring a mine into active production. The expenses for equipment, fuel to operate the forges and the wages of the mine workers were considerable, and since such large investments were beyond the means of the average individual, most large-scale mining operations tended to be undertaken either directly by the government itself or by means of investment partnerships. The three commonly used administrative modes were: (1) theven, direct administration of mines or mining districts through state-appointed superintendents; (2) iltâmân, farming out of mining revenues to investors on a short-term contract basis (the usual term for these contracts in the mining context was six years); and (3) Rihâz, long-term concessionary leasing of state lands for purposes of mining exploration to licensed individuals or mining companies. These broad generalisations may help to clarify the position of the lands administered under each of these headings, but in actual practice we often find that a mixture of government and private financing, as well as the phenomenon of subcontracting of mining leases, resulted in some hybrid form of two or more of these administrative categories. Nevertheless, generally speaking it may be said that direct state administration tended to be applied in the case of disused mines or those requiring a relatively greater level of investment to render them profitable. In such cases, after careful analysis of ore samples (dâgâsl) and estimation of requisite expenditures for improvements by technical experts, the state agreed to undertake all risks and meet all expenses for exploration and development of the mine. When, on the other hand, it was a question of operative mines with a known and regular yearly production which could be auctioned to private investors, the investor gambled that he would make up his original investment consisting of the bedel-i iltâmân payment on entering the contract
plus costs. The third category, zälle, seems to have been widely used only beginning with the 13th/14th century when new types of minerals came into demand. This system was used to encourage mineral exploration in abandoned (waadi) lands and lands of low population density. Although usually no previous mining activity would have taken place on such lands, after a determination had been reached on the basis of expert reports that they did possess a potential for development, the investor undertook to make whatever improvements were needed to realise maximum productiveness. According to the terms of the zälle system, the original investment consisted of the resmi berdi or ferman gherdi paid to register a claim to the land, but unlike the xildii system, the government then claimed only a small percentage of the mineral production realised, ranging from between 1-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 2-5% for unrefined ore found in scattered deposits, and between 10-20% for unrefined ore occurring in concentrated deposits. Although we have no way of estimating the proportion of lands which fell into one category as opposed to another, the following table gives an idea of the extent to which the zälle method was employed in the 19th century, particularly for the mining of coal and other near-surface minerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of mineral needed</th>
<th>Extent of land owned (in dersits)</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chrome</td>
<td>16,976</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lignite</td>
<td>13,240</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentiferous leads</td>
<td>12,357</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (coal, etc.)</td>
<td>275,027</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>270,600</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: İhâdevâr-i mülîye, 1295/1907, 100.

* one dersit = 10 dönüm = approx. 2.5 acres.

From the above discussion, it may be seen that ability to invest was an important factor in determining the mode of administration selected for a given mining enterprise. A second factor which was critical in determining the intensity of mining activity at a particular time was the price of metals on the international market. The fluctuation in the price of metals in turn was tied to levels of production, both as a result of long-lasting disruptions in the heartlands of the European mining industry during the Thirty Years' War and because of continued upward pressure on prices based on rising demand for basic metals in the military and industrial sectors of the internal economy of the Ottoman Empire. Until now, it has been generally assumed (particularly among the Balkan historians, see Bibli., works of Dinic, Kovacevic, etc.) that the production of the Balkan mines suffered an irreversible collapse coinciding with the Turkish occupation of Serbia completed in 1450. The issue of mining decline is considerably more complex than that, and depends on a detailed study of price fluctuations of precious metals over the long term. Since this study has not been undertaken for the Ottoman Empire, it is at present very difficult for us to provide conclusive evidence or to chart accurately the course of periods of expansion and decline in the mining industry. A further factor to be considered, linked with the question of price and having a direct bearing on intensity of mineral production, is the application of new technology and mechanisation in mining. Since it was only when demand for a metal was high that investment in technical improvements was economically feasible, such improvements were usually introduced through state planning and initiative (examples in Refik, 35 [doc. dated 1299/1688], in which the government provides 150,000 liras to install four new water-wheels (zarik) to power the lifts and pumps of a silver mine at Inegöl; and Refik, 52 [doc. dated 1328/1716], in which the government approves the transfer of money from a provincial treasury to allow for continuation of work on a drainage channel which has been abandoned by private developers due to insufficient funds).

Dramatic improvements both in the quantity and the quality of mineral production were achieved in the 19th century as the result of the introduction of mechanical aids. While the purity of copper smelted in small forges equipped with hand-operated bellows was uneven at best, with the erection of large, state-built and state-operated smelting houses with mechanically-driven bellows, a consistent level of purity of 85% was achieved (for examples describing the impact on production of the building of state smelting houses at Ergani in 1866/1850 and subsequently at Tokat, see İhâdevâr-i mülîye, 1295/1907, 263; on the effect of mechanisation on mining yields in the 18th/19th century, see below). Nevertheless, the price was always the final determinant in deciding whether a proposed improvement was cost effective. When, as a result of downward market pressures of foreign competition the price of a metal fell, this could result in the closing of a mine which had been profitable and even worthy of investment for improvement under the earlier pricing structure.

The organisation of labour

In order to ensure that an adequate work force was available to operate the mines, workers in the state mining operations (m'adindjüs), like the guardians of the mountain passes (derbendjüs) and keepers of the way-stations on the imperial highways (men-şügjüs), were registered in the cadastral surveys under a special category of functionaries exempt from the payment of the extraordinary Sawrid [q.v.] taxes. As an example of how this system operated, a survey of 1285/1672 covering 155 mining villages attached to Srebucica is illustrative (EBA, KR 3175, pp. 60-2). In this survey, each individual village is assigned a specific duty in connection with the mining process. Some were assigned as excavators (keyvâdjiüs), others were charged with preparing charcoal for the forges (körûrûdjiüs) or as lumbermen and wood-cutters (domrûšûjiüs or odurândjiüs). Tasks ranged from the very specialised, as in the case of one village whose people were designated as makers of rope for operating the pulleys in the mine shafts (urkânândjiüs) to unspecified casual
labor (aylık). These villages were required to provide work crews as long as the mining operations in their region continued, and madendjiği status was even passed on from father to son and from generation to generation. In order to insure against production loss due to absenteeism, the madendjisi were also required not to leave the mine for any period of time without specific permission from the supervisor of the mine (Refik, 26). On the other hand, they were exempted from being called away for the performance of other kinds of labor, such as road repair and fortress building, which was required as a compulsory service (muḳallad hajmdet) in partial satisfaction of the "awbūd" tax obligation of other ṭibāyūn (see orders preventing summoning of these workers for other tasks on the day of al-Malik `Abd al-Rahmān, etc.). As skilled workers, the conditions under which the registered madendjisi performed their jobs in the mines were carefully specified in special regulations, and care was taken to enforce their application. In the first place, mining activities tended to be seasonal, most intensive work taking place in the 7½-month period between November (21 March) and Rūst-i Rādām (7 November). In addition, the working week was defined as lasting five days, the remaining two days being designated as idle days (andār) (Aḥbabā'ī, Nābūl, 7, 195, 244, 155, etc.); madendjisi with some experience were usually in short supply, their numbers had to be bolstered by the use of hired labor. Statistics from salt mining operations published by Güger suggest that the proportion of workers registered as inayjısı and enjoying a share of the mine's production (sometimes ½, sometimes ⅓) was about equal to those workers taken on seasonally and paid a cash wage (example in Güger, 206-7, citing the case of the Bejia salt works in Muğla province where a total of 415 workers 295 (47%) were registered inayjısı and the remaining 220 hired labor). Due to the hard physical nature of work in the mines, crews were normally expected to work only two-hour shifts with rest periods in between. By means of revolving duty, the mines could be kept in continuous operation on a 24-hour basis. A document of 1126/1714 (Refik, 50-2) suggests that a work crew of 20 men could be kept working for 20 days at this pace, but every 20 to 30 days a fresh crew would be called in to replace them. During the period in which they were engaged in working at the mines, mine workers were provided with food rations and half a begar of salt (see Murphey, 147). In 1126/1714, in addition to weekly wages amounting to one kurush for every simple laborer (ṣigah) hired to work in the mines, an allowance of two paraz each day was paid as a cash equivalent for food rations. Sometimes however the food rations were paid in kind in the following amounts: 141 pounds (50 wathiyah) of wheat per month per worker, with a weekly supplement of ½ pound (2 wathiyah) of leavened bread (khamīz). In an interesting document dealing with the terms of operation of a state salt works in Mugla province published by Handi (see Bibl.), we learn that working conditions and the share of workers in the profits of a mine could even become a subject for collective arbitration. In this example, the workers' share in the salt works had previously been determined as the product of three days' work, and the treasury share as the product of four days' work each week. However, on consulting with the parties concerned, the workers proposed a more equitable accommodation whereby they agreed to take their share in the proceeds of the mine each day in kind, in an amount defined in detail and guaranteed in the specific wording of their agreement (maddun). This latter system of apportioning shares in kind, rather than as the product of a particular day's work, protected both the workers and the treasury, since it was in neither party's interest to slow down or abandon production on the days devoted solely to the other's account. Other examples from different mining operations and forms of organised group labour show that the working conditions, and terms of recompense for workers, even those recruited for compulsory services such as fortress building, were negotiated so as to be equal to or better the current rates in effect at the time (see Murphey, Meşal, 167).

Apart from the simple labourers who did the hard physical work excavating the mines, there was a whole range of more specialised skilled workers and supervisors. Their positions, like those of the madendjisi, were confirmed by imperial diploma (hâdīs) and carried with them certain special conditions and privileges. As an example (BBA, Ibn ul-Emîn, Meşûdân, no. 108) a document confirming the inherited position as madendjisi-baqâl to a certain Meşêmî in charge of inspecting all the mining shafts and forges at Cûmâsh-bâhâne in order to ensure proper operation and to guard against concealment or theft of silver ore, states that the holder of this office was to enjoy a customary revenue (sawâdir) of one basket of ore for every forge under his inspection. The distribution of the mineral production between these various experts, foremen and inspectors working in a mine followed long-established tradition and was based on a division of the production of each mining shaft into 65 consistent shares (bjâpis) (Beidissanu 1935, 86, 87). However, further deductions (qaṣām) and fees both in pure metal and as cash assessments were set aside as the share of the money coiners (narrāfit) and other mint officials to whom the refined ore was usually sold.

Because of the risks and expenses involved in mining exploration, and the hard physical nature of the work, we find in some instances that the local populace deliberately falsified prospecting reports and tried to discourage the opening of new mines in their districts or the reopening of abandoned shafts (see Refik, 40-52, doc. dated 1121/1700, in which the populace of Sidrâkapsi opposed the reopening of an abandoned mine in order to avoid forced labour requirements). With the intensified production of the 13th/19th century, in particular in the coal mining industry, the labour situation changed completely (on this, see the study by Quaraqts in Bib.).

One should note as a preliminary that the sites exploited by the Ottomans were to a very large extent centres which had been known and mined since ancient times. In the pre-Ottoman period, the major mining centres were in Serbia (see survey by Jirošek based on records preserved in the Ragusan archives) and in northeastern Anatolia (for ancient times, see P. de Jesus; for the Byzantine period, Vryonis). Contrarily to what is sometimes claimed (in particular by the Balkan historians, see above), the establishment of the Ottoman state in these lands did not result in a collapse of the indigenous mining industry. In fact, with regard to the Serbian mines, for instance, we know from the observations of Jacopo de Premontorio in 1475 (cited by Vryonis, 15) that the Ottomans were responsible for dis-
covering and exploiting new sites which had previously lain idle, thus opening the way for a new period of expansion in Balkan mining.

Categories and regional distribution of Ottoman mineral resources.

In the fifteenth section of the Menâ'îdât al-'awdlim (Narosmaoioje ms. 3426, fol. 348b-351a), Mehmed 8'Ali organizes his information under three broad headings: precious metals (şahâlî), precious stones (âdâsârî) and precious oils (âdâsânî). In accordance with the traditional classification, the first group (fol. 347b-352b) is subdivided into the seven principal metals (hâsîl hâssî), i.e. gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and speculum metal (âhâsîl hâshî [g.v.]).

The sources for gold mentioned by 8'Ali, as most productive in his time (fol. 349b) were the mines in the environs of Sijdijsâmâ (g.v.). Another source for fine quality gold used in the Cairo mint was in the same region at Ujdie (S. Shaw, The financial and administrative organisation of the Ottoman Empire, 128). An indication of the extent of the production of these mines is given when one remembers that the yearly treasury contribution (irâslâyû [g.v.]) of Egypt was fixed at 500,000 gold pieces (Shaw, op. cit., 284-5). Although a part of the irâslâyû was sometimes paid with other coins, it was typically made up of at least one-half gold (see ordeners to that effect to the governors of Egypt dating from the reign of Murad IV [1032-49/1623-39]; University Library, Istanbul, ms. T.Y. 6110, fol. 49b-47b, 8ca-8gb, 9ta-9gb, all dealing with khâmâyis.[g.v.]).

The principal silver mines of the Ottoman Empire were in the Balkans, with other important centres in Thrace (Sidrekapsi and Pravi Stasi) and Macedonia (Uskhî/Skojpe, Kratova, etc.).

The value of the annual production of ten of the largest of these mines is summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of mine</th>
<th>yearly value of lease of tax-farm (mândâmâsî [g.v.])</th>
<th>year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skojpe</td>
<td>6,959,975</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaplanâ</td>
<td>4,600,000</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidrekapsi</td>
<td>3,620,000</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimihrâsî</td>
<td>3,790,000</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lofa &amp; Berkofa</td>
<td>7,633,333</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pravista</td>
<td>827,165</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srebmecca</td>
<td>827,165</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trepîla</td>
<td>333,333</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudnik</td>
<td>273,333</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novoivrdo</td>
<td>216,666</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: R. Murphey, Silver production, 82-5.

Although estimates for overall production levels of the silver mines in Rumelia vary considerably, official statistics from the turn of the 11th/12th century indicate an annual production of silver somewhere in the neighbourhood of 2,600,000 ounces (Murphey, Silver production, 79).

For Anatolia, silver deposits were to be found in the mines at Djandja near present-day Gümüşkâhâne. Register MM 922 in the Istanbul archives gives us an idea of the scale of this mine's production in the year 1081/1670. At this date, during a four-month period, a quantity of 158,049 dirhems or 1,460,827 troy ounces was produced. This indicates a yearly production of silver at Djandja of around the 450,000 dirhems level. However, after the 11th/12th century, silver was no longer produced in large quantities at Djandja. This was due partly to a failure to recover from disruptions during the Djuzeb rebellions (g.v.), period, and partly to natural exhaustion of the surface veins. Peysonnel's report of 1787 indicates a significant decline in the intensity of mining activity in the mines around Djandja, by stating that in his day only eighteen forces remained in operation (Peysonnel, 82). Both silver and gold were also produced in the mines at Ergani, in the northwest sector of Djuzebêrêgî provinces. A document dating from 1153/1742 (BBA, KK 5192) indicates that during a twelve-month period a total of 201,157 dirhems of gold (19,885,06 troy ounces) and 1,738,810 dirhems of silver (172,206,04 troy ounces) were smelted in 3,982 separate forges, each under the direction of an expert known as the 8'âjjâ Hâshîyû. Each region of the Empire was well provided with silver, but its yearly production was maintained well into the 19th century. Apart from gold and silver, with regard to other mineral resources the Ottoman Empire was in a particularly favorable position. Copper was supplied from the mines in the province of Kastamuni, in particular the mine of Kûre in the sanjak of Iriboul and the mines in the township of Cankiri (977) [Kastamounu vilayeti sindîmesi, sene 1716 H., 353-4]. Copper production at the Kûre mine is well documented from archival sources. The earliest account dates from 1619/1737 (BBA, MM 18,404) records that 3,210 forges were in operation, producing a yearly quantity of 134,582,5 dirhems (13,277 troy ounces) of gold and 322,672 dirhems (31,548 troy ounces) of silver. Unlike the silver mines at Djandja, at Ergani a high level of production was maintained well into the 19th century.

The production of copper is well attested in the records of the imperial arsenal in Istanbul, they cannot be regarded as accurately reflecting the overall output of even the mines of the Black Sea area. D. Urquhart writing in 1833 describes Kûre as "perhaps the richest copper mine in the world" and notes that its yearly production reached some three million obâs or 3,800 metric tons. One-quarter of this total was supplied directly to the imperial arsenal in Istanbul for gun casting, one-third was consumed by local industry, and the remaining surplus of about 41%
exported to foreign markets, in particular India. Peyssonnel (see summary statistics in Bibl.) also provides some information on copper exported from the Black Sea ports. Aside from Kârâb, we know from Edwards' account of Ottoman mining in 1914 (Edwards, 195) that there were rich copper deposits in the Hendek basin east of Adapazarı, in addition to which Solakian (62-70) speaks of dozens of small mining operation in the Hasar valley, near Trabzon. (For further information on copper production, see also the Farley report cited in Bibl., and Isawli 278-9.) According to Mehmed Aşkılık (Mendêrî al-sawâlim, fol. 351b), there existed some copper deposits in the Osogovska mountains near Kratovo and in various locations in the mountains of Bosnia.

Iron ore was excavated in large quantities in the mines of Samakov in present-day Bulgaria, and shipped to Istanbul for various uses in civil and military construction via the Black Sea port of Ahyolu (Barkan, Sâleyname Camii, i. 147). There were numerous other smaller mining centres throughout Bosnia which could also be mobilised in time of need (on the smaller iron-producing mines in the vicinity of Novo Brdo, see Bibl., Hanžić, 1976). An interesting example of the reopening of a mine at Kam dynamic in northern Bosnia is to be found in vol. xxi of the Muhittâne defters for the year 980/1572. The document is addressed to the governor of Bosnia and specifies that, in order to meet a pressing need for cannon balls at the front, the responsible authorities in the area are to recruit the necessary workers from the neighbouring villages without delay and resume production at the mine immediately. A fact which should not be overlooked when analysing the pattern of Ottoman mining activity is that, in addition to the richness of a given deposit, geographical proximity to the place where military need was the greatest could also be a major factor in determining which mines were exploited and also the level of production which was sought in particular locations.

Information about the two largest consumers of iron products, namely the imperial naval yards (ferâne-i vânîm) and the imperial arsenal (gibîek-khânâ) allow us to make rough estimates about the levels of production in the major iron-producing regions. In the case of the naval yards, a register dated 1073/1663 (BBA, MM 1680) specifies that 1,228 hâjars or about 73,000 kg. of raw iron were provided from Samakov at a cost of 623,260 akıbs or approximately 470 akıbs per hâjar. An em diffend of the Samakov mine covering a two-year period from Mulârem 1025 to ذي-ال-هَرَّاس (2026/1631) to December 1632 (BBA, MM 2069) indicates that the following finished goods were sent to the arsenal in that year: 1,024 shovel blades (hâjâls), 2,532 picks (hâmas), 2,000 axes (bagla) and 24 cowbards (kâsh). Eyleâd Câlî (Szydłâ-nâmî, vi, 218) speaks of a yearly quantity of 8,000 wagonloads of raw iron being sent to the central lands of the Empire chiefly via the seaport of Salonica. In Anatolia, one of the principal iron deposits exploited by the Ottomans was at Kîzî in the mountainous region southwest of Erzurum. (On the production of cannon balls and other finished iron products at Kîzî, see Murphey, The construction of a fortress... documentaries in the addenda.) Another centre of iron production in Anatolia, at least one that was active in the 19th century, was in the township of Zeytûn north of Marâşç. According to the yearbook for Aleppo province for the year 1321/1906 (446), there were two active mines producing a yearly quantity of 2,500 wâhîyye of raw iron (on these mines, see also Edwards, 193, and Solakian, 57-5).

The provenance of steel used in the Ottoman Empire was various. From the east, it was brought from India and Caucasus, in particular Derbend, and found its way to Damascus, where it was fashioned into various finished products, such as sword blades, by the celebrated artisans of that city (see Bibl., section iii). Some steel also came from Europe and was known as fêrîqi, although there were also indigenous centres in the Rumelian provinces at Buda and Samakov. Because of its foreign origin and the costly nature of the process by which it was refined, tempered steel, referred to as "Frankish steel" (âzîk-i fêrîqi), fetched the highest unit price among the base metals, commonly being sold at 4,000 akıbs per hâjar (91 akıbs per wâhîyye), and in one instance as much as 3,000 akıbs per hâjar or 98 akıbs per wâhîyye (BBA, MM 5760, register dated 1295/1877-8). The regulated prices as set in 1049/1639 fixed a maximum price of 70 akıbs per wâhîyye for the âzîk-i fêrîqi supplied to the rasm-makers' guild (tâmârîh-i yâkín) in Istanbul (Esâr defter, Topkapu Sarayi Library ms. Revâa 1934, fol. 107a-108b), but clearly there were extensive gradations in quality. The official price regulations of 1049/1639 established the following four categories:

1. fêrîqi âzîk - 70 akıbs per wâhîyye; 2. Peğâtî âzîk - 35 akıbs per wâhîyye; 3. Samakâti âzîk - 25 akıbs per wâhîyye; 4. âzîk of low quality not suitable for use by the file-makers - 20 akıbs per wâhîyye.

For the prices of various other metals used in the production of ordnance, an account register of the imperial cannon foundry (tezârîh-i Miyâr-i vânî) from 1006/1697-8 gives us some precise data (BBA, MM 6760). At this date, copper was supplied to the foundry at a price of forty akıbs per wâhîyye (x wâhîyye = 1.8828 kg.). Tin varied in price between 3,800-3,900 akıbs per hâjar (x hâjar = 44 wâhîyye), or 86-89 akıbs per wâhîyye according to its provenance. In one notation, an item of expense of 1,572 akıbs for the cost of a pack horse to transport tin from Semendire is recorded.

Other minerals

Apart from the seven precious metals (hâbîl-i hâbîl), another class of minerals was made up of ores of low intrinsic, but high practical value. Principal among these ores were alum (hâbîl), sulphur (hâbîl) and saltpetre (goberîlî). Alum was used in the textile industry during the dying process, as well as in the paper-making and other industries. Its manufacture in Turkey dated back at least to the 8th/14th century (İnalçik, Classical arts, 134; Cl. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 160-1; W. Hoyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant, 8, 365-71). Until alternative sources were discovered, Anatolia was the major and almost unchallenged supplier of alum to the European textile industry, principally through the intermediary of Genoese merchants. A Florentine merchant of the early 14th century lists five fully distinguishable grades and regional varieties of alum from Anatolia, as follows: (1) Kütahya alum; (2) alum from Karabük (= Şebnâ-Karabük); (3) alum from Phoca (= Yeğî Foca); (4) alum from around Umbi (ıd.) on the western shore of Apollont Gölü; and (5) impure alum from the various islands of the Marmara sea (known as
of Cyprus (= Kapudagh yarımada in Pergo- 
lotti, La trottola della mercatura, 43, 293, 366). 

(Por the reversal of this state of affairs with regard 
to the Turkish predominance in the production 
and supply of alum to the West by the 12th/13th 
century, see below.) The principal alum pits were 
found in north-central Anatolia at Sheblin-Karahisar 
and in western Anatolia in the area around Kutahya. 
The toponym Shabibâne still in use today in the 
city of Gêriz, and other variants such as Şabibi 
(near Tavshânî), attest to the former importance of 
the alum deposits in this region. Additional deposits 
were found at Marones near Gümüşhâne (g.m) in 
Trâncé (Warî help court records of Aleppo, Evremizi- 
saltaniyye, xiv, 70-1) and at Ispân (Singer, 85-91).

Since sulphur and saltpetre were two of the 
principal ingredients used in the manufacture of 
gunpowder [see also], it is not surprising that 
supply of these essential materials was controlled 
by means of a special regulatory system. The ac- 
counting system applied for securing gunpowder 
supplies was known as the objeldîk or special fund 
allocated for purchases and requisitioning of essential 
supplies (the same system was used to secure supplies 
for the imperial kitchens, the imperial navy and 
other branches of state service). The regions whence 
the essential minerals for the production of gun¬ 
powder could be procured within the Empire were 
limited. For supplies of sulphur, the government 
turned to either extreme of the Empire. A document 
dated 978/1570 indicates that a yearly quantity 
of 2,000 kannars was supplied to the government by 
the governor of Hakkâr province from his own 
region together with Erdjish (Refik, 7-8). On the 
other side of the empire, an indication of sulphur 
being mined in Selânik province is found in a budget 
for the year 1079-80/1669-70 (Barkan 1935, 249), 
where an expenditure of 33,000 akbârs is recorded 
for hiring of pack animals to transport the ore. 
Since we know from other sources (Refik, 7-8) 
that the standard rental fee for each draught animal 
was 200 akbârs, we may interpret these figures as 
representing 165 animals, each bearing the standard 
load of 18 batmans or about 300 pounds. Saltpetre, 
too, because it required specially humid climatic con¬ditions, such as those found on the edges of the salt 
lakes of Karâmân province, or in the Nile delta of 
Egypt, though more abundant than sulphur, could 
only be produced in certain places. Like sulphur, it 
too was supplied to the government by means of 
the yearly fixed contribution in kind. The level of 
this contribution was supposed to be constant, but 
additional extraordinary requests could be made 
in time of need. The yearly level fixed for Karâmân 
province as a whole was 500 kannars or 28,222 kg. 
(Konya, Sharîyye court records for the year 1040/ 
1630, 30). More often than not, the saltpetre was 
produced in a number of smaller workshops or 
distilleries called kanfar (Drelci, viii, 2744), to be 
collected and transported to centrally-located 
facilities for the manufacture of gunpowder. One 
such centre was at Bôr, which annually produced 
a quantity of 91,000 wakîyyes (approx. 3,000 kannars 
or 63,840 kg.) of finished gunpowder for delivery 
to the arsenal in Istanbul (Çümen, 211). Egypt's regular 
contribution (trasiyye) was 3,000 kannars (Ferdûn, 
ii, 201-2), but in some years it reached as high as 
10,000 kannars (see the order addressed to Tâbânî-Yâsîd 
Meşhed Pasha, governor of Egypt 1279-80/1668-69, 
in Sûmeri, fol. 43b-44a).

Table. Statistics on Anatolian mining in the 10th-11th/17th-18th centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minerals</th>
<th>Location*</th>
<th>Yearly value of the mine's production in akbârs</th>
<th>Yearly volume of the mine's production in dirhems**</th>
<th>Price per unit</th>
<th>Source of information</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Aleppo)</td>
<td>17,346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 8</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Tokat)</td>
<td>67,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 20</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Gümüşhâne)</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 12</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
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<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Inegöl)</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 22</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Aleppo)</td>
<td>17,346</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 8</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>(Gümüşhâne)</td>
<td>450,000 dirhems**</td>
<td></td>
<td>9-5 akbârs for pure silver, 1.5 for ore</td>
<td>MM 920</td>
<td>1010/1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silver</td>
<td>Ergani</td>
<td>1,136,810 dirhems</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 akbârs</td>
<td>MM 5182</td>
<td>1155/1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold</td>
<td>Ergani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3061/4 akbârs</td>
<td>MM 5182</td>
<td>1155/1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copper Ardanuç</td>
<td>(Erzerum)</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 15</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copper</td>
<td>Kure</td>
<td>28,638 wakîyyes***</td>
<td></td>
<td>68 akbârs</td>
<td>Ibn ul-Emir, Meş'ûdîn, no. 3</td>
<td>910/1513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron Cankri</td>
<td>(Kastamonu)</td>
<td>117,879****</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 28</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron Mağla</td>
<td>(Kastamonu)</td>
<td>8,333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 28</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alum Karahisâr-İ</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,382,650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 15</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alum Gediz</td>
<td>(Kütahya)</td>
<td>318,666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MM 7075, p. 25</td>
<td>1046/1636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Place-names given between parentheses designate şanîja. This is used both as an aid to location and in order to differentiate individual figures for specific mines from summation figures for a district as a whole; ** One dirhem equals 3.07 g; *** One wakîyye equals 1.3828 kg; **** This figure of 117,879 also reflects some revenues from the salt works of Cankri; ***** Tax-farm of the smelting works (bâi-khâne).
1. Iron: Bilecik (Refik, 1-4), Çankiri (MM 7075), Muğla (MM 7075), Divriği (Katib 624), Kırı (Refik, 15, 21, 46).
2. Copper: Ardanuç (Refik, 54 and MM 7075), Kağızman (Refik, 43-46), Küre/Saşaran (Ashik, f. 332b);
3. Lead and Silver: Gümitiş-khane (Ewliya II, 405 and MM 7075), Ergani (Refik, 29, 39) Inegöl/Bursa
4. Sulfur: Eskişehir (Refik, 7-8), Hakkari (Refik, 7-8).
5. Saltpetre: Eskişehir (Refik, 23), Karaman (Refik, 12-13), Bor (Ewliya, III, 190).

Sources:
Ashik = Mehmed Ashik, Minâse al-saadâin, Nur-i Osmanlı-Library ms. 3426;
Ewliya = Ewliya Celebi, Seyaâlât-nâmé, 10 vols., İstanbul 1314/1896 to 1938;
Katib = Katib Celebi, Dîhân-nâmé, İstanbul 1145/1730;
MM = Bağdatnamik Archives, Maliyeden Mudevver series;
Refik = A. Refik, Osmanlı dönünde Türkîye madenleri (1267-1200), İstanbul 1931.

For the purpose of quick reference, a table follows which shows the scale of various mining enterprises in Anatolia. An accompanying map shows the geographical distribution of the principal minerals.

Market organisation: distribution and supply.

The principal purpose of the state regulation of mines was to ensure self-sufficiency, particularly in materials of strategic significance. It seems moreover that in order to achieve this, the state was even willing to sacrifice a measure of efficiency in production. This is most obvious in those mines administered by âdîdâm (see above and sultânem). Under this system, after deducting expenses for materials and payment of the treasury tithe, an investor was left with only some 60% of the production with which to pay his workers and realise a profit for himself. As is indicated in a memorandum on the subject written in about 1600 (see Murphey, Silver production, 90), this left little margin for experimentation with new techniques or investment in production-boosting improvements. In point of fact, the Ottoman Empire was independent of outside sources of supply for all significant minerals with the possible exception of tin (on the import of tin from the Cornish mines, see Ashik at i, 7053, and H. İnalcık, The socio-political effects ... 215 ff). Also, Ewliya Celebi mentions that the supply of tin for the Istanbul craft-guilds came from England (Seyyaâlât-nâmé, i, 579: Ingilîce diyyâîîdân). Modern geological exploration has determined that the only place in the Middle East where tin occurs in any appreciable deposit is the Lebanon (see de Jesus, i, 33, and ii, 195, map). However, there is no evidence that the Ottomans made use of this site (on the 18th century tin trade between England and Turkey, see Hedges, 845).

While mining production itself was also carefully monitored, strict government control was exercised, particularly in the marketing phase. One aspect of state regulation of the market place was the limiting or total prohibition of export of some mineral products at times when local stocks became depleted. Examples of the periodic imposition of trade restrictions in iron and lead, as well as other metals, are recorded in the well-indexed catalogue volumes of the Public Record Office in London (see Bibl). These trading bans were imposed only as an exceptional measure, but with regard to the sale and distribution of certain scarce resources within the empire itself there was a whole range of restrictive regulations, ranging from government price control to the enforcement of artificial market boundaries known as ârî.

To illustrate the fundamentally protectionist principles of the state with regard to mineral production and distribution, the conditions regulating the state alum mines are particularly revealing. Details on the marketing of alum mined at Shebin Karahisar (Karahisar-ı Şarkî) for use in the manufacture of gunpowder and other products are provided in the Şârî-iye court records from Aleppo. In an order dated i Muharrem 1194/1 January 1780 to the authorities in Aleppo, one of the restricted areas where the ore could be sold, the government barred the competition of European traders (Efnedîlî).
who sought to flood the market with cheaper alum. Ship captains were warned that if they persisted in attempting to sell their cargoes at the depressed price of six kurusha per kantar (56.44S kg), as opposed to the fixed price of forty-three kurusha per kantar set for the produce of the state-operated mines at Karabülgur, their cargoes would be confiscated (Dschambakḵ, Maḥbūba al-maqālim al-luṭfīyāt). Evidently, one could easily be made the subject of hoarding and speculation. Thus the sale and circulation of raw silver was strictly controlled by the government. A limit was fixed for the use of the jewelers and related craft-guilds (such as the içdibāy-i nāfšiyya) and unauthorised export of silver was also forbidden (on this question, see the references in Murphey, Silver production, 315). Furthermore, by periodic regulation of the coinage (magāz-i sülānīyya) to account for fluctuations in the value of silver, official government rates of circulation (mā'āsī) for all major currencies, both internally and externally-minted, were determined and were universally applied in all provinces of the empire. Thus all phases of Ottoman mineral production, minting, and circulation followed the same rule of strict government regulation and control aimed at preserving self-sufficiency and at assuring abundance in the supply of precious metals for the home market.

Concerning the distribution for use of mineral resources, it is clear that the greater part of the empire's mineral production was set aside and made directly available to the state for two principal uses:

1. military use
   a. the imperial cannon foundry (top-khātasy-i ʿāmīryāt)
   b. naval shipyards (icerāne-i ʿāmīryāt)
2. in civil construction
   a. buildings serving the public need
      (1) mosques
      (2) schools
      (3) hospitals
      (4) ṭamārās
   b. buildings reserved for state use
      (1) royal palaces
      (2) residences of high government functionaries.

A relatively smaller proportion was distributed to the craft guilds for the production of household utensils and consumer goods. Manufacture of common household items such as copper cooking pots (dastgāh), charcoal burners for household heating (mangal), and copper eatingware (ḫab) also used up large quantities of metal. According to Ewliya's list (Sevādel-nāma, i, 570) in Istanbul alone there were some 1,000 separate metal founders' shops (dubnawīyāt) employing some 3,000 skilled craftsmen. It was only when these workshops had been fully satisfied, that is to say, the needs of the state and the needs of the internal consumer market, with a substantial surplus kept in reserve in ease of emergency need, that the issue of export could even arise. When export did occur, the state also carefully supervised all aspects of these transactions in order to determine the appropriate trading partners, the volume of the trade, and the proper price level.

These peculiarities of the Ottoman marketing system are nowhere more in evidence than with respect to the distribution and sale of salt [see below]. For purposes of salt sales, each production district or ʿārī was further divided into sub-units called ʿādāms, to which salt was distributed for sale on the basis of carefully calculated population estimates. The purpose of such a system was obviously to guard against the occurrence of shortage caused by price speculation on the part of merchants who knew how to profit from a naturally occurring price differential based on the geographic proximity of their potential markets to the centre of production. Figures for several salt works in Anatolia and Rumelia published by Giger indicate that the distribution of salt typically followed a repeating pattern: 85% of the salt produced in a given production district (ʿarī) was blocked for distribution at fixed prices to local industries (bakeries, etc.), while only 15% made its way outside the confines of the ʿarī, either as a contribution to a state organisation such as the imperial kitchen (maftūk-i ṭarākīyya) or for distribution in another ʿarī experiencing a temporary shortage. Of the total 15% obtained locally, Giger was able to determine that 70% was sold directly at the mine or in its immediate environs, and a further 15% was sold in remote rural sales districts (dailyān) with limited access to the mines. Far from being oppressive, these sales restrictions were designed to ensure equitable distribution of commodities which were either naturally scarce or liable to become the object of price speculation.

Nineteenth-century developments in Ottoman mining.

In considering the development of Ottoman mining in the 18th/19th century, one should note the three areas of fundamental change:

(a) Mining law. (For this, see the relevant articles from the Daftar listed in the Bibli., section II.) On the law governing capital investment and ownership of land by foreigners, see Engellhardt, t, 217 ff., and Solakian, 90. On the concessionary regime, see İTTİHAAD.)

(b) New mineral types exploited in the 19th century and the role of foreign capital in the development of Ottoman mining.

(c) New technology and the impact of mechanisation. Only the major themes and issues relating to the last two topics, in particular, that of mechanisation in Ottoman mining (see below), will be treated here.

The exploitation of other mineral resources in the Ottoman Empire such as chrome and nickel and the more intensive exploitation of existing fields as in the coal industry, began on a large scale relatively late in Ottoman history. Under the impetus of increased demand sparked off by the Industrial Revolution in Europe, mineral exploitation rights in
Anatolia became the subject of intense competition between the various capitulatory nations and were often made a specific article of agreement in the bilateral negotiations for the financing of such large-scale projects as the Hidjaz railway. In order the better to coordinate the leasing and exploitation of the state mines and to increase their profits, a separate Department of Mines attached to the Ministry of Public Works (Nafiyiyya) was established in 1867.

The most significant development in the new period was the intensive exploitation of the empire's coal reserves with the participation of foreign capital. This sector of the mining industry has been thoroughly studied by Quaestor (see Bihî), so there is no need to enter into details here. Two points which should be stressed, however, are firstly that the marked rise in mineral output in the late 19th century was almost entirely used for export outside the empire and not to fuel internal industrial activity (according to Owen, 213, 80%–90% of all coal production was exported), according to Quaestor somewhat less, whereas Solakian (90) provides statistics from the first decade of the 20th century showing that minerals alone usually accounted for between 50–70% of all exports, and secondly that of all the minerals, coal was far and away the most important, comprising nearly 80% of all mineral output (see statistics in Ishaïyyit, 186).

Mining technology.

1. The earlier period. Some interesting details of the technological aspects of Ottoman mining are provided through the first hand observations of Mekteb ʾAşıkî, who was in residence during a three-year period between 594/1586 and 597/1588 in the mining town of Sidekapsî. According to his description, the mine shafts were typically dug to a depth of some 150 to 200 dhînâs (one dhînâ = approx. 75 cm). A system of mechanically operated surface pumps linked to the subterranean water channels was installed to facilitate drainage. The process whereby the ore was smelted and purified in small forges is also described by him. As the by-product of the first smelting, the ore was divided into pure silver ingots and a quantity of litharge. The litharge could then either be sold in its raw state or else further refined to produce lead for roofing or ammunition. As described by Mahemed ʾAşıkî, the forges at Sidekapsî were rather small in size, with a central heating chamber connected to an exterior collecting chamber where the smelted ore was left to solidify. The major technical difficulty seems to have been overheating, particularly in the winter months when the water circulation needed for cooling was impeded by freezing temperatures, which gave rise periodically to the explosion and collapse of the small, clay-built forges. A document which further describes the operation of the smelting houses (kal-bhânes) attached to the imperial mint and which specifies the percentage of metal lost during each stage of the assaying process, has been discovered in the Topkapı Sarayi archives (D. 5752) (see further, Beldiceanu 1964, 95–7). Éwilî Celebi's 17th/18th century description of the iron works in Sarnakoğlu gives evidence of the use of hydraulic power to work the iron-smelting furnaces (eyeâlibîseri, 182).

2. The 19th century. We have already referred to the application of improved techniques in order to raise yields, a notable example being the construction of a centralised smelting plant at Toliat to process ore from mines throughout northeastern Anatolia (see above). Alongside improved technology, mechanisation in key areas such as the transport and loading of ore had a dramatic impact on mineral output at the turn of the 20th century. To take an example from the Eregli coal fields, the building of a rail link and installing of cranes for rapid loading of the ships in the port are singled out by Quaestor as the critical factors leading to a three-fold increase in production within a few years of the establishment of the French company, the Société d’Hérasîde, in 1866 (see Quaestor; Owen, 213, taking a longer time frame, speaks of a better than ten-fold increase in coal output between 1855 and 1921). Proximity to existing railway lines also affected the decision to exploit known deposits in other sectors of the mining industry. The development of chrome mining in the province of Aydınoğlu, and intensified exploitation of the beds of schist at Hendek for extraction of copper, became economically viable only by virtue of the proximity of these areas to existing railway lines. In the case of the Hendek operations, we are told by Edwards (1950) that at the time of his report in 1914 there were as many as 26 separate concessionaires working in an area only 80 miles square. As a result of intensified mining activity and mechanisation in the industry, in a single decade at the turn of the 20th century overall mining production in all sectors of the industry doubled from about 600,000 tons to 1.15 million tons (Solakian, 9). This improvement in output was
achieved without a significant increase in the number of mines operated (Solakian, table at p. 9, shows that the number of mines operated fluctuated between 82 and 94 over the period 1901-10), and in the absence of new mineral finds of any significance between 1901-10 and 1906.

Bibliography: 1. Ottoman Mining. (a) Archival sources: London, Public Records Office, Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and other libraries of northern Italy (see index under "trade" where sub-headings for commodities include: iron, lead, tin, silver; etc.); Istanbul, Rıpsabanık Arşiv, (BBA) Malıyeden müdever (MM) 2067 = İddeb-i mehdüde-i yıldızı ve ihyâ-i imânı-i cübbüt-i Samâvâb fi sâne 1023-6; Kâmil Kepem, kayı (KK) 5167, First draft of a survey recording mining centres in Rumelia. This draft contains chancery notations indicating where comparative statistics from other years are to be entered. As an example, on p. 9 of this register, a single figure for the valuation of the tax-farm of Skopje/Ukub pertaining to the year 1003/1595 is given. Below this is inscribed the instruction 997, 999, 997, 994, 1919, 1924, 1925, 1919 in members dahil zâtiler: MM 22, 187 = completed draft of the above survey containing data spanning the years 990-1041/1582-1631.

State Treasury budgets from the KK series: KK 5167, budget for 1906/1697-8; KK 5171, budget for 1907/1698-9; KK 5177, budget for 1908/1699-100; KK 5175, budget for 1909/1700-1; KK 5172, budget for 1910/1701-2; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayi Arşiv, Deter 5172 = a document dealing with the administration of the mint at Sirdeskap of the years 990-1041/1582-1631. For a brief description on archival sources on mining, see M. Sertoglu, Maddevi (bunched) Dergâh-ül Irâsî Arşiv, Ankara 1955, 78-81. In particular, see YBA, KK 5167, KK 5171, KK 5175, KK 5177, KK 5178, KK 5179, KK 5180 = registers dealing with the Rumelian mines, and BBA, KK 5190, KK 5191, KK 5192, KK 5196, KK 5199 = registers dealing with the Anatolian mines. In addition, see the Cevdet tasnif, Darbâne, op. cit., 70, and the collection of documents mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries dealing with the state mines and imperial mint transferred to the archives from the Department of State Lands (mülk endârisi), Sertoglu, op. cit., vol. VIII, p. 689. The instruction 997, 999, 997, 994, 1919, 1924, 1925, 1919, 1924 in members dahil zâtiler: MM 22, 187 = completed draft of a survey containing data spanning the years 990-1041/1582-1631.

2. Ottoman Mining: Narrative sources and modern works on mining and smelting operations in the copper mines. Particularly useful, since apart from statistical information, they give us an idea how the mines were physically operated. Particularly useful in this regard are İbne ul-Enâm, Meâdun, no. 17 = a report sent by the kâfi of Magna dated 990/1588 concerning mineral deposits in the vicinity, and İbne ul-Enâm, Meâdun, no. 205 = a report sent by the kâfi of Kârı in Rastamonı province dated 1003/1698 concerning the state of the mining and smelting operations in the copper mines. (b) Narrative sources and modern works on Ottoman mining: C. Agricola, De re metallica, Eng. tr. with annotations by H. C. Hoover, London 1917; R. Anhegger, Beitrdge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich, Istanbul 1945 (Istanbuler Schriften, nos. 2 and 14); Ankara, Meden Tarih ve İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayınları, no. 126, iron ore deposits of Turkey, Ankara 1964; no. 123, pyrites and sulphur deposits of Turkey, Ankara 1965. Mehmed Âşıkî, Muhteva sources on mining, see M. Sertoglu, Maddevi (bunched) Dergâh-ül Irâsî Arşiv, Ankara 1955, 78-81. In particular, see YBA, KK 5167, KK 5171, KK 5175, KK 5177, KK 5178, KK 5179, KK 5180 = registers dealing with the Rumelian mines, and BBA, KK 5190, KK 5191, KK 5192, KK 5196, KK 5199 = registers dealing with the Anatolian mines. In addition, see the Cevdet tasnif, Darbâne, op. cit., 70, and the collection of documents mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries dealing with the state mines and imperial mint transferred to the archives from the Department of State Lands (mülk endârisi), Sertoglu, op. cit., vol. VIII, p. 689. The instruction 997, 999, 997, 994, 1919, 1924, 1925, 1919, 1924 in members dahil zâtiler: MM 22, 187 = completed draft of a survey containing data spanning the years 990-1041/1582-1631.
984

MA'DIN


The relevant passages here are as follows: for copper, i, 80 (imports from the Crimea) an annual quantity of 2,500 bankas of copper was brought from Trabzon to supply the local industry, consisting of some 300 copper-smiths' shops; ii, 78: (Exports from Trabzon) the tithe of the copper production is estimated in contemporary publications indicating an annual production of at least 60,000 bankas; for saltpetre, i, 140-3: (Exports from the Crimea). After subtracting the quantities consumed locally for the production of gunpowder, an annual surplus of 40,000-50,000 obbals was available for export. (Note: since the purchase of saltpetre by foreign traders was forbidden at Istanbul, many merchants in Peyssonel's day availed themselves of this source of supply.)

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Material and techniques.

In Muslim civilization as in classical antiquity, precious metals and alloys of copper, tin and lead were used for artistic purposes. We have only scanty information about the metals, and particularly about the alloys of which metalware was made. Our ignorance in this respect stems from a number of reasons. One is that most of the Islamic metal objects have never been properly analysed, and terms like "bronze" or "brass" are used indiscriminately in catalogues and other scholarly publications. Another reason is that the medieval Islamic terminology for metals and their alloys is often ambiguous and therefore difficult to evaluate (Aga Oğlu, A brief note, in JAOSt, lxv [1945], 283-285). It would seem, however, that from the early Islamic period to at least A.D. 1200, materials conform with those used in classical antiquity and with those mentioned by al-Dzâzârî, namely: gold (zâjâh); silver (sâfâd); with bronze (isfâdâb), from the Persian *sâfîd* *rîyâ*, a bronze with heavy content of tin, antimony and lead; bronze (yuf); brass (zâjâbâh); copper (nâsîh), and tin (nâsîh akbarsî). In early Islamic times the use of iron (kadîd) seems to have been negligible. It became important, however, for the production of steel for weapons and tools, and may have also been used instead of bronze for the plating of doors and city gates.

Together with the unbroken tradition in the use of metals and their alloys, there was a technical conservation in the fashioning of Islamic metal objects. Several methods of casting—one of the oldest arts in the world—were practised in Islam. One was the core-p Dew to lost wax process, applied in cases of closed shapes. An accurate, though somewhat sketchy description by al-Dzâzârî (q.v. in Suppl.), active in Diyarbakir in the second half of the 9th/10th century, testifies that in northern Mesopotamia the lost wax technique was well-established. Dated mid-9th/10th century objects indicate its use in Iran too (L.T. Giuzalian, *A bronze pâlamânî*, 97). Another method described by al-Dzâzârî was casting with green sand. This method, which is of obscure origin, is mentioned also in Chinese sources contemporary to al-Dzâzârî. (For the first description in Europe, see Birinciucci, *De la pirolithica*, 1140.)

Casting in open or piece moulds was used for works in the round or for more composite shapes, and required soldering. Hollow, primarily circular vessels, were often produced from discs or sheet metal, such as brass or white bronze, by burnishing the shape on a lathe. This technique, discovered by Roman artisans and known today as spinning, presumably passed to Islam from late Roman and Byzantine sources. No written documents on this technique, comparable to al-Dzâzârî's book on automata (see *Iwâl* in Suppl.) have so far come to light. The same applies to the widely employed method of raising—or sinking—in which comparatively thin metal sheets were transformed by hammering into jointless, hollow vessels of almost any shape. Among the objects fashioned in this technique are jugs, bottles, cups and bowls raised in precious metal or white bronze, covered brass vessels with fluted bodies and lids, and the like.

The most common method employed for decoration was punching, chasing andbossing, tracing, engraving and inlay. None of these techniques was...
The wider use of inlay with copper medium for inlay, was only rarely used with these wire, which in later centuries had become a common a cavity in order to mark the eyes or feathers of early bronzes, as for instance a pear-shaped ewer which was not popular before the mid-6th/12th century. The technique by which the artist enriches a metal object by overlaying parts of its surface with patterns is not related to any application of repoussé to bronze in order to create an over-all decoration, which was practised in the Near East since remote antiquity, was relatively rare in Islam. It is known foremost from a group of late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century candlesticks and some stylistically closely-related rectangular tray-like objects (see also Rice, A Seljuq lamp from Konya, SIMW, V.). In modern times, chasing and bossing of brass and copper is practiced all over the Islamic world.

The decoration of the majority of Islamic metal objects was done either with chisels to produce grooves, or with gravers in order to remove the metal which once filled these grooves. Both techniques are not related to any specific material, and were employed singly and in conjunction with other techniques. They were used for unpretentious decorations of household utensils; for tracing intricate arabesque patterns; for preparing the grooves for copper and silver inlay, or to engrave a surface. No undercutting took place in the second method of inlay. In this method, which was employed for gold and is documented since the mid-7th/13th century, shallow grooves following the contours of the design were traced, and the thin gold leaf was secured by hammering it into the grooves. When larger panels were prepared to receive the gold, the bottom of the respective ornament was thoroughly roughened with a punching tool.

On the majority of medieval bronzes and brass objects, chased lines or background scrolls are filled with a black, bituminous substance the composition of which is not yet known. Similarly, the composition of the niello powder used in Islamic times on gold and silver ware is still unknown.

**Types of metalware**

Broadly speaking, Islamic metalwork falls into five categories. The first and largest are objects made for domestic and religious use. They are well represented in museums and private collections and therefore better known than the rest. The second group are doors and windows and their accessories. It includes knockers, locks, keys and window grills. Scientific and medical instruments, astrolabes, globes, knifes and scissors form the third group of metalwork. The interest in these instruments lies primarily in the history of science and technology. Yet in their excellent craftsmanship and beautiful decoration they are often real works of art. The fourth group are arms and armoury. They too are often of excellent craftsmanship, though for evident reasons they differ in design and workmanship from the former categories. The same applies to jewellery, which for technical and other reasons deserves a separate study (see MA'DIN, ii, in Sapl). The last three categories are therefore not included in this section. Artistically-outstanding examples will be mentioned below.

**Objects made for domestic and religious use**

1. Lighting implements. Islamic lamps fall basically into Byzantine, Mediterranean models. Two types, the common in pre-Islamic Iran, Syria and Egypt, had particular influence on the formation of the Islamic stands. The first is characterised by a post made up of baluster-shaped links, and is topped by a pan and a faceted spike to hold the lamp. The second type has a plain shaft which is bordered above and below by either disks, rings or a squat knob. Both kinds rest on three padded or hoofed animal feet. The base is formed by three curving trefoils with a raised sharp edge along the centre
or, more rarely, rises in the shape of a shallow dome. The artistic changes brought about by Islam did not so much affect the main elements of the Roman-Byzantine models than their stylistic transformation.

This is expressed in the preference for segmental shapes, faceted shafts, or geometric, flattened renderings of the zoomorphic feet or trefoil bases (Barrett, Islamic metalwork, Pls. 3, 4a). Another Roman variation, the plucked-type lamp stand, recurs primarily among early Mamluk specimens (cf. Lowre, no. 6030; Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 653, repr. H. Gillies and E. Diez, Die Kunst des Islam, Berlin 1925, Pl. 441). In later centuries, lampstands of the above-mentioned types became less adequate as lighting utensils and are therefore rare.

Medieval Islamic oil lamps also follow the Roman-Byzantine tradition. Their oval, or occasionally bulbous, body has one or several nozzles for the wick, a hinged lid to cover the central filling hole, and is often applied with a handle at one end of the longitudinal axis. In contrast to the Roman specimen, the Islamic oil lamps were not made for a plucked stand, and are either footless or rest on a splayed, often faceted foot. This last form is generally regarded as an Iranian, particularly East Iranian feature and associated with 6th/7th to 7th/8th century Khurisian workshops. Many of them had animal or bird-shaped finals.

Zoomorphic oil lamps, too, were created both by Christian and by Islamic artisans. Yet whereas the shapes of the Byzantine and Coptic lamps were restricted to birds of symbolic content, in mediaeval Islam no clear preference for one or the other animal shape seems to have existed. The species of birds or quadrupeds became more and more differentiated and imaginative, and many are provided with burners attached to the breast or head of a fabulous creature.

In contrast to the lighting implements mentioned so far, the mosques or public institutions may have reached a height of more than 50 cm.—base and socket took an early 7th/i0th to 7th/i3th century Egyptian workshop. Many of them had animal or trefoil finals.

In a special category of Iranian 9th/i6th to 10th/i7th centuries, such vessels were widely exported to Italy and then produced by Mamluk artists who resided in Venice. Similarly-shaped incense burners occur already among Chinese silver vessels which are generally attributed to the Tang period. The Chinese specimens are, however, much smaller, and their relation to the Islamic incense burners is so far obscure. Some early 4th/i0th to early 7th/i7th century East Iranian incense burners with a square or cylindrical body seem to relate to a Buddhist, Central Asian tradition. They rested on low feet of a type also common in other East Iranian workshops, were either suspended or rolled on the floor.

To hold the charcoal they enclosed a small iron bowl which was set in gimbles to move freely when the incense burner was rolled or swung. In the 9th/i0th and 10th/i6th centuries, such vessels were widely exported to Italy and then produced by Mamluk artists who resided in Venice. Similarly-shaped incense burners occur already among Chinese silver vessels which are generally attributed to the Tang period. The Chinese specimens are, however, much smaller, and their relation to the Islamic incense burners is so far obscure. Some early 4th/i0th to early 7th/i7th century East Iranian incense burners with a square or cylindrical body seem to relate to a Buddhist, Central Asian tradition. They rested on low feet of a type also common in other East Iranian workshops, were either suspended or rolled on the floor. In a transitional period, such as lotus petals and blossoms are reminiscent of pinnacle decoration on Buddhist stupas or votive vessels. In a bulbous perforated body had a niche-like upper aperture with an arch-shaped opening, and the front of the semi-dome was flanked by a pair of flat, projecting bird heads.

Another type of incense burner was fashioned in the form of highly-stylized tangles or birds. These
vessels, which are generally assigned to North-East Iranian workshops, seem to have been in vogue throughout the 6th/12th century. Their body was hollow-cast and perforated. In the feline-shaped incense burners, the animal-head was removable to permit placing the incense in the body, while the bird-shaped examples had a drawer for the charcoal in the bird's breast. There is still much undetermined matter. The so-called 'cat heads' are from Fāṭimid Egypt. Although a considerable number of animal-shaped, presumably Fāṭimid objects have been preserved, their function is not always clear, and the group comprises fountain heads and objects which may have served various decorative purposes.

The identification of mediaeval Islamic bottles as perfume flasks (khumum) is often ambiguous. Among the extant flasks and bottles the following types almost certainly served this purpose. One is a group of Persian, 17-21 cm. high silver or parcel gilt bottles attributable to between the late 5th/11th and the mid-6th/12th century. They have a globular body resting on a low, splashed footing and a narrow, tubular neck. A small fluted cover with a ring, which probably once held a chain by which it was attached to the neck, has been preserved in some of these specimens. To prevent the evaporation of the perfume they would have required an additional stopper (Survey, Pl. 1356). A second group of Persian 12th century bottles is characterised by a funnel-shaped neck, a bell-shaped, longitudinally-fluted body, and a flat horizontal line between collar and neck (Survey, P1. 1311 B.E.). Other bottles of this type have oblique or rounded shoulders. Their bodies are cylindrical or faceted, and occasionally the mouth of the neck is sealed with a small filter. Similarly-shaped pottery and glass vessels with a pierced filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a faceted filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a faceted filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely. Small, 8-9 cm. long bronze perfume flasks with a faceted filter and a filling hole at the bottom make an interpretation of these bottles as perfume-sprinklers even more likely.

In the second and smaller group the minor was further investigation.

(4) Inkwells and penboxes. The most common type of inkwell (dawdt or wasabara) had the shape of a cylindrical pot and was covered with a separate domed lid. It was used in Iran since Sasanian times, and only the proportions, the profile of the cover and the decoration changed in the course of the centuries. The earliest specimen fell chronologically into these groups. The first consists of Persian inkspots from the second half of the 6th/12th century. They are relatively small, 7 to 13 cm high. The base is either flat or has three low, almond-shaped feet cast together with the vessel. The cover has a fluted, dome-shaped centre, and lid and body are furnished with loops or tubular appendages for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe. In the second group, which appears to have been used also in Syria in the 7th/11th century, the dome is hemispherical and rests directly on the level surface of the lid. In the last group, represented by Persian inkspots of the 12th/16th to 16th/18th centuries, the body is slender, and its width hardly exceeds the width of the domed cover.

Penboxes (balamadān) fall into several categories. The most common are rectangular boxes with a separate hinged cover and differently-shaped compartments for the ink and other writing implements. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally decorated. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally decorated. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally decorated. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally decorated. The shorter ends of the Iranian specimens were generally decorated.

(5) Caskets and boxes. The earliest preserved metal caskets come from 4th/10th century Spain. They are made of silver, mostly gilt and inlaid with niello, and their shape and proportions closely follow contemporary Spanish-Islamic rectangular ivory caskets with gabled lids (Migeon, Manuel, ii, 16-17, fig. 220). In the Eastern Islamic lands, silver caskets of this type are rare, and not known before the Saljūq invasions. Two particularly fine examples are said to come from a Persian hoard and are kept in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum in Jerusalem (Survey, Pl. 1352 A, B). A similar type was used by Ottoman officials.

Kur'an boxes are square and of larger dimensions. They are generally plated and not cast. The Manūli specimens have a bevelled lid (Berlin, Cat. 1697, no. 19, Pl. 69), while Iranian Kur'an boxes have been properly studied and further investigation...
have often flat covers. Along with angular, round and cylindrical boxes occur caskets of less conventional shape or exceptionally small size. To the last category belongs an oblong miniature box of remarkable artistic quality by Ismā‘īl E. Ward al-Mawsili, dated 591/1192 (Rice, SMFW, II, pl. XI), or a kidney-shaped box in the British Museum which is attributable to an Egyptian or Syrian workshop of the middle to second half of the 7th/9th century. Similarly unusual in shape are a shallow, but relatively large, hemispherical box in the Hariri Collection (Safar-ndna, pl. 1305 C) or a "casquet" in the Louvre. The last follows the shape of cylindrical, late 7th/9th century candlesticks with narrow, contracted waists, and has a low convex lid which is fastened to the container by hinges.

In the 8th/9th century, Persian metalworkers produced also a variety of polygonal caskets of various sizes. Among the preserved specimens are a small octagonal box (Safar-ndna, pl. 1306 A) and four larger dodocagonal caskets, all of which have been assigned to a workshop in Fars (Melikian-Chirvani, Le bronze iranien, 86-9). Mamlūk, usually oval-shaped lunch boxes form a category by itself. They consisted of one to three separate units which were placed one on top of the other, and had a lid with a handle that could also be used as a foot. To prevent food poisoning, they were made of tin (Melikian-Chirvani, Later Mamluk metalwork, II, in Oriental Art, N.S. xvii (1977), 55-64; Barrett, pl. 31).

(6) Ewers and jugs. In spite of the relatively large number of preserved ewers (ibid [g.v. in Suppl]) and their importance as art historical documents, they have not yet been sufficiently studied. The suggested typological evolution, and most of the chronological or geographical attributions, are therefore tentative. Particularly difficult is the classification of ewers from the first four to fifth centuries when one finds an exceedingly large number of shapes and combination of forms for which so far no models have been traced. Among these ewers are vessels with slender, oval and heavily bulging-out bodies; with and without shoulders; with elegantly contracted and long tubular necks, with tubular or bird shaped spouts and a large variety of straight, gently curved and zoomorphic handles. Between the end of the 4th/9th and the 6th/11th centuries new forms appear to have been introduced from the Eastern Islamic world, which include the use of ewers with an elongate spout like a spout in ancient Pārgānā and Ushūrānā by Russian scholars who dated them to the mid-5th/11th century. While these early examples were either plain or only little decorated, later 6th/11th to early 7th/13th century Khorasanian ewers of that type were inlaid with silver and copper, and attest to the new artistic trends of that time (Safar-ndna, pl. 1309A). After about the first half of the 7th/9th century, more emphasis was put on decoration, while shapes became more standardized. The Mecpetamian standard type of ewer with a pear-shaped body, a low, splayed foot and a straight, tubular spout was retained as a model for Iranian and Mamlūk ewers, which in Egypt and Syria developed more strongly swelling bodies, high splayed feet and top-heavy necks (for an ewer of Kāhā Bay, see Rice, SMFW. IV, pl. VII). The development of Safawid and Ottoman ewers is known from a small number of examples only. Among their typical elements one can tentatively single out curving spouts and handles, waisted necks with a bulging ring and boat-shaped openings, which presumably stem from the lamp-shaped openings of the earlier medieval tradition.

Jugs and pitchers (līgha, pl. līghāt), on the other hand, were fashioned in simple conventional shapes—a squat globular body and low foot, a short neck and a curved handle. The earliest extant models of gold and gilt silver date from the second half of the 4th/9th to the 6th/12th centuries (Safar-ndna, pl. 1345; 1349, now in Jerusalem; L. A. Mayer Memorial Museum. For a jug made for Samsān al-Dawla, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, see Kühnel, Die Kunst Persiens unter den Byzändern, in ZDMG, cxi (1956), fig. 6). Safawid and Ottoman specimens basically conform to the Byzid prototypes. In addition to the conventional type of jug, there occur zoological hollow-cast vessels which resemble the European equivalents. The proportion of these objects is often ambiguous. Some have served for pouring water (bird in the Hermitage by Sulṭanān, dated 1260/1845; bird in Berlin, Cat. 1971, fig. 37; bird in the Monastery on Mount Sinai). Others were presumably fountain heads. Several specimens of the last category, such as "horses", "lions" or "horses" were either of Fitimid or Spanish origin.

(7) Bowls, cups and goblets. Mediaeval Islamic cups and bowls reflect a particularly long-lasting affinities to Iranian and Soghdian gold and silver models. Of particular interest in this respect is the continuity of hemispherical, either plain or fluted bowls, like the early 7th/13th century "Vaso Vescovalli" (Rice, Wade Cup, pl. 16), the "Wade Cup" (ibid, pl. 2) or a parcel gilt silver bowl in the Keir Collection (Fohfurdri, pl. G). In a more restricted sense this also applies to the continued use of ring handles with projecting thumb knobs. Although ultimately such handles appear to derive from Roman drinking cups, they too were introduced into Islamic civilisation via Soghdian silver vessels and persisted in metal cups until at least the early 9th/15th century (Melikian-Chirvani, White bronze fig. 13), while with ceramic cups this feature lasted even much longer. By the later 7th/15th century, bowls with strongly-projecting walls, similar in profile to contemporary ewers, as well as new types of cups, bowls and goblets, began to appear simultaneously in Syria, Egypt and Western Iran. Among the new shapes were cups with a strongly contracted base and a high, funnel-shaped foot turned upside down (Barrett, pl. 34); footless bowls with walls that project strongly up to about one-third or even more than half of their height, and bowls that have a nearly angular profile (Rice, Two unusual Mamluk metal works, I, pl. VII; Barrett, pl. 36 for a late 8th/15th century Iranian example). Bowls with strongly curving-out profiles continued to be made in Safawid Iran. However, many of the 10th/16th to 11th/17th century bowls hark back to the more gently-rounded 7th/15th century models, which seem to have more agreed with the taste of the time.

Doors and windows and their accessories.

(1) Doors. Although placing of doors was practiced since early times (Nasir-i Khusraw, Safar-nama, ed. and tr. Ch. Scheler, Paris 1882, 81, for door bearing the name of the Abbâbât caliph al-Ma‘āmân at the Alhâj Mosque, and p. 28 for iron-plated door in Dīyārbrakr; Dīzarht-Hill, 1954, 267-8 for description of later 6th/12th century door), no specimen made before the beginning of the 7th/13th century is as yet known. The earliest preserved door at the mosque of Cârâ or Dīzarht ibn Umar (C. Preussier,
The decoration

Although Islamic decoration follows some general, ubiquitous principles by which design was interchangeable between various media, one can nearly always detect certain strains which characterise any specific form of art. This applies also to metalwork, which seems to have developed certain preferences with regard to ornaments or decorative schemes as well as to iconographic themes.

(1) Geometric patterns. In addition to primary geometric grids by which the surface of every object was subdivided and its decorative elements organised, metal workers employed all the geometric forms used by artisans working in other media. Designs obtained by means of intersecting parallel bands to form an overall surface pattern of squares or lozenges, which could also easily be perforated, were often adopted for inlaid ornaments or decorative schemes as well as to iconographic themes.

Nordmesopotamische Bauendenkmäler, Leipzig 1911, Pl. 36 and p. 25) is inscribed with the name of Abu 'l-Kāsim Māhmūd b. Sangijār Shāh (605/1208?).

Nearly contemporary are three iron-plated doors from the constructions of the Ayyubid al-Za'farānī Ghāzī (606-9/1209-10) at the citadel gates of Aleppo. Bronze or iron-plated wooden doors were particularly widespread in Mamluk Egypt (for elements from door plates of Baybars, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see M. S. Briggs, Muhannadin architecture, Oxford 1924, fig. 239). Plaques from Mamluk doors as well as complete door wings are preserved in the Islamic Museum in Cairo. The 8th/9th century doors of the Mosque of Sultan Hasan, re-employed at the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad in Cairo, are a very good example of its kind (Migeon, Manuel, ii, 82-4, fig. 299). While the majority of extant doors were plated with iron or alloys of bronze, some 10th/11th to 12th/13th century silver, or silver-plated, doors have also remained (Mayer, Metalwork, "Ilyās"; "Yahuda"). It may be safely assumed that earlier silver doors have been melted down and that their material has been re-used for other purposes.

(2) Doorknockers. In contrast to the plating, which was generally made up of flat bronze strips and polygonal elements, doorknockers were cast in heavy bronze. Aside from polylobed rings which were filled with arabesques in openwork (Sevilla, Puerta de Pardon; Cairo, Sultan Hasan madrasa), numerous zoomorphic doorknockers are known. Earlier specimen, like the doorknocker of the Ulu Cami in Clare (Quadrat ibn 'Umar) are formed by a pair of confronted dragons which are suspended from hinges attached to a lion mask (Ulicher Ergänzung, in Gönül Öney, Anadolu Selçuklu mimarisi ve esasları ve eserleri, Ankara 1978, 168, fig. 141). David Colin, Islamic art, Cat. Copenhagen 1975, 69. An identical knocker of unknown provenance is in the Berlin Museum. In later renderings, as for instance in a Mamluk example with the name of Muhammad b. Khalid in Herat, the ring is formed by a pair of facing dragon heads (a similar example is in the Louvre. See also knocker on door of the Mosque of Ṣafāvīs at Isfahān in Cairo, 883-8/1480-1).

(3) Window grills. Aside from a few silver and gold inlaid brass balls from monumental window grates, as window accessories have been preserved. The number of wooden accessories preserved in situ and in museum collections is however considerable. Three of these balls bear the name of the Ilkhānī Sultan Muhammad Šāh of Tabriz (963-9/1554-51). The rest cannot be precisely dated, although their resemblance to the inscribed specimen places them in the same category.

(4) Locks and keys. On the whole, little attention has been devoted to art historians to locks and keys. They are poorly represented in museum and other collections, and seldom signed or dated, and once removed from the area in which they were made, artisans are difficult to identify. For stylistic and other reasons, most of the preserved pieces are said to be Iranian, though for lack of information this cannot be verified. Most of these locks are padlocks and were intended for chests, boxes, trunks or similar containers. They are generally very small—the average proportions are 5 cm width and 3.5 cm height—and fashioned in a variety of shapes. Yet a typical Iranian preference for animal shapes, inherited from ancient times, has been retained until today. Judging from the recently-catalogued locks in the P. Tanavoli Collection (Parviz Tanavoli and John T. Wertime, Locks from Iran, the Smithsonian Institution and P. Tanavoli, 1976), certain animal forms were in vogue at particular times only, while others were invoked throughout the centuries. A special category of padlocks was used as amulets and bear inscriptions of protective character.

Keys of the Ka'ba form a class by itself (J. Sourdel-Thomine, Clefs et serrures de la Ka'ba, Paris 1972). Many carry names and titles of the sultan for whom they were made and are therefore dated or datable. On the whole, they are historical documents rather than works of art.
In spite of the common geometric language which metal objects share with other fields of Islamic art, there is a clearly noticeable difference in emphasis. In contrast to architectural ornament, in metal the geometric patterns are confined to close borders; they are generally combined with other designs, and only rarely form the main decorative feature. They either form a grid or a network into which other motifs are set, or function—like “swastika” or basket-weaving—as background pattern. In Safavid and Ottoman metalwork, certain geometric interlacings continue to fill medallions or other inscribed spaces (Rice, PI. 159). On the whole, these objects bear heraldically-composed arabesque and epigraphic decorations.

(3) The floral répertoire. As in other arts, media, vegetal ornaments on metalware fall into three main types: motifs derived from Hellenistic Mediterranean and non-Hellenistic Iranian models; infinitely curling scrolls and arabesques; and blossoms and foliations that stem from Far-Eastern prototypes. Motifs of the first type—roses, leaves, palmettes, vine scrolls or stalks bearing grapes or pomegranates—continue to figure in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronze and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections, in Atien 24, Intern. Orientalisten Kongress, 1957, Munich 1959, 347–9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

Fully-developed arabesques do not appear before the 10th/11th century. From this time onwards, two types of arabesques—a flowing, constantly changing design, and an arabesque based on axial symmetry—recur on metalwork of all periods. Another form of arabesque which gained much popularity on metalwork consists of pairs of knotted, bifurcated palmettes which blossom out from a crescent-shaped loop (Rice, The brasses of Badr al-Din Lutbî, fig. 8).

Modifications of such floral interlacings, in which a crescent-shaped loop is either substituted by a bar, or transformed into lotus blossoms, or even completely omitted, remain a favourite motif in 7th/13th and 8th/14th century brasses in the cast and west Iranian, 7th/13th to 8th/14th century metal objects these motifs appear in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronze and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections, in Atien 24, Intern. Orientalisten Kongress, 1957, Munich 1959, 347–9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

Winding, often hooked stalks, whose foliage is reduced to small buds and split palmettes, serve as background pattern and filling device alike. On Iranian, 7th/13th to early 8th/14th century metal objects these motifs appear in traditional and new compositions. One some early bronze and silver objects these motifs appear in sophisticated combinations (Dimand, Some early Islamic bronzes from Iran in American collections, in Atien 24, Intern. Orientalisten Kongress, 1957, Munich 1959, 347–9). On less ambitious objects, undulating stalks and branching-off shoots carrying vine and palmette leaves constitute the only decoration.

(3) Animals and imaginary creatures. On mediaeval metalwork, animals and imaginary creatures were one of the most conspicuous themes. The frequency in which these motifs were employed, as well as the species depicted, were determined by different factors. Yet even at this, when animal decorations did not constitute a major theme, they did not disappear from the repertoire. Because of their abundance, and often intricate iconographic implications, the present survey includes only the most current animal motifs and compositions.

Many of the animal motifs were carried on in Islamic metalware from Sasanian and Soghdian silver (Barrett, Pls. 1, 4b). The same is true for compositions, such as a single bird or quadruped inscribed within a round or polylobed medallion. The preference for heraldic compositions, inherent in Near Eastern and Iranian art, applies also to animal designs, even if the prominence given to these compositions varied. Broadly speaking, in earlier metalwork they are more monumental in size and style, while on later objects they are integrated in a larger decorative scheme. In many of these heraldic compositions the central axis is taken by a plant design or a curtailed “tree of life”, a knotted motif or other derivative of the “tree of life”. Pairs of ducks flanking a crescent-shaped motif are characteristic for North Mesopotamian, Manilik and Persian metalware from the mid-7th/12th to the second half of the 8th/14th century. Physically-linked pairs of animals or imaginary creatures do not occur on metalware after the early 8th/14th century, while the motif of heraldic birds or quadrupeds, set into cartouches or pendants, was carried on in Safavid and later metalwork. Other ancient Near Eastern animal motifs employed in metalwork are animal friezes, animals in combat (Barc, Indisci, particularly 206–8), and real and imaginary creatures revolving around a central axis. In 6th/12th and early 7th/13th century examples from Eastern Iran, Afghanistan and Northern Mesopotamia, the heads of the centrifugally-rotating creatures meet—or intersect—in the centre (Rice, The brasses of Badr al-Din Lutbî, figs. 7–5; Etthinhausen, Waffe Cup, figs. L, P, 21, 34). In later 7th/13th to 8th/14th century examples, the rotating creatures are no longer physically linked. In the last phase in the development of this pattern, the real or imaginary creatures are substituted by flying birds, and the rotating movement is no longer consistently adhered to (for a typical Manilik example, see Cairo cat. 1969, no. 58, PI. 8).

Another motif is that of animal (or soft–wool) scrolls, in which animal bodies or bushes are attached to, or amalgamated with a vegetal design. Spreading from Syro-Mesopotamian and Persian to Egyptian metalware, it appeared in the first half of the 8th/14th century (Hayward cat., no. 200) as abruptly as it disappeared in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century (for a late example, see E. Combe, Cinquièmes musulmans datez des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles de la Collection Benaki, in BIFAO, xxx [1957], 56–7). On textiles and carpets, the motif survived, however,
in various related forms. See for instance, Survey, Pls. 1172, 1172A).

The animal decoration in later metalwork closely follows the mediaeval repertoire. Conventional themes, such as combatting or chasing animals, fowling, flying birds, peacocks or animals of prey were carried on and were supplied in modern metalwork (Survey, Pls. 1382, 1383, 1386B. For armory see also Pls. 1408 D, E, 1418, 1435-31 D).

(a) Epigraphy. Stylistic peculiarities. In metalwork, the first epigraphic bands which carry not only a message but have a clear decorative function occur on mid-9th to 4th/8th century mosaic lamps (Rice, S/M/W. V); for earlier inscriptions, cf. a 3rd/8th century bronze ever in the Tbilisi Museum, or bird-shaped vessel in the Hermitage, dated 188/766-7, and on 4th/9th to 8th/12th century bronze and silver objects (Survey, Pls. 1342, 1346-50). From this time onwards, particularly since the mid-6th/12th century, epigraphy remained a constant factor in the decoration of metalwork. The formal integration of the script, being set into continuous or compartmentalized bands, cartouches or medallions, complies with the general stylistic tendencies of the time. On Mamluk metalware, inscriptions appear not only in continuous and intersecting bands which may occupy a considerable part of an object, but also in a circular arrangement in which the haste of the lettering avoids the character. Starting from the mid-8th/14th century, such radiant inscriptions are most prominent.

The stylistic development of script on metalwork, and the possible divergencies from other artistic media, still remain to be studied. In the present state of our knowledge, there appears to be only one type of script which at least in its later stages of development is unique to metalwork. This is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it are made to assume human or animal forms. According to the figurative features which dominate in each of its variations, it falls into four types: ornithomorphic, human-headed, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic (Rice, Wade Cup; Baer, Metalwork). Out of these, only the first is known from objects other than metalware, occurring on Samland ceramics about 135 years prior to the first dated evidence of figurial script on metal, the "Bobrinski Bucket", which was made in Harat in 550/1163 (Ettinghausen, Wade Cup). The figural script had disappeared almost completely by the end of the 7th/13th century.

The integration of the script into the overall composition of a decoration, like its artistic development, is however only one aspect of these inscriptions. Aside from their artistic value, these examples are texts which, if properly read and interpreted, may provide valuable information which is not available from other sources. Although the general categories —eulogies, and dedications, religious inscriptions, moral dicta, inscriptions connected with the use or quality of the object and verses from Persian literature—are known, only a very limited number of inscriptions have actually been read. A proper investigation and evaluation of each of these categories has therefore been postponed until we possess a comprehensive corpus of inscriptions on metalwork (for some ideas, see Baer, Metalwork).

(b) The thematic repertoire. The thematic repertoire of mediaeval Islamic metalwork falls into three main groups. The first and by far the largest are representations of pleasure and pastime. They include, aside from banqueting scenes, dancers and musicians, a rich selection of hunting methods, falconry, hunting with the cheetah and phases of the animal’s training and fowling. Visual renderings of this last game are rare in other artistic media. Other pastimes, like polo games and travelling in a howdah on camel-back, have parallels in ceramics or miniature paintings. Sailing in a pleasure boat, a princely pastime which could be practiced only in Mesopotamia and Egypt, seems to have no analogues in ceramics, textiles and the like (Baer, Arabic vessels, 299-323). Representations of outdoor activities in a rural environment appear to be characteristic of a small group of early 7th/13th century Mesopotamian-style metal objects, while tournaments or battle scenes seem to have been a favoured theme in the later 7th/14th to 8th/14th century in Syrian, Egyptian and West Iranian metalwork alike. On the whole, these scenes were less popular on Iranian bronzes than on contemporary Mamluk objects (Rice, Bapstlifie). The second category are cosmic and terrestrial cycles. It comprises representations of the Labours of the Months, the planets and the zodiac, and scenes in which a princely image is shown in a cosmic setting. The first and the third theme are as yet known from metal objects only (for Labours of the Months, see Rice, The seasons and labors, 1-50; E. Atli, Two Il-khanid candlesticks, i-3j). Astrological signs on the other hand, are not limited to metalwork. It would seem that the actual design and the religious connotations of this last game are rare in other artistic media (Hartner, The Vase Versailles; Baer, An Islamic inkwell. For the princely image in cosmic setting, see Baer, Metalwork).

Epics, legends and religious themes serve as an inspiration for the third group. It comprises illustrations of certain episodes of the Shah-nama, and ornamental designs based upon popular belief and folklore. Both relate to pottery and the art of the book. The latter thematic programme of this theme is particularly rich and has no known analogues in other artistic media (Hartner, The Vase Versailles; Baer, An Islamic inkwell). For the princely image in cosmic setting, see Baer, Metalwork).

In a group of mid-7th/13th century North Syrian and North Mesopotamian metalware, Christian religious themes are combined with traditional Islamic decorations. In addition to saints or high church officials, they depict cycles of the life of Christ. Themes so far identified are "The Entry into Jerusalem", "The Nativity", "Baptism", "The Presentation in the Temple" and "The Virgin and the Child enthroned". However, the problem of Christian subjects on Islamic metalwork needs further research.

Workshop centres.

Our information on centres of manufacture of metalwork stems from two main sources. One is written evidence provided by mediaeval geographers and historians. It is generally reliable, but often exceedingly brief, and even when the author reports on his native town (cf. Ibn al-Faklh, 253, li., 201, 252), the products are often only listed but not described (for an exception see al-Majrili, below). The second source of information is inscriptions which figure on the objects themselves. Two types are particularly suggestive. One are inscriptions referring to the place of manufacture. So far only a relatively small number of places have been deciphered. Future systematic collection of these inscriptions may provide new evidence (the following place names appear so far on one object only: Bağra, ewer by Ibn Yazid, dated 69/688-9, Mayer, Metalworkers, 58; Kashan or Kusam...
The other type of inscription on metalwork is that of signatures giving not only the name of the artist but also his nisba. An often-made assumption that intrinsically the nisba means that the artisan was active in this centre has to be discarded. It may have been carried by an artist who had left his native town many years ago and was working hundred of miles away. It can therefore be considered significant only if taken in conjunction with other elements. One of the most striking examples for the continuous use of a nisba by artists who were active in another centre is the nisba al-Mas'ūlī, found on at least 30 objects made throughout the 7th/8th and the first quarter of the 8th/9th century, out of which only single specimen stems unequivocally from Mosul (Rice, Inlaid brasses). To Rice's list add a candlestick by 'Αll b. Kusayyrāt, working in Damascus, and a Kurūn al box by Ahmad b. Bāra, Cairo cat. 1969, nos. 56, 60.

On the basis of the above mentioned criteria, only three centres can so far be singled out. One is Damascus, which at least since the 8th/9th century and throughout Mamluk times exported metalwork to all parts of the Islamic world, including Cairo (al-Mukaddasi, 281, l. 7; Nāṣīr-i Khurrawā, Safar-nāma, ed. Schefer, 52, l. 13; al-Makrīzī, Khilāf, il, 212. For metal objects inscribed with this provenance, see Rice, Inlaid brasses, 306, no. 16; Cairo cat. 1969, no. 36).

The second centre, which, like Damascus, had flourishing workshops during the Mamluk period is Cairo (for a detailed description of the Market of metal Inlayers — in which bronze vessels were inlaid with gold and silver, see al-Makrīzī, Cairo cat. 1969, nos. 56, 60). The bronze kālīndan is, by antonomasia, an Important metal Inlayer but also his nisba. An often-made assumption that intrinsically the nisba means that the artisan was active in this centre has to be discarded. It may have been carried by an artist who had left his native town many years ago and was working hundred of miles away. It can therefore be considered significant only if taken in conjunction with other elements. One of the most striking examples for the continuous use of a nisba by artists who were active in another centre is the nisba al-Mas'ūlī, found on at least 30 objects made throughout the 7th/8th and the first quarter of the 8th/9th century, out of which only single specimen stems unequivocally from Mosul (Rice, Inlaid brasses). To Rice's list add a candlestick by 'Αll b. Kusayyrāt, working in Damascus, and a Kurūn al box by Ahmad b. Bāra, Cairo cat. 1969, nos. 56, 60.

The third reasonably-documented centre, famous for its richly-inlaid bronze objects, is Harātī (Kazvinī, Aghār al-bištā, ed. Wüstenfeld, 322, l. 30-323, l. 1). Two objects, the "Bobrinski Bucket" dated 557/1163, and an ewer in the Staatliche Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi, dated 557/1163, carry an inscription stating that they were made in Harātī (the exact text of the Tiflis over has, however, never been published. See Mayer, Metalworkers, 59; Mahmūd b. Muhammad; Ettinghausen, Bobrinski "Kette", in Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1945, 196). For other 8th/9th century inlaid pieces of metalworks, worked in similar style and technique, and signed by artists using the nisba al-Harawī, suggest that these artists had already left Harātī and were active in another centre. In fact, the location of manufacture is even more scanty. Places put forward by art historians should therefore be used with caution.

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Arabia and other parts of the Orient (see Yaf'ash, s.v.), and also found in the toponomy of the Iberian peninsula. Under the form Almadina, this term refers to the locality in the province of Ciudad Real, 125 km. to the north of Cordova, in the Sierra de Almadén. Dibahi al-Madina), which has one of the richest deposits in the world of mercury (A. Zipah and variants, whence Spanish azogue and the fullest form of the place name Almadén de Azogue). According to García Bellido (España y los españoles hace dos mil años según la Geografía de Strabón, Madrid 1945, 79-81), these deposits were already being exploited in the 4th century B.C., since the Greek philosopher Theophrastes (ca. 372-287) mentions the cinnabar of Iberia. At the present time, they still produce each year about 1,500 tonnes of mercury.

The Portuguese town of Almada, situated opposite to Lisbon on the southern bank of the Tagus, owes its name (A. Hisn al-Maddin) to the grains of gold dust thrown up by the sea on to this bank (al-Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, text 184, tr. 223 = Gpsa geographicum, Naples-Rome 1973, v, 547).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, Hsp. Esp. Mus., iii, 294; see also Husain Mu'nis, Al-Diwr-ajliva na'l-ahlatifyyun jin'l-Andalus, Madrid 1967.

(M. C. Seymour: [M. Oa'a Jinni] MADINAH, urbanism. [See Supplement].)

AL-MADINA. Medina in French, residence of the Prophet Muhammad after the hijra and one of the sacred cities of Islam. Medina is situated in the Hijaz province of Sa'udite Arabia in latitude 24° 28' N, longitude 39° 36' E, about 160 km. from the Red Sea and about 350 km. north of Mecca. It has developed from an oasis on relatively level ground between the hill of Uubud on the north and that of Ay'ay on the south. East and west are lava flows (in Arabic barra (g.v.) or Bâba). There are several wadis or watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north. Though these normally contain water only after rain, they maintain a fairly high water table, so that there are many wells and springs. After heavy rains the central area of al-Munâshka used to form a lake, and a number of serious floods are recorded which threatened the stability of some of the buildings. On one occasion the caliph Uthman erected a dam as a protection against floodwaters (al-Bâghûrî, Fustûl, ii). Serious floods are also recorded in 660/40, 734/16 and 772/156. The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and in the past various governors of the town built aqueducts to bring good water from wells further south. The soil consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile, especially in the more southerly part. Date-palms were numerous before the time of Muhammad, and cereals were also grown. At a later date oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes were introduced. The winters are cool with a slight rainfall, and the summers hot but rarely sultry. In former times, the air was reckoned pleasant but conducive to fevers (al-Bâghûrî, i, 1; Wensinck, Mohammedi en de Joden, 31; Goldschmidt, Musik, Stud., ii, 245). The Umayyades called the town al-hadâdah, "the dirty," in contrast to the honorific name of Yaf'ash, "the sweet-smelling," given to it by Muhammad (Goldschiter, op. cit., ii, 37; al-Bâghûrî, ii).

(d) HISTORY TO 1926

1. The pre-Islamic settlements

In pre-Islamic times the common name was Yaf'ash, but this is said to have been applied originally to only part of the oasis (al-Samhûdî, i, 8-10). This name occurs once in the Kur'an (XXXII, 13). Ithriya is found in Pirolay and Scopinus Byzantinians, and Yafâ in Minaean inscriptions. Al-Madina is properly "the town" or "the place of jurisdiction", corresponding to Greek medina. The word madina as a common noun occurs ten times in the Kur'an and the plural madâna six times, all in stories of former prophets. In four relatively late verses (IX, 107f.; 120f.; XXXIII, 60; LXIII, 8) al-madina appears, referring to the oasis now inhabited mainly by Muslims, but it is possible that it has not yet become a proper name. The same holds of its occurrence in the last clause of the Constitution of Medina (1bn Hâkim, ed. Wustenfeld, 347-9), since in the preamble and other two clauses of this document the name Yafârah appears by itself. It is often suggested that the name is a shortened form of madina al-nabî, "the city of the Prophet", but this is unlikely in view of its use in the Kur'an, especially in LXIII, 8, where it is spoken by Hypocrites. Of the poets of the oasis, the pre-Islamic Jâys b. al-Khaţîfîn (g.v.) speaks only of Yafârah, whereas Muhammad's contemporaries Hassân b. Thâbit and Kâthîr b. Malîk (g.v.) use both names.

Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. For defence, several hundred large and small enclosures and strongholds (âjâbm, sing. ânum; also âdiyam, sing. âjum) had been constructed, perhaps about 200 in all. In these local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger. The idea of the âjâbm probably came from the Yemen (cf. H. Lammens, Tâfî, 72 = MFôB, vii [1922], 184).

The later Muslim historians (cf. al-Sâmûhî, i, 150-65; hâfî 3, fâsî 1) had no reliable information about the earliest history of Medina, and the views expressed appear to be conjectural; e.g. that the first cultivators were 'Amâliq (g.v.). It seems probable that before the arrival of any Jews there were some Arabs at Medina, doubtless the ancestors of those found subordinate to the Jews at the time of the settlement of al-Aws and al-Khazrajî. It was probable because of this close relation to the Jews that certain small Arab clans (Khatma, Widîâ, Wâjîf, Umâyya b. Zayd, sections of 'Amr b. 'Awîf) did not at first accept Muhammad as prophet.

There is also obscurity about the earlier history of the Jews of Medina. It seems probable that some were refugees from Palestine, perhaps men who left after the defeat of Bar Kockhîb, but others may have been Arabs who had adopted Judaism as a religion. Certainly, the Jews of Medina intermarried with Arabs and had many customs similar to those of their Arab neighbours. It is clear from the Kur'an, however (e.g. II, 47/4 ff.), that they claimed to be of Hebrew descent, despite the fact that the names of the clans and most of the names of individuals are Arabic. Early Arabic poems ascribed to Jews are indistinguishable in literary form and in content from those of desert Arabs (Th. Nöldeke, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber, 52 ff.).

While there may have been some simple agriculture before the coming of the Jews, they almost certainly developed the cultivation of dates and cereals here as in other oases such as Khaybar (cf. W. Caskel in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., Studies in Islamic cultural history, Menasha 1954, 43; = American Anthropologist, lxvi/a, Memoir no. 76).

There were three main Jewish groups in Medina at the Hijra to the clans or tribes of Kurya, al-
Nadır and Kaynuṣa. Of these, the first two had some of the most fertile land in the oasis, while the third had no land but were armourers and goldsmiths, besides conducting a market. In addition, al-Samhudi lists about a dozen other purely Jewish groups, of whom the most important was the Bani Hadi, which was closely associated with Kurayya. He further mentions among the Jewish groups a few which are sometimes given Arab genealogies, such as Unayf and Marthad (parts of Balî), Muwaṭṭa b. al-Hārith (of Sulaym), and Dājjamā and Nāḡḥa (of al-Yaman).

The Jewish domination of Medina came to an end some time after the settlement of two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-Khazraj (q.v.), sometimes called together the Banū Khayta, but mostly referred to as the Anṣār or “helpers” of Muhammad. They are among the Arabs said to have left South Arabia after the breaking of the clan of Maʿrib [q.v.]. At first these Arabs were under the protection of some Jewish tribes, and a sign of their inferiority was that Fīzyawm, the leader of the Jewish-Arab group of Thaʿlabâ, exercised a ṣūr prīmææ vacit over their women. This was resented by Mālik b. al-ʿAqlān (of the clan of Āwfa of al-Khazraj), and he revolted successfully and became independent. Subsequently, with help from either a Ghassānīd or a South Arabian ruler (according to somewhat legendary accounts), he enabled the other clans of al-Aws and al-Khazraj to become independent of the Jews. It is sometimes said that the Jews now became subject to these Arabs. This is not borne out, however, by the historical accounts of the period up to 627. The main Jewish groups, though doubtless now weaker than the Arabs, retained a measure of independence and continued to occupy some of the best lands. They were not politically united by their religion, but different groups were in alliance (ḥāl) with different Arab clans, and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of Judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Dānū Zārūṣ with ʿAbd al-ʿAṣchūl).

The historical accounts make it clear that the effective political units in the pre-Islamic period were not the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, but smaller units, which may be called clans. Those mentioned in the Constitution of Medina (see below) were al-Nabīt, ʿAmr b. Āwfa and Awās Manāt (later Arabs Allâh) among al-Aws, and al-Nuḍājug, al-Nuḍājir, al-Nuḍājir, and al-Nuḍājir among al-Khazraj. It is impossible to know whether these were al-Khazraj who came to Muhammad probably in 620. At the pilgrimage of 621 they brought a party of twelve men (including two from al-Aws), and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of Judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Dānū Zārūṣ with ʿAbd al-ʿAṣchūl).

The number twelve was probably suggested by the appointment of twelve “representatives” (ṣūbāḥ). The number twelve was probably suggested by the tribes of Israel and the churches of Jesus; but the fact that when the first representative of the clan of al-Nuḍājug died Muhammad took his place (one of his great-grandmothers had been a woman of al-Nuḍājug) suggests that the ʿṣūbāḥ were part of a political structure for Medina which fell into disuse. The effective structure of the community is doubtless that indicated in the document often known as “the Constitution of Medina” (Ibn Hisham, 159; e.g. Ibn Hisham, 159; etc.).
Cattani, Annali, i, 391-408; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 221-8; E. B. Serjeant, *The Constitution of Medina*, in IO, viii (1964), 3-16; ibid., *The Surname Jamal, poets with the Yathrib Jews*, and the *Jahid of Yathrib*, in BSOAS, xii (1958), 1-42. The document is composite, as is shown by repetitions. In its present form it would seem to belong to a date after the Kurayya affair in 5/627, but some of its articles may go back to the Pledge of War at Al-Akaba. By this document all the people living in Medina are constituted a single umma or community in accordance with traditional Arab ideas of confederacy. There are nine primary members of the confederacy, eight local "clans" (three of al-Aws and five of al-Khazraj, and al-Umayya), and the group of Emigrants from Mecca. Although the underlying political conceptions were pre-Islamic, the confederacy was one of Muslims, since at least the leading men in each of the eight clans had accepted Muhammad as prophet. Many of the articles speak of "the believers", and there are several references to God. About ten distinct groups of Jews are mentioned in separate articles, and are confirmed in the practice of their own religion, as well as having certain rights and obligations. Even unbelievers or idolaters in the Arab clans appear to have been accepted as members of the community, though with restricted rights. There are some two dozen genera of articles dealing with various matters conductive to the smooth running of the community. Muhammad is given no special powers, but is recognised as prophet and is to have disputes referred to him. At least until 5/627 he could not issue commands but had to consult the clan leaders and get them to agree to what he proposed. After the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, however, his authority was unchallenged as a result of Muslim successes. When Arab tribes accepted Islam and became allies of Muhammad they were presumably included in the confederacy, and the Muslim community ceased to consist solely of the inhabitants of Medina. Al-Aws and al-Khazraj, as Muhammad's earliest allies, were called the Ansir or "helpers". The period from the Hijrah to Muhammad's death was characterised by a series of over 70 expeditions or razzias (mehdli, naqiz), in which the number of participants varied from a handful to 30,000. In the first few small expeditions, only Emigrants from Mecca took part, but in the expedition of 2/624 which culminated in the battle of Badr the Muslims of Medina, whether Emigrants or not, were included in Muhammad's force. After the victory at Badr most of the Muslims of Medina were committed to Muhammad's general policies, though, as a few, the Hypocrites (munafaqun, q.v.), opposed them. This opposition within Medina was dangerous for Muhammad when the Meccans invaded the oasis in 3/624 and the Muslims of Medina suffered many casualties, and again in 5/627 when the Meccans with many allies attempted to besiege Medina. There was also opposition from some of the Jews, and this led to the expulsion of the clans of al-Aws and al-Najjar in 2/624 and 3/625, and the execution of the men of Kurayya and selling into slavery of its women and children (5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms (5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms (muhaddithun) gave no further trouble. In succeeding years, many Arab nomads on accepting Islam came to settle in Medina and were attached to the group of Emigrants; and this further strengthened Muhammad against the "Anjar. On the whole, he managed to keep the peace between the rival groups in Medina, though at times he was able to use the hostility of al-Aws and al-Khazraj to further his own ends. After the conquest of Mecca and the acceptance of Islam by many of the leading Meccans, both sections of the Anjar felt threatened by these last (cf. the Higham, 834, 353 f.), and this division in the Anjar gradually ceased to be of political importance. The opposition to Muhammad from 'Abd Allâh b. Ubayy and his supporters, known as the munafaquun, seems to have faded out at the time of the siege of Medina, for 'Abd Allâh b. Ubayy participated in the expedition to al-Hudaybiya. About 9/630, however, another group of munafaqun appeared. During the expedition to Tabûk an attempt on Muhammad's life was planned, but was foiled. About the same time a mosque had been completed in the southern part of the oasis, the Masjid al-Dinâr or "Mosque of Dissension", but instead of honouring it by his presence Muhammad sent men to demolish it, having realised that it was designed to be a focus of intrigue against himself. (For the details of all these events, see Muhammad.) After the great expedition to Tabûk, Muhammad did not leave Medina except to make the Pilgrimage of Farewell to Mecca in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 10 (March 2/632. About two months later he fell ill, and asked permission of his wives to remain in al-Hijja's apartment (instead of spending one night with each in turn). He died on 15 Rabi' 1 11/8 June 632 and was buried in this apartment. He had made no arrangements for succession to his political authority, except that he had appointed Abu Bakr to lead the public prayers. The Anjar met in the hall (sadda) of the clan of Si'da and appointed the leading Khazraj, Sa'd b. Ubâda, as their ruler. 'Umar and Abu Bakr, however, heard of what was happening, hurried to the hall, and persuaded the Anjar that only a man of Kurayya could be accepted by everyone as head of the community. They then appointed Abu Bakr who took the title of "caliph (khilafa) of the Messenger of God". Abu Bakr continued to reside in Medina and to follow a policy of expansion by sending expeditions northwards. Most of his brief reign (11-13/632-4) was occupied in subduing revolts among various Arab tribes (the wars of the Ridda). His successor 'Umar (13-23/634-44) was about thirty years of age when he took power. He ruled for twenty years, and died in 4/644. 'Umar had already resided in Medina, apart from brief visits to recently conquered provinces. Medina was thus briefly the capital of an empire, but had little of the dignity associated with such a role. The caliph lived in his private house, and had no guards. Thus when insurgents from the provinces attacked Uthman in his house, his only support was from the sons of some of the leading men of Medina who had been sent as a token force. When the insurgents attacked seriously, there was virtually no resistance at all. The uprising was that of the Muslims of Medina accepted 'Ali as caliph, but they were now only a small proportion of the whole Muslim community, and their choice of caliph was not accepted in all the provinces. The Muslims of Syria Sawyer's government Mu'awiyah, while 'Abd al-Malik opposed 'Ali, first from Mecca and then from Basra. 'Ali, feeling constrained to counter the moves of these two, left Medina for Iraq in October 656 and never returned. In effect, Medina was replaced as capital by Kufa, and, after the acknowledgement of Mu'awiyah as caliph in 661, by Damascus.
expressed surprise that one of the participants in the battle of the Yarra [q.v.] also lived quietly in Medina. As already noted, some of the leading men of Medina disliked Yazid's succession to his father Mu'awiya in 680/683. Some may have been moved by the hope of a better life in Medina, as claimed by Yazid, and forced a thousand members of the Umayyad family and its supporters to take refuge in the quarter of Marwan b. al-Hakama [q.v.], the head of the family in Medina, though of a different branch from Mu'awiya. Yazid sent an army of 4,000 to 12,000 Syrian troops under Muslim b. 'Ukba, but when these arrived the rebels had allowed the Umayyad party to leave Medina for Syria. Muslim's army encamped on the Harrâ to the north-east of Medina and invited the rebels to submit. Instead they marched against him and were severely defeated, and Medina is alleged to have pillaged for three days by the Syrians. There seems to be some anti-Umayyad exaggeration in the accounts of this battle of the Harrâ [q.v.] and its aftermath. These events did not greatly alter the position of Medina, except perhaps to reduce its political importance for a while.

In 130/747 a group of Ibagiyya [q.v.] who had established themselves in the Yemen sent an army into the Hijaz and, after defeating the governor of Medina and a locally raised force, occupied Medina for three months until defeated by an army from Syria (Wilhenaussen, Die Oppositionsparteien, ch. 211; Eng. tr. The religious-political factions). After the establishment of Abbasid rule, Medina was the centre of two short-lived and unsuccessful Hasanid revolts, that of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, the "pure soul" al-nafs al-zawgya [q.v.] in 145/762 and that of Husayn b. 'All, the sabit Fakhkh [q.v.], in 151/768. Another incident that has been recorded was the attack in 230/845 by the Turkish general Bughâ al-Kâdir of the nomadic tribes of Sulaymân and Hâjî who had been making depredations in the region of Medina. About two years later they escaped from prison, but were put to death by the people of Medina (Tabari, iii, 557 f.; Ibn al-Athîr, §an'ah 230, 229).

For the first three centuries of Islam these are the main events involving Medina.

Even in the reign of Mu'awiya, Medina was becoming remote from the caliph and his government, and was beginning to attract those who wanted to keep aloof from political turmoil and maintain an attitude of neutrality between the opposing groups. Prominent among the neutrals was 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. al-Khathub [q.v.]. To Medina also came al-Mayyaj b. 'All [q.v.] after renouncing his claim to the caliphate in 41/660, and to Medina were brought al-Husayn's wife and son after his death at Karbala'.

Another son of 'All, Muhammad b. al-Kadiyya [q.v.], also returned to Medina in 75 A.H. and resided there. He was a member of the Umayyad family, not closely involved in the government of Mu'awiya and Yazid, and resided in Medina. Many others of the Quraysh of Mecca also settled there. Such people were able to enjoy the wealth brought to them by the wars of conquests, and life in Medina became notorious for its luxury. The caliph Marwan I expressed surprise that one of the participants in the rising of 287/745 had not been held back by the wine and singing-girls of Medina (Tabari, ii, 710).

At the same time, however, Medina became an important centre of Islamic intellectual life. From the beginning of Islam, it would seem, many had moved to mosques to discuss matters of religious interest. In Medina in the Umayyad period such discussions led to criticisms of current legal and administrative practice on the ground that these were not in accordance with Islamic principles. As these discussions and criticisms became more systematic, Islamic jurisprudence began to take shape. The early school of Medina seems to have been important (though J. Schacht, Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, 223, etc., thinks it was subordinate to the Hijâj schools). There are many references to "the seven lawyers of Medina", a group of men who died a little before or shortly after 169/785; the lists of the seven vary somewhat [see MAMMâL A-MADINNA A-SANA'in Supplement]. One of the most prominent was Urwa b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], who was also a collector of hadîth and of historical information about the life of the Prophet. Among his pupils were his son Higham and (Muhammad b. Shihhab) al-Zuhrî (d. 214/732 [q.v.]), one of the greatest scholars of the time in several fields. The real flowering of the legal school of Medina, however, came through the work of Malik b. Anas (d. 195/705) [q.v.], who was the founder of one of the four Sunni legal rites. The textual study of the Kur'an was represented in Medina by Nâfi' al-Laythî (d. 195/785), the authority for one of the seven canonical sets of readings. Ibn al-Kâliga al-Maghânum (d. 130/747) from Medina was also highly thought of for his textual studies. In the exegesis of the Kur'an an important place was held by 'Abd al-Rahîm b. Zayd b. Aslam (d. 195/785), who had been noted as a lawyer. A pupil of Malik's, Ibn Zabîl, wrote one of the first histories of Medina (Seggin, G.A.S., i, 343); it has not survived, but is occasionally quoted by al-Samhâdi.

No wall was built round Medina until it was felt to be threatened by the Fatimid conquest of Egypt. In 361/974 the Buwayhî 'Abd al-Dawn built a wall enclosing the central part of the town. This was restored in 514/1125 by a Zangid vizier, but a few years later in 517/1126 the Zangid Atabeg of Syria, Nur al-Dîn Mahamid, built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. After the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Sulayman Kamal (1500-66) built walls about 1.2 m. high of basalt and granite, with a trench in front. He also built a covered aqueduct to bring water from the south. These walls were raised to 2.5 m. by Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz (1861-76).

In 601/A003 the people of Medina were involved in a quarrel between the governors of Mecca and Medina, but, though there was some fighting, an agreement was eventually reached. Half-a-century later, in 737-8, Medina was threatened by a volcanic eruption. After a series of earthquakes, a stream of lava appeared, but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then northwards. After this, little is recorded of Medina until the 15th century. In 1894 the Wakhâbî [q.v.] took the town, plundered the jewels, pearls and other treasures of the Prophet's Mosque and prevented pious "visits" to his tomb there. In 1813 it was recaptured for the Ottomans by Tûsùn, a son of Muhammad al-"All of Egypt, and in 1815 the Wakhâbî emissary, 'Abd Allah b. Sa'îd, recognised Ottoman sovereignty over the holy places in the Hijâj, and there was no change in this respect until the First World War. Shortly before that, in
1908, the Ottoman government built the Hijāz railway from Damascus to Medina. Though primarily intended for pilgrims, this had some military importance, and was the object of attack after November 1916 when the Grand Sharif of Mecca, Husayn b. 'All (q.v.), revolted against the Ottomans. A contingent of Ottoman troops, under Faḫr al-Parāṣa, however, maintained themselves in Medina until after the peace in 1918, not surrendering until 1 January 1919 with his 9,600 men (see A. L. Tibawi, The last knight of the last caliphate, in JQ, xv (1971), 259-63). In 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish republic the Grand Sharif (now King) Husayn assumed the title of caliph, but met with much opposition from Arabs and other Muslims. In particular, Ibn Su'ūd invaded the Hijāz in August 1924; Husayn abdicated in favour of his son 'Abd al-Madjīd al-“Mifa’īe”, was downgraded to a governor, and in January 1926 Ibn Su'ūd became “King of the Hijāz” as well as of Naj'd. Medina was thus incorporated into the Su'ūd kingdom.


The Wahhábīs (q.v.) zealots in the end served following the arrival of 'Abd Allāh b. Bulayhī, the chief Wahhábī bāḍī. He soon assembled the local “ulama' and asked them to give him, after due deliberation, an opinion on the legality of the elaborate tombs erected over the years in al-Baqī' cemetery. After some two weeks of discussion, a fatwā (q.v.) motivated partly by fear, was issued by Shaykh Muhammad al-Ṭayyīb al-Asāqī, with reluctant approval from his colleagues, which sanctioned the Wahhābī view that the tombs, cupolas, etc., should be destroyed. Shaykh Muhammad was for the rest of his days referred to with opprobrium as the Wahhābī. Ibn Bulayhī then had legal justification to implement the Wahhābī view. He had, however, a problem: there were almost no Wahhābīs in al-Madīnah, and the regular population was reluctant to implement the fatwā. In the end, he had to hire the Shī'ī pariah class al-Nakūhīlā (see below) to perform the task. When Eldon Ruttner visited the city just after these events, he found that al-Baqī' looked like a razed town. It was strewn with a rubble of earth, timber, iron bars, bricks, cement, etc., through which paths had been cleared. It was said that 10,000 of the Companions of the Prophet had been buried there, but all graves, from those of the Prophet's family, of Ulūmah, Mālik b. Anas and other well-known Muslims, to the palm-frond graves of the poor, were systematically destroyed. Some of the Nakūhīlā, who had never been allowed to bury their own dead in al-Baqī' cemetery, were still raking the rubble when Ruttner visited the site. Also, existing religious buildings such as the mosque of the tomb of Ḥanī was destroyed.
Ibrahim b. Salim b. Subhān was soon replaced, but there was one saving grace amidst the carnage. Full public security throughout the peninsula, unknown for long years, provided the basis for a future of far greater hope.

In 1946 King 'Abd al-'Aziz, to use his new title, visited the Prophet's city and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the British Agent and Consul, Mr. S. R. Jordan, but little came of them. 'Abd al-'Aziz, who had been absent from Nadu' for two years, had to return to affairs there. The only other high-level meetings which modern al-Madina has known was in early 1945 when King Farūk b. Fu'ād [q.e. in Suppl.] of Egypt visited King 'Abd al-'Aziz and invited him to visit Cairo, which he did in January 1946.

The population of the captured city was much depleted, but there are no exact figures. Estimates with source for the 19th and 20th centuries are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>16,28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>16,20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1,40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1,70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2,12,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One could assume that by 1983 the population was approaching 200,000. Current estimates for the province of al-Madina are approximately 500,000, but it should be emphasised that the estimates are only guesses. The compulsory recording of births dates only from 1965. In 1972 it was estimated that average population density was 2332/km², with a centre-city density of 30-40,000/km². The population lived in clearly compartmented quarters (ḥusnā, pl. ḥusnāt) and, in addition to native Medinians, included North Africans (attracted by the tomb of Mālik b. Anas), Indians, black Africans (Takārīna), Mauritians (Shaikhṣa) and Central Asians. A newer "immigrant" group are tribesmen: those of Zarb are concentrated in the eastern ḥusna; those of Ḥdhayna in the western. In addition, there was a large Nahwīlā (sing. of the enmuck and other servants of the mosque (al-Haram al-Nabawi). These included imāmān, mawādādūn, caretakers, etc.

Religiously, the population is mostly Sund, of whom the large majority is Hindu with a few Arabian. There are also several groups of Shi'īs. One of the most interesting of these is the Nakhwīs (sing. Nakhwī). This is a twelver Shi'ī parish class who formerly had their own (ḥusnā), which was, however, broken up by the Suqūd régime first, apparently, in the late 1930s and definitively following serious communal disturbances in the mid-1970s when a large highway was run through it. The origin of the Nakhwīs, who are currently roughly estimated to number between five and ten thousand, is obscure. They themselves claim to be descendants of the Ansār; others believe they are descendants of African slaves, that they came from eastern Arabia or from Iran, etc. Some date their ostracisation from the time of the caliph Yazīd I. The name derives from their specialisation in cultivating palm trees. They also perform other menial services and, Rutter reports they were not allowed to live within the city walls, although they came in during the day to sell vegetables near Bāb al-Salām. In addition, the Nakhwīs were not allowed to pray in the Prophet's mosque, nor do they bury their dead in Bād, but rather in their own cemetery east of Kubā. Popular Sunní feeling, according to Rutter, was that they would pollute these localities. They practice mifta (q.e.), and it was said they rent the houses to Iranian pilgrims during the hajj season. It may also be noted that the late Ottomans effectively prevented them from participating in elections, and King 'Abd al-'Aziz, following a general protest against their participation in voting for the majlis al-ṣūrat in 1937, followed the Ottoman precedent. There are also a few Shi'īs of the Band 'Aš section of Zarb and the Band Ḥusayn of al-Sādāt. It may also be noted that there is a small upper class group of Shi'īs in al-Madina. These, originally from Ṭrāk, are to a considerable degree integrated with the local Sunnis, and has basically come from two families, ʿUmar and Muhīdīn. Among the well-known Sunnī families are the Khurayjīs, of Nadji origin but long connected with trade in al-Madina, who in the mid-1930s had the finest residence in the city; the Ṣaḥāḳīs, whose scon Umār was for some years Suqūd Foreign Minister, and newer rich families such as the Asādīs and the Kurḍūs who made fortunes in land speculation in the 1920s. The feudal modernisation of the 1950s, 1970s and 1980s, has largely destroyed all of the old ʿahmar and has promoted a considerable homogenisation of the people; but slums remain in certain parts of
the old city, and these continue to have ethnic settlement patterns. On balance, Philby's judgment continues to be sound, that the people of al-Madina, favoured as they are by location, water supplies, and relatively abundant agriculture, "lead more spacious lives" with something of the patrician and the patriarchal about them, in contrast to their neighbours in Makka.

The physical appearance of al-Madina has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhabis first took it over. Rutter was told that the houses


in the oldest sections of the city around the mosque, but especially between the haram and al-Bakrī, were built so incredibly close together in order to prevent the samīm from penetrating them. These houses, which were built of granite or basalt blocks and some of which had pillared halls opening on bathing pools, were typically three or four stories tall. Almost every house had a well with a hole directly above it on each floor. The hole itself had a small room (bayt al-lāb)' built around it which served as a

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Hāshimite King Husayn built another wall from the northeast section of the old city north and then westward, but the Hāshimite kingdom ceased to exist before the new wall reached the existing outer wall on the west. With the coming of the pax Sunnī, the whole system became obsolete, and gradually the walls disappeared before bulldozers. Philby reported in 1937 that they were gone, but some fragments still exist.

Modernisation has brought completely different

architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Courtyards have been replaced by balconies, and cement and bricks are now standard. Sometimes old and new are combined, with traditional materials used on the ground floor and concrete blocks above. The latter, being lighter, allow larger rooms than would stone. The new construction is less insulating than the old, but air conditioning offsets this loss. Much of the growth of the city has been uncontrolled. Immigrants have settled on the eastern and western fringes and bidonvilles have emerged. Some of the more prosperous immigrants have replaced their shanties with substantial structures, but growth in these areas has been chaotic. Running water did not exist as late as about 1960; electricity reached the Marafi only about 1975.

By the 1960s, a city plan emerged. It features wide streets, street lighting, plantings, pavements for pedestrians and parks. Various new streets were cut, others were widened. The castle at al-Bab al-Shunum was demolished and replaced by apartment houses, and certain streets formerly connected by stairs were placed on the same level. The al-Mahdis disappeared; buildings were built across the water course that cut through the southern part of the city on a northwest-southeast axis.

In general, the central business district near the Prophet's mosque has not shifted, but there are satellite suburbs which have grown rapidly. These include al-Sawall to the southeast, Kubl to the south (which with its orchards and cafes is a suburb of the affluent), and Sayyid al-Shutahd to the northeast.

The old layout of the city continued to impose itself on some developments. The Hijaz railway station and the Ottoman barracks were both located in the southwest just inside the outer wall. The straight road, Shari al-Anbariya, which led to the centre of town at al-Bab al-Misaf, had also by 1925 attracted the public or Egyptian kitchen, the governor's residence, and other private mansions. In the late 60s, the barracks were demolished and replaced by a large government building. Other
multi-story buildings soon followed. The location of the residence of the amir exerted a pull on the location of upper-class housing. As long as the governor's house was in the south, the well-to-do lived there, but when in the 60s the amir's palace moved to the north of the city, Sultana Street, which led northwest towards the old (Sultan) airport, and the community of al-Uyun (7 km. away) began to attract affluent villas. The new airport located about 14 km. northeast of the city has also been an attraction northwards, and in general the area between Shari al-Matár (airport road) and Sultana Street has filled in. West of Sultana Street, Diabat Sala, a difficult and substantial rocky outcrop, improved development, but by the 80s villas were appearing north of it as well. To exemplify the overestimated inflation in land prices, one can cite a garbage area north of the outer (Husayn's) wall where no one would build. Cleaned up in the 60s, land was selling there for $2,500/m² by the mid-70s.

Other points of interest are that industry has generally moved outside the city where land was cheaper and there was room to expand. Public open spaces in al-Madina are below international standards (totaling, in about 1980, 2,321 m²), but this inadequacy is partially compensated for by recreational use of the green areas, which are themselves diminishing, north and south of the city.

Traffic has always been a problem in al-Madina. Rutter reports that streets in the old sections in 1926 were so narrow that on occasion a person had to walk sideways to pass. During the restoration of the mosque under Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (1848-60), a breach (al-Ayniya) was made in the inner wall, and a straight street driven through to near the southwest gate of the mosque (Báb al-Salām) so that columns and stone blocks could be brought in from Wādī al-Mu'in. As long as camels discharged their loads in the area (al-Mānitha) west of the inner wall reserved for that purpose and goods were then taken in by donkey or porter, the narrow streets could also be used by pedestrians, but with the coming of motor vehicles the situation became acute, especially as there was a severe shortage of parking space. One major parking lot does, however, exist in a portion of the old railroad yards.

Streets were added and widened in two stages: (1) 1950-5, when by private contract the asmeet and ashekh were greatly altered, by building new roads, especially Shari' al-Sulayman which runs north and south to the east of the old city, by widening others, and by asphalting others; (2) 1961-5, when the municipality itself carried the process a stage further, installing ilān al-ašra oneway traffic system in some sections and traffic lights. These in 1950s to be some unashphalted streets. The increase in vehicles can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1948-72, 6,517 vehicles were licensed, whereas in 1974-74, against 1958-59, 3,153 were licensed. In addition, at khaddir liyam the number of vehicles increased. One such, Shari' al-Khawājāt, which links, north of the city, the airport with Abyar 'All some 8 km. southwest of the city, where there are TV and power stations. Designed as a road which non-Muslim technicians would be allowed to use (hence its name), it has become the main truck route because it bypasses the heavy city traffic. The city boasts two bus stations and taxi companies (cabs can be ordered by phone). Traffic, however, apparently remains a serious problem. Makki reports that accidents and ensuing violence between drivers are common that parking fines are not levied, and that roads are hazardous for pedestrians.

The economy of al-Madina may be conveniently considered under three headings: agriculture, commerce and industry, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture and agricultural self-sufficiency have constituted one of the glories of al-Madina, and in the second stage, Palestine reopened early in June, and the main harvest was about a month later. The grapes, of which the best were a long white variety called Sharif, were also well known. Modernisation, however, has come disastrously close to ending the city's agricultural sector for three reasons. One is that urban sprawl in the 1940s overtook those farms which immediately surrounded the city. A second reason is the economic opportunity which the oil-driven economy of the country presented in other economic sectors; and the third cause is the fall in the water table because of unprecedented demands for water. By the 1950s, the formerly planted banks of Wādī al-Aṣākū had become barren and the desolation of the natural acacia forest, al-Ghriba, the traditional outdoor recreational area of the Medinese, and a source of wood, located some 7.5 km. north of the city, was well under way. This process was accelerated by the successive construction of small dams (al-Asig, 1950; al-Aṣākū, 1958; and Butbān, 1960) which prevented destructive flash floods in al-Madina, but also prevented water from reaching al-Ghriba. Makki believes (1982) that the process might still be reversed, but notes no sign of the required effort. The agricultural areas south of the city have held up more successfully, though some decline is noted there as well. The decades 1962-72 showed a total reduction in agricultural land of 13.8% from 3,14 to 6,77 km². Over 40% of the total is in al-Awâlīkh and Khid' south of the city. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, crop distribution in 1962 was as follows: 69% palm trees, 21% fruit trees, 14% alfalfa, and 7% garden vegetables, including tomatoes, eggplant, carrots, potatoes, squash, peppers, cucumbers, watermelons, cabbage, and cauliflower. It may be noted that the date trade was especially important as an export (to Syria, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent) crop. The dates in fact had a religious aura as a kind of blessing for the eater. There are many varieties, of which Rutter says the best three are al-Anbarī, al-Sa'ūdī and al-Hâwâ.

The estimated percentage distribution of the non-agricultural and non-religious work force is, after Makki, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1974</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>delivery services</td>
<td>22.01</td>
<td>24.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scientific and vocational services</td>
<td>10.84</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>governmental services</td>
<td>24.30</td>
<td>22.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary industries</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>11.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction and maintenance</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>20.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transport</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>27.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>17.75</td>
<td>65.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>7.78</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicrafts</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electricity and water supply</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highlights of the local economy are as follows. Industrial activities are principally date packing and vehicle repair. These are located on the periphery of the city on a totally unplanned basis. In 1971 manufacturing firms numbered 107, most of which employed 10 or less workers. Of the total, 35 were in ear repair, 17 in building tile manufacture, 15...
The Haram al-Nabawi, of course, is the central focus of al-Madina, although other buildings and localities have high religious significance. The exact area of the sacred territory (Haram) from which non-Muslims are excluded is unclear. There is indeed a certain ambiguity about the haram area of al-Madina. Abu Bakr said it was not a haram. Rutter reports that "common opinion" held that the area is bounded by the hase fields on the east and west, by Djibali Ayr on the south and Djibali Hajar ("behind Obed") on the north, an area about 18 by 3 km. Phibey wrote in the early 1950s that the whole district from Kub'a to Djibali Uhad was haram. Mallino reports that, according to the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate convention, it was defined as a radius of 30 km around the walls of the city—a significantly smaller area. Non-Muslims now regularly travel the Shari'a al-Kawaaqib and stay in such hotels as the Sheraton.

When the Wahhabis first arrived, they discouraged the visit (asayr) to al-Madina as constituting idolatrous tomb worship, but King 'Abd al-'Aziz, for whom the revenues had some interest, justified it on the ground that he permitted pilgrims to pray in the mosque but not to visit the Prophet's tomb. For Rutter, the mosque with its green dome and golden apex ornament rising high above the walls to one-half the height of white minarets was "a picture of the most striking beauty and magnificence." Phibey opined that it was the "chief architectural feature not only of Medina but of all Arabia." Rutter noted that many of the religious students had fled, but others were still studying at the feet of such masters as Ahmad al-Tanjawi and Ibn Tabbar. Phibey asserted that all the tombs (other than those in the Haram) were in ruinous condition. He also reports that the Shias of India had offered King 'Abd al-'Aziz £50,000 to spare the tomb of Fatima, but that it, like others in al-Balad, was then almost gone. In 1934, when Shaykh 'Abd Allah Sulayman visited the city, many of the historic tombs were tidied up, and basalt borders and simple headstones set in place. As to the Prophet's mosque itself, it has undergone substantial changes under Su'a'di rule. The first known attention to it took place during 1934-8 when, largely through the generous efforts of Ta'if at Harb of Egypt, badly needed repairs were carried out. These included installation of a new marble floor, and a new wooden screen to separate the women's section from the much larger men's part. Major enlargements followed. On 13 Shaban 1336/14 June 1948 King 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote an open letter to the Muslims of the world (published in al-Madinah al-Musawwara, no. 307, 1 Ramadan 1348/F July 1948) indicating his intention to enlarge the mosque. A committee of notables was to assess the value of those properties that were condemned and, if possible, some 50 officials was established in Shaban 1339/ May-June 1949. For actual building, a team of 14 architects, 200 artisans and 1,500 labourers was assembled. A workshop area was established at Abyar, for the repair of equipment and also for making mosaics. Equipment and supplies were brought in from Ta'if and included cement, iron and 30,000 tons of timber. The foundation stone was laid on 13 Rajab 1 1352/20 November 1935 before 2,000 dignitaries, and the inauguration of the new structure took place on 5 Rajab 1 1354/ 22 October 1935 with King Su'ud, who had succeeded to the throne, officiating. The total cost was £11 million. The total new area added to the mosque was 6,000 m². Other new features included 424 square and 232 round pillars. The lengthening of the building to the north was 228 m. and the new northern wall is 97 m. long. Essentially, what the builders did was to double the size of the mosque by integrating a whole new building on to the northern end of the original one. The new section has its own courtyard plus minarets at the new northern corners. (The old Ottoman style minarets at the former...
northern corners as well as the minaret just north of Bāb al-Rajmah were torn down). The building itself is in neo-Moorish style; the minarets, neo-Manfilik. In addition, as the accompanying Figs. 1 and 2 indicate, the Su'ūdi builders straightened out the arcades bordering the exterior of the structure and rebuilt the east, west, and north structures surrounding the original courtyard. West of the reconstructed mosque a large permanently canopied area was built in 1974-8 to provide shade for the vehicles and bodies of the hundreds of thousands who visit annually, although many old residences in the al-Madīnah were thereby destroyed. Finally, in Ṣa'ban 1403/May 1983 King Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ordered a further expansion of the mosque—basically on the east and west—from the present 26,000 m² to a staggering total of 82,000 m² with 90 m. minarets, the whole to be air conditioned. Little will remain of the old city.

There are of course other religious buildings and sites in al-Madīnah, and in 1989 they constituted about 1.8% of the total city area (down from 6.6% in 1950). The most important is al-Baqī', the cemetery lying to the east of the mosque. This tract, which has been used by all Medinees except the Nakha-willa since the Prophet’s time, was expanded in 1933 to an area of 52.743 m². It cannot in practice be mortgaged or sold, but again it is the property of the state. People. Makki estimates that bodies decompose in 2 to 3 months, after which a grave can be re-used. Sometimes at the height of the hadīdī, 2 bodies are put in one grave.

Other well-known sites include the mosque of al-ʿAbd-al-ʿArīf, the so-called al-Masjid al-ʿAbd-al-Rabbīn, and the mosque of Kubhī. In the city proper are also the al-Manṣūrah, Abū Bakr and ʿAll mosques near al-Manṣūrah street. A common characteristic of mosques in al-Madīnah is that they have a courtyard along with a roofed column. In addition to the cemetery and mosques, there are a number of so-called abwāyās or chapels in private homes. These often do have a door opening directly on the street, but by 1980 many had been abandoned. In Ottoman, ʿAbadd and early Su'ūdi days, the Ramadan cannon was fired from the Ottoman fort on Diabāl Ṣalāt, but with the modern growth of the city it could not be heard; other cannons were set up in various locations.

The logistics and management of pilgrims in al-Madīnah differs from that in Makkah, but still constitutes a major part of the economy of the city. In 1941 the number of visitors was 1,042,007 (of these 178,378 were from outside Su'ūdi Arabia; all others were Medinees). The main disputes for mode of travel to al-Madīnah in more recent years are not available, but a rough idea may be obtained from the following. In 1972 there was a total of 1,042,007 pilgrims to Makkah, of which 479,339 came from aboard and 562,668 from within Su'ūdi Arabia (of these 175,578 were from Makkah itself and presumably did not visit al-Madīnah). Of those who came from abroad, 20% came by sea, 40% by land and 30% by air. One could assume by 1980 that motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the smallest handful of the visitors to al-Madīnah. Some idea of various charges paid by znard to the official reception centre; (b) to assist them to find lodgings and to move in; (c) to guide them to the principal shrines and to assist in devotions; and (d) to assist them in arranging onward travel (which is usually to Makkah, Dwddah, or Yanbu'). The 1972 regulations, as cited by Long, specify that the shrines as: al-Iṣnubr al-Nabāwi al-Shari, al-Baqī and the other shrines. "Offices of the Directorate of Hadj Affairs of the Ministry of Hajj and Wākīs are located at the main sites to bear complaints. Like pilgrims proper to Makkah, visitors to al-Madīnah have come by every form of transport, certainly not excluding walking and, before World War II, including the railroad. However, since the Su'ūdi takeover, the railroad from Damascus has remained scarcely used and walking has practically ceased. As early as 1929 the number of visitors who came by camel caravan had declined to about half, while most of the other half came by motorcar. The first visitors to arrive by air came in January 1926 as the result of a contract made by the Su'ūdi government with the Egyptian Misr Airlines (now Egypt Air). In 1937 the aircraft made two flights per day from Djiukā to the old Sūlāna airport with five passengers per flight. In all, 105 visitors came at a cost of £20,500, of which half was tax. In 1939 the aircraft developed engine trouble, and the service was discontinued. By 1940, according to Long, the camel had practically disappeared as a means of transporting pilgrims. Roads to the holy cities received very high priority immediately after World War II, and the Djiuka-al-Madīnah sector was paved by 1958. Exact figures for mode of travel to al-Madīnah in more recent years are not available, but a rough idea may be obtained from the following. In 1972 there was a total of 1,042,007 pilgrims to Makkah, of which 479,339 came from aboard and 562,668 from within Su'ūdi Arabia (of these 175,578 were from Makkah itself and presumably did not visit al-Madīnah). Of those who came from aboard, 20% came by sea, 40% by land and 30% by air. One could assume by 1980 that motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the smallest handful of the visitors to al-Madīnah. Some idea of various charges paid by znard in modern times can be garnered. In the late 1920s, the round trip automobile fare from Makkah to al-Madīnah was taxed £7.50 (£36.00), but this impost was lowered by 1931 to £6 (28.80). Transportation fees, round trip (£ from Djiukā), were listed in 1948 as follows: first-class train (car), £24; second class (bus), £21; third class (truck), £8. In 1972 the fees are more exact:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single person fare</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus from Djiukā or Yanbu' to al-Madīnah and back to Djiukā or Yanbu'</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>27.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car from Djiukā or Yanbu' to al-Madīnah and back to Djiukā or Yanbu'</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>43.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus from Djiukā or Yanbu' and thence to Makkah</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>48.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus from Makkah al-Madīnah and thence to Djiukā or Yanbu'</td>
<td>70.50</td>
<td>21.40</td>
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</table>
By royal decree of 1384-85/1965, the fee for a dâlî was fixed at SR 10 (≈ $2.22; from 1378-79/ 1959 to 1970-71 the exchange rate was $ 1 = SR 4.5). Accommodation is a private sector matter, but there are government-sponsored prices. According to the 1957-72 regulations, SR 20 ($ 8.85) was the suggested daily rent for "a house." The Hâjjî Foundation Accommodation Control Committee of the Ministry of Hajj and Wafiq is charged with regulating abuse. In all, it has been estimated by Long that in 1972 dâlîs were paid SR 3.6 million ($ 867,470), assuming that 750,000 visited al-Madinah.

Al-Madinah had been famous for libraries and learning from early Islamic times, but Rutter found a mixed situation in regard to both. The library of 'Arif Hikmet Bey (q.v.), a former Ottoman mujadd al-Islâm who had also served as muftî of al-Madinah in 1239/1823 and following, was one of the richest in al-Hijâz, with estimated holdings of 17,000 volumes. Although Fu'âd Hammad opines that "in the Ottoman period" a considerable part of the collection had been removed, others do not corroborate his contention. Located just off the southeast corner of the Haram, the library was open to the public but non-circulating. Rutter describes it as a building composed of two domed rooms set in a walled garden. Access was through a large ornamental iron gate. Within, Rutter remarks on the cleanliness and high level of upkeep for the library's principal attendant and his assistant were both highly competent Turks, and several people were reading. Philby indicates that the library contained unique manuscripts. In regard to the very recent siege and Sukhâlî access to power, the assistant told Rutter that "we do not eat of the hand of the king, neither from the hand of Ibn Sa'd of the hand of al-Sâlim, could not be examined by Rutter because the key could not be found. Other libraries (Bâshîr Asbâh [2,063 volumes], the al-Sh admirable, was head secretary. He was a founder of al-Madinah al-Munawwara. (5) 'Azîz Dîya' al-Dîn b. Zâhid (b. 1353/1915-4), a poet and prose writer, who, following primary studies in al-Madinah, studied in the "health school" of Makka (closed in 1942-56). He became secretary to the Directorate General of Health and then went to the Directorate of Police. (6) 'Abd al-Hamîd Anbar (b. 1360/1948-9), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-'Ulum al-Sharîyya.

In mid-twentieth century, the Islamic University of al-Madinah has been the institution of highest learning in al-Madinah. This institution was founded in the early 1960s, with encouragement from members of al-Dîwân al-Muslimîn driven into exile by President Qâmil 'Abd al-Nâsir of Egypt, as an international seminary modelled at least in part on al-Azhâr and designed to propagate Islam. It contains both a secondary (madînat al-Dîmâr al-Islamiyya) curriculum and a university-level programme. The secondary section schedules 34 classes per week for three years, and the total hours per week per subject for the three-year curriculum are as follows: (5) 'All âshîr (b. 132 r/1905), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-'Ulum al-Sharîyya.

The university-level programme lasts four years. Students take 25 classes per week in the first two years and 24 in the last two. The total hours per week devoted to each subject are as follows: (5) 'All âshîr (b. 132 r/1905), a prose writer who both studied and taught at Madrasat al-'Ulum al-Sharîyya.

The university, led for many years by the well-known literary critic 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Dârî (and more recently by 'Abd Allah Sâlih al-Usayyad) is academically under a Higher Consultative Council, which in 1974 was almost equally composed of well-known foreign and Sukhâlî educators, 'Ilmî, or religious administrators. At that time these included, e.g., Hasanayn Muhammad Ma'hîfî, former muftî al-dîsâr al-Mishrîyya; Muhammad Amin al-Husaynî of Palestine; and 'Abd al-'ALîf al-Mawledî, former president of al-Qâmilî al-Islâmîyya of Pakistan. In 1973 the journal published by the university (Madînat al-Dîmâr al-Islamiyya) indicated that, at the university level, there were three faculties:
Kuhllyat-al-Sajarfa, Kuhllyat-al-Dawwa and Kuhllyat-Uslul-al-Fith, and that these faculties grant the "higher degrees" which Damascus to hold the same rights as equivalent degrees granted by the secular universities of the kingdom.

Despite the great increase in educational facilities, illiteracy continues to be a major problem. According to Makki's analysis of the 1974 census, about 74% of the Su'udi labour force in al-Madina was illiterate, and 5% of the foreign labour force was illiterate. A major explanation of continuing high illiteracy rates is the influx of illiterate people from desert and rural areas into the city. Medical facilities have also burgeoned in al-Madina since 1945—not least because of the pilgrimage, its medical problems and the public relations aspects thereof. One early milestone in this development was the establishment in 1336/1918 of an Italian-Muslim hospital under the auspices of the king of Italy. The hospital was under local control and was financed by a waqf from Tripoli, Libya. By the mid-1960s, a 50-bed hospital of tropical medicine as well as enlargement of the main general hospital were both under construction, and by 1975 a control station for schistosomiasis (bilharzia) had been opened. Patients treated in Medinese hospitals reached 503,635 in 1969, but declined in the subsequent year. Death rates have also generally declined, and the death rate of suqrarid dropped from 1.6% in 1942 to 0.31% in 1974. It might also be noted that the city gave its name to the parasitic Guinea Worm, as in Dracunculus medinensis, Vener medicinans or Filaria medicinans.

Modern communications in al-Madina cover the following: roads, facilities for air travel, tele-communications and rail service. Revival of the Hijaz railroad (railroad from Damascus to al-Madina) has been discussed by the Syrian, Jordanian and Su'udi governments throughout the post-World War II period. Periodical announcement of positive decisions have been made, but nothing has been done up to 1405-6/1985. The evolution of the telephone service has been steady since 1313/1896, when a line connecting the city with al-'Ula, Tabuk, 'Arman and Damascus was installed. In 1375-6/1956 a second line was put in place, and by 1336-7/1955 there was a 50-line exchange located outside al-Bab al-Shami and reserved for military use. Phiby reports that a wireless service to Dudda began under the Ottoman.

Partial suspension of the al-Madina postal service was referred to in 1322-3/1845-6, and a new station was established. It was to be composed of a president and four members. In Shafar 1345/1926 "fundamental instructions" on rules were issued by the still juridically separate Kingdom of the Hijaz. According to article 34, an administrative council (madfis idari) was established for al-Madina. It was to be composed of the kain mahmih (head of the amirial secretariat), his assistant, the heads of the various departments and four people nominated by the king. Al-Madina was one of only three cities in al-Hijaz that had police at the time of the Su'udi takeover; overwhelmingly, members of the police force were, all over the Su'udi realm, from Asir and Najd. Other administrative aspects may be mentioned. In 1346/1928-9, notaries (sing. hidsb al-wadi) were instituted in al-Madina as well as in Makkah and Dudda. (Elsewhere, hids perform this function.) Justice was, in the period till World War II at least, administered by a summary (mistu'a'dia) court under a single hidsi and had jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (al-makhama al-Abda) has a hidsi as president and two substitutes. In cases involving death of person or loss of limb, the decision had to be pronounced by the full court. Al-Madina also had a customs office which was a branch of the Dudda office. Originally, waqf administration in al-Madina was independent and reported to the local amir; however, by a royal decree 1354/1936 the waqf administration in Makkah was upgraded to a directorate-general with the Medinese director to report thereto. Finally, because of the importance of water and its interrelation with various properties in and outside the city, a special authority, Hayat 'Ayn al-Zarki, composed of five members, was established. It was in part financed by special waqfs, but was also written into the state budget as early as 1926. The name of the authority was changed in 1928 to the Water and Drainage Department. Writing in 1936, Fuad Hamza (al-Bilad, 184, 186, 193, 236) gives the names of most of the then incumbents of the various posts.

By the 1980s, water was for most Medinese piped into houses, offices and apartments from desalination plants on the Red Sea coast, but when the Su'udis took the city over the situation was very different. Al-Madina's not unplentiful natural water
supply came from three main interrelated sources, but basically from the south: (1) south of the city in and around Kuba; (2) ground water throughout the area of al-Madina; and (3) north of the city in and around al-Uyûn. In addition, several wells intersect more or less in al-Madina and often generated destructive flash floods. These wells gradually have been dammed, starting with a dam built in the 1940s to the northeast of the city and including the 1966 dam across the upper course of Wâdi Buûtân which used to flood the city frequently. However, the dams reduce the water available in the northern agricultural areas and thus lead to a decrease in cultivation. Actual rainfall in al-Madina fluctuates greatly. From 1957 to 1978 it ranged annually from zero to almost 104 millimeters, yet averaged 51 millimeters. Throughout the years, the most important source of domestic water has been Ayn al-Zârkâ, which was actually a series of wells connected by covered conduits in the Kuba area, where they joined into a single double-decker aqueduct. The upper channel carried drinking water to ten public watering places (manhal, pl. manâlî). The lower channel was a drain for the upper channel and for the manâlî. North of the city this aqueduct emerged above ground, and the water was used for irrigation. The manâlî were about 10 m. below ground and were reached by steps. The aqueduct passed under only two buildings: the former al-Mîb al-Shâmî and the mosque. There were also ordinary salûts up until the early 1960s. The first pipes and public taps were installed in 1909, and in 1937 there were 49 of these taps (kabbâb, pl. kabbâdât) from which water was often led to individual houses by hose. By 1955 there were 1,500 kabbâdât, but by 1974 their number had declined to 600 because of the spread of indoor plumbing; those that remained were in outlying areas of the city and which watered gardens delivered to the poorer population. Water meters began to be used in 1959. In addition, in the earlier period brackish water was readily available at depths of 4-20 m. and most houses had wells to tap this water. Recent use has now lowered the water table significantly, and the supply is inadequate. All have been abandoned, as well as the unusual bayt al-âlî's architectural feature (described above) which provided summer cooling for generations.

The situation with agricultural water is parallel. The natural springs in the al-Uyûn area which irrigated palm groves dried up, most of the trees died, and all dried up. Owners have compensated for the decline in the water table by pumping. Philby reported that around 1934 pumping was well established and expanding, and Makki (on whom most of this analysis of water is based) indicates that 872 diesel pumps were in use in 1962. Makki pleads eloquently for the 'Ayn al-Zârkâ Authority to control well-digging and pumping. A further development has been the erection in 1968-71 of a large concrete tank on top of Dhaîl Salâ, whether water is pumped from the Kuba pump station. Other tanks on high ground also ensure adequate water pressure.

There are two additional pressures on the natural water supply. The first is the recent increase in paved and asphalted areas which, with their runoff characteristics, reduce infiltration; and the second is sewage problems. There was no disposal system prior to the 1970s. Rather, each building had its own cesspool (bayyûra) which was cleaned (î by the Naibûwâla) periodically. This practice made for special difficulties in the dams because it is difficult to dig to depth and impossible without dynamite. Most of the waste was dumped in an area east of the city called 'al-Mansâsî' (Makkî's spelling). Water pollution is a growing problem; at least one well has had to be closed. On the other hand, a full sewage treatment plant was inaugurated in 1970 and located behind Dhaîl Ummûh. By 1976 a considerable portion of the city had been tied into the system.

Shabir or Ramla, i.e. "sandy terrain" (in Spanish areal). This terrain is still called "Cortijo del Arenal", an important part of which, the "Pago de Tejavana", is easily identified with the main nucleus of the old city. Today the traces which remain are too far away significant, but they show us that the buildings of al-Madina al-Zahira were made of materials of mediocre quality—bricks, quarries stones, clay wall etc.—and, consequently, without possible comparison with the riches and majestic edifices of its rival Madinat al-Zahra*. However, the palaces of al-Zahira were notably endowed with fine, sculpted marble stateras in the form of Roman sarcophagi and intended as fountains, of which the museums preserve marvellous examples which were executed—as their inscriptions testify—at al-Zahira for the Banu Abi 'Amir (Shabir or Ramla).

Finally, it is worth noting that, according to the historian al-DabbI (Buglaye, biogr. no. 1544), the famous Munyat al-'Adniryya was one of the palaces of al-Madina al-Zahira and, consequently, was not located alongside Madinat al-Zahra*, as some contemporary authors presume, who confuse this maraya with the Munyat Wadd 'Umrun, given to the caliph al-Fakam II al-Mustansir by his great jato Duri al-Asghar in 362/973.

**Bibliography:** see principally KURTHA, and also L. Torres Balbas, Al-Madina al-Zahira, la cefal d'Israel, in *al-Andalus*, xxii (1936), 353-9 (with a very complete account of the historical notices concerning the city supplied by the Arab chroniclers and geographers).

(M. OcAa JIMENEZ)

**MADINAT SdLIM**, the Arabic name, which has become MEDINACELI, of a small town in northeastern Spain, on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, and almost equidistant from these two cities; it lies at an altitude of more than 3,280 feet (1,000 m.), on the left bank of the Jalon. It owes its name to a Berber from the Masmuda, Salim, who repaired a Roman fortress which Târk (q.e.), according to Yâbuh, iii, 13, had found in a ruinous state.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to al-Idrisi, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu l-Fish¿ says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (al-thawr al-awsaf). Through its geographical position, Madinat Salim was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the 4th/10th century onwards. It was an many occasion, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the north-east of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn 'Idhari, in 335/948; this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghâlib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ghâlib remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-ManSîr Ibn Abi 'Amir (q.e.). It was in Medinaceli that this famous liéjih died on 27 Ramadan 392/10 August 902, on returning from his last expedition against Castile. In the following century, Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile.

Madinat Salim should not be confused with Madinat al-Sâlim or Ibn Sâlim, which was situated in the region of Seville, probably the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz (see the modern Grajera in the region of Seville, probably the modern Grazalema in the province of Cadiz).
northern part of the city, where the principal drawing-room of the caliph was excavated, richly decorated—which Ricardo Velázquez called the "Salón Occidental"—and, on the other hand, a large magnific—for its discoverer, the "Salón Oriental"—clearly marked by its austere decoration which proclaims a military purpose. The excavations carried out by Ricardo Velázquez were not conducted according to a preconceived programme, and it was at his death that a local commission was named in Cordova (Rafael Jiménez, Rafael Castejón, Ezequiel Ruiz, Félix Hernández and Joaquín Ma do Navascués) which had as its aim the delimiting of the extent of Madinat al-Zahra and the establishment of a plan of work to follow in future excavations. The survey of the ruins which flourished under the covering of vegetation allowed Hernández, the architect of the commission, to draw up, in 1944, the topographical plan on a scale of 1:800 of the terrain where the city was located. Later the same architect drew up, in 1926, a plan on a scale of 1:200 of the part explored by Velázquez, of which the drawing-rooms, courts, vaulted passages, etc., were enumerated following the chronological order of their discovery, and this order has prevailed until the present. Quite soon after, excavations were pursued and the two principal sectors discovered by Velázquez were gradually enlarged until they constituted a good deal greater than the original plan. At the beginning of the year 1930, the commission having been reduced to only two members, Castejón and Hernández, the reconstruction was begun, up to a prudent height, of the northern wall encircling the city. The same system was followed during the following years, with all the walls separating the terraces which had been discovered, before the re-establishment of the masonry in its broad outline. The civil war of 1936 paralysed the work until 1941, when it was pursued according to the system presented above. Simultaneously, excavations in the area undertaken where the then unexplored sectors belonging to the southern part of the Alcazar of the city, where in 1944, a magnificent reception magnificus was discovered, whose architectural work was a dreadful ruin, while its revetments of sculpted stone, although very fragmented, remained almost complete. This important discovery proved in an indubitable manner that the plunderers had pillaged everything that could be utilised for future constructions—known stones from the walls, capitals, shafts and bases of columns, etc.—and had dominated the surface decoration of the halls, generally composed of thin stone plaques which would be useless to dislodge and place in pieces in another construction. The year 1944 signals, in the excavations of Madinat al-Zahra, the beginning of a new age characterised by the reconstruction of halls by means of the preliminary recomposition of the decorative plaques and the restoring of these plaques on the walls and rebuilt arches. While the structure of the reception magnificus was rebuilt, excavations were pursued in the same sector and there was discovered, in the course of the following years, the whole architectural entirety of which the magnificus was the heart: a vast terrace, delimited on the east, south and west by a very thick wall fortified with towers; a small harem or pavilion placed opposite the magnificus and separated from it by a large pool; a hamam and steam bath, and some drawing-rooms with courts, staircases and public conveniences. According to the epigraphy placed at the time in this sector, the magnificus was built by Abd al-Rahmán III al-Nasir during the years 952-6, under the direction of his father Shemsay, as was the pavilion, but under the direction of the jābīb (the jā'far b. Abd al-Rahmán, who was to be the jābīb of al-Makram II). In 1964, Basilio Pavón explored, with the assistance of Hernández, the sector corresponding to the site of the gā'kūf of the city, perfectly illustrated in an autotopographical plan of 1924; this building had been totally destroyed by the plunderers, but all the principal elements of its structure have been identified and they will shortly allow for the reconstruction of the mosque. At the end of 1969 Hernández remained the sole director of excavations, which were then concentrated in a new sector located in the Western wing of the great Alcazar of al-Zahra and probably belonging to the house of Djasfar, the jābīb mentioned above. Finally, in 1975, on the death of the great master of Hispano-Moorish art Félix Hernández, the direction of the works fell to the architect Rafael Manzano, who has continued the enormous task of restoration begun by his predecessor. The Arab chroniclers and geographers have supplied us with excellent descriptions of Madinat al-Zahra and plenty of accounts and pieces of information acquaint us with the motive for its foundation: the choice of its site; the duration of its construction; the number of the workmen there, camels and mules and the materials and large sums spent on it; the palaces, reception halls, outbuildings, baths, pools, gardens, barracks, etc., built in its enclosure; the principal wonders contained in its buildings; the people who lived there; the bureaucratic services of the state which moved from Cordova to the new court; the memorable feasts celebrated in honour of the great dignitaries and ambassadors or to recall the memory of important events; the twilight of the city and, finally, its destruction and ruin. Furthermore, excavations have confirmed for us that the foundation of al-Nasir was a dazzling city built within a rectangular rampart which measured 716 m. from north to south and 1,500 m. from east to west, flanked by towers regularly spaced. This rampart was formed by two walls separated by a corridor, except in the central tier of its northern flank, where a single wall was defended, it seems, by another rampart placed in from of it up to the ridges of the neighbouring hills and attached to the general enclosure. The buildings constituting the Alcazar of the city—Royal Palace, Civil Headquarters, Military Headquarters and prodigious reception halls with their secondary annexes—were laid out on stepped terraces and adapted to the relief of the lower slopes of the mountain and supported by solid reinforcing walls. The area occupied by the Alcazar, the whole northern sector of the city, was approximately 45 hectares, of which only 12 hectares have been explored at present, although corresponding to the central part of this supreme architectural complex. Owing to the fact that the unexplored parts are, for the moment, greater (33 hectares) than those which have been explored, it is still not possible to identify the buildings discovered in terms of the documentation supplied by the texts; consequently, the Arabic names which have been given to these buildings are also gratuitous rather than definitive. For the moment we must be satisfied with contemplating the exceptional spectacle which, following the most recent work, Madinat al-Zahra offers to the visitor to the ruins: a reception magnificus of the 4th/10th century reconstructed with its origin-
al decoration, whose themes sculpted in stone and marble reveal the high degree of experience and exquisite artistic sensibility of all the artisans who worked for the great Cordovan caliph Abd ar-Rahman III al-Nasir.

Bibliography see principally KURTABA, and also E. García Gómez, Algunas precisiones sobre la evolución de la Córdoba omeya, in Al-And., xi (1947), 209-93; idem, Anales palatinos del califato de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isa ibn Ahmad al-Rašid, Madrid 1957, and H. Terrasse, Islam d’Espagne, Paris 1918. (M. OCAÑA JIMÉNEZ)

MADIRA (\(\lambda\)), a dish of meat cooked in sour milk, sometimes with fresh milk added, and with spices thrown in to enhance the flavour. This dish, which Abu Hurayra (7.a.) is said to have particularly appreciated (see al-Masudi, Murādī, viii, 403 = § 3562, where a piece of poetry in praise of madīra is cited), must have been quite well sought-after in medieval times (al-Dihrābī, however, does not cite it in his F. al-Bukhārī; see nevertheless al-Thālibī, Līdā'fī, 12, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 46). Its principal claim to fame comes from al-Hamadānī’s al-Makdimah al-mafrīyiyah (no. 22 in Muhammad ‘Abdullāh’s edition), in which ‘Isa b. Hīṣam records solely of an adventure which had happened previously to this last. In effect, this story is the satirical portrait of a nouveau riche who invites Abu ‘l-Fath al-Islāmī, having stayed there two months, apparently wanted to stay there, and, following him, Marmol, Africa, ii, 394, merely tell us that after having belonged to the sultans of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultans of Tanès, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas [see ‘ADDAY] established themselves in Algiers. Under Hasan Khayr al-Din, Mēdēa became the capital of one of the three provinces (baydās) of the Regency, the baydā of the south or of Titteri, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sēboun in Kubya. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province alternately at Mēdēa and Borgj Sēboun. It was not until this date that the region of Sēboun having been incorporated in the Dār al-Sulṭān governed by the bey, the bey of Titteri settled permanently at Mēdēa, where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaux. He had, however, no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a hābīl appointed by the aqṣā of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000-5,000, among whom were many Kulughīs [see KUL-OQGUL] and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the production of the Sahara and also negro slaves, who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830, May 1831, April 1836) occupied Mēdēa, taking permanent possession, ‘Abd al-Kadhīr [q.v.] however placed a bey in it and had his ownership of it recognised by the treaty of the Tafnas. The outbreak of hostilities again between the amīr and the French led to the final occupation of Mēdēa by the latter on 17 May 1840. It was in Mēdēa that, shortly afterwards, the future poet Jean Richepin was to be born.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see F. Pharaon, Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Médéa, in R. Afr. (1852); Védermain and Aucapitaine, Notices sur l’administration du beydīk de Titteri, in ibid. (1869). (G. YVER)

MADJALLA [see MEDJELLE]

MADJAR, MADJARISTAN, name given to the Hungarians or Magyars and to Hungary in the Ottoman period.

1. IN PRE-Ottoman PERIOD

(1) The names for the Hungarians and Hungary in the Arabic and Persian authors of the 3rd-8th/9th-14th centuries. The earliest mention of the Hungarians (Magyars) occurs in
the Kīlāb al-'Aṣāb al-nafla of Ibn Rusta (Ibn Rosteh), written between the years 290-300/593-613 on the basis of the geographical treatise of al-Diyāhānī (ca. 300 A.H.) who, used in the composition of this work, an anonymous historical account dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe and dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century. In this source the Hungarians appear with the name of al-Madīgharīyya, i.e. the Magyars. In this period they inhabited the plains adjacent to the Black Sea, between the Don and the Lower Danube, their eastern neighbours being the powerful Turkish tribe of Başgird (Počenega). It was under pressure from this tribe that they were compelled to withdraw, in ca. 889-92 A.D., into the basin of the Carpathians, where they founded a state which survived, within its 9th-century frontiers, until the end of the First World War.

It seems that the same anonymous account of the 3rd/9th century is also the basis for the description of the country of al-Madīgharīyya (Ar. bīdūd al-Madīgharīyya) contained in the Kīlāb al-Maṣālik wa l-mamlūkā of al-Bakrī (ca. 460/1068). In fact, the Hungarians mentioned in this context lived in a nomadic existence, and their territories, situated on the Black Sea, bordered on the provinces of the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgar states. The treatment of the al-Madīgharīyya people is also found in the Taḥfīn of Ibn Rusta's and Sharaf al-Zaman Tāhir al-Marwazi (9th) composed in ca. 514/1120. Analysis of this description reveals that the period in question is prior to the years 889-92, a period during which the Hungarians were still a nomadic people inhabiting the plains of Southern Russia, between the rivers *Dūnu (Danube, erroneously in the Arabic text Rūz), and Atli or End (Don). The description of al-Madīgharīyya contained in the work of al-Marwazi is also based on the treatise of al-Diyāhānī.

The anonymous Persian geographical treatise entitled Ḥudūd al-ʿilām in 982 A.D. mentions the Hungarians with the name of Madīghar. According to the author of the Ḥudūd al-ʿilām, the country of the Madīghar was situated to the west of a range of mountains which corresponds to the Carpathians and to the north of a Christian people called Wunandar. This latter people must be identified as the Bulgar tribe of the Ongundurs who, in the 6th-century A.D., occupied the northwestern Caucasus, in the region of the Kuban. It is known from Byzantine sources that, under the command of Asparukh, part of this tribe left the region of Kuban and travelled towards the Lower Danube which it crossed over in 679 A.D., founding to the south of this river the Turk-Slavic state of the Bulgars. The new arrivals were baptised in 864. The information given by the Ḥudūd al-ʿilām concerning the frontiers of the territory of the Hungarians is therefore not derived from the Anonymous account of the 9th-century, but from another anonymous source composed later, in the 4th/10th century, after the conquest by the Hungarians of the Carpathian basin in 889-92 A.D.

The name Madīgharī or rather Madīgharīyān (the plural in Persian of Madīgharī) is also found in the Zayn al-ʿakhḍur, a Persian historical treatise composed in the years 444-450/1053-59 by Gardīzī (or Gardīzī). Gardīzī considers this people to be Turkish. In the paragraph of the Zayn al-ʿakhḍur devoted to the Madīgharīyān, Gardīzī has used two different sources, these being the Anonymous account of the 3rd/9th century compiled by al-Diyāhānī and an anonymous source of the 4th/10th century, the same one that was used by the author of the Ḥudūd al-ʿilām. The Bulgars of the Danube are here called Madīghārī.

In his Tāfseer al-खayāmān al-Marwazi also calls the Hungarians (whom he knew still in their ancient homeland to the north of the Black Sea, between two rivers which may be identified as the Don and the Danube) al-Madīgharīyya. He considers this people as being of Turkish origin. Like Ibn Rusta, he too has taken his account concerning the Hungarians from the Anonymous account, the work dealing with Central Asia and Eastern Europe compiled by al-Diyāhānī.

The name Madīgharīyya is also found in the Taḥfīn al-bulūdān, a geographical work by Abu l-ʿFidāʾ (d. 732/1331), in a passage probably derived from the Kīlāb al-Maṣālik wa l-mamlūkā of al-Bakrī. For this reason this author calls the capital of the said people Madīghārī.

In another passage of his Taḥfīn al-bulūdān, Abu l-ʿFidāʾ also mentions the Magyars under another form of this name, sc. Madījar. According to this passage, the people in question lived, alongside the Serbs (Ar. al-Surb), the Vlachs (Ar. pl. al-ʿUṣūl) and other *inflides* (Christian) peoples, in a mountainous region called Khāḏrī Tābī (Kashar-Dag), where the Danube (Ar. Tūs) has its source and which may be identified with the Carpathians, linked to the Alps on one side and to the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula on the other.

In his cosmographical treatise entitled Kīlāb al-bulūdān (al-ʿakhḍur fl ṣaddūb al-barwāt wa l-bahr al-Dinmahdī (d. 672/1372) also mentions the Madījar or Hungarian people among the tribes inhabiting the territories situated on the tributaries of Nahr al-Ṣābīla in the Don and the Danube and the Tisia, wrongly considered as tributaries of the Draper. Besides the Madījar, al-Dinmahdī also mentions among these tribes the Baghwarz, which he takes to be a separate people but which was, as will be demonstrated below, simply another name given to the Hungarians by the medieval Arab geographers.

The Arabic and Persian names Madīgharīyya, Madīghārī, Madīgharīyān and Madījār produce the Finno-Ugrian ethnonym Magyar which is also known from medieval European sources. Thus, for example, the Byzantine author Constantine Porphyrogenitus (writing in 949-52) mentions among the Hungarians who were settled in the basin of the Middle Danube, a clan called Magyrog (Hungarian Megey) the Hungarian Megey. The Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kēza (writing in 1282-5) states in his Gesta Hungarorum that the ancestor of the Hungarians bore the name of Mogor. It may further be noted that in the Gesta Hungarorum of the Hungarian author called Bela regis Notarius (ca. 1300), the territory occupied by the Hungarians before their arrival in the Carpathian basin (889-92) bore the name of Dente mogor (Hungarian Dente magyar). The second part of this name, i.e. mogor, corresponds to the name of the ancestor of the Hungarians according to Simon of Kēza, while the first part, i.e. Dente, seems to be the origin of the name of Dāna, known from the Kīlāb al-buldān of Ibn al-Fakhri (909/910) as being that of the territory situated on the Lower Don, and also the name of Tanat, mentioned in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph in the 10th century A.D. The Italian geographical charts of the 11th-14th centuries call this region Thaniah.

The second name by which the Arab geographers...
of the 9th-10th/10th-11th centuries designated the Hungarians as that of Bashkirs. The latter were in fact a Turkish tribe which had lived, since the 10th century if not earlier, in the territory corresponding to the old Russian provinces of Fenza and Orenburg; they had nothing in common with the Hungarians, who spoke and still speak a Finno-Ugrian language. Thus the use of the name Bashkirs to denote the Hungarians (in addition to the correctly-named Turkish Bashkirs) is an enigma which has yet to be solved, despite the efforts of numerous historians and linguists, Hungarian and others.

The Turkish Bashkirs were called Bashkird by the mediaeval Arab authors (thus for example in the work of Ibn Fadlan [p.e.], ca. 310/922). The same, or analogous, names were also used by the Arab geographers to denote the Hungarians.

The first Arab author to give the Hungarians the name of Bashkirs was al-Mas'udi (d. 345/956). Describing in his Murjji al-djabhan the war fought by the Hungarians and their allies the Pechenegs against the Byzantines in the years 320-32/932 to 434, this author denotes the Hungarians by two different but related names, these being Bashkird and *Bashkirda, making of them two different, though kindred, peoples.

In his Kildb Masdlik al-mamlak, al-Istawikr, the Persian geographer al-Baktr provides another description of Hungary, which will be discussed below, the ethnonym Bashkird being used by him for the same peoples. How, however, to describe the Hungarians as established, through kindred, peoples.

The name of Bashkird (written Bashghird as that of the inhabitants of the country called Unkaliyya [Hungary] is also encountered in the work of the Arab traveller and writer Abû Hamid al-Andalusî al-Garnalî (d. 595/1197-98) called al-Mu'ib tan ba'd 'aqidat al-Mazhilî. He arrived in Unkaliyya in 594/1199-1200 and stayed three years in it and left the country in 547/1153, leaving behind his eldest son who had married the daughters of local Muslims. This same author provides another description of Hungary in his second work, the Taijat al-ateibh. In this latter book, the Hungarians bear the name of Bashgirdh.

In his Mu'jam al-baladun, Yâkût (d. 606/1210) likewise calls the Hungarians and their country Bashghirdiya or Bashgirdh. This writer met a group of Bashghirdiya at Halab [Aleppo] in Syria. Yâkût also mentions, in this account, the European name of Hungary as al-Hunkar (al-Hungar).

Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribî (d. 685/1286) divides the Hungarians into two different nations: al-Bashkird (Bashkirs) who are, according to him, Muslim Turks and who live to the south of the river Dôna (correctly Dôna, in Hungarian Duna—Danube) and al-Hunkar who are Christians. He does not appreciate that the Bashkird and the Hunkar are one people which is divided only by religion. Ibn Sa'id's great geographical work in which these ideas are contained was used by Abû 'l-Fidâî in his Tahkîm al-baladun.

The Arab cosmographer Abû Shâmas Abû 'Abd Allah al-Dimashkî (d. 727/1327) also mentions, in his Nihâyat al-dârî fi 'alâ'îdîb al-bârî wa'l-bârî, the Bashkird people which he locates in south-eastern Europe alongside the Magiîr or Hungarians. He does not appreciate that they are in fact the same people. Possibly al-Dimashkî intended in this fashion to distinguish the Muslim Hungarians from the Christian Hungarians, as Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi had done.

In his Atâr al-atîdî, the Arab cosmographer al-Kazwînî (d. 687/1287) also mentions the Muslim Hungarians whom he calls Bashgirdh.

The Persian writers of the Mongol period also use the name of Bashkirs to denote Hungary and the Hungarians. Thus for example, in the 'I'dârik al-Alâdîrî of Rashîd al-Dîn (d. 718/1318) Bashkirs are mentioned, alongside the Az (Yasi About the Rus' of the Russian chronicles) the Ura (Russians), the Çerek, the KipÇak and the Keler (in other words, Christian Hungarians, see below) among the subjects of these descendants of Chingiz Khân who dominated the western portion of his empire.

It has been stated above that al-Baktr uses the term al-Madjarîyya in his Kitâb al-Masdlik wa'l-mamlak to denote the Baktrians at the time when they were still leading a nomadic existence on the shores of the Black Sea (before 889/13). However, to describe the Hungarians as established, after the year 922 A.D., in the Carpathian basin, he employs two other terms which he has taken from the account of the Jewish merchant and traveller from Tortosa in Spain Ibn 'Alî b. Yâkût b. al-Turkî (355/965-6) [p.e.], these being al-Unkali (gen. pl. al-Unkalîyyin) and al-Turk (pl. al-Atârik). Leaving aside, for the moment, this last-mentioned name, which will be discussed below, the ethnonym al-Unkalîyyin/Unkalîyyin deserves attention. Now, Ibn 'Alî b. Yâkût mentions this tribe in a brief list of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, between the *Tiwaghiyyin (Germans) on the one side and the Badigfiyyin (Pechenegs), al-Rûs (Russians) and Khazars on the other, and stresses that all these peoples speak Slavic, in view of their close connections with the Slavs. Kunîk, the first commentator on that part of the geographical work of al-Baktr which deals with Central Asia and with Eastern and Central Europe, had already identified the Unkalîyyin with the Unkalîs or Unkalays, a tribe which was known until edited, very recently, by Abûrâhman Abî al-Hajî (Beirut 1397/1968). One such mention is contained in the paragraph entitled Tâktor batul al-Unkalîyyin which also seems to belong to the account by Ibn 'Alî b. Yâkût. Nor, according to the paragraph in question, was the Bashkir tribe (geres) settled in proximity to the Slavs, between the land of Buwaysa (Bavaria) and the kingdom of Bayaslaw, i.e. Bohemia I of Bohemia (935-67 A.D.). According to the same passage, the Russians were the neighbours of al-Unkalîyyin to the north, the Pechenegs to the east and the Bulgars to the south. There is no doubt that this localisation favours the identification of al-Unikalîyyin with the Hungarians. Al-Baktr also mentions another ethnynym written in a similar fashion, al-Turfî. It is cited in a paragraph of the Kitâb al-Masdlik wa'l-mamlak entitled Bidd I'blâg ("Land of
one of the Francs"). According to al-Bakr, these al-
Unūṣīya belonged to the al-Madīnīs [q.v.] (in this case
Danes and Norwegians) who were neighbours of the
Slavs (in fact, the Slavic tribe of the Obodrites who
formerly lived in what is now Mecklenburg were
neighbours of the Danes on the south-eastern side).
Now, these al-Unūṣīya had nothing to do with the
Hungarians; it is more likely that they were the
English who, shortly before the time of al-Bakr,
lived under Danish domination (1022-23). The name
al-Unūṣīyyin belongs to the same group of names
for the Hungarians as the Old Slavic Ŭgra (Ungri),
yet Byzantine Ungri, the Latin Hungary, Ungari,
Ungar, Ungaria and Ungaria and the Polish
Węgry (pronounced Wengry). All these names derive
from that of Ŭgra, a nomadic Turkish people
1 known from Latin and Byzantine sources of the 9th
century A.D. As for the transformation of the
phrase Ŭgra in the names Unháit & Ungari, this is
not an isolated phenomenon in the Hungarian
language. In fact, the Germano-Latin proper name
Gerard became Gellert in Old Hungarian (13th
century).

In the Kitāb Nuzūl al-mashābih, al-Idrīsī's geo-
ographical treatise composed in Sicily in 1127-24,
 Hungary bears the name Unhārīya, which probably
represents the Latin Ungaria or even the Italian
Ungaria. Belonging to the same group of names is also
Unkāraya (for *Ungaria or *Ongaria), the name
for Hungary employed by Abū Hāmid al-andalūsī
al-Ǧarnūsī in his al-Wuṣūbī. The name of the
inhabitants of Hungary was, in this treatise, as has
been observed above, Būghārīdī.

One of the names for the Hungarians employed
by Yākūt is al-Hunbars (for Hungary), a name derived
from the Latin *Hungaria. Another orthography of
this etymology is al-Hunbars (*Hungārī); it is
employed by Ibn Sāfīd al-Maghribī (d. 579/1186)
in the extract from his great geographical treatise
used by Abū ʿIffādī.

Besides al-Unūṣīyyin, Ibrahimī b. Yaḥyā also uses,
for those Hungarians not mentioned by the
Byzantines. In fact, Constantine Porphyrogenitus,
who was writing some fifteen years before Ibrahimī
b. Yaḥyā, calls the Hungarians Türkī and their
country situated in the Carpathian basin Türkīa.

To be mentioned finally in a wholly isolated
nomenclature, this being Kešar or Kittar, which
concludes the list of names for the Hungarians
and Hungary used by the Muslim geographers,
historians and travellers of the 3rd-9th/10th-14th
centuries. This nomenclature is mentioned several
times in Rashīd al-Dīn's Ḍīmān al-tawāridī as the
name of a people mentioned with the Bashkirs, the
Ās (Alans, Russian Yavl), the Þūrūk (Russians), the
Čerkess and the Śtelak among the subjects of the
carolingian Chronicles. In all probability, these
Kešar or Kittar are nothing other than the subjects
of the kirāy (Hungarian, "land") of Hungary. This
Hungarian word was already known to al-Ǧarnūsī,
who had heard it during his stay in Hungary in
1127-23 and who wrote it in his Muṣībī as kalī
instead of *k. rādī. It is possible that by the name
Ašal/Kivar, Rashīd al-Dīn understands the Christian
Hungarians, while he denotes the Muslim Hungarians
with the term Bāghārī.

(2) The Hungarian Muslims in the 3rd-
8th/9th-14th centuries. It seems that the most
ancient Muslim elements which may be identified
among the Hungarians appeared as early as the
second half of the 3rd/4th century, thus in the period
when the tribes constituting the Hungarian federa-
tion were still leading a nomadic existence between
the Dan and the Lower Danube, as neighbours
and allies of the greater Turkish state of the Khazars
[q.v.], whose capital Atīl [q.v.] or Tīl was situated
close to the estuary of the Volga. The population
of this state, which was of a heterogeneous nature,
included, among others, numerous Muslim groups,
among which were pure Khazars, partially Islamised,
according to the Arab chronicles, from the 8th century
A.D. onwards, Iranian Muslims of the Sarmatian
tribe of Arslīyīn (ancient Aorsi) who formed the
guard of the Khazar Khagans, Kīšarazmians, and
finally a great number of Muslim traders, of very
diverse origins, who lived in the Khazar capital
where there were mosques and Kurān schools.
According to the Risāla of Ibn Fadlān, there was in
Atīl a Friday mosque, and the leader of the local
Muslims was one of the pagers of the king of the
Khazars. According to al-Īstakhrī, there were in Atīl
10,000 Muslim inhabitants and thirty mosques.
Similarly, in the Khazar city of Samandār (situated
in what is now Dājestān) there were Muslims and
mosques. The Khazar state and the heterogeneous
population of this empire exerted a great social and
cultural influence on the tribes of the Hungarian
(Magyar) federation, especially at the time when
this federation was joined, in the second half of the
9th century A.D., by the great rebel Khazar tribe
known as Kābars (or Kavars) which took flight
following an abortive revolt against the Khazar
Khagan. It is known from the De administrando
imperio of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that the
Kābars played a leading role in the organisation of
the Magyar federation and that they were at the
head of this federation at the time when the Hunga-
rians decided on the conquest of the Carpathian
basin. It is also more than likely that this tribe,
which no doubt included both Jewish and Khazar-
Muslim elements, was the one joined by groups of
Arslīyīn and of Muslim Kīšarazmians, as well as
more or less numerous groups of Muslim traders
from Atīl and Samandār and the neighbouring
provinces of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. But it should
be stressed that all of this is only a conjecture which
requires verification.

The earliest substantiated information concerning
the presence of Muslim elements in the midst of the
Magyar federation, at least in the context of written
sources, does not appear until the first half of the
14th/15th century, some four decades after the
Hungarians had conquered the land situated on the
Middle Danube and the Tisza which subsequently
became historic Hungary.

The first written information telling of Muslims
living among the Hungarians in historical Hungary
comes from al-Šafṣūfī's Murādī, in which he refers
to the subject in his description of the war waged
by the Magyars in alliance with the Pechenegs
against Byzantium in 1269-73 to 943-4. The
Pechenegs, who at this period were leading a nomadic
existence between the Don, the lower Danube and
the Carpathians, are denoted in the Murādī al-
Gūkab by the twofold name Būdānāth and Bādānī,
and the Hungarians (Magyars) are called here by
two different names, Bādānāth and *Bādārīn. An-
other two tribes there lived, if al-Šafṣūfī is to be
believed, numerous Muslims divided into
t wo quite different groups. To the first of these
groups belonged the Muslim traders who came from

[...]

1013
the land of the Škárs, also from Ardabil, from Báb al-Ahwâb (Derbend) and from other places situated within the 'Abbâsîd caliphate, while the other found its recruits among the Hungarians and Pechenegs proper who had been converted to Islam. In addition, it should not be forgotten that among the Magyars who had come to Hungary from the steppes of southern Russia and among the Pech- 

nega immigrants to this country there were also Iranian Muslims, including Khârazmians and probably also Arsiyya, descendants of the ancient Aorsi and kinmen of the Alans. At all events, the Khârazmians appeared in Hungary in large numbers at least as early as the first century A.D., at which time they are mentioned for the first time in Latin sources emerging from Hungary. As for the Muslim traders who came from the land of the Škárs and the provinces of the 'Abbâsîd caliphate and who lived, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, among the Hungarians and Pechenegs, these were so numerous that, according to al-Mas'ûdî, they were able to form the entire vanguard of the "Turkish" army, that is, the allied Pechenegs and Hungarians, in the war against the Byzantines.

Furthermore, the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin during the 4th/10th century maintained political and economic relations with lands situated to the south of the Danubus and belonging to the 'Abbâsîd caliphate where their kinsmen lived. In fact, after the arrival of the Pechenegs in the steppes of southern Russia, the Hungarians, displaced by them, split into two parts, of which the first withdrew, in 889-92, towards the Middle Danube and the Tisa, while the second, less numerous, made its way towards the south-east in the direction of Transcaucasia. This is known from Constantine Porphyrogenitus who, in his De administrando imperio calls this second Hungarian group Sabartoi asphaloi; they were also titled, according to this author, "in the lands of Persia". These Sabartoi asphaloi (the meaning of the second part of the title, asphaloi, remains obscure) are known in the Armenian chronicles by the name of Svorcišk' (the termination -šk' is the sign of the plural in Armenian) and among the Arab historians of the 3rd/9th-10th centuries by the name of al-Sâwhidiyya (al-Balâdîbî) or that of al-Sîâyâdiyya (al-Mas'ûdî). According to the latter author, the tribe in question lived on both sides of the river Kur, on the frontiers of Adhar- 

bâdis and., under the rule of the Alans. Al-Balâdîbî knew them, furthermore, immediately before the year 799/802. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Hungarians established in the Carpathian basin often sent merchants to visit these Sabartoi asphaloi, who sometimes returned to Hungary with official messages. Little is known concerning the religion professed by the Sabartoi asphaloi but it is most likely that, living under Muslim domination, they were exposed to the influence of Islam.

The second author writing in Arabic who tells of the existence of Muslims in Hungary is Ibrahim b. Yaqûbî. In the course of a visit to the countries of Central Europe, this traveller made his way as far as Prague (Ar. Fârâb) and he describes, among other things, the commercial life of the city. According to him, among the foreign merchants who came to this city from Hungary, besides the "Turks", i.e. Hungarians proper, there were also Jews and [ahl al-islam], i.e. Muslims.

According to a passage in the Hungarian chronicle known as the Anonyma gesta Hungarorum compiled in 1176-1203, there arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksony (955-972 A.D.), a group of Ishmaelites, i.e. Muslims, originally from terra Bular (Bulgaria), led by two semi-legendary figures, these being Billa (Ar. Bi Thâa?) and Bocclâs? The majority of scholars who have studied this problem are of the opinion that the reference here is to Bulgaria of the Kama, a land which had been Islamised several decades before. However, it is not impossible that the source used by the Anonymi gesta Hungarorum relates here rather to Bulgaria of the Danube, where there were numerous Muslims from as early as the middle of the 9th century A.D. In fact, a letter exists written by Pope Nicholas in the year 886, in which he orders the extirpation of the Saracens in Bulgaria of the Danube. The Bulgars of the Danube were a Turkish tribe, sister of the Bulgars of the Kama who settled to the south of the Lower Danube in 699 A.D., and soon adopted the Slavic language. It is interesting that the name of a settlement of people from terra Bular, according to the Anonyma gesta Hungarorum, bears the name of Pest (read Pešt) which without any doubt of Slavo-Bulg origin and signifies "furnace"; it is today a quarter of Budapest, capital of Hungary.

It seems that after the conversion of Hungary to Christianity, which took place during the reign of King Stephen I (997-1038), one group of Hungarian Muslims extensively adopted the Christian faith while remaining, in reality, crypto-Muslim. Prominent among this group were the Khârazmians (in Hungarian, Kâlia) who will be considered below.

In medieval Latin documents and in the ancient Hungarian chronicles written in Latin, the Muslims of Hungary are known by numerous names, which may be divided into four main categories, as follows: (a) Saracen (in the years 995, 1021, 1222), Saraceni, Saracinos, Saracenios, Saracenes, Saraceni, Saracenii, Saracenii. This is how the Latin sources emanating from Western Europe denoted the Muslim Arabs. These are also the names of the Byzantine sources. It is stated, for example, in the De administrando imperio that the Saraceni were a people who followed "the false prophet Moamen". The aristocratic Hungarian family Saracenii is known from documents dating from as early as the years 1168, 1191, 1215 and 1222.

(b) Islamitae (year 1331), Islamitae, (1122), Ismaelites, These are the descendants of Isma'îl, son of Abraham who was, according to the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a *Nizaros (in the ms. incorrectly written *Zinaros), Arabic Nîzar, descendant of Isma'îl, was "father of all the Saraceni". It is not impossible that the name of Ismaelitae the ancient Latin sources of Hungary specifically designated the Muslims, the Islamised Pechenegs who had settled in Hungary (to be further considered below). If this is the case, the ancient Hungarians followed the view of the ancient Russians who considered (as emerges from the chronicle of Nestor, beginning of the 12th century A.D.), that the Pechenegs, as well as the Oghuz Turks ("Törkets"), the Turkomans and the Cumans (Polovtsy) were descended from the Biblical Isma'îl. In addition, the term "Ismailites" in certain Hungarian documents written in Latin also designated other groups of Muslims. It is known for example that the Hysmaelitae mentioned in a document of the Hungarian king Emeric in 1196, written on the occasion of the market at Eszei (the former county of Valto, currently Osijek on the lower Drava in Yugoslavia)
were not Pechenegs, but rather Kâlz or Khârizmians.

(c) Bisserminti, Bezeremanti, Biseramanti, Bezeremanti, Busurman. This is the transcription, in ancient Hungarian documents written in Latin, of the Hungarian word Bôszományi "Muslim". This is not the only usage of the term in Central and Eastern Europe. In fact, it is found in Polish, in Old Czech and in Russian, where the word busurman (busurman) biseremen and busurman (busurman) signify "Muslim". It is interesting to note that John Plano Carpini, the famous envoy of Pope Innocent IV to the Khan of the Mongols (1245-7), also mentions in his work a people which he calls Bisserminti, correctly identified by I. Horbek with the Khârizmians living on the lower reaches of the Amba-Darya. Thus it is impossible that the Bisserminti of Hungary may also be identified, at least in part, with the Hungarian Khârizmians. However, in two Hungarian vocabularies composed in ca. 1400, the terms Yemelit and biseremo and ismaelitico do not refer to any ethnic group but indicate the Muslims in general. It should further be added that the name Bôszományi is attested in numerous Hungarian toponyms, in four or five administrative districts of Hungary, within its historical limits, and also in certain medieval documents. For example, in a document of 1256, the Nobleman (in the Hungarian Nágy Bôszományi "the great Ëszomány) is the name of a village situated to the east of the middle Táza, in the district of Néris (Nyr).

(d) Calis (year 1111), Kalas (1156), Qualis (1256), Kizâles (1212), modern Hungarian Kaliszi, in the German chronicles Kostel, Costelone, Kolmiszi "Khârâzmaian". This name was mentioned for the first time in Hungarian sources in a Latin document of the year 1111, where there is a reference to people called "in Hungarian Calis". The Byzantine equivalent of this name is Khâlisit. According to the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos (writing 1150-65), this people was subject to the King of Hungary and, in the middle of the 12th century, as auxiliaries of the Hungarians, fought alongside the Dalmatians against the army of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenus. The opinions of this historian regarding the religion of the Khâlisit are very confused; in one place he considers this people as being of Persian (i.e. Islamic) religion, and in another he states that they profess the Mosaic faith. The Hungarian name of Kâliszi, as well as the Byzantine denomination of Khâlisit, corresponds to that of Khâlisit which was the old-Russian term for the Khârazmians and Khârâzmaian; it is encountered for example in the Russian chronicle of Nester composed at about the beginning of the 12th century. The Hungarian name of the Khârazmians is also found in that of al-Khazar al-khalilis, "the Khazar-Khalil", an ethnic group identical to the Khârâzmaians which included according to a 16th-century Russian historian, the Khârâzmaian Khârâzmaian-Khalil, the capital of the Khazar realm, with the kingdom of this state and his army. The Khârazmians-Khalilis appeared in the Khazar realm prior to the 8th century A.D. In fact, the bishop of Khosâlifis is mentioned in a list of bishops composed before the year 787 A.D. These were the bishops subject to the metropolitan of Doros in the Crimea, and the list probably includes all the bishops of the Khazar empire. The bishop of Khosâlifis is placed here immediately after that of Asel, i.e. the Khazar capital Aul. According to Kladovskoiy and Vasiliev, Khosâlifis was a town situated in the Khazar realm, near the estuary of the Volga and near the Caspian Sea, which bore, in the chronicle of Nestor, the name of Khârâzmaian-Khalil, "the sea of Khârâzmaian-Khalil" (it was perhaps the eastern part of the Khazar capital, of which the western part was called Asel (Atil). A section of the Khârazmians of the of the Khazar realm had probably joined, prior to the years 889-92, along with the Khazar tribe of the Kâpars or Kavars, the Hungarian (Magyar) federation and settled in historic Hungary after the conquest of this land by the Magyars. It seems furthermore likely that another group of Khazar Khârazmians joined the Pechenegs. In fact, al-Bakrî says that in his time (1068 A.D.), there were among the Muslim Pechenegs of which the main bulk was then leading a nomadic existence in the steppes of South Russia, considerable numbers of al-Khwarâzi (al-Khalil), that is to say, of Khârazmians. This was the name given by the Pechenegs, says al-Bakrî, to (Muslim) foreigners, slaves who had come to them from Constantinople or from other lands. The Pechenegs gave them the choice of staying in their country, where they could marry their daughters, or of leaving for another country of their choice. It may be added furthermore that Anna Comnena mentions, in her Alexiad, a Pecheneg chief named Khâlil. Nor should it be forgotten that the ancestors of the Magyars moved to the eastern part of the former Khazar realm. Such was the situation towards the end of the 11th century. This is known from the resolutions of the Hungarian Diet held at Szabolcs in 1092 during the reign of King Ladislas the Holy (cap. 9), which decreed that those Muslims who, after being baptised, reverted to Islam and were again performing the rites of this religion, must be removed to other villages. The successor to Ladislas the Holy, King Coloman III (1095-1114), was also the author of an edict containing resolutions directed against the Muslims. This was furthermore the time of the First Crusade, and it is easy to understand the hostility of the Hungarian clergy and Christian aristocracy towards Muslims in general in this period. According to the decree in question, all Ishmaelites caught in the act of performing their religious rites were to be taken before the king's tribunal, and a part of their property was to be forfeited to the one who had denounced them. According to the same decree, the inhabitants of Ishmaelite villages must build, in the middle of each village, a church which was to be maintained by the local Muslims. Besides this, half of these Ishmaelites must leave the village in question and settle in purely Christian villages in order to become assimilated with the local Christians. It was envisaged by the king that this scheme would lead to the conversion of these people to Christianity. Accordingly to another resolution of this decree, the Ishmaelites must give their daughters in marriage to Christians and, if entertaining Christian guests, must eat with them only pork. Obviously, this last requirement constituted a violation of one of the sternest prohibitions of the Muslim faith. Nevertheless, in spite of the decrees of Ladislas the Holy and Coloman III, a large number of the Ishmaelites of Hungary remained faithful
to Islam. It is even the case that in the 12th century there took place a major expansion of this religion in Hungary, especially during the reign of King Géza II (1144-61) who was, according to the account of the Arab traveller al-Gharnātī, a good friend of the Hungarian Muslims.

It is to this latter individual, both scholar and traveller, that there is owed an important illustration of the situation and the life of the Muslims in Hungary towards the middle of the 6th/7th century. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿrib al-Muṣṭaṣāfī (died 598/1200) of Damascus, where he died at the age of eighty.

It is argued that in the Muʿrib, there were the 'abīd al-Magḥiribīa "descendants of the people of the West" and 'abīd al-Muṣtarīmiyyīn "descendants of the Khārazmians". In the case of the first of these groups, their name al-Magḥiriba ("the Maghribis") remains mysterious. It is true that Abū ʿAbdallāh speaks of the existence of "sons of the Arabs of the Maghrib" (‘abīd al-ʿArab min al-Magḥirib) at Saqqāsh on the Volga, an important East European commercial centre, which could be true, especially as these people asserted, according to this author, the Mālikī law school like the true Maghribis; but in another passage of al-Muʿrib, he gives the name of abīd al-Magḥiriba "sons of al-Magḥiriba" to people with no connection whatsoever with true Maghribis. In the second case, it is a question of some thousands of people living in the vicinity of Mankermān "Kiev" who had "the appearance of Turks, spoke the Turkish language and shot their arrows like Turks". According to this passage of al-Muʿrib, the Maghribīs of the neighbourhood of Kiev also bore the name of Badjana, meaning Pechenegs (it may be recalled, in fact, that one of the two names given to the Pechenegs by al-Masʿūdī was Badjana, without final -a). Thus it appears that the Maghribīs of Hungary were identical to the al-Maghīrība/Badjana of the Kiev region, and that one is dealing with numerous groups of Pechenegs (Abū ʿAbdallāh counts these Magḥīrība/Pechenegs in thousands) living between the 10th-15th centuries A.D. in the Carpathian basin as a subsidiary people to the Hungarians. These Pechenegs (in the medieval Latin sources Bisseni or Byzessi, from the Hungarian Besenyő, read Bešenjov - Badjana/Badjene or Počanal/Počnje, or the Arabic sources) arrived in historic Hungary from the steppes of South Russia in several waves. The earliest of these waves apparently arrived in Hungary in the time of the prince Arpad, at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The new arrivals who were, according to the Hungarian chronicles led by a certain Chaba, received from Arpad land situated in the Matra mountains. As for the second wave, a very important group of Pecheneg immigrants, it arrived in Hungary (if credence is to be given to the chronicle Anonymous Bocis Regis Notarii de gestis Hungarorum, composed in ca. 1200 A.D.) during the reign of the prince Zoltan who lived in the first half of the 10th century A.D. These Pechenegs were settled by Lake Ferto, near the north-western frontier of Hungary to protect the young Hungarian state against attacks by the Germans. Some years later, they arrived in Hungary, during the reign of the prince Taksöy (?595-74), a new and very numerous group of Pechenegs led by Thonuzoba, a person of princely origin. Taksöy gave him, as a seat, land situated in the vicinity of Kerey, extending as far as the river Tisza. During the reign of the prince Géza (972-7), there arrived in Hungary a new group of Pecheneg immigrants. This is known from the Gesta Hungarorum of Simoa of Keza (13th century), who calls the newcomers Bessi. The new wave was linked to the victory of John, comte of Sopron, a county situated in the
north-west of Hungary. In 1072, according to the Chronicle of Thures, the latter routed a large detachment of Pechenegs in the service of the Byzantine governor of Belgrade, taking prisoner several thousand Pechenegs whom he probably settled in his domain. The last wave of Pechenegs arrived in Hungary in 1092-3. These were the remnants of a large Pecheneg group which, in withdrawing from the steppe north of Russia, had attacked the frontier hereditary of the Byzantine empire and had been defeated by the army of that state. These remnants settled in Hungary under the command of their Khan, named Tatar. The newcomers were received very amicably by the Hungarian king Stephen II (1115-31). This was the last phase in the long series of Pecheneg immigration into Hungary which had lasted almost two hundred years. The Pechenegs who were settled as guards on all the frontiers of Hungary, as well as those who lived in the interior of the state, were required to supply troops of horsemen, who constituted the light cavalry of the Hungarian army. The first information regarding Pechenegs as forming a part of the Hungarian army comes from the year 1052 A.D., at the time of the Hungarian war against the Germans on the river Letha. In 1116 Pecheneg warriors are found in the army of Stephen II. Later, in the year 1146, the Pechenegs, who probably made up two detachments of the garrison troops on the Austrian frontier, were included in the formation of the Hungarian army during the war against Augustus Duke Henry (Jasonorrot), in the battle near Moson. They were commanded by two Pecheneg "counts". In the year 1150, the Pechenegs constituted, along with the Khilisians (Kharazmians) Hungarian auxiliary troops in the war of the Hungarians and the Serbs against Byzantium. The question of the participation of the Pechenegs in the Hungarian army has yet to be studied. However, it should be noted that in the battle between the Hungarians and the King of Hungary, Ladislay Ottokar II near Krassnenbran in 1260, the Pechenegs are not mentioned among the auxiliary troops of the Hungarians.

There were two different types of Pecheneg settlement in Hungary, these being settlements situated close to the frontiers and establishments located in the interior of the country. The colonists settled near the frontiers had the duty of defending the wooden stockades which surrounded the entire territory of Hungary. They were called in the Hungarian documents written in Latin speculatores or confinarius custodes. Pecheneg guards of this type existed as early as the time of St. Stephen (997-1038) and even before this period. They were settled in groups quite close together, not far from the western frontier of Hungary, notably in the counties of Sopron and Moson. This latter territory was even called, in ca. 1210, on account of the large number of Pecheneg military colonists, by the name of terra Blasconiarum ("the land of the Pechenegs"). The Pecheneg guards settled near the Bohemian frontier were somewhat numerous, in contrast to the northern, eastern and southern frontiers, where their numbers were relatively small. As regards the Pecheneg settlements in the interior of Hungary, these may be divided into four groups, these being the group of Fejervá-Tolna (or of Sarvitz), the group of Kócs and the group of Csanad or Aranka. The largest of these four groups of villages, and at the time the largest group of Pecheneg settlements in Hungary in general, was the group of Fejervá-Tolna situated between the Danube and Lake Balaton, along the river Sárva, in the southern half of the county of Fejervár and the northern half of that of Tolna. All these settlements had the duty of defending from the enemy the town of Székesfehérvár, the royal capital of Hungary under the Arpads (in the year 1192 Belgrade, 997 Alba Regia; in German Stühlenweissenburg). These Pecheneg villages enjoyed a degree of independence and various privileges. It may be added here that this last group of villages, in the territory situated between Lake Balaton and the Danube, numerous other villages of the Pechenegs are encountered. Thus it may be stated that the largest number of settlements of Hungarian Pechenegs was situated in western Hungary, to the west of the middle Danube. Besides this, there were more than ten Pecheneg villages situated in western Slovakia, about twenty on the upper Tisza, some fifteen between the Tisza and the middle Danube, another fifteen in the basin of the Maros and a further ten in Transylvania.

The Pechenegs who arrived in Hungary through numerous waves during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, were for the most part pagans professing the primitive religion of the ancient Turks. However, there were considerable numbers of Muslims among the newcomers, as may be judged from al-Ma'sudi's account regarding the war waged by the Bajandah/Baghjana in alliance with the Hungarians against the Byzantines in 320-343 to 943-4. This has been mentioned above. Later, however, Islam disappeared without trace among the Pechenegs of the steppes of South Russia, and al-Bakrl (600/1068) states in his geographical treatise that, according to the reports of Muslim slaves returning from Constantinople, this people preferred, until the year 900-909-10, the pagan faith (dn al-Madżjṣyya). However, immediately after this date, there came among them a learned Muslim fāth who succeeded in converting a number of Pechenegs to Islam. This, according to al-Bakrl, marked the beginning of an active Islamising campaign among the Pechenegs, which ultimately led to war between the new converts and their compatriots who had remained pagans. According to al-Bakrl's informants, the converts to Islam, who numbered only 12,000 warriors, succeeded in defeating the pagans. A large number of the latter were massacred, and the others became Muslims. According to al-Bakrl, this event took place prior to the year 460/1068. At this time there already were among the Pechenegs, if al-Bakrl is to be believed, fāthis, scholars and Kur'dn readers. If the account given by al-Bakrl is true, the conversion to Islam of the vast majority of the Pechenegs cannot have been other than superficial, with the retention of numerous pagan rites. In view of his account, it is not possible that the Pechenegs taken prisoner by the Hungarians in 1072 A.D., in the Hungarian war against the Byzantines, and subsequently established, probably as guards, close to the frontiers of this kingdom, could have professed, at least in part, the Islamic faith. Similarly, it is quite possible that the last wave of Pecheneg immigrants which was established in Hungary in 1122-3 A.D., consisted of people half-Islamised, among whom there were fāthis and Kur'dn readers. If this is a case of Pechenegs very superficially Islamised, the fact is also confirmed by the image of the Magārīshalījaqāna (Pechenegs) presented by Abū Hamid al-Andalusī al-Ibnānī in 1173-7. These people had only the vaguest ideas of the rites and duties of Islam. Thus, for example, they drank...
wine, which was forbidden them by Abū Ḥamīd. Before his arrival, they knew neither the Friday prayer nor the ǧubūla; they learned these only, this traveller boasts, after his arrival in Hungary. Nor did they practise, before the coming of Abū Ḥamīd, polygamy and concubinage as enjoined by Islam. As regards the former crypto-Muslims of Hungary (these were, for the most part, Bulgars and Khārazmians, converted to Islam and later, during the reign of Stephen I, officially compelled to renounce this religion), their knowledge of the principles of Islam must, no doubt, have been considerably greater. The general situation of Muslims in Hungary in this period was relatively propitious, since King Géza II who reigned at this time, according to Abū Ḥamīd, “loved the Muslims”. The Maghāribi Baʿdira were, like a great many of the Khārazmians, warriors, and Abū Ḥamīd speaks of their participation in the war of Hungary against Byzantium. They were very numerous, “thousands of people” according to this author, referring both to the crypto-Muslims and to the Muslims openly professing their faith. As for the number of places inhabited by these two types of Muslims, there were, according to Abū Ḥamīd, “more than ten thousand”; this latter estimate seems much exaggerated.

It is known that the Pechenegs established between the 10th and the 13th century in Hungary possessed their own aristocracy and nobility. In fact, the various groups of Pecheneg immigrants arrived in Hungary led by their khāns (dux in the mediaeval Hungarian sources written in Latin) who enjoyed, in the first period of the Pecheneg presence in Hungary, that is in the 10th-13th centuries A.D., considerable respect. Among these khāns belonged, for example, Zuljan, princi pis Bisseniun of the ancient Hungarian chronicles, as well as other Pecheneg khāns named in these sources, for example Aba, Kemeny, Botond, and the dux nomine Talar known from the war between the Pechenegs and Byzantium. In 1125, who settled in Hungary in the time of King Stephen II. It is known that the prestige of these Pecheneg khāns in Hungary was so great that one of these persons, Samuel Aba, became in 1044-7, king of Hungary. Later, the different groups of Pechenegs settled in various parts of Hungary were placed in the Hungarian royal court, there was for the aristocrats of Hungary a fair number of less exalted Pecheneg nobles.

The mediaeval documents mention several of these nobles, who are designated by the title nobili (for example, nobili bisseni de Kquesi). It seems that it is from these Pecheneg khāns who came to Hungary as immigrants that Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan was descended. He was, according to Abū Ḥamīd, “the descendant of valiant Muslim princes” of Hungary, and he accompanied this traveller on his journey from Hungary to "the land of the Slavs", that is, to Kiev. Abū Ḥamīd also states that his eldest son married the daughters of two respected Muslims of Hungary. It seems that the persons in question here were Islamised Pecheneg nobles (nobili bisseni).

To return to the second group of Hungarian Muslims mentioned by Abū Ḥamīd al-Andalusī al-Gharinit, these are the Khārazmians (the Khārazmians, al-Khawārīzī or al-Khāzīs of the mediaeval Arabic sources, the Khāzīs or John Kimnamos and the Khāzīs of the Russian Chronicle of Nestor. According to Abū Ḥamīd, there were thousands of them in Hungary (this author even states in one passage that they were "innumerable"); according to him they were in the service of the king of Hungary. Officially, they called themselves Christians and they disguised their Islam, in contrast to the Maghāribī/Pechenegs, who openly professed the Muslim faith and served the Christians (meaning the king of Hungary) as soldiers. It is also known, from Hungarian documents, that the Khāzīs sometimes fulfilled the function of administrators of the royal treasury (sires regis fiisci, quos hungarice caluerant secretarii). One Calix (Khārazmian) named Efstratius (from the Arabic ʿĀliyāt [Allāh], who occupied this post in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) is known to us from a Hungarian document of the year 1331 A.D. In the same document there is reference to another Khāzī who was administrator of the royal treasury and at the same time count (comes) of the mint. His name was Maging (Ara. Madžād). These two individuals must have been, judging by their names, Muslims openly professing their faith. At about the middle of the 10th/11th century, Khārazmians (Kalâsh) lived, among other places, in the county of Szerém (in ancient times, Sirmium, currently Mitrovica in Slavonia) in the south of Hungary in its historic frontiers. The memory of this ethnic group is also preserved in some fifteen toponyms in the counties of Fejér, Veszprém, Zala and Somogy (all four of these being situated to the west of the Middle Danube), in the county of Nyitra (Nitra) in the counties of Nógrád-Szabolcs and Zemplén (both situated on the upper Tisa) and in the county of Pest situated immediately to the east of the middle Danube. The mediaeval Hungarian documents written in Latin also mention a road which takes its name from the Khārazmians (1211: in valle Kuanzā), located in the county of Fejér. A colony of these people (genematio Kalaz) also lived, according to a document of the year 1153, in the village of Budačkáss; it may be noted that the second part of this last name, i.e. -čkas, has also retained, since the formation of its former Khārazmian inhabitants. A document of 1285 also mentions a road called Kal₁szu (Kal₁szu) which in another document dating from the year 1298 bore the name of Callasztua. The road in question was an important highway which led from Szeged, a town situated on the eastern bank of the middle Tisa, to Batmonostor. In the Middle Ages, this road played an important role in the Hungarian salt trade and its name indicates that, in this case at least, the salt trade was managed by the Khāzī or Khārazmian.
sometimes hid themselves under the name of Bősör-
mény or "Muslims" (Bisserrumni of the Hungarian
documents written in Latin). It is thus very likely 
that the Bősörmény toponyms which are encoun-
tered in four or five counties could also designate 
villages formed by Kházaranians. In the 
Register of Várad (13th century), concerning 
the eastern frontiers of Hungary as it then was, 
there is mention of a Villa Nigerbassorum Ætate (1248).
According to the Register, this locality was the 
centre of the Islamic Chmaelites (Islamallinae) of Kyš, a 
territory extending to the north of Várad. It is not 
impossible that the name of this village denotes the
Kházaranians. It is very probable that the terms 
bezeremien and bazarman (B-account, the language of
is based on information which this author received
His account ,
by Yakut in his 
account of the period of Andrew II that there emerges
reference to
is from the period of Andrew II that there emerges
a village of the county of Bodrog 
(kházaranians) in a document of 1218. On the other hand,
and in 1206 
and converted to Islam) but to Muslims 
(1260), distinguishes the 

The situation of the Muslims of Hungary which 
was, if al-Gharnatî is to be believed, very prosperous in
1124-61, during the reign of King Géza II, and
continued to be favourable at the beginning of the 13th
century, in the time of King Andrew II (1209-
35). At first, this king also was a friend of the
Muslims, but later he was forced to change his attitude 
under pressure from the clergy. The Hungarian
Muslims were not in the same time area 
In fact, in a papal letter of the year 1232 there is a reference to mulitudo Saracenorum Hungaricae. It is
from the period of Andrew II that there emerges the
description of the Hungarian Muslims supplied by Yákóti in his Msjgian abullás. His account 
is based on information which this author received from
a group of these Muslims (Yákóti calls them
al-Băshghirddiya) whom he met at Halah (Aleppo).
The date of this meeting is not known exactly. It is
known, however, that Yákóti spent some time there 
in Óy jár 1232-17, in Óy jár 1232-18, in Óy jár 1224 
and finally in Óy jár 1222, shortly before his death. 
According 
that were also very rosy (here = white—Yákóti 
uses in both cases the Arabic word ghfr) they 
professed the law school of Abu Hanifa. Yákóti 
asked one of the members of this group for informa-
tion on their country and their way of life, and
received the answer that their country was situated 
beyond Constantinople among a population belonging 
to the Franks (in other words, Western Christians) 
who were called al-Hanbar or Hungarians. They 
were subjects (Ar. ra'iyya) of the al-Hanbar king, 
and were settled in the most distant parts of his 
domain, where they inhabited some thirty villages.
It seems probable that these were the Muslim 
Pechehens of which the most important groups had 
settled, in the 10th-13th centuries, in the counties 
of Sofron and Moson and between the middle Danube 
and Lake Balaton, in the western part of Hungary, 
on the Austrian frontier and around the ancient 
capital of the Arcaps, Székes-Fehervár. According to 
Yákóti’s informant, each of these villages was 
large enough to resemble a small town. However, 
these places were not surrounded by walls. In fact, 
the king of Hungary did not allow the local Muslims 
to fortify their villages with walls, for fear lest they 
rebell against him. According to the remainder of this 
account, the language of al-Hanbars, as of al-Băsh-
ghirddiya, has no particularities, and was the same as that of the Franks. It is very likely that Yákóti’s informant was thinking 
here of Latin, which was the official language of the 
Hungarian state in the Middle Ages. According to 
other information from this source, the al-Băshghir-
diya dressed like the Hungarians and were liable 
for military service, as were all the other inhabitants 
of Hungary. In fighting the enemies of the country, 
Yákóti states, the Hungarian Muslims were also 
engaged in the Holy War, the aljdhd, in view of the 
fact that they were Muslims hostile to Islam. Yákóti 
also asked his informant how the Muslims came to be living in Hungary, 
among infidel countries. He was told that according 
to the sayings of the ancestors of al-Băshghirddiya, 
there came to Hungary, from the land of the Bulgars 
(bisd Băqghân), in ancient times, seven Muslim 
individuals who settled among the al-Băshghirddiya 
and converted them to Islam. This tradition corre-
sponds to that of the Hungarian chronicle known as 
Ancywyma gesta Hungarorum, composed in 1156-1203, 
according to which there came to Hungary, during 
the reign of the prince Taksony a group of Islamic 
from terra Bulgar (Bulgaria of the Kama or rather, 
of the Danube). This has been discussed above. Yákóti’s 
informant adds that the Băshghirddiya who have 
performed the bdkj di are highly respected by the 
Hungarian Muslims, who entrust to them control 
of their religious affairs. He also says that the Băsh-
ghirddiya who engage in military service in Hungary 
shave off their beards, as the Franks do, in other 
words, Western Christians. However, this is the case 
as regards the others, those not performing 
military service. In view of the fact that the people 
met by our geographer at Aleppo had shaven beards, 
they would have belonged to the military caste. 
Elsewhere in Yákóti’s article it is revealed that the 
road leading from Hungary to Aleppo passed through 
Constantinople and was four months’ travelling 
time in length. It was already known, from 
the account of al-Gharnatî, that the route used by 
Hungarian Muslims in their travels in the Orient 
also passed through Könnya (Konya) in Asia Minor. 
It has been stated above that King Andrew II, who was initially well-disposed towards his Muslim 
subjects, was compelled, in the year 1222, to pro-
claim a charter, also known as the Golden Bull, defining the rights of the Hungarian people. The second edition of this Bull appeared in 1231, and the document contained numerous restrictions imposed on the Muslims and Jews of Hungary. It emerges from these documents that, until this time, the Muslims (Hymaedes, Saraceni) and the Jews of the country had the right to take on public functions, in particular, supervision of the mint and the salt works (year 1222: Comites camerei monetae, Salinarii et Tributati Hymaedes fieri non possant; 1232: Monetae et Salinarii, ad aiosis publicis officiis Saraceni non praefecturam; 1233: Saraceni praefecturam camerae et publicis officiis; etc.), which were forbidden them in the Golden Bull. However, all these restrictions, in the period 1222-32, existed only on paper, as is shown by an edict of Archbishop Robert of Esztergom dating from 1232, an edict declaring the excommunication of Hungary. According to this edict Andrew II, after proclaiming the Golden Bull, again appointed Muslim dignitaries to public offices; he also tolerated the presence of Muslims in his estates. According to another passage of Archbishop Robert's edict, it was a royal chamberlain named Samuel who was especially favourable towards the Muslims and the "false Christians", i.e. the Patari. The Archbishop forbade Christians to do business or maintain other relations with Hungarian Muslims, except those who had freed their Christian slaves (or slaves of the local Christian Church): "Comites autem Saraceni et Judaei in alia natione habente". They should, in future, be unable to buy or possess Christian slaves. The king further promised that each year there would be authorised, on behalf of the Dishosp, to take from the Saracens and the Jews any Christian slaves or Christian wives. According to the same undertaking by Archbishop Robert, King Andrew II repented and concluded, on 12 August 1232, an agreement with the legate of Pope Gregory IX, in which he promised that in future the Saracens would be forbidden to administer the mint or the revenues of the state, and would be barred from occupying other public posts. He also undertook in this pact that in future the Saracens and Jews would be obliged to carry signs to distinguish them from Christians. They would in future be unable to buy or possess Christian slaves. Thus it is probably from the year 1232 that there began the most serious oppression of the Hungarian Muslims by the Church, and it is only from this time onward that one can speak of the Christianisation of this part of the Hungarian population. This Christianisation is marked especially by the building of Christian churches and monasteries, which began at about the middle of the 13th century in villages occupied by the Pechenegs who until this time had remained superficially Islamised or even pagan. It is in the documents of this period that phrases appear such as ecclesia de Besunu or even ebraten de Besunu (from Hungarian Beszenyé "Pecheneg"). There is no doubt that the invasion of the Mongols (Tatars) in 1241 also contributed, in the highest degree, to the reduction of the Muslim element in Hungary, an element composed for the most part of soldiers in the service of the kings of Hungary. On account of its tenacious resistance, this element suffered particularly severe losses at the hands of the Tatars. This issue will be discussed further, in the context of an analysis of the description of Hungary given by Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi.

It is quite possible that there were also Muslims (or at least people superficially Islamised) among the Comans (in Hungarian, Palencz), a Kipchak tribe which took refuge in large numbers in Hungary in their flight from the Mongols, who appeared in 1223 in the plains by the Black Sea where the Comans were leading a nomadic existence during the 12th-13th centuries.

Moreover, these were not the first Coman groups to settle in Hungary. In fact, it is known that as early as 1067 the Hungarian king Solomon summoned a military detachment of this people into Hungary, and that another Coman group settled in Hungary in 1220-22 probably in the Mátra mountains. These newcomers were exposed, in the staves of South Russia (like other Turkish tribes who led a nomadic existence there) to the influence of Islam. They could thus add to the number of Muslims (or rather of superficially Islamised animists) in Hungary. In this manner, the Muslim presence in this country was maintained in spite of pressure from the Church and in spite of the losses suffered during the Mongol invasion of 1241. It is stated, in fact, in a letter of the king of Bohemia Premysl Ottokar II, addressed to the Pope and giving a description of the battle of Kressenbrun which took place under the Hungarian King Béla IV (1260), that among the auxiliary units of the Hungarian army which took part in this battle, there were an innumerum multitudinem hoininum Comonorum et Ungarorum et diversorum Solonorum, Siculerum, et aliae gentes, Saraceni et Hymaedes qui in Mediterraneo Asiae in pede Grecorum, Bulgorum, Ruscicorum et Bosniae haeretarum. It has been demonstrated above that Bessermi is the name not only for Muslims in general, but also for the Khirazim (Kilik) and existed there are general animists and shamanists, to the influence of Islam. They could thus add to the number of Muslims in Hungary. It is from approximately the period of the battle of Kressenbrun that there comes the last Arabic source concerning the Muslims of Hungary. The source in question is a short account of Hungary (al-Hunbar) and of the Hungarian Muslims (al-Badshīrīyya) by Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi. This account, part of his major geographical work, has been reproduced in the Takātim al-buldān of Abu 'I-Faraj. According to this text, Hungary was divided at this time into two parts, of which one, situated in the east of the country, was inhabited by al-Hunbar (the Hungarians), a Christian people, while the western part of the country was inhabited by another people, known as al-Badshiyy and professing the Muslim faith. This people lived on the river Dūnā (to be corrected to Duna, "Danube") as neighbours to the Germans. The capital of the budū al-Badshiyy, according to Ibn Sa'id, bore the name of Khir and was situated in the south of the country. It is probable that this word is supposed to be an Arabic transcription of the Slavic term god "town" and represents the second part of the name Bőigrad (the "White town") which was the Slavic name for Sčetěs Fehehvar, the capital of Hungary under the dynasty of the Arpads. This name figures, with different forms, in numerous Latin documents of Hungary in the 12th-13th centuries. Its medioeval Latin equivalent is Alba cívitas regia, in German it is Stettin/Königsberg in and in Hungarian, as has just been stated, Sčetěs Fehehvar. Al-Ḳarī calls this town...
Ballaghiyya or Balisaght. Ibn Sa'id adds that the al-Baghūrid people were converted to Islam by a Turkoman fiqh "who taught them the rites of the faith". It seems that the mission of this fiqh (who was not the first Muslim missionary to visit Hungary, a land where, as has been shown above, Islam had been present by the 11th century) cannot have taken place until after the end of the 11th century, a time at which the Turkomans, a Turkish tribe mingled with Iranian elements, was living in a primitive state in Central Asia, as neighbours of the Saljūq Turks. When the latter conquered Asia Minor towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkomans united with them and lived in this land, recognising the authority of the Saljūq rulers of Konya. During his stay in Hungary in 1152, al-Qarākhūfī saw the Turkoman mercenaries in the service of Byzantium taken prisoner by the Hungarians. Seeing that the route taken by Hungarian Muslims who, according to Abu Husayn, made their way to the East and especially to Mecca, passed through Konya, the arrival in Hungary of a Turkoman missionary, probably a native of Asia Minor, seems entirely probable. It may also be noted that Ibn Bāṭūtā (257/1258) uses the name Turkomans to denote the Ottoman Turks.

The biḥād al-Baghūrid was invaded, according to Ibn Sa‘īd by the Tatars (1241) who slaughtered many of the inhabitants. According to another passage in the work of this author, the Bākūrid, as allies of (or rather, subjects of) the Hungarians, took part, in the same year, in a battle near Sibenico (Sibenik in Croatia), in which the Tatar forces were annihilated. The facts given by Ibn Sa‘īd are also confirmed by the Latin sources, including the Rogeri Carmen miserabilis where there is reference to the appearance of the Hungarian Muslims against the Tatars. In another Latin document of this period there is mention of the Saracen district called Bēw which was entirely devastated during the Tatar invasion of 1241.

Little is known of the later history of the Muslims of Hungary because the Arab or Christian sources concerning this religious group become less and less numerous. However, it is stated in a Latin document that in 1290, at the time when the Hungarian King Ladislas IV left his capital, going to live as a monk with the Cistercian monks of the Matra mountains and in some other districts of Hungary, he handed over all responsibilities of state to a Muslim dignitary named Mizs (Ar. Muṣk?), who had himself baptised immediately after this appointment. As regards the Arabic sources of this period, the one most worthy of mention is the Ḥjar al-bilād of Kāzwinī who gives an interesting description of Hungary (he calls it "the land of Būgūrīd") composed on the basis of the account of the fiqh which was written during the lifetime of the country. This account was written, as can be seen from its content, some time after the Mongol invasion of 1241 (the fiqh in question calls the invaders al-Tātar). According to this account, the Bākūrid are a great people whose king has a large army at his disposal and of whom the majority is Christian; among them there is also a multitude (Ar. dijm, also "crowd", "mass of people") of Muslims who observe the law school of the imām Abū Hāmid. These Muslims pay a tax (ṭiyya) to the Christians, just as the Christians pay a tax to the Muslims in lands of Islam. Of less value is a text in the North-Hungarian al-dahr of al-Dimashqī. This author also mentions the Bākūrid people, which he locates in south-east Europe, alongside the Madījar or Hungarians. He does not take account of the fact that these are two branches of the same people. It is quite likely that he meant by this means to distinguish, as had been done by Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī, the Hungarian Muslims whom he calls Bākūrid from the Hungarian Christians whom he calls Madījar.

It seems that Islam was maintained in pre-Ottoman Hungary until approximately the year 1340, the period in which the Hungarian King Charles-Robert of Anjou (1308-42) compelled all those of his subjects who were not yet Christians to embrace Christianity or to leave the country.

However, the Pechenegs, although converted to Christianity in the 14th century at the latest, retained until the end of the 15th century, even after the loss of their ancestral language (by this time they were speaking the Magyar language), some traces of Muslim culture. This is known from the work of A. Bonfinkius, who has provided a vivid description of the Hungarian Pechenegs in his 'Rerum Hungaricarum Decades', i. liv., p. 220, Hanover 1906. According to this author, "they wore long beards and long mantles and shoes in the Persian fashion, in tunics of silk that were ruffled by the wind."
China, the Turks and India, ed. and tr. Minorsky, London 1942, Art. text, 21, 22, tt. 33, 35: Yakulti, I, 490-470: D. M. Dunlop, The history of the Turkish Khazars, Princeton 1954, 46-57, 59-87, 89-115, 170-221, 242, 244 et passim; I. A. Fosslér, Geschichte der ungarnischen Mittelalter, ii, Berlin 1940, 53, 80, 107, 108, 347, 411, 417-8; ii, Berlin 1943, 79-80, 95-6, 100, 127-141, 243, 245, 256; I. Hertel, Ein arabisch-berührter Umgang über Ungarn, Alm 1904, vii (1955) 205-30; Levicki, Ungarische und musulmanische Geschichten in the light of an Arab traveller account of the 13th century [in Polish], in RO, xii (1937), 106-22: "Madjar" u srednevekovnoy arapskoy i perskoy geografii, in Vostochnoe Eiropa v drevnosti i srednevekovye, ed. M. A. Koresovtsev et alii, Moscow 1959, 56-60: C. A. Macartney, The Magyars in the ninth century, Cambridge 1930, passim; I. Jarn]art, Ostereuropäische und ostasiatische Studien, Leipzig 1925, 57, 73, 121, 214, 246, 256; I. Hrbeck, Ein arabischer Brief über Ungarn, Alm 1904, vi (1905) 22-7; D. Rassovsky, Byzantinoturcica, Berlin 1935, ii, passim; D. Rassovsky, Pletchegnau, Turks et Beridens en Russie et en Hongrie, in Seminariuw, xii (1933), 1-6a and map; Gy. Székely, Les contacts entre les Hongrois et musulmans aux IX*-XIIe siècle, in The Muslim East, Sitz der, VI (1927), 27-74; Gy. *42*3, *92*; I. Hrbek, Ungarische und osmanische Mittler, in Österreichische Geschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1915, xxii (1937); B. Håman, *55*; J. L. E. Östenberg, *55*; 1. T. K&ldy-Nagy, Budapest 1974, 53-74; A.A. Vasiliev, The Goths in the Crimea, Cambridge Mass. 1936. The process of re-organisation in Hungary cannot have been so fast as was suggested by I. H. Umemar-špliti, who claimed that the Turks annexed the Hungarian territory possessed by Janos Zapolya to the Ottoman Empire in 1541, converted it into the beglerbegilik of Buda, which consisted of twelve sandaks, and appointed the beglerbegi of Baghdad, Süleyman Paşa, to be its head (Osmanlı tarihi, ii, Ankara 1964, 344). It is true that the Sultan appointed Süleyman Paşa to be beglerbegi of Buda. This post, however, could not involve the government of twelve Hungarian sandaks because, besides the territory of the sandak of Buda, which was just being formed under the protection of the strongholds of Buda and Pest, it was only Titel which was in Turkish possession north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube at that time. Therefore, the beglerbegilik of Buda had to be formed from sandaks which were south of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube, i.e. Eszterkö/Öské, Somendire, Ivornik/Zvonik, Alajhajász/Krudtvej and Valbatírin/Velbítno. If these remote sandaks had not been joined to Buda, it could have been governed only by a sandjak-beg in 1541.

Between 1541 and 1566 the Turks established the following sandaks north of the line of the Drava and the Lower Danube: Buda (1541); Mohács (1542); Szeged and István Belgrad, i.e. Szekszéthervár (1543); Eger (1544), although the fortress of Eger itself had not yet had been occupied, only its viliafite; Esztergom, Hatvan, Nógrád and Simontornyá (1546-8); Siklós (1549); Koppsány (1550); Beszé and Beszkerek (1552); Góörgő, Szekszárd, Temesvár and Csanád (1551); Szeged and Széchnok (1552-3); Székelyfalu (1553-4); Vasgrépánd (1554); Fülek (1555); and Gyula and Szegvár (1566).

In the meantime, they formed the beglerbegilik of Temesvár (1542) from the sandaks of Temesvár and Csanád (the latter including Beszé and Beszkerek), to which they attached the sandaks of Szentendre, Alajhajász and Vidin, later the sandaks of Lippa, Arad and Gyula, respectively. The backbone of the Turks' base in the central part of Hungary was the newly-occupied territory of Buda, but its upkeep against the Hapsburgs was very costly. According to the cash-book of the Treasury of Buda for the years 1559 and 1560, there were 10,900 Turkish troops in the fortresses belonging to the eyallet of Buda, for whose pay and equipment an annual sum of 260,000-80,000 gold pieces had to be brought in from Istanbul, because the taxes and duties obtained in Hungary covered but one-third of their expenses. The transport of money from Istanbul to Buda was necessary not only in the decades that followed, but also in the 17th century. According to Pécsei, the annual tax-yield of Egypt, 300,000 gold pieces, was sent directly to Buda (Ta’rıkh-i Pecelov, Istanbul 1283/1665, i, 36). The new campaigns also increased the expenses of retaining the Hungarian territories, and the burden which the newly-occupied fortresses imposed on the empire was clearly greater than the advantage they offered. Thus, e.g., when Eger (1596), Kanizsa (1600), or Váradi (1606) fell into Turkish hands, each of these fortresses had to be made the seat of a new beglerbegi, so that greater forces could be concentrated for their defence in case of emergency. In accordance with their custom, the Turks formed new beglerbegis.
ségélyek by a re-organisation of formerly-occupied territories. However, while earlier they were able to extend the boundaries of the new beglerbegilik by further conquests (see e.g. the beglerbegilik of Buda and Temesvár), they were no longer able to do so in the 17th century.

The decline in the military preponderance of the Ottoman empire is well-characterised by two episodes which happened in two phases of Turkish rule in Hungary, in the 16th and the 17th century respectively. In the first phase, when the Hapsburgs' envoy, Ferenc Jürkövid, appeared in a role of state and with a sword on his side before Sziget Pasha, beglerbegi of Buda, in 1557, the Pasha had the envoy's sword broken to pieces. In the second phase, however, when Gáspár Tassi, a deputy, went to Mártača Pasha of Buda in 1627 to lodge a complaint against the kádi of Hatvan, the Pasha immediately ordered that the kádi be given 500 lashes on the soles without hearing any witnesses. The Turks' attacks in the 17th century were chiefly mere flare-ups of enthusiasm. During one of them, the siege of Vienna in 1685, they deployed such military weakness that it was soon followed by the coalition of western powers and the eventual liberation of Buda in 1686. Within a decade after this, the Turks lost nearly all their conquests in Hungary except the beglerbegish of Temesvár, which they managed to retain until 1718.

The effect of the Turkish rule in Hungary on general European conditions is variously evaluated in the literature of the subject. According to a noteworthy statement by B. H. Slicher van Bath, the rise in meat prices in Europe after 1550, which was partly due to the growth of population, was primarily caused by the fact that the Turks had occupied Hungary and the import of cattle from South-Eastern Europe had decreased (The agrarian history of western Europe A.D. 300-1800, London 1963, 204). It seems likely, however, that the rise in European meat prices was due to other factors, because, according to Turkish customs registers, that part of Hungary which was under Turkish rule exported to the west 60-80,000 head of cattle yearly around the middle of the 17th century.

However prosperous cattle-breeding was in Hungary under Turkish rule, it was a negative phenomenon from the point of view of economic progress since it meant a return to extensive animal-keeping. The fields of a number of Hungarian villages destroyed in the Turkish wars lay uncultivated, deteriorated into pasture and were hardly fit for anything else than animal grazing. This explains how it was possible even after the Fifteen Years' War (1593-1608) for an English merchant to write the following words about the abundant cattle-stock of Hungary: "This Country doth make more meate out of the Land then the whole Fence of England. The Champaign of the land is so great, that they yearly sell to their neighbours 80 or 100 thousand Oxen" (Lewes Roberts, The merchant maappe of commerce, London 1637, 177). When evaluating this attractive figure, however, one has also to consider the fact that such significant towns in southern Hungary as Pécs and Tolna lost the greater part of their vineyards, the source of their former wealth. For example in Tolna, a town with 5000 inhabitants, where, according to Turkish financial accounts, a yearly amount of 6,900 hectolitres (about 150,000 gallons) of wine was produced in the 1560s and 70s, wine-growing completely lost its importance in the course of the 17th century. The worsening of the economic situation can be traced on the basis of Turkish sources, not only along the Danube but also in the area of the River Tisa. For example, in the villages of Győr and Tápió, two imperial glass-estates near Szeged, both the number of the inhabitants and the amount of their agricultural production had dropped to one-half of the original figure between 1530 and 1670, although these figures could have doubled in 120 years.

The demographic conditions of Hungary in the period of the Turks can be fairly well estimated on the basis of the tahrik defterleri. After their first conquests, as soon as they had strengthened their posts in Hungary, the Turks started to make written records of the settlements within the sanjak, which they established with rather vague boundaries. As was written in one of the Sultan's instructions to the sanjakbég of Mohács in March 1545: "The state of the local settlements and the conditions of régya must be examined in the same way as in the other provinces" (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Arşivi D. 12211, p. 141). The first registers were made in the sanjak of Mohács and István Belgrad in the beginning of Czacho's time, who was newly appointed; he had been sent to Hungary by the Khan. Of these two tahrik defterleri, only the one of the sanjak of Mohács has survived to this day. In the same years, Khálli Beg prepared the registers of the sanjaks of Buda, Esztergom, Nógrád, Hatvan, Szeged and Sinaotornya as well; these tahrik defterleri and the timar defterleri compiled on their basis are all extant today. New registers of the sanjak were usually made every ten years up to 1590. Later, however, the administrative organisation of the Ottoman empire became so loose that new registers were made only in the newly-occupied territories, while in other parts the old registers were re-copied. This is evident from certain income figures; e.g. a timar's income in the sanjak of Buda was exactly as many akits in 1676 as in 1590, although the value of money had considerably changed in the meantime.

In the first half of the 16th century, the Turkish tahrik defterleri still presented a relatively favourable picture of Hungary's demographic conditions. In the town of Szeged, for example, where there were 1,149 families in 1546, the number of households after the battle of Mohács and the first Turkish occupation (1546) was doubled, i.e. the population of Szeged decreased by only about 100 families after the battle of Mohács and the first Turkish occupation. After the subsequent wars and devastations, however, the Turks could levy the gáme tax on no more than 351 heads of family in the same area in the last years of the century.

Of course, this does not mean that the greater part of the Hungarian population perished, because, as is well-known, the so-called "Czecho-Slovaks" who escaped to territories of Hungary which had not passed under Turkish rule. As one can read in a Hungarian letter written as early as 1550: "The people of the land, especially in the country of Pest, left their homes in multitudes, seeking refuge in the counties of Zala and Somogy" (there had already been Turks in the country of Pest, but not in the counties of Zala and Somogy as yet). In spite of all this, there were relatively few Turks who came to settle down in Hungary. It is true that a few towns such as Esztergom, Visegrád and Nógrád, were evacuated after their occupation for strategic reasons and were inhabited almost exclusively by Turks in later times as well. Besides such places, however, it was only in Buda, Pest, Vác,
only a faint memory of former Turkish rule. Subsequent wars destroyed them but because the Turks of the Ottoman period, and this is not because sub-

Hungarian vocabulary contains very few Ottoman preferred transforming old buildings to constructing

Neither did Islam gain any ground. Today there are efforts to settle large numbers of Turkish families

in Hungary as they did in the Balkan peninsula.

Tolna and the area of Szeged that a few hundred

1024

Bloomington

from the pashas of Buda *590-1593,

Ankara

= anitlan

Las ilimenis ostnartlis de la langue hongroise,

Budapest 1973; S. Kakuk,

«

Budapest 1973; idem,

Cultural words from the

Sixteenth-century lapu registers of Novigrad,

Sixteenth-century Hungarian

register of a minor town in southern Hungary, Ottoman: nam-i

A hatvani szandzs&k

Das Heim

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verttallung,
The Milky Way was known to the Arabs in their classical period; cf. a collection of classical and post-classical Arabic verses naming al-madjarra, in Wiedemann [1], 673-5 (see also Ibn Manṣūr [2], 118 f.). In lexicographical texts, the positions of several fixed stars are described in relation to the Milky Way. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dinawarī (d. 282/895) gave a description of the course of the Milky Way in the sky as seen by the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūkī, ii, 9 f.; tr. Wiedemann [1], 66-9). Further, it was observed and mentioned by the Arabs that the position of the Milky Way in the sky changed in different seasons according to the annual revolution of the sky (Abū Ḥanīfa, in al-Marzūkī, ii, 10 f.; tr. Wiedemann [2], 666-81; Ibn Kāṭiyya, 124; al-Kaṣwīnī, 21 f. - tr. Ethē, 44). A late description based on personal experience was given around A.D. 1490 by Ahmad b. Mādjīd, the famous navigator of the Indian Ocean (see Ahmad b. Mādjīd, 149 f.; tr. Tibbēts, 140). It should be noted that some of these non-scientific authors understand the Milky Way as a dense accumulation of faint stars that appears to the observer's eye as a nebulous mass, a theory which seems to have originated from independent observations not influenced by the teachings of Greek philosophy (cf. Ibn Kāṭiyya, 124; al-Kaṣwīnī, 21 = tr. Ethē, 44; Ahmad b. Mādjīd, 149 = tr. Tibbēts, 140).

A scientific astronomical description of the Milky Way was given by Ptolemy in his Almagest (book xxvii, § 2), which became known in Arabic through a series of translations from the end of the 2nd/8th to the end of the 3rd/9th centuries. Abū Ḥanīfa's description, however, apparently was not influenced by the Almagest, since he uses descriptive elements of pure Arabic origin only. Also, his description of the Milky Way resembles that of Scorpius, near the ecliptic, whereas Ptolemy's description begins and ends in the constellation of Centaurus, in the southernmost region of the sky visible to him in Alexandria.

Cosmological theories of the Milky Way were conveyed to the Arabs by translations and paraphrases of Greek philosophical works, as, e.g., Aristotle's Meteorology (for the chapter on the Milky Way, see al-Tafhim li-nūd al-tanjjim, f. 140; ed. A. R. Badawi, Cairo 1961), Astronomical verses, Al-Fārābī, (written around A.D. 950) says that, contrary to the teachings of Aristotle and his followers, al-madjarra is of the same height (above the earth) as the fixed stars because the moon and the planets are not influenced by it when crossing in front of it, as should happen if the Milky Way was below them, and because it shares all the peculiarities of the fixed stars as described by Ptolemy, viz. that it is found in their sphere and unvariably keeps the same relations in distance and shape just as the fixed stars do (al-Bīrūnī [2], ii, 949, 17-93, 1; nearly identical with this is the quotation from Barhebraeus (cf. Ibn al-Haytham and al-Bīrūnī). Especially interesting are the scientific deductions of Ibn al-Haytham (d. ca. 1041), who arrived at the conclusion that the Milky Way does not form part of the air (the sublunar sphere) but must be far out in the space (see Wiedemann [1], 672, and the literature quoted there). Also, al-Bīrūnī in his al-Fārābī, al-Madjarra (written around A.D. 950) says that, contrary to Aristotle and his followers, al-madjarra is of the same height (above the earth) as the fixed stars because the moon and the planets are not influenced by it when crossing in front of it, as should happen if the Milky Way was below them, and because it shares all the peculiarities of the fixed stars as described by Ptolemy, viz. that it is found in their sphere and unvariably keeps the same relations in distance and shape just as the fixed stars do (al-Bīrūnī [2], ii, 949, 17-93, 1; nearly identical with this is the quotation from Barhebraeus (cf. Ibn al-Haytham and al-Bīrūnī).
deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being ḥāṣba ("verbal expression").

In Arabic literature, the different modes of expression labelled as madjaẓ by the Arabic theorists were divided into twelve categories by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) without, however, following a consistent system of criteria (cf. al-Suyūṭī, Muṣārara, ed. Cairo 128a, i, 171). A more refined and detailed version of this classifying system was put forward by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), a younger contemporary of al-Rāzī, in his Kitāb Madjaẓ al-Kurān by Abū Ḥubayrā (see Sezgin, GAS, i, 35 ff., 48).

Parallel to the purely philological studies, research on Kurānic hermeneutics was undertaken by theologians, whose investigations seem to have had a still greater bearing on the development of the madjaẓ theory. All theological groups, in fact, resorted to the Qurān in order to support their statements, since the text allowed quite contradictory interpretations. Rāzi, Muhammad b. al-Tanāsfūn (d. 1026) already pointed out in his anti-Kaddār discussions that occasionally in the Qurān an effect proper to God is ascribed in its cause to a created being, and he thus anticipated the notion of madjaẓ ṣakt (cf. Van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie, Beirut 1977, 105, 108 ff.).

An instance of this phenomenon is given in the verses "The spring-time made the herbage come forth", the effect of bringing forth herbage not being ascribed to the Creator but to the spring (see al-Ma'ānī wa l-Bayān). If credence may be given to the Ta'wīl al-Qurān (ed. al-Muṣṭafī, 30, II. 5 ff.), it likewise happened that in discussions with other religious, attempts were made to shift the difference from the text to the verbology, thus making use of the madjaẓ theory. Ibn Qutayba actually thought it convenient to deprive the Christian term "Son of God" of its shockingly by taking refuge in a tropical interpretation (Ta'wīl, roe, II. 5 ff.).

It was, however, due to the theological aspects of the Qurānic madjaẓ that the question was raised how far tropical expressions might be valuable and useful. One of the major reproaches brought forward against the use of madjaẓ was that tropical language was likely to falsify the image of reality. Already Ibn Qutayba drew attention to this fact (Ta'wīl, 122 f.; see also Suyūṭī, Idāḥ, 510, 11 ff.)

It proved more rewarding, however, to tackle the positive aspects of the problem, as tropical expressions used in the Qurān were liable to express more clearly and more completely the intended meaning than would have been possible by means of a veritative expression. A number of excellent single studies relating to the above subject were brought together by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 496/1007) in his Ta'wīl al-Qurān (cf. Van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie, Beirut 1977, 105 ff.).

It thus happened that the discussion on madjaẓ was shifted into the field of interest of the inimitability of the Qurān (iḍāḥ al-Kurān).

**Bibliography:** Shorter or longer treatises on madjaẓ are to be found in all manuals and studies relating to rhetoric or the rhetorical art since the 5th/11th century, but especially in the works of the school of al-Sakhākī (see also al-Ma'ānī wa l-Bayān). The madjaẓ literature equally includes everything written on isṭāfā; see particularly W. Heinrichs, _The Hand of the modernist_, Wiesbaden 1977.
In Persian literature. — The use of the term madjāz by Persian writers has always been subject to the influence of the Arabic doctrine outlined above. A distinction between more borrowing on the one hand and autonomous development on the other can in each instance only be made on the basis of extensive and chronologically differentiated data which are not yet available. For that reason, no more than a rough sketch of Persian usage can be given here and questions concerning the origin and the history of specific aspects must be left aside.

The first writer who dealt with madjāz as a rhetorical term was, to our knowledge, Shams-i Rāyš, a contemporary of al-Sakkākī. He defined it as an inclusive category of figurative speech being opposed to the category of literal, "true", speech (hassāš). His definition also comprises the necessity of a common aspect (madjāz-i sādhī) providing a link between the figurative and the literal meanings of an expression by means of which the real intention of the speaker can be established. The most important type of madjāz is the metaphor (istīfarāt) which can be used in all kinds of speech. Another type consists of allegorical devices occurring especially in poetic descriptions such as the temzone (munshīra) in which imitative objects or animals are introduced as speakers in an exchange of arguments (al-Muṣāfūm fi madjāzī āghār al-sādhi, ed. Tehran 1358/1979, 395 ff.). A much more complicated terminology is presented in the textbooks of the post-classical period, e.g. in the Haddūzal al-balāgha of Mir Shams al-Dīn Fakhr-i Dihlavi (1414-31/1703-28), a digest which was made by J. Garcin de Tasso, Rhetorique et prosodie d/s langurs de l'orant musulmān, Paris 1873, see esp. 40 ff. and 66 ff.). Recently, a summary of inter-Persian theory has been given by Diālī al-Dīn Hurmāz (Fārsī al-balāgha va madjāz-i adabi, Tehran 1354/1975, 247 ff.). Two technical terms among the many dealt with in these surveys deserve mention here. The presence of a clue or karina (also called karina-ī pārīsa, as it "leads" the mind the intended meaning) is required to express the relationship (sādhī) between a madjāz and the corresponding ḥashāšī. Such a clue is either implied in the context or specifically added, e.g. in the example nīrī-ī shahānšahān in which the adjective points to the actual meaning of "valiant warrior". If the trope is not based on a similarity of form but reflects the place where it manifests itself, a whole and its parts, a cause and its effects etc. it is called madjāz-i mursal ("free trope", according to the interpretation of Hūnāt).

An especially Persian use, for which the authority of the early lexicographer Faṣīḥ-i Kawwās (fl. ca. 700-700 in India) is invoked, restricts the application of madjāz to metaphors based on terms which either refer to an accident (ārād) or to imaginary things (mutaffara). For al-Maladīnī, Koshkī sīlahālī al-fārisī, Calcutta 1872, ii, 505 f.)

In Persian grammar, a connection of one substantive to another by means of the hasra-ī idāfa is called "figurative" (idāfa-ī madjāz) if it reflects only an estimation (istīhār) of the speaker. This includes the idāfa-ī ṣagbāsh in which the particle of the idāfa denotes a comparison (e.g. ẓanīn-ī nāh, "an eye like that of a gazelle") and the idāfa-ī isṭīrā' (e.g. hāqī-ī sadāl, "the sword of death") which implies a metaphorical personification (see further, M. Muṣīn, Idāfa, Tehran 1341/1962, 430-52).

Outside lexicography and philology, ḥashāshī and madjāz have been used frequently for literary ex-pressions in mystical terminology. Real love (ṣawād-ī ḥabīb), directed towards the Eternal Beloved, has as a counterpart "figurative" love (ṣawād-ī madjāz), which concentrates on another object but only as a temporary substitute for the true goal of mystical love (see for early instances Sanā'ī, Dīwān, Tehran 1341/1962, 797; ʿAzāz al-Dīn Nassafī, Kūsh ʿImān al-hūnāt, Tehran-Paris 1964, 145 ff.). Similar terms were coined to indicate the distinction between as well as the interdependence of the sphere of divine existence and the present world. Expressions like wujūd-ī madjāzī, ḥassī-ī madjāzī or sārā-ī madjāzī reflect the view that the latter can be predicated to be in existence by way of a trope only.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see in general M. Muṣīn, Fārānk-ī fārās-ī mutawassī, Tehran 1535/1966, iii, s.v. madjāz. (J. T. P. De Bruijn)

In Turkish. — Although several neologisms, such as addəqanın and defi̇səme have been proposed since 1948, this Arabic term continues to be in vogue in the sense of "trope" or "figurative language" as one of thousands of literary terms acquired from the Arabs and Persians by the Turks as they became practitioners within the Islamic literary tradition. In the process of borrowing, they also inherited much of the confusion and ambivalence that characterised the periodic definition and classification of the three divisions of the science of balāgha (q.v.). By the end of the Middle Ages, when the Turks began to formulate their tropological utterances according to the Islamic perception of figurative language, they also accepted the assignment of madjāz to the "expression" (išâyā [q.v.]) division of the Islamic system of rhetoric.

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks did not produce any literary manuals of their own, preferring instead to refer to the standard Arabic and Persian texts or to their Turkish translations of these. This reliance on the works of their literary mentors was especially marked in the case of rhetorics, the productions of al-Dzirjānī (d. 471/1078), Shams-i Rāyš (fl. 600-27/1204-30), al-Sakkākī (d. 625/1228) and al-Taftāzānī (d. 771/1369) [q.v.] apparently amply meeting their need for reference works on this subject until the Tongunşū period (1839-76). Thereafter, the new generation of Ottoman writers and teachers, now under strong European influence, began to create original works dealing with all aspects of literature. Reference works by literary innovators like Ahmed Djewidet Pasha [q.v.] and Ekrem Bey [q.v.], who wrote mainly for the new schools, and the efforts of their continuators since the Republic (1923), point to an understanding of the meaning and use of the trope that is more in keeping with the syntax and morphology of the Turkish language. This activity, however, did not entirely eliminate the problems of definition and classification. Nowhere is there a clear agreement on the division of tropes into two major classes as of madjāz-ī mursal (synecdoche and variants) and istfāra (metaphor and extensions).

(1) Madjāz-ī mursal (Mod. Tkish. kassamu-lama addəqə) in which the objects featured in the figurative expression have a relationship that is not described in terms of direct comparison. This type of trope is itself broken down to several variants of which the most frequently encountered are:

a. "umutniyya-xasūsyya, the particular for the general, geasa for species, etc., and vice-versa,
"Every sail on the Marmara is flying merrily."
b. awaliyya, referring to the projected state of the object, "Light the fire!"

c. titiya-sababbiyya, position and locale conjunctive, "Emerging from prayer, they went to the promenade area."

d. sababbiyya-mawjudbiyya, cause and means relationship, "This shop has earned much money."

(2) Isi'dara (isgireleme) in which the comparative elements of the relationship between objects are stressed in various degrees. There is no uniform agreement as to exact relationship and classification of these. The generally accepted two major divisions are:

a. isi'dara-i massa'alaba (amzg isgireleme) or explicit metaphor, in which the comparison is achieved by direct reference to an object, "Our lion is no match to the battlefield."

b. isi'dara-i mahziyya (hapa tal isgireleme) or implicit metaphor in which the comparison is achieved by reference to an attribute of an object without mentioning the object itself, "A cool stream sang tirelessly."

Each of the above divisions is subdivided even further on the basis of other pertinent considerations affecting, or affected by, the nature of the attributive relationship between the referent and the referred objects.


(1. Stewart-Robinson)
MADJD AL-MULK — AL-MADJDJAWI

Bibliography: *Camb. hist. of Iran*, index; C. L. Klaunzer, *The SELJUK empire*, a study of civil administration 1055-1194, Cambridge, Mass. 1923, 42, 45-9, 92, 105-6; C. E. Bosworth, in *Encycl. iranica*, s.v. al-Baladáni. (C. CAMER)

**MADJDUB** ("the attracted one"). In Sufi literature the name for the representative of a type of piety which is chiefly of a passive nature (passif-ascétique) in contradistinction to the active (sifî) "striding one" (sâlik), a characteristic which is expressed in numerous other pairs of opposition, like: murâdâh-murâdâh, maktab-taktab, makâmânî-makâmânî, makhrîz-kikhrîz. While the madjdub, on the way to God, may abandon himself to be drawn by divine attraction (*dadkhâja, dadkhâjât, Perisan khajâr*), the sâlik depends on his own exertions (*kâfîgâh*), a gift (bâshâfî) of God. Usually, mixed forms occur, as is clear from the works of Nâdir al-Dîn-i Kuhârî [790] and Nâdir al-Dîn-i Dâya, for whom the "strider" is the one who, while striding, is attracted gently, and the madjdub the one who, while striding, is attracted intensely. Others, like 'Umar al-Sahrawdi, Mahmûd-i Kâhânâ and 'Asîz-al-Nasuli, speak of a "strider who is attracted" (sâlik-i madjdhib) when the striding came earlier in time, and of an "attracted one who is striding" (madjdhib-i sâlik) when the being attracted came earlier in time. The problem, as is clear from the works of Kadjm al-Dîn-i Kubra, is that who, when merely striding, nor the one who is merely attracted, is qualified to be a âghây or to lead others on the mystical path, since the former has never arrived at his aim, while the second, as being only attracted, has never stridden along the path by himself. With regard to personal progress, it is true, the word of the Prophet holds good: "One single attraction by God is equivalent to the activity of men and beings, but only the one who has personal experience of striding, its labours and dangers, is able to assist others in advancing. In more recent literature in particular, madjdhib is a frequently used extenuating and excusing designation of eccentrics ecstacies, love-maddened persons, holy fools, and despisers of the law. Occasionally, the term is also used as a nickname, like in Ibrahim-i Madjdhub (7th/13th century).


**AL-MADJDUB** is a common name of a Moroccan holy man whose complete name is 'Abd Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Ayyûd al-Sânâhîji al-Farâdî al-Dukkâlî. He came originally from Tlît, in the district of Azemurâm, but lived in Fas, where one of his disciples was in particular Abu 'I-Maabdîn Yusuf al-Fâsi, whose great-grandson, 'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Abd al-Kâdî [see AL-FAS, in *Suppl.*] left behind a work called *Ithâlahâl al-buluk bi-khabar al-aghây*. Abu 'I-Maabdîn mu-ghaybîtik al-Madjdhub (extracts in ms. Rabat 5242; see Lévi-Provençal, *Catalogue*, 252). 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Madjdhub died in the Gharb in 796/1589 and was buried in Mohâbê. He is especially famed for his gnomic poetry which took the form of quatrains in dialectal Arabic [see HAJDUN] and which, towards the end of the 17th century, attracted the attention of H. de Castries (*Gnomes de Stûr Abû-Rahman al-Madjdhub*, 1856). His work on personal and civil administration in various works, 'Abd al-Kâdî Nûr al-Dîn has had lithographed in Algiers (at the beginning of the 19th century) *al-Kawâl al-mo'dur min hådâm al-aghây* 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Madjdhub, which contains 127 quatrains with a commentary in classical Arabic; they have been published, translated and commented upon by J. Scelles-Millie, *Les quatrains de Madjdub le sarcastique* (*poète maghrab de XVIe siècle*, Paris 1956).


Following the example of his father who had lived for a long time in Morocco where he had studied and taught, especially at al-Karawiyîn [790], before returning to his native city to practise there the duties of kâfî, al-Madjdjawi travelled to this country at a very early age. At Tangier and later at Tetouan he undertook classical studies which he completed at Fâs as a pupil of distinguished *alumâ*âf, including Mâhiy Muhammad al-Alawi, Muhammad b. al-Madjdun Gâñnm, Sïâh al-Shawâl, Ahmad b. Sûdâ and Djâmar b. 'Idrîs al-Kattânî. Returning to Algeria in 1869, in 1873 he was appointed *mu'darîs* at the Sîdl al-Kattânî mosque of Constantine, which he left in 1877 for the official *madrasa* of the town, where he spent more than twenty years. His very conscientious teaching was already complemented by personal scholarly work. Transferring to Algiers in 1896, he was in addition entrusted with the duties of muftî and *kâfî* at the Sîdl Ramâdân mosque. His widespread knowledge and cultured personality attracted to him the affection of numerous disciples, among whom it is appropriate to mention, in particular Hamâm al-Wâlî, who was to become the patron of 'Abd al-Hamîd Ibn Bâdis, al-Mâwûdî b. al-Madjdub, a teacher at the madrasa and Malkî *ra'ûfî* of Constantine, *Abd al-Karîm Bâsh Tacîl*, Hanâfî *muftî* of the same town, Hamâm b. al-Dârâdî, Hanâfî *bâshî* of Algiers, and Muhammad Saîd Ibn Zokrî, a teacher at the madrasa and Malkî *muftî* of Algiers.

A teacher by nature and by profession, al-Madjdjawi revealed his views on educational issues in three monographs (see below). On the other hand, his tastes as well as the specialised responsibilities of the two chairs that he occupied in Constantine and Algiers led him to take an interest in the traditional disciplines of law and of religion. Deeply committed to orthodoxy, he allied himself with scholars who, in the name of the Kur'ân and of the Sunna, denounced superstitions practices, impious innovations (*bi'dâ*), and the popular demon-
strations encouraged by the leaders of the Saffi brotherhoods. He also tackled with equal confidence such varied subjects as morphology, syntax, rhetoric, astronomy, cosmography, mathematics and economics. Through his writings, al-Majdjid aims to present the image of an 'Ulama of encyclopaedic learning. To this end, he introduces into his texts numerous and lengthy quotations not only from the Kur'an and from hadith, but also from the works of jurists, philosophers, historians, poets and even of obscure writers. Faithful in this respect to scholastic method, he demands from the ancient scholars more than simple references or entertaining curiosities. His borrowings have a relevance that goes beyond words and forms; he is inlaid to the Arabo-Islamic tradition which provides him with the models for life and thought, and he takes it upon himself to convey this tradition in its entirety to his contemporaries.

The corpus of al-Majdjid's work comprises eighteen titles, of which the list is as follows: 1. 
2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

only to that with British India. It was through this connection that Majjid's sister Salma succeeded in making contact with one of the employees of the German consulate, Heinrich Ruse, whom she subsequently married. In 1861, Majjid led an expedition to reassess his authority in Pate, which had rebelled; but he failed in 1866 when there was a similar, but more determined, rebellion in Witu. A learned ornament of the British claim, originated by (Sir John) Kirk, is not well-known, and it is not known exactly what was the "reception hall of a caliph, high dignitary or other personage" and "a session which is held there", "a hall in which a professor's courses are given or a judge's sentences delivered" (hence "praetorium, tribunal"), or further where the debates of an assembly take place (hence "council").

1. In social and cultural life
2. In Insulin "usage"
3. In Indian "usage"

In the sense of representative institutions

A. In the Middle East and North Africa
B. In Afghanistan
C. In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

1. In Social and Cultural Life

From the pre-Islamic period, majdjl designated an "assembly or council of the tribe's notables" [see Badaw, III, c] and this institution is still alive (see e.g. J. Chohlo, Le droit dans la société bidouine, Paris 1971, 32), sometimes under another name [see Badaw; below, 4. E. In Afghanistan; 5. In the Middle States of the Middle Ages, an elaborate governmental structure contained a series of majdjlis, councils given precise powers (see notably al-Kalkaghani, Suhb, index, 422-3). This usage plainly justifies the adoption of this term to designate in the contemporary age any council (majdjlis al-baladiyya "municipal council", m. al-umara' "council of ministers", etc.), an elected assembly (m. 'al'a'khi "constituent assembly"), a chamber of deputies (m. al-mu'munah), a senate (m. al-ayyil al-ur-ad-din), etc. The historical account of the legislative assemblies and parliaments in the Muslim countries will be the subject of section 4 below, and the present notice will be limited to a brief survey of the majdjlis which played a rôle in the social, religious and intellectual life of the Muslims of the Middle Ages.

The first to be considered is that of the sovereign who dedicated part of his activity to "public or private meetings (majdjl, pi. majdjlal), where political and judicial decisions were adopted, plaintiffs, penologists and other visitors gathered, and questions of literature or law were debated—for this was also regarded as a normal function of the head of state" (R. Brumachiv, Hafisider, ii, 37). These sessions followed a ceremonial which varied according to the dynasties and the character of the monarchs. The etiquette of the court under the Umayyads is not well-known, and it is not known exactly what respective place was occupied by the representatives of the different social classes regularly admitted to the caliph's majdjlis. For the Abbasid period, we possess as an official text the Kitab al-Tadi (ed. Ahmad Zakl Pasha, Cairo 1939; French tr. Ch. Pelliot, Le Livre de la couronne, Paris 1954; cf. F. Gabrieli, Eichetta di corte e costumi Sassanidi nel Kitab al-tadi al-mujtah di al-Cabi, in RSO, xliii [1952], 197-247), which sets forth, mainly for the people and part of the aristocracy unfamiliar with the customs, the rules of royal protocol of the Sasanid court which it was proper to adopt, and supplies us with information derived from Islamic history only on the entertainment
sessions. For the Fāṭimids (see M. Canard, Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin, in Byzantion, xxi [1955], 353-400), the information is more detailed. The caliph habitually held a public audience on Mondays and Thursdays each week and sat on a golden throne separated from those attending by a grill (dshobbākh) and a curtain (sad) which was raised to be lowered as he approached. Among the title-bearers with public and private functions who had their places, according to their rank, in the reception hall, there must have been the presence of a sāhib al-madjas, a high-ranking eunuch entrusted with organizing the session and advising the dignitaries as soon as the caliph had taken his place on his throne (al-Salākhāndi, 133, i, 390-8; cf. B. Lewis, Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople, New York, etc., 1974, i, 203-8). We also possess some information on the status of the people admitted into the audience chamber: for Muslim Spain, e.g., it consisted of elements constituting the khāṣṣa (see al-ṣaṣṣa wa l-tāmmā); for Tunisia in the time of the Hafsids, see R. Brunschvig, op. laud., ii, 28-9.

In these public audiences, plaintiffs and petitioners were present, but poets and scholars who were admitted to the ruler's presence also participated, and for those who solicited the same honour it was an occasion to be introduced to this privileged circle of men by the mediation of someone already established at court, to recite a panegyric and receive an immediate reward.

The crowning of this process was well on the way when the ambitious man was retained at the royal table after the public audience or at another time of the day. The majority of caliphs actually were accustomed to surrounding themselves with a group of mulāmān (pl. of mulām), companions who had in theory to respect quite strict rules, of which one can gain an idea from the Kitāb al-Tādīl (17-20, tr. 29-39) and to possess a certain number of qualities and kinds of knowledge that al-Mas‘ūdi detailed in his Aḥkār al-tamān (see Murādī, viili, 103-4 = §§ 3290-30).

A long account will not be given here of the entertainment evenings which many of the Muslim rulers organised regularly and in the course of which they gave themselves up to 'pleasure' or jarab provoked by the music, singing and drinking. The Kitāb al-Tādīl (31-9, tr. 39-66) enumerates those who, surrounded by women slaves and eunuchs, hid themselves behind the music, singing and drinking. The ruler gave himself up to "pleasure" or amir, which he reaped after he was seated. Among the title-bearers, poets and scholars frequently attracted by the music, story-tellers, grammarians or fukūhī, to rejoice in the victory of some and sneer at the discomfort of others. The ruler's madīlīs also became a circle which J. E. Bencheikh (Les voix d'une création. Essai sur la poésie arabe à Bagdad dans la première moitié du IIIE siècle, thesis Paris 1971, 190; idem, Poétique arabe, Paris 1975, 22 ff.; idem, Le cénacle poétique du Califat al-Mu‘āwīdhis ... in BELO, xxix [1977], 32-52) describes as "a court of legislation", adding that the creator confronts there a well-informed prince, formidable men of learning, uncharitable colleagues; in short, criticism is made immediately and pronounced without appeal. On the other hand, it plays a basic role in the diffusion of masterpieces: the scholars comment on them, the musicians are inspired by them, the listeners spread their renown*. These general considerations inspired by the study of a limited period of the history of poetry in Bagdad are perfectly applicable to the majority of courts of Muslim sovereigns who were friends of letters and the arts to any extent and concerned about their reputation as patrons.

In addition, before even the dismemberment of the ‘Abbāsid empire was accomplished, parallel to the caliph's madīlīs, there were some literary groups directed by provincial governors and high dignitaries who had it at heart to gather around them, to ensure their prestige, poets and scholars frequently attracted by ethnic or politico-religious affinities, but also for basely material reasons, for the isolated man of letters or scholar could only live sparsely, if he were without fortune; in any case, if he were not particularly ambitious, he had to appeal to a patron, who, in default of the caliph, he could find in the provinces, then at the court of the dynasts who flourished from one end to the other of the Muslim world.

This necessity was undoubtedly prejudicial not only to the quality of the work at least of the poets, but also to their dignity, for they could not help but compromise themselves, to obey the tastes of the patrons and their entourage, and to adopt at times a politico-religious attitude contrary to their own convictions. In any case, the study of patronage in the history of Arabo-Islamic civilization (which remains to be undertaken, for it has only been so far sketched out, e.g. by R. Blachère, HLA, iii, 344-57) would be really instructive; based on the literary groups and salons in evidence from the Middle Ages to our own days, it would provide a global idea of the influence that the latter exercised on the evolution of literature.

In a society where, as R. Blachère (Moranabbī, 130) writes "the life of the salon occupied an important place, no one could aspire to public admiration, if he were not also a man of the world, an agreeable conversationalist with a lively mind and prompt at repartee, skilled in creating situations which he could turn to his advantage". These remarks, valid for the madīlīs of kings and princes, hold
good for those who, at an inferior social level, stayed simply in the home of well-to-do poets and writers and even in the shops of merchants who practised in their own way a form of patronage. So some madialis were and still are constituted which are real literary salons, where good speech is honoured and extemporisation reigns.

When the person who held session was a professor, his madialis, which could possibly be transformed into a coterie, was the place (mosque, madrasa, personal home, etc.) where he dispensed his teaching; the same term designated the whole body of his audience, the session during which he dictated his lessons, and, finally, the course itself; his lessons, once recorded by his pupils, were "published" most often under the heading amili "dictations" (see madialis al-frikma), was the place (mosque, madris, his madialis, homes or, more properly, in the house of well-to-do poets and collections function of the Fatimid age, the TayyibI of the F&timid age, the Tajaddun, the Madialis Mustunsiriyya, of 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, these included the madialis (reciters), recounting the virtues of the Prophet's family; the madialis narrators of anecdotes), describing the misfortunes of those martyred at Karbala, the madialis (singers of dirges), who were accomplished musicians. Among these various activities, the singing of dirges, in particular, enjoyed much popular appeal, despite its disapproval by the religious leaders. In its literary role, the madialis contributed to the development of the marthiya in Urdu, as illustrated by Anb (1802-74) and Debr (1803-75), the recognised masters of that genre (see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu).

Bibliography: Meer Hassan Ali (Mrs.), Observations on the Muzzamians of India, repr. Karachi 1974; 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, 'adab Mi$r al-Fa$imiyya, Cairo 1974; S. M. Stern, Cairo as the centre of the Esmaili movement, in Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire, Cairo 1974. (W. MASEOLING)

3. IN INDIAN SHI'I USAGE

This term is especially used in the Indian subcontinent for the Shi'i mourning assemblies held during Muharram to commemorate the tragedy of Karbala. These assemblies are organised in private homes or, more properly, in the imam-habias, where miniature replicas of al-Husayn's tomb at Karbala, made out of paper or other material, are kept throughout the year. The madialis, though dating back to earlier times, acquired real prominence in the 19th century, with the imperial giveaways by the Nawab of Awadh or Oudh (1722-1856). Under these rulers, Lahriyaw (g.e.) or Lucknow, which was the seat of administration, became the undisputed centre of Shi'i culture in India and a place where the madialis found its full development. Since then, the madialis has retained much of its traditional character. The central theme of the ceremony is the recital, in prose or verse, of the events connected with the martyrdom of al-Husayn, followed by lamentations and the beating of the breast, in which the whole assembly takes part. The service ends with the distribution of sherbet, sweets or food to all those present in the madialis. An important outcome of the institution was the emergence of individuals performing distinct functions in the madialis proceedings. As related by 'Abd al-Halim Sharar, these included the madialis (reciters), recounting the virtues of the Prophet's family; the madialis (narrators of anecdotes), describing the misfortunes of those martyred at Karbala; the madialis (singers of dirges), who were accomplished musicians. Among these various activities, the singing of dirges, in particular, enjoyed much popular appeal, despite its disapproval by the religious leaders. In its literary role, the madialis contributed to the development of the marthiya in Urdu, as illustrated by Anb (1802-74) and Debr (1803-75), the recognised masters of that genre (see MARTHIYA, 4. In Urdu).

4. IN THE SENSE OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

A. In the Middle East and North Africa

The terms Madjlis (Arabic), and Madialis (Ottoman Turkish), Meclis (Modern Turkish) and Madilis (Persian), meaning "Parliament", appear in various word-combinations as indicated below. In Arabic, the synonym Barjama (borrowed from the French) has also been in frequent use. As has Parlamento in Ottoman Turkish (from the Italian), Parlamento in modern Turkish (mostly used for parliaments outside Turkey) or Parliament in modern Persian (from French), Madjlis (usually in Madjlis al-mawadda, or Madialis shahr al-mawadda) assumed this connotation in the 19th century, as the concept of parliamentarism became widespread, thanks to the impact of Western influence on the Middle East, without, at least initially, implying parliamentary government. While it is not certain when the term was first used in this sense, its first official use appears to have been in 1866, with the promulgation of Khedive Ismail's Hudud wa-nifdam-ndmat madilis al-adab Mist al-Fatimiyya, Cairo 1950, 23-41; S. M. Stern, Cairo as the centre of the Esmaili movement, in Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire, Cairo 1974. (W. MASEOLING)
minorities, such as Israel and Cyprus. In certain countries, parliamentary bodies were convened in response to growing demands for political participation by individuals or groups impressed by Western patterns of democratic government, who hoped to use such bodies as national instruments for obtaining (or preserving) independence, overall progress and especially for curbing absolutism. The above were established by local rules, usually in response to popular demands. Sometimes, they were established by the local ruler on his own initiative, originally in an advisory capacity only; in this latter case, these bodies eventually showed greater political awareness and demanded more than anticipated. During the colonial period, especially in Arab areas under British and French control after the First World War, parliamentary institutions were set up by the foreign Power. Elsewhere, as in Iran and Turkey, they were established by independent regimes, generally during the first half of the 20th century. On the whole, the latter proved to be more durable than the former. However, when adapted to the social, economic and political realities of the country, all such parliaments did continue to function, even those which were colonial creations, as in Lebanon or the Maghreb.

Parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa, whether dating from the colonial or independent era, in general were modelled on Western patterns and functioned with varying degrees of effectiveness, especially given the history. Most parliaments in Arab states were considered mainly consultative bodies by the government. In recent years, under the new, revolutionary, highly centralised regimes they have lost much of their effectiveness (after having been challenged by Islamists and right- and left-wing groups). In many cases, party competition has all but disappeared and the role of parliament (if at all extant) in the initiation of legislation and public policy-making has diminished, as have its representational attributes. In reality, parliaments in Iran and most Arab states—eagerly hailed by nationalist movements both as symbols of emancipation and desirable vehicles for political expression—had failed, largely because of their inability to resolve or even regulate the sharp conflicts rooted in socio-economic, ethnic and political differences. Such parliaments had indeed identified with the status quo forces. On the other hand, that of Turkey, with a longer parliamentary tradition, has maintained its importance to date (1956).

In summary, parliamentary institutions in each of the countries discussed below have reflected the local political culture of the time. Their impact on national affairs, however, has been merely marginal in most cases, as parliaments in the Middle East and North Africa (Turkey and Israel excepted) have rarely provided political leadership, except through legislation. Their probable main function has been to legitimise the new states, moderate internal conflict by allowing argument and integrate diverse elements. Most Middle Eastern parliaments have succeeded only partially in carrying out these functions, especially the last one.

Abd al-Jafar Muhammad II, granted by ". . . at the instance of Midhat Pasha [g.v.] and his supporters. The Sultan convened a parliament for two principal reasons: firstly, Ottoman reformists and liberals were firmly convinced that a Western-style parliament, anchored in a written constitution, was essential for curtailting absolutism and propelling the Empire on its road to its salvation; secondly, representatives of the European Powers, then meeting in the Constantinople Conference, would thus be impressed with the Ottoman Government's earnest desire to rule more democratically and guarantee individual freedoms more effectively.

The 1876 Constitution stipulated that parliament, or Medfis-i mecb'edn, would comprise an elected Chamber of Delegates, Medfis-i umumi, and an appointed Senate, literally a Chamber of Notables, Medfis-i askiya. The former Chamber, although intended to play the major role, was nevertheless limited chiefly to debating, since initiation of legislation was to be a prerogative of the Ministers who were not responsible to the Medfis; also, a Member of the Chamber of Delegates could initiate a bill only via the Grand Vizier's office, which then forwarded it for the Sultan's approval, while the Sultan retained the right of veto. Consequently, the Chamber remained the sole meaningful task of the Chamber of Delegates, and even this could be circumvented. Consequently, the Chamber's real importance was not in its powers, but rather, in its very establishment as a debating forum rendering it a possible restraint on despotism.

According to an irida dated 28 October 1876 (the draft of the electoral law was promulgated only in 1908), elections for the Chamber of Delegates commenced in December 1876 and continued throughout the Empire for several weeks—with the notoriety of exception, algeri, Tunisia, Montenegro and Serbia (these had special international status and were consequently excluded) and of Mount Lebanon (where the Maronites and Druzes refused to vote, lest it affect their special status). In theory, every 50,000 male Ottoman subjects were to elect one delegate. In practice, members of various administrative councils wrote in the delegates of their choice on the ballots, Muslims and non-Muslims alike (although the latter were subject to a quota). All ballots were checked according to a slightly different procedure.

The irida stipulated that the Chamber of Delegates comprise 190 Members. However, only 119 were elected and attended the first session; in the second, which commenced in December 1877, after new elections had been held—there were 113 delegates, including 55 who had attended the first session as well. All sessions convened in Istanbul, where the Chamber had no office (4 others were appointed subsequently) until 19 March 1877 until 13 February 1878, when the Sultan dissolved parliament. It appears that Abd al-Hamid II considered reconvening it, but then changed his mind; Parliament was not to convene again until 1908.

Senate meetings were closed to the public and little is known of them (other than that it debated several bills passed by the Chamber); sessions of the Chamber of Delegates were open, however. These dealt with foreign demands on Ottoman territory and subsequently with the Turco-Russian War—all with patriotic spirit. They discussed bills presented by
Ministers, passing a number of them with certain changes. Most significant were the Provincial Administration Law, the Municipalities Law, and the Electoral Law for the Chamber. They debated finances (e.g. they sharply criticised the Baghdad Railway concession) and made some pertinent observations thereupon to the Ministers. Their most noteworthy contribution, however, was most likely the constant stream of criticism of the Government’s handling of the war, bureaucratic mismanagement and administrative corruption. These manifestations of an independent stand received coverage in the local press, which commented approvingly on their lively character.

Many Members of the Chamber of Delegates were former government officials, including several members of the administrative councils supervising the elections. Socially, most seem to have been from the middle and upper middle classes, hence their interest in administrative reform and their conservative approach to most socio-economic issues. On the religious and ethnic levels, they were much more of a mixed gathering. In the first session there were 71 Muslims, 43 Christians and 4 Jews; in the second 54 Muslims, 43 Christians and 6 Jews. They belonged to various ethnic groups throughout the Empire: Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgars, Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs and Jews. There was an even greater diversity of languages, though Turkish was the official language of proceedings. Rich and poor, educated and uneducated, they were not unrepresentative of the Empire’s overall population. Despite their disparate character, they succeeded in cooperating and in publicising personal, local and national grievances to such an extent that the Sultan was prompted to send them home.

Parliaments in the Second Constitutional Period. The 1876 Constitution was reinstated (it had never been officially abrogated) in August 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution; parliament was thus revived. The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and other groups sought to assert themselves—and despise the Sultan’s powers—via the Chamber. ʿAbd al-Hamid II re-inaugurated parliament in Constantinople on 17 December 1908; it functioned until April 1914, when the last Ottoman parliament was dissolved.

Elections were held according to an electoral law which modified the irede of 28 October 1875 but retained the limited franchise and voting through administrative councils. The CUP was in conflict with other groups in the Chamber, which opposed it on either ideological or ethnic grounds (Greek members, for example). Still, it generally held an uneasy majority, useful during the historical meeting of Chamber and Senate, sitting as a single National Assembly (22 April 1909) which decided to depose ʿAbd al-Hamid II after his counter-revolution had failed. This was one of the high points in the annals of parliaments of the Second Constitutional Period. A partial result of this decision was the debate and subsequent passage of various amendments to the 1876 Constitution, rendering the Chamber an important component of the state. Concurrently, the once unconditional sovereignty of the Sultans was restricted; their prerogative to appoint Ministers and nominate others to high office became the right of parliament or the cabinet. Even the cabinet itself was made responsible, and to some extent subservient, to parliament.

During its early years, the Chamber debated and passed numerous laws, chiefly of a financial, administrative, or judicial character (but summaries may be found in Sarrou—see Bibliography); during the First World War, several laws of military significance were considered. However, the CUP itself, in firm executive control, strove to curtail the powers of parliament, achieving only limited results. The CUP enjoyed more success in passing legislation in the Chamber from 1909 onwards. It was generally aimed at centralising the Empire’s administration and strengthening their own position at its head. Examples are the Laws of: Vagabondage and Suspected Persons; Public Meetings; the Press and Printing; Associations; and the Prevention of Brigaudage and Sedition. These were intended to curb individual as well as public opposition and to limit the freedom of the press. Such measures did not pass without determined opposition; the Chamber included a group which resisted these restrictions, along with the limitation of the Chamber’s powers in favour of the Sultan, whom the CUP manipulated. In April 1912, new elections were held with the CUP obtaining strong support, reportedly by pressure and bribery. Yet another Chamber was inaugurated in May 1914, which prolonged its tenure in April 1918 (by amending the Constitution), after its four-year term had ended. However, in December 1918, Mohammad VI dissolved parliament. Elections were held a year later; the new Chamber convened on 12 January 1920, adjourned itself in March and was dissolved on 17 April 2020. It convened briefly, again, in March 1921; however, for all practical purposes, the sessions of parliament in Istanbul had come to an end.

The composition of parliament during the Second Constitutional Period was no less heterogeneous than in 1877-8. The nationalism of the Young Turk leaders had a market ethnic component, bolstered to a degree by their Islamic policy. Consequently, increasing preference was shown to Turks and Arabs in the elections, although the Turks, a minority in the Empire, constantly maintained an absolute majority in the Majlis. The CUP was suspicious of Arab and Armenian nationalism, on the one hand, and impatient with Greek and Albanian criticism within the Chamber, on the other. The following table (from Feroz Ahmad—see Bibliography) demonstrates this trend.

**Ethnic Representation in the Ottoman Chambers during the Second Constitutional Period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Turks</th>
<th>Arabs</th>
<th>Albanians</th>
<th>Greeks</th>
<th>Armenians</th>
<th>Slavs</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Bibliography: For the reconstructed records_
of the 1877 Chamber's proceedings, see Hakki Tarık Us, ed., Meclis-i Mebûsan 1293-1297 (Istanbul, 1939-44), I. The verbatim records of the Young Turk parliaments were printed in Ta'kufviyye Vakifât 7 and distributed by the Meclis-i Mebûsan. A register of all the meetings of the Young Turk parliaments, the laws discussed and their contents, and their approval or rejection, with dates, was published regularly as Meclis-i Mebûsan\'i \ldots \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci \ldots \ldots mecbûrâtı ve tezkûrâtı mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul). A parallel publication summed up the Senate debates. The laws passed are available in Meclis-i Mebûsan\'i \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci tezkûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Istanbul), 1907, 180 ff.; \ldots Ýstiklalinden ikinci mecbûrâtı defteridir (Ist
the GNA remained fluid, adjustable to population fluctuations. Until 1945, the GNA housed (with brief exceptions) a single party, the People's Party (later renamed the Republican People's Party [see MİYEVİ VE LEZERİ ASKAR]; several experiments with including additional parties were short-lived. During the 1923-46 period, several parties have voted for power in the GNA.

The 1961 Constitution (passed by a Constituent Assembly convened after the military intervention of 27 May 1960 and subsequently approved by a popular referendum on 9 July 1961) greatly resembled that of 1924, with certain modifications concerning the GNA. It became a bicameral body comprising a National Assembly (Millet Meclisi) of 450 members, elected for a maximum term of four years and a Senate (Senato) of 150 members elected for six years (with one-third renewed every two years). This Senate included 22 of the ex-officers who had engineered the 1960 intervention (and became Senators for life), another 15 appointed by the State President, as well as all surviving former State Presidents.

The National Assembly was the more important body of the two, as Cabinets had to obtain its vote of confidence; in addition, it had the right to initiate and support legislation in the event of a dispute with the Senate. The powers of parliament and the cabinet were considerable; however, a Constitutional Court, established at that time, was able to rule on the constitutionality of parliamentary laws and decisions (among its other powers).

There have been several changes in the laws governing parliamentary elections. Up to 1945, elections were indirect and thus liable to manipulation. Women were enfranchised in 1934. Between 1945 and 1950, with the transition to a multi-party system, the electoral laws were modified. In 1946, direct elections replaced indirect ones (first applied in 1950) and a secret ballot and public vote-counting were guaranteed. In 1950, supervision of elections passed from the executive to the judiciary. The simple plurality system continued until the 1950 military intervention, when a modified system of proportional representation was instituted for elections to the National Assembly. According to the new electoral laws passed by the Constituent Assembly in April-May 1961, each of Turkey's 67 constituencies (identical to its administrative districts) was assigned its share of the 450 seats, proportional to its population. Each party received a number of seats relative to its vote in each constituency. In the Senate elections of 1961, the party winning the majority in a constituency carried all its seats (Istanbul and Ankara excepted). Since 1964, the Senate election system was adapted to resemble that of the National Assembly. Since 1961, all Turkish citizens aged twenty-six or over (baring convicted criminals) could vote: candidates for the National Assembly had to be literate and aged 30 or over; candidates for the Senate—university graduates aged 40 or over. Membership in the GNA was considered incompatible with service in the state bureaucracy, the armed forces or the judiciary. Democratization of the electoral process was bolstered by the requirement that parties hold primary elections six weeks before voting-day and that party representatives participate in the supervision of the balloting.

Parliamentary history in the Republic of Turkey appears to be divided into three major periods: 1923-46, 1946-60, 1961 to date (1975). During the first period, the single-party era, general elections to the GNA were held in 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939 and 1943. The GNA was not only identified with the cadres of the People's Party but was, to a certain extent, an extension of the party itself, co-operating with it in a single-minded effort towards rapid modernization. The second period ranges from the beginning of the multi-party era until the first military intervention. General elections to the GNA were held in 1945, 1950, 1954 and 1957. This period witnessed the orderly transfer of power from the ruling party to the Democrat Party [see DİYER PARTI], which obtained and kept a comfortable majority in the GNA for ten years (1950-60). While opposition within the GNA had been negligible during the first period, it was active indeed during the second. Although several smaller parties had a minor share in electoral competition and parliamentary contests, most of the campaigning was undertaken by the two mass parties, the Republican People's Party and the Democrat Party; their rivalry for power engendered a constant see-saw in parliamentary debates on legislation and general policy. The third period commenced with the establishment of a bicameral system under the new constitution. General elections to the National Assembly were held in 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973 and 1977, general elections to the Senate in 1961 and partial elections in 1964, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1979. The see-saw continued, this time between the Republican People's Party and the Justice Party (and then the Democrat Party in many respects), although with three principal differences:

(a) The relative liberalisation of political party activities, initiated in 1961, enabled several radical groups to form legal parties, stand for election and enter parliament. Examples were: the socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, active since 1961, in parliament since 1965; the Republican Peasant's Nation Party (renamed Nationalist Action Party), active in its present form since 1961, and the Democrat Party [see MİYELI PATTI]. There have been several changes in the laws governing parliamentary elections. Up to 1945, elections were indirect and thus liable to manipulation. Women were enfranchised in 1934. Between 1945 and 1950, with the transition to a multi-party system, the electoral laws were modified. In 1946, direct elections replaced indirect ones (first applied in 1950) and a secret ballot and public vote-counting were guaranteed. In 1950, supervision of elections passed from the executive to the judiciary. The simple plurality system continued until the 1950 military intervention, when a modified system of proportional representation was instituted for elections to the National Assembly. According to the new electoral laws passed by the Constituent Assembly in April-May 1961, each of Turkey's 67 constituencies (identical to its administrative districts) was assigned its share of the 450 seats, proportional to its population. Each party received a number of seats relative to its vote in each constituency. In the Senate elections of 1961, the party winning the majority in a constituency carried all its seats (Istanbul and Ankara excepted). Since 1964, the Senate election system was adapted to resemble that of the National Assembly. Since 1961, all Turkish citizens aged twenty-six or over (baring convicted criminals) could vote: candidates for the National Assembly had to be literate and aged 30 or over; candidates for the Senate—university graduates aged 40 or over. Membership in the GNA was considered incompatible with service in the state bureaucracy, the armed forces or the judiciary. Democratization of the electoral process was bolstered by the requirement that parties hold primary elections six weeks before voting-day and that party representatives participate in the supervision of the balloting.

(b) For the first time in Turkey's parliamentary history, coalition cabinets were required in order to hold power in the GNA. To obtain a comfortable majority in the GNA, parties had to cooperate with one another (see tabic of Election Results below) and rather unstable coalition cabinets had to be formed. This hindered meaningful legislation in both Houses and encumbered policy-making in the Cabinet (although the parliament and cabinet still could—and did—move decisively in times of national crisis, as in Cyprus, in 1963).

(c) Frequent elections were held; scarcely a year went by without an election for the National Assembly, the Senate or local authorities. Thus public excitement never abated; on the contrary, it increased, often to the point of physical violence. Indeed, violence appealed to several extra-parliamentary groups, small but vocal and active, supported by those who had despaired of obtaining speedy socio-economic and other reforms by parliamentary means, especially during the years of coalition government stalemate. Consequently, political processes in contemporary Turkey appear to continue...
on two different levels, only one of which is centred in the GNA and follows the parliamentary rules of the game; the other level is extra-parliamentary, radicalised and dominated by violence.

The GNA has attracted many well-educated persons, approximately 70%–80% of its members, in all sessions combined, had studied at the university. However, the socio-economic and occupational composition of parliament in Turkey reflects more accurately the transition to a multi-party regime and the changes brought about by modernisation. The key-date for this process is 1950, as it was then that a counter-elite was largely substituted for the Kemalist. Analyses conducted separately by Frey and by Tschau (see Bibliography) have established that prior to 1950, the GNA comprised—a descending order—former government officials, retired officers, lawyers, merchants and businessmen, and educators. After 1950, the main groups—again, in descending order—were lawyers, merchants and businessmen (i.e., the groups with more experience in a competitive system) followed by former government officials and retired officers. Before 1950, a much larger proportion of the GNA came from the more developed areas in Western Turkey; since then, there has been a much more equitable distribution. In the sessions between 1927 and 1943, 63% of more of the membership had already served in parliament; since then, the proportion has dropped to below 50%, with new members entering not only for natural reasons but also thanks to new ideologies enjoying some popular support. The above indicates a broadening of the Turkish political elite, as expressed in the GNA, as well as a freer elite circulation and greater competition between rival élites, reflecting the growth of pluralism in Turkish society and the increase in its upward mobility during the multi-party era. Electoral participation has been quite a crucial factor, as it has generally been rather large, between 60.5% and 69.3% (56.2%–81.0% for the Senate). Voting has usually been heavier in the rural, less-developed areas in Central and Eastern Anatolia, perhaps because of the influence of local landlords. This status-quo factor has been offset, however, by the considerable internal migration from villages to town and city, on the one hand, and to a lesser extent, by the impact of Turkish workers returning from Europe, on the other. In recent years, the Justice Party and the National Salvation Party have been particularly strong in rural, less-developed areas in Central and Eastern Anatolia, though remaining relatively weak in the cities. It is not easy to predict how all this will be affected by the military intervention of 12 September 1960, one of whose first measures was to dissolve both Houses of Parliament in Turkey.

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN TURKEY 1950-1977 (by parties, percentages and seats)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>487</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>57.3%</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>57.0%</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The Democrat Party was forbidden to participate in politics after the 1960 military intervention. The Democrat Party is a new group which seceded from the Justice Party. The Democrat Party and the Republican Nation Party were run by the same leadership-core, essentially. The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969. The Workers' Party of Turkey, closed down in 1971, re-entered electoral contests in 1977.

**SENATE ELECTIONS IN TURKEY (by parties, percentages and seats)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Voting Participation</th>
<th>Democratic Party</th>
<th>Nationalist Party</th>
<th>National Salvation</th>
<th>New Turkey</th>
<th>Republican People's Party</th>
<th>Republican Party of Turkey</th>
<th>Union Party of Turkey</th>
<th>Workers' Party</th>
<th>Independents</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: In 1967, elections were held for all 150 Senate seats that were earmarked for election (other Senators were appointed). Since 1964, elections were held in about a third of the constituencies, for a third of those seats and for those that had become vacant. The Nationalist Action Party was the new name of the Republican Peasants Nation Party since 1969.
(iii) Iran

No significant representative institutions existed in Iran until the 1906 Revolution, when the Iranian Parliament was established, reflecting the basic intention of the Fundamental Law of 30 December 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 8 October 1907 (both principal components of Iran's first Constitution) to curb the absolute monarchy of the Qajars. These laws, largely patterned after the Belgian Constitution of 1831, provided for a National Consultative Assembly (Majlis-i shura-yi milli) (i) and a Senate in 30 constituencies, amounting to nearly 51% participation; and 5,834,666 votes for the Assembly, about five and up could vote in the Assembly as well. There were 6,805,647 votes cast for the Assembly, about 53% participation; and 5,834,666 votes for the Senate in 30 constituencies, amounting to nearly 50% of eligible voters. Twenty women entered the Assembly and one the Senate.

The 24 Iranian Assemblies from 1906 to 1978 have had an uneasy and sometimes tumultuous history of in-fighting and of struggling with the Shah for power. The First Assembly began as a nationalist and reformist parliament, which improved fiscal controls and dealt with the administration of justice (including anti-bribery measures) and the organisation of municipalities and provincial councils. Muhammad Musad-dik, however, enjoyed less certain support in the Assembly than he did amongst Tehran's population. His dissolving of the Assembly was countered by a pro-government coup, supported by pro-Shah forces. Musad-dik was arrested and political parties were banned.

More than half the membership of the Eighteenth Assembly, elected in 1954, was new. The Shah consolidated his power and Assembly Members were invited to join one of two court-sponsored parties. In 1961, the Shah dissolved parliament indefinitely and began to rule by decree (promulgating more than 500 laws in two-and-a-half years). A popular referendum approved the Shah's impressive new plans for a “White Revolution”, calling for the re-distribution of land, improvement of agriculture and industry, and increasing literacy. When a new Assembly was elected in September 1963, the Pahlavi Party predominated. This party comprised technocrats and former civil servants; it supported the Court (probably having been initiated by it), identifying with the policies of the Shah and his Ministers. Later on, the Rastakhiz Party followed suit. This co-operation, which characterised the subsequent assemblies, was justified by continuous economic growth and an increase in military power.

In Assembly-Shah relations, the Assembly was in ascendance in 1960-63, when it was a partner in the removal of the Qajars, and again in 1941-53, when a nucleus of its leaders even succeeded in temporarily exiling the Shah. The Shah subdued the Assembly in 1926-41 and again since 1954, mostly because of his prestige and central position, his executive control over legislative recruitment and executive divisiveness within the Assembly. Even then, Muhammad Reza Shah has consistently praised the positive role and great importance of parliamen
dary democracy in Iran. In actual practice, the Assembly had a long (although mixed) record in legislation, as well as in criticism of the Cabinet and administration (although not of the Shah and armed forces).

The character of the Majlis was determined by the electoral laws, by the bargaining which ensued, and sometimes by official manipulation, but even more by Iran's socio-economic and political
realities. Indeed, at least until the early 1960s, most political parties in the Majlis were recognisable by their affinity to the person of a leader, rather than their being held together by a cogent ideology. Socio-economic ties were, characteristically, more relevant. Originally, the electoral law institutionalised the situation, by stipulating that the Members of the Majlis were to be elected under a system of indirect balloting, which curtailed popular voting, placing it under the supervision of electoral committees representing six social groups (or classes, jakabati: nobles, landlords, men of religion, businessmen, traders, and farmers. The 1965 Electoral Law substituted workers and peasants for the first two groups; nevertheless, several members of aristocratic families continued to be elected to the Majlis. Other characteristics were, however, no less evident among Majlis Members: in general, Members of the Majlis had to be well-to-do; in 1960, they were required to be property owners and pay a minimum annual tax. Later on, it was still necessary to be a person of means, in order to assume campaign costs. In addition, they had to be somehow identified with the "Establishment!" headed by the Shah and his Court—with the exception of the first few Assemblies, which were essentially revolutionary, and of groups in the Assemblies immediately following the Second World War, which included outspoken members identifying with leftist, ultra-nationalist and extreme religious factions.

The average educational level of Majlis Members has risen steadily: university degree holders made up 60% of the total in the 21st Assembly (1963-67). Landerd representation, although still strong, is declining against an increase in the members of the middle classes; between 1945-56, the representation of the first group remained more or less constant, whereas that of the middle group, which was much smaller in the Assembly immediately following the Second World War, has risen steadily: university degree holders made up 62% of the total in the 21st Assembly (1963-67). In addition to the minutes and the personal interviews, a system of indirect balloting, which curtailed popular voting, placing it under the supervision of electoral committees representing six social groups (or classes, jakabati: nobles, landlords, men of religion, businessmen, traders, and farmers. The 1965 Electoral Law substituted workers and peasants for the first two groups; nevertheless, several members of aristocratic families continued to be elected to the Majlis. Other characteristics were, however, no less evident among Majlis Members: in general, Members of the Majlis had to be well-to-do; in 1960, they were required to be property owners and pay a minimum annual tax. Later on, it was still necessary to be a person of means, in order to assume campaign costs. In addition, they had to be somehow identified with the "Establishment!" headed by the Shah and his Court—with the exception of the first few Assemblies, which were essentially revolutionary, and of groups in the Assemblies immediately following the Second World War, which included outspoken members identifying with leftist, ultra-nationalist and extreme religious factions.

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The parliamentary history of 'Irak commenced virtually simultaneously with the inception of the British Mandate. Following the signing of the Anglo-'Irak Treaty of 10 October 1922, King Faysal I, in a Royal Decree dated 21 October, called for elections to a Constituent Assembly. These elections were held in two stages during 1923 and the first Constituent Assembly, numbering 100 members, was inaugurated by Faysal on 27 March 1924. The Assembly's main task was to ratify the 1922 Treaty, to draft an Organic Law approved by Faysal on 21 March 1925—and to adopt an Electoral Law. When this was accomplished, the King dissolved the Assembly.

The Organic Law and the 1924 Electoral Law regulated between them the elections to the Chamber (Majlis al-nuwurib) and the functions of parliament. Elections were to be held by administrative departments, in two stages, with every 20,000 male citizens, aged 25 or over, having a vote. This was achieved only by a 1952 decree, later in July 1923, Faisal nominated the first Senate (Majlis al-umma) for a three-year period. The Senate continued even after 'Irak had formally obtained its independence in 1932. While parliament was to debate the subject. In 1946, a new electoral law for the Chamber was enacted, especially in electoral reform. The two-degree system often helped the same families and groups to obtain perennial representation. With the advent of political parties, chiefly after the Second World War, the power of the established, conservative circles within the Chamber was challenged. Heated arguments were carried on concerning the internal socio-economic situation and 'Irak's foreign policies towards Arab states and international alignments. Most effective decision-making in 'Irak took place outside parliament— to a greater extent, perhaps, than in certain other Middle Eastern states. This continued even after 'Irak had formally obtained its independence in 1932. While parliament was characterised by haranguing, the King and the Cabinet of Ministers continued to be the true foci of power, with the British still very influential; since the mid-1930s the military became increasingly involved in politics as well. While the parliament's lower house owed more to the then-prevailing political culture in 'Irak than to anything else, certain corrective steps, particularly of a formal nature, were attempted, especially in electoral reform.

During the early 1940s, electoral reform had been increasingly suggested as a palliative; the Chambers elected since 1933 appointed committees to debate the subject. In 1946, a new electoral law for the Chamber was promulgated. Essentially, it was based on the 1924 Electoral Law, although it modified constituency zoning, increased the representation of ethnic minorities (six Christians and six Jews) and imposed legal restrictions on the arbitrariness of local officials supervising the elections. It did not, however, transform the two-degree system into a one-degree system as was vociferously demanded by those desiring democratisation of the popular vote, this was achieved only by a 1952 decree, later...
incorporated into the Electoral Law of 1956. The 1952 decree set membership in the Chamber at 155, including eight Christians (but no Jews), re-dividing Iraq into 92 constituencies. The decree also insisted upon secret ballots and regulated the ways and means of electoral propaganda.

Considering the electoral reforms of 1946, 1952 and 1956 as a whole, one tends to attribute them, at least in part, to the increasing pressure of Iraqi political parties on public life. Of moderate consequence before the Second World War and banned during the War itself, parties were permitted to function once again in 1946, old and new ones alike increased their activities both in and out of parliament. Consequently, the Government and its supporters, obviously considering these parties as rivals, took steps to limit their chances of success in the elections and their power within the Chamber. Various parties boycotted the elections of 1947, 1948 and 1952. The January 1953 elections were particularly unsuitable for free voting; several parties were banned, the press severely censored and martial law imposed in Bagdad. The mood was such that only 57 seats were contested; the others were filled without opposition. The Government did not consider this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 7 June 1954. These were the first direct elections to be held with Iraq not under martial law, thus allowing free electioneering by all major political parties. Although the balloting was not secret, the Constitutional Union Party, still the largest parliamentary group, obtained only 50 seats, losing its majority; but all conservative groups together still managed to obtain a majority (counting many independents); however, the Government did not consider this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 12 September of the same year. With most parties split over the issue of boycotting the elections, only 23 out of 125 seats were contested. Consequently, the Opposition was heavily defeated; only 7 out of the 32 Opposition Members of the Chamber elected in June were returned again in September. Many, perhaps most of the independents elected in September were partial to Nuri al-Sa'id's policies. The Chamber, however, changed its mind by issuing, on 22 September 1954, an Association Ordinance. This effectively banned some political parties and restricted the activity of others.

Holding three general elections within twenty months and eliminating much of the opposition from the Chamber of Deputies, the Government succeeded in making opposition extra-parliamentary. The above Association Ordinance drove many civilians and soldiers underground. The 1954 Chamber was even less representative than several of the preceding ones, so that in the following general elections, on 5 May, 1956, only 27 seats of the then-expanded Chamber of Deputies were actually reported, the press hardly reported the voting, which was very sparse, in any case, even though women were enfranchised for the first time. Consequently it is hardly surprising that when the military revolution occurred soon afterwards, on 24 July 1958, none came to the Government's assistance.

With the end of the monarchy, the Iraqi parliament passed into history as well. One of its last acts had been to approve the Arab Union of Iraq with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on 23 May 1958 (the Union's constitution provided for a joint parliament with 20 delegates from each component). The Arab Union, too, disappeared with the 24 July revolution. During the following years, succeeding governments and their spokesmen repeatedly mentioned the establishment of some sort of parliament, but no practical steps towards this end have been taken. A National Council of the Revolutionary Command, formed soon after the revolution, has, however, represented one of the legislative institutions created during the Revolutionary Government's assistance. With the end of martial law, the press was no longer a target of the Government, the press severely censored and martial law imposed in Bagdad. The mood was such that only 57 seats were contested; the others were filled without opposition. The Government did not consider this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 7 June 1954. These were the first direct elections to be held with Iraq not under martial law, thus allowing free electioneering by all major political parties. Although the balloting was not secret, the Constitutional Union Party, still the largest parliamentary group, obtained only 50 seats, losing its majority; but all conservative groups together still managed to obtain a majority (counting many independents); however, the Government did not consider this situation unsatisfactory and dissolved the Chamber after less than two months, holding new elections on 12 September of the same year. With most parties split over the issue of boycotting the elections, only 23 out of 125 seats were contested. Consequently, the Opposition was heavily defeated; only 7 out of the 32 Opposition Members of the Chamber elected in June were returned again in September. Many, perhaps most of the independents elected in September were partial to Nuri al-Sa'id's policies. The Chamber, however, changed its mind by issuing, on 22 September 1954, an Association Ordinance. This effectively banned some political parties and restricted the activity of others.

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to be mainly a deliberative body, with the final decisions remaining with the Revolutionary Command Council staffed by the Ba'ath.


(v) Syria.

The history of parliament in Syria is a turbulent one, not uncharacteristic of this country's political culture in recent years. Indeed, the Syrian parliament has been both an agent of and a contributor to the political culture at large. At the time of the French Mandate it was dependent upon relations with the authorities of the French Mandate; then, after complete independence was achieved at the end of the Second World War, it became subject to political vicissitudes: constitutions have been proclaimed and abolished and parliaments convened and dissolved.

When Faisal entered Damascus in October 1918, with the declared intention of setting up an Arab government, a Syrian Congress was convened, holding three sessions between 3 June 1919 and 19 July 1920. This first experiment at parliamentary government even constituted the draft of a constitution (although it did not have the opportunity to approve it) providing for a bicameral legislature (among other stip-
The parliamentary history of Syria under the French Mandate centres around the struggle between Syrian nationalists, who desired a constitutionally-guaranteed parliament endowed with independent powers, and the French authorities, who sought to limit them. At first, the French authorities experimented with Representative Councils in the various "states" of Syria. Elected in two degrees, these Councils were regarded by Syrian nationalists as partial and even subservient to the French. The 1925-7 revolt convinced the French of the need to reach some accommodation with the Syrians. In February 1928, the French High Commissioner Ponsot charged a moderate provisional government with holding general elections for a Constituent Assembly. These were held in April and the Assembly first met on 9 June. It elected a leading nationalist, Háshim al-Átassi, as its Speaker and a draft commission of 27 to prepare a constitution. The nationalists, although not clearly in the majority, were the only group well-organised in a National Bloc (al-Kulla al-majyya). They inscribed their own views into the Constitution, which was approved by the Constituent Assembly in August 1928. The French objected to several paragraphs, but the Assembly stood firm. The High Commissioner therefore adjourned the Assembly, in February 1929, sine die and dissolved it in May 1930. He then proceeded on his own to proclaim the same Constitution, with a few minor changes.

Among its other provisions, the 1930 Syrian Constitution established a 60-member unicameral Chamber (Madjlis), elected every four years and meeting in two sessions of two-and-a-half months annually, from mid-March and from mid-October. Voting was in two stages, each adapted to Syria's administrative divisions, resulting in quite an accurate representation of local, religious and socio-economic interest; it also assisted a well-established oligarchy in obtaining and maintaining control of parliament. Every Syrian male aged 20 years or over was able to vote and every literate Syrian male aged 18 years or over could be a candidate. The number of seats in the Chamber increased over the years according to Syria's population growth. The Chamber's duties were to: legislate, elect the President of the State (for a five-year term), approve the budget and vote confidence in the Government.

The first Chamber, elected in March 1932, met on 7 July of that year. The main subject of dispute between nationalists and moderates concerned relations with France on the nature of Syrian statehood. The National Bloc (al-Kulla al-majyya) was adjourned in November 1933 and dissolved in 1934. Only in November 1936 were general elections held. The Chamber was to consist of 86 members, of whom 16 were to represent minority religious denominations and another represented Bedouin tribes. The National Bloc had an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, which convened in December. They elected Háshim al-Átassi as State President. The Chamber's most important achievement was to approve a treaty with France, signed by both the Syrian Cabinet and the French High Commissioner but never ratified in Paris. Hopes for Syrian independence were dashed once again—and nationalists both within and without the Chamber reacted accordingly. In July 1939, the High Commissioner suspended the Chamber again, as well as the Constitution, in view of the tense international situation.

The Second World War, in particular the fall of France, strengthened the hand of those Syrians striving for independence. After the Free French and British forces had occupied Syria and Lebanon in 1941, General Catroux, representing de Gaulle, proclaimed Syria's independence on 28 September. Early in 1943, the French, surrendering to nationalist demands, restored the Syrian Constitution of 1930 and ordered general elections. These were held in July and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Bloc, now led by Šukr Al-Kuwwaiti. The new 124-seat Chamber met on 27 August, electing al-Kuwwaiti State President. One of the main tasks of this Chamber was to bring about a full French retreat spelling total independence.

The vicissitudes of Mandatory Syrian parliaments continued in independent Syria as well. The first Chamber of independent Syria was elected in May 1947 and sat until dismissed by Colonel Husn Al-Zam, who seized power at the end of March 1949. The 1947 Chamber, increased in membership to 140, was elected according to the new Electoral Law of 29 April 1947, which provided for 60,000 voters and a franchise thereof exceeding 3,000 (in reality, only 135 members took office). A local journalist, Hábib Kahlifa, reported later (in his Distrayt al-halby) that this very mixed parliament was merely "a bundle of contradictions" in social composition, organisation, literacy and dress. This certainty could have applied to its ethnic make-up as well, for representation took into account the mosaic of minorities. Representation of the National Bloc, which had had a majority in the 1947 Chamber, dwindled to mere 24 out of 135 seats, while the opposition commanded 53 and the independents 58 seats. Distribution of representation by district and religious denomination was as follows (based on George Haddad—see Bibliography):
The Chamber elected the State President for a five-year term and legislate. Proposed of 25% of its total membership, would deliberate. Under his guidelines, on 29 November 1951, sensing correctly that it could hamper his dictatorship. Under his guidelines, the Constituent Chamber became the Chamber of Deputies. The 1950 Constitution did not differ essentially from that of 1930, insular as the legislature was considered. The unicameral Chamber of Deputies was to be elected every four years at the expense of the Legislature. The three principal limitations on the attributes of the Chamber were: (a) The Chamber no longer elected the State President; (b) The Constitution abolished the post of Prime Minister and gave it to the Cabinet responsible to the State President alone; and (c) The Chamber was to convene from October to February only; during the remainder of the year, a token Chamber, composed of 25% of its total membership, would deliberate and legislate.

Under the provisions of this constitution, elections to a new Chamber are held on 9 October 1953. Suffrage was universal: any Syrian citizen aged 18 and over could vote and any Syrian citizen aged 25 and over could stand for election. One member would be elected for every 30,020 inhabitants. Not unexpectedly, Shishakli's own party, the Arab Liberation Movement, obtained 72 out of a total of 82 seats; one of the remaining seats went to the Syrian Social National Party and another nine to independents. However, the 1953 Constitution and the 1923 Chamber remained only brief episodes in Syria's parliamentary history. After Shishakli's downfall on 25 February 1954, the Chamber of 1949, dissolved in 1951, re-convened. One of its first acts was to re-establish the 1950 Constitution and restore the parliamentary regime in Syria. General elections were held again, on 24-5 September (with a new round, for undecided seats, on 4-5 October) 1954, for a new Chamber of 142 members: 126 Muslims—including 9 Bedouins—and 16 Christians. This time, however, no special seats were earmarked for any religious or other group. Apart from dealing with internal issues, this electoral campaign was largely concerned with Syria's joining a Western-inspired defence treaty. The elections themselves were characterised by their free atmosphere; secrecy was enforced for the first time. The results were as follows: People's Party—39, the Ba'ath—22, National Party—19, Popular Syrian Party—4, Cooperative Socialist Party—2, Arab Liberation Movement—2, Communists—1, and Independents 64 (for 43% of total membership). The Chamber met in November 1954 and functioned until Syria's union with Egypt in February 1958; it came closer than any preceding Chamber to completing its four-year term and legislated energetically. It ceased to exist with the establishment of the United Arab Republic, when Syria's separate parliamentary life was so soon restored. General elections were held on 1-2 December, with a simultaneous referendum on a new provisional constitution (approved by a 97.6% majority). Voting for the Chamber was secret and free; despite Egyptian appeals to boycott the elections, participation reached 65%—the highest in Syrian parliamentary elections. The outcome was again a sharply-divided Chamber, lacking a comfortable working majority: the People's Party received about 22% of the vote, with 14% for the National Party (heir to the National Bloc), besides 32% independents and several smaller groups. The Cabinet, based on broad right-of-centre support in the Chamber, aimed to rescind the nationalisation decrees and the agrarian reform of the UAR era. Displeased military groups repeatedly intervened in politics, leading to the dissolution of the Chamber, at the end of March 1961 and then to the seizure of power by the Ba'th Movement, in March 1963.

The Ba'th, in power since then (despite factional strife and personal changes), has altered perceptibly the structure and functions of parliament, recasting it subservient to the Executive. At the beginning of the Ba'th regime, a National Council of the Revolutionary Command (al-Majlis al-watanii li-hiyatat al-ha'reem) was established, comprising military officers. Under a provisional constitution, this council—both executive and legislative—exercised the real power. In 1964, it was renamed The National Revolutionary Council (NRC) and was expanded to 95 members, mostly civilians: 10 ranking Ba'th officials, 20 members of the former National Council of the Revolutionary Command, five representatives of the military, 14 trade unionists, 13 peasants, seven women representatives, seven representatives of the teachers' union, five selected from the free professions, two university professors and 17 "progressive citizens". NRC, Syria's parliament, could enact laws (its main function), pass the Budget, amend the constitution, supervise referenda and elect a five-man President—Council—the principal executive body. In February 1966, NRC was expanded from 95 to 134 members, outing
ratifying agreements and treaties, electing the State constitution, approving laws, debating the budget, on 1 May 1969, a new constitution was promulgated
power. Two weeks later, a military coup by Hafiz al-Asad, brought the 173, then 186 and
[Aladihs al-sha'b), attributes were to be the drafting of a permanent
Madjlis al-sha'b), to be elected for a four-year
by the Regional Command of the Ba'th. This stipulated the establishment of a People's Assembly (Madjlis al-sha'b), comprising 173, then 186 and
1973 and 1977 elections for the People's Assembly,
only a small part of the eligible voters participated. The People's Assembly nominated by Syria's President, Hafiz al-Asad, in February 1971, consisted of 87 Ba'aths, or just over half of the total 173; another 36 represented the General Union of Peasants. In the Assembly elected on 25 May 1973, the Ba'aths numbered at least 125 out of a total 186, while another 46 labelled themselves independents; 97 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers. In the Assembly elected on 1-2 August 1977, Ba'aths numbered 125 out

Table: Occupations of Members in the Syrian Chamber, 1919-1954

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(Source: Winder, in MEJ, xvii (1963), 59)
of a total 195; another 36 labelled themselves independents, and 99 of the total number of seats had been earmarked for peasants and workers.

The history of Syrian parliaments is not easily divided into distinct periods. Nevertheless, it may be divided into three main eras: (a) The Mandate period, during which the Chamber was in a state of flux; (b) Independence, when Chambers were marked by even deeper internal strife with determined efforts by the Cabinet and the party (or parties) to gain power, at the Chamber's expense, against equally determined opposition; and (c) Dependence, first on Egypt, during the UAR years, then on the guidelines set for it by the Ba’ath-military coalition which governed Syria after the UAR broke apart. One may conclude with some justification that the role of parliament in Syria has diminished, from one era to the other, at least regarding its impact on public decision-making.

Syrian parliamentarians were characterised by factors besides distinct and religious denomination (which were relevant during the first two eras of the Chamber). An investigation of these periods based on Winter's bibliography concludes as follows: (a) Parliamentarians were youthful—the median age (at time of entering each Chamber) was between 39 and 46; this was perhaps chiefly due to a fairly large turnover; (b) The proportion of Members with university education rose consistently, reaching 43% of the Chamber in 1954; another 36 labelled themselves landlords. On the other hand, very few Members were professional or military officers.

The Lebanese parliament was first initiated by the French Mandatory authorities in 1922. It was intended to support the Mandate, but gradually became more independent and attracted various leaders of public opinion, thus enabling it to work for independence during the Second World War. Its weakness, however, became increasingly more apparent since the achievement of Lebanese statehood in 1943 and of complete independence in 1945—when the French departed and political responsibilities of government passed into Lebanese hands.

Although the Lebanese parliament contributed only modestly to policy-making and was insufficient as a check on both the executive and the bureaucracy, it has been an integral part of the political system nonetheless. Its powers have been hampered constantly by the lack of public consensus on central issues, the personal character of politics, the important role of religious communities and the peculiar nature of the political system (which, as amended, has essentially institutionalised in the legislature; it was soon to become the main organisational feature of the entire society). The constraints have hindered the Lebanese parliament from fulfilling the role of conflict-resolution; rather, it has assumed a role of conflict-accommodation which, in practice, frequently meant conflict-postponement.

Lebanon's Constitution, unwritten guidelines (usually called the "National Pact" of 1943), government structure, parliamentary system and elections, as well as many of the laws, are peculiarly suited to an involved complex of rivalries and based on the desire to maintain an equilibrium between them—whether within or without parliament. Therefore, the constraints have hindered the Lebanese parliament from fulfilling the role of conflict-resolution; rather, it has assumed a role of conflict-accommodation which, in practice, frequently meant conflict-postponement.

The character of the Lebanese parliament was essentially determined early during the French Mandate period. In March 1922, the Mandatory authority instituted a consultative Representative Council of 30 members, to be elected in two degrees, for four years; its two annual sessions would be of two and two and one-half months duration, respectively. The formal powers of parliament were legislation (which could also be initiated by the executive); approving the budget and taxation; electing the State President, for three years (since 1929—for six years); supervising the

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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Catholic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Orthodox</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Catholic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This ratio no longer reflects the demographic breakdown of Lebanon's population (the last census was taken before the Second World War). This has been only partly offset by frequent changes in the number of electoral constituencies and the resultant re-zoning. Since 1960, these have corresponded to the state's administrative districts; a serious attempt has thus been made to represent Lebanon's regions fairly and still keep the religious denominations reasonably happy. Each district now elects from two to eight Members of the Chamber (the only single-Member district is Saâda) according to a pre-determined breakdown by denomination (roughly reflecting the assumed ratio). For example, the district identical with the city of Tripoli elects four Sunnis and one Greek Orthodox. Similarly-composed slates of candidates (in the above example, of four Sunnis and one Greek Orthodox) run against each other. Single candidates may also compete, although they have consistently met with little success. Every eligible voter in the district, whatever his denomination, votes for the candidate or slate of his choice, provided he observes the denominational breakdown prescribed by law. An obvious advantage of the system is that, on the one hand, it compels candidates to ally themselves with others from different denominations and, on the other, to show moderation and refrain from antagonising any particular denomination in the district. A possible drawback is that many Members of the Chamber are rather tame individuals who have run as compromise candidates. Political parties competing in these elections are under the same constraint in forming slates of candidates by denominations, thus possibly limiting their activities.
served as an obstacle to structural political change—for better or worse, depending on one's viewpoint. It has also bred antagonism, hardly mitigated in the Chamber by the above electoral arrangements: loyalty to affiliation to a religious denomination is only one variable in parliamentary politics. When Members do not vote by religious denomination, they take sides according to the local interests of their constituencies. There are also ideological differences in the Chamber, of which the longest-standing has been support for Lebanon as a separate political entity versus a union or federation with one or more Arab states. Furthermore, there is competition among the political parties, which frequently, although not always, are identified with the respective denominations; in the 1960s, only one-quarter to one-third of the Members were officially affiliated to parties. Within the wide scope of denominations, one finds smaller, feudal-loyalty groups as well. Personal parties are also often identified with denominations (chiefly Christian) as are several ideological ones, such as the Phalangists or Progressive Socialist Party; the Ba'ath and several others, however, are not so, identified.

Under the aggregate pressure of denominational, local, ideological and party competition, as well as personal rivalry, the Lebanese Chamber has been fraticile and cautious—and consequently limited in policy-making. It expects that a good share of the decision-making and executive policies be carried out by a Cabinet, whose Ministers are drawn from the Chamber and which works closely with the State President. Even legislation has been a lengthy and sometimes inconclusive process, although its overall record is impressive; during the years 1953-72 the Chamber passed 4,506 bills (or an average of 105 annually). The Chamber has often skirted divisive issues, at least insofar as decision-making is concerned. On the whole, its role appears to have been chiefly deliberative; argumentation in the Chamber displays a high level of competitiveness, within the framework of political and cultural pluralism. However, this has afforded satisfaction only to the participants themselves rather than to those Lebanese who have no access to it and to disenfranchised groups, such as the Palestinian refugees, who have been largely instrumental in using extra-parliamentary, increasingly violent ways to make themselves heard. By 1975 they had succeeded in fracturing the delicate minimum consensus concerning Lebanese polarity and shattering the precarious status-quo of which the Chamber had been both an exponent and an advocate. It is symptomatic that two earlier serious national conflicts—in 1952 and 1958—were settled by the Chamber's agreeing on the election of a State President. During the civil war (since 1975), the Chamber has met several times, in order to elect a new State President (in June 1976); a new State President (in June 1976); it has accomplished little else, however, not really succeeding at resolution of the conflicts which keep violence alive. Its inability to agree on action in urgent issues has prevented the Chamber from taking a stand, also, on an important suggestion of President Farandijyya (in a speech on 24 February 1976). He then suggested altering the Muslim-Christian ratio in the Chamber from 5:6 to 1:1; the Chamber, however, has not even debated this.

The socio-economic composition of Lebanese Parliaments has had little to do with the rate of voter participation. While countrywide participation has usually been between 50 and 61 per cent (women were enfranchised in 1953), rural turnout has regularly been proportionately higher than the urban, possibly due to recruitment by landowners and local leaders. In addition, rural districts have had a slight relative edge in the seats allocated them in the Chamber. The reason seems to be that the Lebanese Chamber is an exclusive club, reserved in practice for those with better-than-average education who can afford the registration fee and campaign expenditures. Indeed, every slate of candidates includes at least one who finances the campaign; he is generally a prosperous businessman (or, for a smaller power (incidentally, this has provided an avenue for the nouveau riche to penetrate the power system, avoiding a cleavage between the political and economic elites). The outcome, however, has been that the well-to-do generally represent the poor. Even among the former, however, there are meaningful differences in socio-economic make-up, as the following table (based on Hudson and Harik, see bibliography) indicates:

The shift is most interesting: landlords comprised the largest single group between 1943 and 1953; lawyers predominated in 1957. The business and professional groups made up more than half the membership between them. Otherwise stated, the top political elite in the first decade of the Republic failed to hold its own in parliament; the typical Member of the Chamber nowadays is an educated person of upper or middle income, actively engaged in business, law or some other free profession.

**Bibliography:** The minutes of parliamentary proceedings have been published regularly, since the 1940s, in the official *Magjil al-muwādā—al-dawr al-taghib fi* (Beirut). The laws passed in parliament have appeared in the official *Magjilat al-haditha li'l-kata'irin al-Iubudniyya.* The periodical publication *Al-Bayyad al-wataniyya,* issued since 1944, comprises original material about parliamentary debates as well as research on the Lebanese parliament. See also: V. de Saint Point, *La vérité sur la Syrie par un témoin,* Paris 1929, 170-220; H. Kohn, *Die staats- und verfassungsrechtliche Entwicklung der Republik Libanon,* in *fahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts Libanon*.

### Socio-economic composition of Lebanese Chambers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Landlords</th>
<th>Lawyers</th>
<th>Businessmen</th>
<th>Professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The figures may add up to more than the number of Members or to more than 100%, as more than one occupation was listed.*
Elections
Bloomington, a study in political development, feudality in Lebanese politics, in a confessional democracy, in Lebanon: the challenge of a fragmented political system, political parties, in Lebanon: improbable nation, in Lebanon: the modern history, in Lebanon; improbable nation, in Lebanon: the modern history, in Lebanon; improbable nation, in Lebanon: the modern history, in Lebanon: improbable nation, in Lebanon: the modern history, in Lebanon: improbable nation, in Lebanon: the modern history, in Lebanon: improbable nation, in Lebanon: improbable nation, in Lebanon: improbable nation.


The Emirate of Transjordan, carved out by Abd al-Aziz in 1921 and recognized by the British as such in May 1923, has displayed strong British influence in its parliamentary structure and procedure, both during the Emirate itself and in the subsequent independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan (further: Jordan). As early as July 1923, Abd al-Aziz formed by decree a Committee to prepare an electoral law for a representative assembly. The law was ready in June 1924, although the entire Assembly project was postponed, reportedly due to British discouragement of the idea. In October 1926, a group of notables was convened to prepare another electoral law, meeting with similar results. More tangible progress was achieved, however, after the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty was signed on 20 February 1928. In accordance with
Over the objections of nationalist circles that the Senate was considerably less oppositionist towards the Emir. On 9 February 1931, when it refused to approve the financing of the Desert Patrol, the lesson was not lost and the following four Councils appear to have been considerably less oppositionist towards the Emir.

Following the new Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 22 March 1946, which recognised Jordan's independence with 'Abd Allah as its King, a new constitution and an appropriate electoral law were promulgated. The constitution provided for a bicameral National Assembly (Majlis al-ta'atwa). The Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-nu'mah) was to consist of 20 Members (12 Muslims, 4 Christians, 2 tribal representatives and 2 for the Circassians and Shehans), elected by all male Jordanian citizens aged 18 or over. Candidates had to be at least 30 years of age; they were required to deposit a sum of money which would be forfeited in case of failure to be elected. The Senate (Majlis al-adl) was to number precisely half the membership of the Chamber and was to be appointed by the King, for eight years, from among more mature persons (at least 40 years of age), with half the Senators completing their terms every four years (as in ‘Irak).

General elections were held on 20 October 1947, over the objections of nationalist circles that the King retained too much power under the 1947 Constitution and the Cabinet was not responsible to the Chamber. The only party running, the government-sponsored al-Nahda ("Revival"), obtained 4 seats; other seats were won by independents, also identified with the Establishment. In general, this Chamber—dissolved on 1 January 1950—was no different in character and tone from the Legislative Councils it had superseded.

More substantive change occurred after Jordan's annexation of a part of the West Bank in 1950 and the granting of citizenship (including the franchise) to its inhabitants. Since then, the political history of Jordan has been largely the struggle between an embattled monarchy and its Palestinian subjects. One of the fronts of this struggle was the Chamber (a cautious nomination policy prevented clashes in the Senate), practically the sole forum for uninhibited criticism, and unhampered propaganda. General elections were held on 11 April 1950, with high voter participation, reportedly about 70%. With the increased number of eligible voters, the Chamber's membership was increased in 1950 to 40, equally divided between East Jordanians and West Bankers. The latter also obtained 7 seats in the Jordanian Senate, whose membership was expanded to 20. The system favoured East Jordan by minimising representation of the more populous West Bank. Nevertheless, the West Bankers—who were more politically-conscious and less attached to the Royal House than the East Jordanians—ultimately altered much of the Chamber's character. Most of the Chamber's West Bankers introduced an ideological dimension both into electioneering and the Chamber's deliberations through their relations with political parties. This was so even when those parties were not legally permitted to run, which was virtually the general practice (since 1957, all parties have been banned). The following table illustrates the party affiliations of Members of the Chamber during the first twelve years after the enfranchisement of the West Bankers (based on Abu Jaber, see Bibliography).

The first Chamber to comprise West Bankers (Jordan's second since independence) had a nucleus of six or seven oppositionists, all West Bankers who, although a minority in the Chamber, often took the lead in the debates. Briefly stated, this Chamber behaved much as did the first Legislative Council in 1931. It refused the budget and consequently was dissolved by the King in May 1951, with new elections called for 29 August. Although 'Abd Allah was assassinated on 20 July 1951, the August 1951 elections were held on time (with a voter participation of about 50%). In the new Chamber, the Opposition was even stronger and numbering about 14 of the 20 West Bankers. It was also more vociferous and passed a new constitution on 8 January 1952, which made the Cabinet (singly and jointly) responsible to parliament; a two-thirds majority no-confidence vote in the Chamber was to result in the dismissal of the Cabinet. Furthermore, the 1952 Constitution provided for legislation in both Houses and a joint session in case of disagreement; the King's veto could be overruled if each House re-adopted the law by a two-thirds majority. Foreign treaties and financial agreements were to be ratified in parliament. Immunity was reaffirmed and interpellation of Ministers introduced.

### Parties in the Jordanian Chamber 1950-1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Second Chamber</th>
<th>Third Chamber</th>
<th>Fourth Chamber</th>
<th>Fifth Chamber</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Socialists</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba'th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Constitutional</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community (al-'Umma)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Brethren</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberation (Ta'hir)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Candidates</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Treaty, an Organic Law was promulgated on 16 April setting up a Legislative Council (Majlis al-ta'atwa), to be elected for three years by two-degree male suffrage. It was to consist of 15 Members, with guaranteed representation for the Christians (3), Circassians (2) and Bedouins (2). There was no Cabinet responsibility towards the Council. Laws passed by the latter required the approval of both the Emir and the British Resident, while the Council could not override the Emir's veto.

Despite repeated protests by nationalists that the Council was in effect merely consultative and unrepresentative of the people, it remained the basic instrument of parliamentary activity until 1946. In actual practice, it demonstrated greater independence than had been anticipated. The first Council demanded and obtained immunity and freedom of debate for its Members and was dissolved by the Emir on 9 February 1931, when it refused to approve the
The increase in the legislature's powers and concomitant curtailment of those of the Executive were noteworthy, even though in practice King Husayn and the Cabinet frequently succeeded in circumventing these constitutional provisions during the turbulent years which followed. Nevertheless, these provisions remained a frame of reference for the Opposition, which soon demanded and passed a constitutional amendment that established a simple majority (instead of two-thirds) as sufficient for a vote of no-confidence. Alarmed, the Palace dissolved the Chamber in January 1954, and reportedly rigged the general elections of 16 October 1954 (in which participation was about 57%). This election brought in a more compliant Chamber: half of the Members of the previous Chamber were defeated and only 3 out of 28 Opposition Members were re-elected. Consequently, about 35 of the 40 Members were loyal to the Government; much of the opposition became extra-parliamentary, with foreign elements allegedly inciting mob violence.

The general elections of 21 October 1956 almost entirely concerned foreign issues, and brought in the long-serving Prime Minister Al-'Amarneh. Most matters involved a traditional, pro-Western orientation versus a Pan-Arab (i.e., pro-Egyptian) policy. The King, favouring the former trend, won this contest of ideologies and succeeded in replacing some of the more radical Members of the Chamber. Meanwhile, the Chamber's membership had been raised to 50 and that of the Senate to 25. Elections to all subsequent Chambers were reportedly influenced by the Government and the Chambers were considerably more conservative politically. Although it always doctored (several had to be dissolved), Chambers generally did find a modus operandi with King and Cabinet.

In the general elections for the Sixth Chamber, held on 22 October 1961, only about a tenth of the electorate participated. Under the new Electoral Law of 25 May 1960, the Chamber's seats had been increased to 60 (with 10 earmarked for Christians and 2 for Circassians) and the Senate's to 30 (in both cases, half of the seats were earmarked for West Bankers). However, only 20 seats were contested in the 1961 elections. The Chamber was dissolved on 1 October 1962; general elections for the Seventh Chamber were held on 24 November. These elections were freer in nature and about 20% of the electorate participated. The Chamber was still politically moderate, perhaps due to the official ban on political parties. Still, it was bold enough to bring down the Cabinet in April 1963 and was consequently dissolved. During this period, the Ba'th had taken over in both 'Irak and Syria, firing the imagination of Pan-Arab nationalists in Jordan as well. Elections for the King and for the National Consultative Council ('Al-tistigârî) were held on July 3, 1963 and for the Ninth on 15 April 1967. Both elections yielded fairly conservative Chambers, probably due to the result of manipulation, with 21 and 7 candidates, respectively, returned unopposed.

Since the Six-Day War of June 1967, there have been no parliamentary elections in the Israeli-held West Bank, although some West Bankers visited 'Ammân and assumed their seats in both Chamber and Senate several times. Since 1967, the ratio between East Jordanians and West Bankers has been maintained through the tactic of having Members decide how to fill vacant seats. Husayn has also continued to appoint Palestinians to the Cabinet, although the key Ministries have gone to East Jordanians. Lately, seeking to broaden its popular East Bank representation, the Jordanian Cabinet—acting on instruction from King Husayn—decided (1 April 1978) to amend the state's electoral law in order to grant women both passive and active voting rights for the Chamber. Keeping Jordan's options open concerning its future relations with the West Bank, the Chamber—on the King's initiative—passed a constitutional amendment which empowered the King to dissolve the Senate as well and to postpone general elections for a period of up to one year. On 5 February 1976, the two Houses were called upon to approve another amendment, empowering the King to postpone the elections sine die forever, meanwhile, to reconvene parliament as required.

However, the semblance of a king governing in consultation with his people had to be maintained. On 13 April 1978, Husayn requested his government to enact a temporary law, providing for a National Consultative Council to assist the Executive. The new Council, nominated Governorate by Governorate, sought to comprise legal and competent persons, representing various public sectors. On 17 April, a royal decree promulgated the law instituting the National Consultative Council (al-Majlis al-'aṭlam al-tistigâri). It stipulated that the Council would be composed of 60 nominated Members, men and women. Jordanians, aged 30 or over, not simultaneously employed elsewhere, nor Senators. Its duties were to study and discuss all draft laws and advise the Cabinet before it approved them. The Members of the Council had full authority to demand explanations from the Ministers, on any subject, and to speak freely. The Council would be formed every two years. The King had the right to dissolve it at any time, or relieve a Member of his position. The Council was to be dissolved automatically when the suspended parliament was revived, after new elections.

There appear to be three main periods in Jordan's parliamentary history. During the first, when the country was still called Transjordan, the Emirate's Legislative Council was generally compliant with 'Abd Allah's wishes. During the second, commencing with independence and the annexation of the West Bank, the Chamber of Deputies (although not the Senate) witnessed the growth of a real Opposition. The Opposition, comprising part of the West Bankers' contingent, was concerned less with socio-economic affairs than with essentially political ones, chiefly relating to foreign policy, such as the non-recognition of Israel, a tougher border policy and the strengthening of Jordan's relations with one or more of the Arab states. The third era begins in 1997, when Jordan rules the West Bank no more and West Bank connections with the parliament in 'Ammân, although still extant, become weaker and less frequent.

The character of the Jordanian legislature has been marked by conservative, particularly during the first period, although later on as well, due to the regulation that gave the right-of-vote to tax-payers only. The Legislative Councils elected between 1931 and 1946 always comprised the same people (or their relatives)—all belonging to thirty-six leading families. In the Chambers of Deputies elected between 1947 and 1967, despite the addition of the West Bankers and the increase in the number of Members, only 230 individuals, representing 135 prominent families, occupied the available 437 seats (details correct only for candidates originally elected, not for replacements).

This explains why the socio-economic character of the Chambers in the second period varied but
Comparision of the level of education of members of the Second and Fifth Jordanian Chamber of Deputies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Second Chamber 1950-1955</th>
<th>Fifth Chamber 1956-1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography: The proceedings of the Legislative Council have appeared as Majdharat al-majilis al-islami fi l-Urdun, Amman 1954-1964. Since 1947, they have appeared in Amman, as Majdharat majilis al-ammal and Majdharat majilis al-amm. The laws passed by the Jordanian parliament are published in the official gazette, al-Qardat al-rasmiyya or its Madhak supplement).


(viii) Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia has not yet established anything resembling a parliament, although the matter has been occasionally mentioned among the ruling circles as something to be dealt with in the future. The King has delegated authority to various councils and committees, although no representative institution has been set up to date (1978). The King retains most powers and is a Majlis unto himself (as vividly described in Time, 29 May 1973, p. 23). The Ministers, headed by the King, fulfill the function of a legislative as well as executive body. A Ministry of Justice co-ordinates laws and regulations with the injunctions of the Shari'a.

Kuwait.

Independent since June 1961, Kuwait soon began to introduce some changes in the paternalist, absolute rule of its Amir. In 1938, a Consultative Assembly had been established. Although headed by the Crown Prince and mostly nominated, it voiced criticism of foreign concessions in Kuwait. It was dissolved soon afterwards because of anti-British sentiment expressed by its nationalists. Following a decree of the Amir on 26 August 1961, an electoral law, decreeing a Constituent Assembly, was issued on 7 October 1961, granting the franchise to all literate male citizens aged 21 or over; candidates were to be literate male citizens, aged 30 or over. Elections were held that December for 20 seats in the Constituent Assembly; Ministers constituted the other members. The Assembly first met on 20 January 1962 and drafted a constitution, promulgated on 11 November.

The constitution provides for a National Assembly (Majlis al-watani), elected every four years, comprising 50 members. The right to vote is granted to literate male citizens aged 21 or over, with ten constituencies each electing five members. Candidates stand as individuals (as no political parties are allowed); they must be male citizens aged 30 or over. The Assembly is in session eight months per year.

The main powers of the National Assembly are legislative (although the Amir has the right of veto), discussing general policy and ratifying foreign agreements. Members enjoy parliamentary immunity. Ministers are responsible singly before the Assembly and collectively before the Amir alone; this means that the Assembly cannot topple the Cabinet by a no-confidence vote. Both this and the right-of-veto reflect the paternalistic attitude of the Amir towards the National Assembly.

The first elections were held on 23 January 1963, then in January of 1967, 1971 and 1975. The electoral base was very narrow, only about 50,000 Kuwaiti citizens having the right to vote. In every Assembly, several members formed an opposition, noted for its leftist views, to the Amir and his government; although a minority, they were usually educated, articulate and active, often demanding more powers for the National Assembly. In April 1963, they requested abrogation of the defence arrangements with Great Britain and rapprochement with Egypt or Syria. In December 1965, seven opposition members resigned from the National Assembly, protesting limitations on individual liberties and on the Kuwayti model, as did the subsequent constitution. Statements by the Amir concerning the advantages of democracy. This mode probably helped bring about the very large voter participation of 88.5%. Efforts by leftist groups to influence the electorate failed, while moderate, conservative candidates generally succeeded in these elections. The Shi'a minority cast bloc-votes for candidates of their own denomination. Consequently, elected members were mostly Shi'a (14 out of 22), young (12 of the 22 were under 39 years of age) and well-educated (8 of the 22 were university graduates and another 2 had studied at universities for two years or more). The Amir and his Cabinet, always cautious to maintain the Sunni-Shi'a balance, corrected the above ratio by their own nominations (so that the Assembly comprised 21 Sunnis and 2 Shi'a).

The Constituent Assembly, which was first convened on 16 December 1972, approved a constitution in June 1972—essentially the draft submitted by the Cabinet, although several additional safeguards for constitution and Assembly were worked in. This constitution provided for a National Assembly (Majlis al-watani) of 30 elected members (the second legislature was to have 40) and no more than 12 Ministers, to be elected every four years. The Assembly's powers were mainly legislative, although one of its attributes was the authority to grant concess-
The United Arab Emirates, a federation of seven former Trucial Coast principalities [see Al-IMARAT AL-'ARABYYA AL-MUTTASHRA in Suppl.], was established, after protracted negotiations and some initial difficulties, on 2 September 1971. A provisional constitution was agreed upon on 18 July 1976 and extended for another five years in November 1976. This

The mode of selection was left to each member state (in practice, they are nominated by the respective Amirs). The Assembly's term is two years; sessions commence each November and last for six months. Its main functions are to debate the federal budget and drafts of laws presented to it by the federal Cabinet. The Cabinet must inform the Assembly about international agreements. Voting is by simple majority and Assembly Members enjoy immunity. The President of the United Arab Emirates—who has consistently been the Amir of Abu Dhabi—may dissolve the Assembly.

In actual practice, the Federal National Assembly is merely a consultative body, debating mostly matters of internal interest to the federation. Its character is largely determined by the fact that all members are appointed by the Amirs, who select them from their own families or from among the community of wealthy merchants and businessmen, interested in preservation of the status quo. In addition, the powers of the Federal National Assembly are limited, in practice, by the fact that each state legislates individually according to the qar'a. Abu Dhabi even has an Advisory National Council (al-Majlis al-islahi al-'udayn) of its own, comprising 50 nominated members, although with no meaningful power.


Abu Zabi 8
Dubayy 8
al-Sharja (Sharja) 6
Ra's al-Khayma 6
'Ajman 4
Fujayra 4
Um al-Kaywayn 4
Total 40

The mode of selection was left to each member state (in practice, they are nominated by the respective Amirs). The Assembly's term is two years; sessions commence each November and last for six months. Its main functions are to debate the federal budget and drafts of laws presented to it by the federal Cabinet. The Cabinet must inform the Assembly about international agreements. Voting is by simple majority and Assembly Members enjoy immunity. The President of the United Arab Emirates—who has consistently been the Amir of Abu Dhabi—may dissolve the Assembly.

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participation of political parties (banned in the
were held in February-March 1971, without the
candidates, 25; the Assembly's term was set at four
the Executive. Voters had to be at least 18 and
$Aura), as a legislative body to supervise
as the source of all
c
28 December 1970 described Yemen as "an Arab Is-
on 3 October 1962. The permanent constitution of
were drafted, beginning with the one promulgated
— who was also to be State President, and head of the
the Kur'ān and the
He alone held executive,
imperial decree, the IlnSm was an absolute ruler, subject to
measures and New York 1978,
40:2.
(xiv) Yemen.
The Yemen Arab Republic (formerly Yemen, some-
times referred to as North Yemen) has had a fairly
the Legislative Council, the only
apparent representative institution in the Colony
The Front for the National Liberation of South
in their history, parliamentarism in
Yemen appears to lack a firm foundation to this very day.
Bibliography: Godchet, 409-31; Pesles, ii
(xv) South Yemen.
The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (sometimes called South Yemen) was established on 30 November 1967, upon the departure of the last British troops from Aden. This withdrawal followed the failure of the British to bring about a Federation of South Arabia between the Colony of Aden and the former Protectorates bordering it. The issue had been
briefly debated in the Legislative Council, the only
apparent representative institution in the Colony
of Aden. Inaugurated in 1947 as an entirely nomi-
national Assemblé, a new, provisional constitution was prom-
ulgated, granting the Military Command Council
both executive and legislative powers. Nevertheless,
the Consultative Assembly was re-convened in
November 1974, under the pressure of tribal chieftains,
then suspended again in September 1975, without much achievement. Its critics felt that it had been a forum for self-interested cliques, with no real understanding of national development. Brief and unstable in its history, parliamentarism in
Yemen appears to lack a firm foundation to this very day.
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al'ld) of 107 members, elected for three years. Of these, 86 were to be elected by all those aged 18 or over, through local councils, under the supervision of the General Command of the National Front, and another 15 by the Trade Union Federation. A quota was reserved for women among the 86 (though they could run independently as well).

The formal powers of the Supreme People's Assembly were fairly wide-ranging: election of the state President and Cabinet; debating and passing of laws, including the budget and development plans; ratification of international agreements and the announcing of a state of emergency. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity.

As the local councils required for the elections were not in existence in 1970, a provisional Supreme People's Assembly was nominated by the National Front. It first met between 31 July and 4 August 1971, in order to elect certain state officials, as directed by the National Front. Insofar as can be ascertained, this nominated Supreme People's Assembly has continued to meet regularly, passing laws presented to it by the Cabinet and debating and approving economic plans. However, the Assembly's constant subservience to the National Front has minimised its effectiveness considerably. The first elections in South Yemen to the Supreme People's Assembly were held on 18 December 1978; it is not known whether its powers versus the National Front have changed since.

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Egypt was the first part of the Ottoman Empire to experiment with parliamentary bodies (in 1865).

Earlier, in 1829, Muhammad 'Ali had instituted a Consultative Council (Madjlis al-ma'qalíq), although it was merely an advisory board, meeting only once a year. Isma'il was the first to endow Egypt with a representative assembly modelled on Western European parliaments, even though he undoubtedly intended it to remain solely advisory. This body, the "Assembly of Delegates" (Madjlis al-shuyu'í al-mu'asir), was constituted in November 1855 by Khedival decree (for the text of this decree, see Bibliography—Hudud wa-misára'íí madjlíís al-shuyu'í al-mu'asirííyya). The 75 members, Egyptians aged at least 25, were to be elected for three years, indirectly, as befitted a partially-illiterate population; in addition, it enabled the Khedive to exercise better control over the results. This intention was also manifested in the paragraphs prohibiting Delegates from receiving petitions, limiting them to debate purely internal affairs and to proffering advice on projects submitted to them by the Khedive's Council of Ministers (Madjlis al-susara'). In any event, all decisions had to be ratified by the Khedive, who nominated the Assembly's President and Vice-President and had the exclusive right to convene, adjourn and dissolve it. The Assembly's name was changed to Madjlis al-mu'asiríí at the end of Isma'il's rule, although its functions underwent no essential changes. These Assemblies were convened for several weeks per year, most likely in order to impress Egypt's creditors—especially the European Powers—with the supposed liberal-constitutional views of its ruler. However, the general ferment in Egypt in the late 1870s and 1880s led to the Assemblies demanding a greater share in decision-making, which they did obtain in February-March 1882. Soon afterwards, however, the Assemblies were adjourned, during the events leading to the British occupation of 1882; in any event, they were never convened subsequently.

Soon after the British Occupation, Lord Dufferin issued a special report suggesting the institution of a Legislative Council (Madjlis al-shuyu'í al-sawáman) and a General Assembly (al-Djam'a'iyya al-shuyu'íyya), both of which functioned from 1883 to 1912. The first was to consist of 39 members of whom 14, including the President, were to be appointed by the Khedive and his Ministers; the other 25 were to be elected for 6 years by indirect balloting. It would debate (but not initiate) legislation and discuss the budget. The second was to consist of eighty-two members, including the Ministers, the Legislative Council and another 46 members elected for 6 years from among candidates over 30 years old, literate and who paid at least £ 6 per annum in direct taxes. The first body met 5 times per year and the second—at least once every two years to debate more important matters, including new taxes. While these partly-appointed bodies were less representative than a National Assembly of Delegates, they had a greater share in approving government expenses. These bodies were superseded by a unicameral Legislative Assembly (al-Djam'a'iyya al-takriyya), according to a Fundamental Law, issued on 1 July 1933, initiated by Lord Kitchener, then Great Britain's Consul-General in Egypt. In addition to the Ministers and 66 elected members, this Assembly was to include another 27, nominated in order to guarantee minimal representation for the Copts, Bedouins, merchants, physicians, engineers and teachers. Elections were to be indirect, with candidates aged at least 32, literate and paying a minimum amount of taxes. The mandate of the members was to be for six years, with one-third of the membership renewed every two years. Most important amongst the prerogatives ascribed to the Legislative Assembly were that, no new law could be passed before it had been debated and no new tax imposed before it had been duly approved. The Assembly met several times during 1914, although its convention was postponed again and again following the outbreak of World War I and it never reconvened subsequently.
The Constitution of 19 April 1923, suspended by a less liberal one on 22 October 1935, was reinstated on 12 December 1952. Essentially modelled on the 1920 Belgian Constitution, it provided for a monarchy largely in control of parliament. The latter was to be bicameral, comprising an Assembly of Representatives (Majlis al-anwa‘), and a Senate (Majlis al-thawra). The former was to be elected for five years by indirect balloting; candidates were to be at least 30 years old and literate. Two-fifths of the latter were appointed and three-fifths elected by indirect balloting. The term of office was ten years, with half of the Senators, appointed and elected alternately, leaving every five years. Senators had to be at least 40 years old and enjoy a certain social and economic status. The King and either House had the right to initiate legislation. Every law had to be passed by both Houses; the King had the right of veto, although it could be over-ridden by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly had a slight advantage over the Senate in discussing the budget and voting confidence in the government; however, unlike the Assembly, the Senate could not be dissolved, but merely ignored.

Attempts by King Fu‘ad [see Fu’ad al-Awzayl] to increase his prerogatives at the expense of Parliament—despite opposition by the Wafid Party—culminated in his promulgating a new constitution, by Royal Decree, on 22 October 1930. The new constitution raised obstacles to parliamentary censure, increased the proportion of appointed Senators from two to three-fifths (60 out of 100) and empowered the Executive to legislate during the parliamentary recess. In addition, the Assembly of Representatives could not initiate financial laws, while the King could do so. Modifications in the electoral law facilitated the continuation of the former House, although they may be deprived of their seats by a motion of twenty members and a subsequent vote of both chambers (two members in each). Candidates must be approved by the Arab Socialist Union; at least half of those elected must be peasants (owning no more than 25 acres of land) and workers. Another 10 members are nominated by the State President.

The former House was to be elected for five years by indirect balloting in 175 constituencies (two members in each). After the remaining 8 seats were decided, women could be elected by a two-thirds majority. The Assembly had a slight advantage over the Senate in discussing the budget and voting confidence in the government; however, unlike the Assembly, the Senate could not be dissolved, but merely ignored.

The 1923 Constitution was reinstated, on 12 December 1935, with all its former parliamentary attributes; it remained in effect until the Revolution of 23 July 1952. The constitution was formally abolished on 10 December 1952 and political parties disbanded on 13 January 1953. Since April 1954, the new regime had declared repeatedly its intention to return to some form of parliamentary rule. The new constitution of the Republic of Egypt was promulgated on 23 July 1952 and approved by a popular referendum. It provided for a 350-member unicameral National Assembly (Majlis al-anwa‘), to be elected every five years by general, secret and direct balloting, controlled by the National Union (established in May 1952 and the only political grouping permitted). For the first time, women were granted the passive and active franchise, although voting was compulsory for males only. Voters had to be aged 18 or over, with no criminal record; candidates had to be at least half of those elected must be peasants (owning no more than 25 acres of land) and workers. Another 10 members are nominated by the State President.

In 1976, these were the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt (centrist) the Socialist Liberals (right-of-centre), and the Patriotic Progressive Unionsist Alignment (left-of-centre). In the first round, the first won 161 seats, the second 120, the third 2, and independents 48. After the remaining 8 seats were decided, in the second round, the State President appointed another 10 Members (all of the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt), and several independents and others crossed the lines; the final allocation was: 132 Arab Socialist Party of Egypt 11 Socialist Liberals 34 Patriotic Progressive Unionsist Alignment Total 360

On 29 June 1977, the People’s Assembly adopted the new Party Law, liberalising the situation within limits and legitimising certain groups, which had previously been forced to act clandestinely. The debate within the Assembly became livelier, regarding both legislation and policy-making, and frank criticism was expressed more frequently. The government, however, remained secure in the Assembly’s support. On 22 July 1978, President Anwar al-Sadat
announced the formation of his own party, the National Democratic Party, which 366 of the Arab Socialist Party Members in the People's Assembly joined on 24 September 1976. Following this merger, the National Democratic Party became the ruling party in the state and in the People's Assembly (subsequently winning a handsome majority in the 7 June 1979 general elections to this body).

The history of parliamentary institutions in Egypt may be divided into three principal periods. The first, from 1866 to 1914, is the stage of experimentation with Western parliamentary models, advising the ruler and largely dependent on him (or on the British Occupation, after 1882), with no political parties playing any significant role. The second, from 1924 to 1952, represents the closest approach to an elected parliament during this period, because the Wafd Party, which won the Assembly in the first elections of 1924 with 150 out of 211 members, frequently (although not always) repeated its victories, thus compelling the King to dissolve parliament. The third period, from 1957 to date, represents a move towards renewal of multi-party activity. Consequently, opposition to the State President is being voiced more freely than ever before.

Since 1957, the House of Representatives, which 350 elected members, about 114 had registered as fuláhÍn and another 75 as workers. Other groups—academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians and Bedouins—numbered considerably fewer. The Christian elected members were under-represented (one Copt and one Greek); this was partially corrected by allotting 6 out of the 10 appointed seats to Christians.

Among functionaries, indirect balloting during the multi-party era. Nevertheless, the socio-economic make-up of Egypt's Assemblies may serve as an indication of the shift in the balance of power. To some extent, this has been determined by the electoral system—indirect balloting in the first period, which facilitated the decision of public functionaries. Indirect balloting during the multi-party period, subverted by the power structure and the wealthy (as Egyptians were the first to admit), enabled constant re-election of the politicians and the rich. The single-party controlled election system under the Republic enabled those trusted by the new régime to enter parliament. While no definite studies of the socio-economic composition of the membership are available, some incomplete data confirm the trends influenced by the electoral system. In the first Assembly, elected in 1866, there were 58 wÚmdas out of a total membership of 75; the proportion of wÚmdas decreased from one Assembly to the other. Since 1924, parliament has become more broadly representative, although landowners, businessmen and professionals (chiefly lawyers) played an important and possibly decisive role. In the Republic, the Assemblies of the late 1950s and early 1960s comprised a relatively large proportion of lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats, officers and landowners, but very few workers and peasants. For example, according to the calculations of H. Hopkins, 332 fl. (see Bibliography), the Assembly of 1957-8 comprised one-third lawyers and businessmen, nearly one-third senior civil servants, ex-Ministers, former officers and landowners, and about one-third village uÚmdas and shayláds—but very few peasants and even fewer workers. This situation was reversed in legislation in the Assembly elected in 1964, where only 76 members—out of a total of 336—had served in previous Assemblies. Out of the 330 elected members, about 114 had registered as fuláhÍn and another 75 as workers. Other groups—academics, journalists, lawyers, physicians and Bedouins—numbered considerably fewer. The Christians elected members were under-represented (one Copt and one Greek); this was partially corrected by allotting 6 out of the 10 appointed seats to Christians.

The internal rules of procedure of these parliaments were printed several times as al-lÁdâjih al-níshâríyya, Cairo, while the laws passed appeared as the Journal Officûl du Gouvernement Égyptien, Cairo, and the debates themselves were issued as supplements to the above Journal. In the Republican period, the Egyptian parliament has published the projects of law, the debates of its Legislative Committee and the final text of the laws, as approved, in the plenary sessions—e.g. Dùmmíhiryyat Mísir al-'Arabíyuna. Since 1964, more than half (actually, 50% to 60%) of the membership has comprised workers and peasants, although few indeed hold important positions (such as Ministers or chairmen of parliamentary committees).

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British attempt to come to terms with Sudanese nationalism.

After the end of the Second World War, Sudanisation proceeded swiftly and comprised representative bodies as well. A joint British-Sudanese administrative conference met for several months during 1946 and 1947, suggesting the formation of a Legislative Assembly and Executive Council, based largely on the British model. As the Egyptian government was reluctant to commit itself to a project which endangered its future ties with Sudan, the British went ahead alone and on 14 June 1948 authorised the governor-general to promulgate an ordinance establishing the above institutions. According to this ordinance, the Legislative Assembly (Djamiyya lidjJaṣr), elected for three years, was to represent all of Sudan; the inclusion of the south in the Assembly was a significant step in Sudanese integration. It provided for 52 elected members to represent the north and another 13 to represent the south. The governor-general could nominate up to 10 members; several were to present the executive. Of the 65 elected members, 10 would be elected directly in towns and the others by indirect elections in the rest of the Sudan. Voters must be Sudanese, male and aged 25 or over; candidates must be Sudanese, male and aged 30 or over. An Executive Council (Majlis tal-Qayyir), comprising between 12 and 18 members (at least half of them Sudanese), headed by the leader of the Legislative Assembly, was to supersede the governor-general's Council. The governor-general still retained important powers: vetoing decisions of the Executive Council, the right to legislative by ordinance, and excluding certain matters from the Legislative Assembly's competence. Nevertheless, Sudan's parliament had come into its own. The elections held in November 1948 were boycotted by political parties favouring union with Egypt. The first Legislative Assembly met on 15 December 1948, with the Umma party—favouring self-determination for the Sudan and amicable relations with the British—in the majority. Another influential group was that of the north Sudan tribal chieftains—self-styled Socialist Republicans.

The first Legislative Assembly, using both Arabic and English, debated economic matters, such as the Budget, local affairs, labour legislation and the education of southern Sudan. It's immediate concern, however, was relations with Britain and Egypt in the context of Sudan's own political future. A "Self-Government Statute" was enacted by the Legislative Assembly on 23 April 1953, providing for an entirely Sudanese Cabinet responsible to a bicameral parliament—a Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-nuwaab) and a Senate (Majlis al-khayri); the governor-general would retain some authority on internal affairs—particularly in public services and in southern Sudanese matters—and exclusive powers over defence and foreign affairs. After initial strong opposition, Egypt eventually accepted the Statute. In the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, however, Egypt made a bid for popularity in the Sudan against the British and suggested several modifications in the Statute, which the British could not reject. An elaborate plan was worked out for a maximum three-year transition period from self-government to self-determination. This provided, among other arrangements, for a specially-elected Constituent Assembly to decide between complete independence for the Sudan and links with Egypt.

An internal commission supervised the elections to this Assembly, in November-December 1953. Voting was by constituencies; voters had to be 21 or over and resident in their respective constituencies for a period of not less than six months. The National Unionist Party on a decisive victory in both Houses (51 out of 97 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 22 out of 50 elected seats in the Senate).

The new Sudanese parliament, meeting as a Constituent Assembly (Majlis ta'asīs), was convened on 1 January 1954. The majority National Unionist Party, formerly assumed to favour union with Egypt, correctly interpreted the mood of the country and gradually changed direction. On 19 December 1955, the Chamber of Deputies declared Sudan's independence; the Senate declared its support three days later. A transitional constitution, largely based on the 1952 Self-Government Statute, was adopted and the Republic of Sudan was proclaimed on 1 January 1956. The struggle for independence gave way to translating sovereignty into practical terms, which meant parliamentary debates and decisions on numerous issues, including relations between North and South Sudan. Sudan's parliament was rather hampered by a spirit of factionalism, expressing itself through groups leaving the political parties and forming strong new rapprochements.

Parliament was dissolved on 30 June 1957. General elections were held between 27 February and 9 March 1958, with the number of Members of the Chamber of Deputies raised from 97 to 173, to be elected by constituencies of 50,000-70,000 inhabitants each. The Senate remained the same: 50 members of whom 30 were elected. The new parliament met on 20 March 1958 with the Umma party holding 63 seats; it formed a Coalition Cabinet with the People's Democratic Party, a group which had broken away from the National Unionist Party. The disparity between these two partners, the constant bickering between the other factions and rumours of corruption in high circles discredited both parliament and government. The military, led by Ibrahim Abbād, took control on 17 November 1958. Among its first acts were to suspend the transitional constitution, ban political parties and dissolve parliament. The work of the Legislative Assembly ceased; moderate legislative powers were granted to a Central Council, two-thirds of whose members were nominated by provincial councils and one-third nominated by the President of the Republic. The Central Council's term of office was two years; the first Council, which convened on 15 November 1963, served a shorter term, as less than one year later, in October 1964, civilian rule was restored following a popular revolt.

The new elections held in northern Sudan during April-May 1965 were based on the 1958 Electoral Law, with a few modifications, most important of which were: institution of a unicameral legislature (the Senate was done away with); reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18; and enfranchisement of women. Fighting in the south led to postponement of elections to March-April 1967. Now that independence had been achieved, the main issues were the state of the economy, the character of Sudanese society and the question of the south. In 1965, the Umma Party achieved the largest plurality (62 seats) in the north, while the National Unionist Party was second with 53. The other parliamentary groups were much smaller and the Legislative Assembly (meeting again as a Constituent Assembly) included 18 independents as well. A coalition cabinet of the
two largest parties, supported by the People's Democratic Party and the Muslim Brotherhood—all four forming a so-called United Front—was characterized by friction among the partners and among the various party components. Disagreements were so frequent and serious and parliamentary work was so hampered that the Cabinet decided to dissolve the legislature and appoint a new government. Two cabinet ministers resigned in protest. The government was reorganized with the resignation of the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Agriculture. This brought the resignation of the Minister of Education. The government was again reorganized with the resignation of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Industry. The government was again reorganized with the resignation of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

General elections were held in April-May, 1968 for an enlarged Assembly, seating 213. The National Unionist Party and the People's Democratic Party had merged into a Democratic Unionist Party and obtained 101 seats; the Umma Party obtained 73. Other seats went to smaller groups, including 40 independents. Again, the two largest parties formed a coalition cabinet suffering from essentially the same discord as the preceding one. Efforts at approving a permanent constitution failed and bickering prevailed. It was against this background of disillusionment with parliamentary democracy that the "Free Officers", led by Colonel Daief al-Numayri, seized power by a bloodless coup on 25 May 1969. The constitution was suspended, the Legislative Assembly dissolved and all parties banned. The government which had seized power soon vested all executive and legislative powers in a ten-man Revolutionary Command Council, nine of whom were military officers. It took some time until the new military régime of the Democratic Republic of Sudan felt secure enough to experiment with parliamentary institutions. On 12 August 1972, al-Numayri announced that a People's Assembly (Majlis al-umum) of 275 members would draft a new constitution, after which it would disband and new elections would be held, based on the constitution. In September-October 1972, 175 members were elected and another 32 nominated by al-Numayri including 13 women. On 12 April 1973, the first permanent constitution was approved by the People's Assembly; it became effective on 8 May 1973, superseding the 1954 provisional constitution. The first People's Assembly, acting as a legislature, was elected—according to the 1973 Constitution—under the supervision of the Sudanese Socialist Union, the only legal party. Candidates for the Assembly were nominated by the Sudanese Socialist Union; they had to be members of the party, Sudanese citizens aged 21 or over, literate and not deprived of their political rights. The Assembly itself is elected for a four-year term and sits for at least six months annually. Constitutionally, it has vast legislative powers, it may approve the budget, confirm the government's action and vote no-confidence (by a two-thirds majority). The Assembly elected in 1974 comprised 250 Members: 125 were directly elected from geographical constituencies, 70 elected by occupational organizations (workers, businessmen) and popular associations (women's unions), 30 by provincial People's Councils, and another 25 (no more than 25% of the total) nominated by the State President. The Sudanese Socialist Union has been very active in the Assembly elected in 1974 and is responsible for legislation and general policy. The cease-fire agreement of April 1972, ending a 17-year civil war between North and South, granted Southern Sudan its own, separate Assembly. First meeting in April 1974, it enjoys wide autonomous powers; the head of its Executive Council is the Vice-President of the Republic. Southern provinces also send delegates to the People's Assembly in Khartum.

Sudanese parliamentarism has been too brief for any detailed evaluation. Commencing with a stage of preparation and guidance by the British, the bicameral legislature got off to a fair start, although it was rather hampered both by the north-south dichotomy and by factional bickering. Its development has been twice interrupted—first between 1958 and 1964, then since 1969. Both interruptions—the result of military interventions—led to the establishment of unicameral legislatures, subservient to the respective heads of the military régime, although still indicating perhaps that parliamentarism had struck sufficient roots in the Sudan so as not to be wholly eradicated. This is also confirmed by the fact that all parliamentary elections held under civilian rule were generally carried out smoothly and fairly.

of the Sanusiyya [xxv] and of its then leader, Libya's Idris I.

The constitution provided for legislative assemblies in each of the three provinces and for a federal National Assembly (Majlis al-a'mama). The latter was bicameral and consisted of: (a) The Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-nu'malli), directly elected on the basis of one member per 20,000 male inhabitants aged 21 or over (candidates had to be 30 years or over and literate). The first Chamber comprised 55 members: 15 from Tripoli and Cyrenaica and 5 from Fezzan. (b) The Senate (Majdīsi al-a'ghyūb), comprising 24 members aged 40 or over, equally divided among the three provinces: four Senators were nominated by the legislative assembly of each province and the remaining 12 by the King. The main task of the National Assembly was to enact legislation on issues of national significance, such as foreign affairs (local matters were essentially left to the respective legislatures of the three provinces). The King, or either House, could initiate legislation, although the privilege of initiating financial laws remained with the Chamber alone. The King could vote legislation and dissolve the Chamber at his own discretion. The Chamber's usual term was four years and the Senate's eight, with half the latter leaving every four years. Ministerial responsibility was to the Chamber only, where a two-thirds majority was required for a no-confidence vote.

On 7 April 1962 and 25 April 1963, legislation was passed in both Houses of the National Assembly to alter the 1951 Constitution and change Libya from a federal to a unitary state, based on its ten administrative districts instead of on its three provinces (which thus lost their special privileges). All of the Senate, rather than half of it, was to be nominated by the King. The Chamber was to be elected as formerly, although women were enfranchised and the number of seats was raised from 55 to 103. Some of these changes were a response to nationalist pressures for a unitary rather than federal state and an expression of the government's desire to decrease local and provincial rivalries and conflict between the National Assembly and the King and Cabinet.

The first elections to the Chamber were held on 19 February 1952 (based on the Electoral Law of 6 November 1951). The principal issues were relations with the Arab States and the Western Powers. Candidates opposing the King and the new regime grouped as a National Congress Party, based on Tripoli and supported by Egypt; its platform was strongly nationalist and opposed foreign bases in Libya. Elections were held on time in all constituencies, despite riots. The National Congress Party won in and around the city of Tripoli, but lost elsewhere. Forty-six out of the 55 Members of the Chamber supported the King and government; the National Congress Party obtained only 7 seats. The first duly elected National Assembly convened in Benghazi on 25 March 1952. Subsequently, it met irregularly and was concerned with debating and passing legislation. Although Assemblies were generally compliant, not infrequent criticism of government internal and external policies was voiced, particularly in the Chamber—frequently expressed by interpellations.

The successive general elections of January 1956, January 1960 (with secret balloting imposed on the whole state), October 1964 (with women voting for the first time and the number of constituencies increased to 103) and May 1965 (after King Idris had dissolved the Chamber on 13 February 1965) were

The Kingdom of Libya was established on 24 December 1951, largely as a result of the inability of the Great Powers to agree on the future of this area, which had been vacated by a defeated Italy. Prompted by the United Nations, an Interim National Constituent Assembly (referred to as Dārussiya waqanissiya or Majlis ta'ṣīli) of Libya met, beginning 25 November 1950 and resolved, on 3 December, that Libya should be a federal kingdom under the Amir Muhammad Idris, henceforth called King Idris I. By October 1951, it had also adopted a constitution, considering that the new state was made up of three rather disparate components—Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Strong rivalry existed between the first two; Tripolitanis was the most populous, Cyrenaica the bese

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held on a personal (or family) competition basis (as political parties were not permitted to function legally). In the 1965 elections the number of constituencies was decreased to 91; all successful candidates were apparently pro-government—16 ran unopposed.

One of Libya’s main problems during the first two decades of statehood was a lack of personnel trained in the skills required for running the state. Nevertheless, the many skilled Libyans serving in the National Assembly or its administration sufficed to cause Muammar al-Kadhābi to annul the constitution and dissolve the Assembly after his coup of 1 September 1969 (the Assembly was, obviously, also one of the bases of power of the King he had deposed).


Under French rule, Tunisia had experimented with several French-imposed semi-representative
The Consultative Conference (Conseil Consultatif, Haya‘ı sâbâhîyya), established in 1897 (with defined powers since 1898), comprised only Frenchmen, elected by universal direct suffrage since 1903; from 1907 on, they were joined by 16 Tunisians, nominated by the French Governor General (Resident général). At first, the French and Tunisians met together, and later (since 1910) separately. The main task of the Consultative Conference was to advise concerning the budget.

In 1922, the French replaced the Consultative Conference with the Grand Council (Le Grand Conseil de Tunisie, al-Madżlis al-Kabïr li-l‘Itthâl al-Tunisîyya). Elected for six years, it comprised two sections possessing equal rights: one of 30 French members, elected by the French in Tunisia and the other of 41 Tunisians, elected by other Tunisians. The task of the Grand Council was to discuss the budget; in case the two sections differed, the decision rested with an Upper Council (Conseil Supérieur), comprising the Governor General, several Ministers and ranking secretaries, as well as seven members from each of the Grand Council’s two sections. The Grand Council could also raise and discuss any economic or financial matters, but not political or constitutional ones. Although the powers of the Council were limited and minimal, the Vichy Government was still wary and abolished it on 21 November 1940, transferring it to a Consultative Committee (Conseil Consultatif) of 5 Frenchmen and 5 Tunisians.

After the end of the Second World War, the Grand Council was re-established; its make-up and powers were altered on 15 September 1945. After then, it comprised two sections, French and Tunisian, each numbering 53 Members elected for six years. The franchise for the French section was extended to include all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen in Tunisia, aged at least 21 (candidates—at least 25), with direct voting and proportional representation. The franchise was also somewhat extended for the Tunisian section as well, including all Tunisian males aged at least 25 (candidates—at least 30), who either paid direct taxes, were war veterans, or had completed secondary school. Voting was in two stages. Although the Grand Council essentially remained concerned with economy and finance, its powers were increased to cover advising the government on all legislation—although the government could still bypass it in urgent cases. However, the Grand Council was not convened from the end of 1951 until 1954, when its powers were slightly extended.

Tunisian nationalists were obviously not happy with the limited powers of the above-mentioned Conference, Council and Committee, nor with their selective representation, which disenfranchised many Tunisians and afforded preferential voting to the French minority. As early as 1921, the Destûr Party demanded the creation of a representative assembly, to which Ministers would be responsible. When the Neo-Destûr was set up in 1934, it demanded the establishment of such an assembly as an instrument of national sovereignty and for limiting the arbitrary government of the Bey or of France. Consequently, the Neo-Destûr rejected the reforms suggested by the French in March 1934. These reforms provided for a legislative assembly, including French representatives, with full powers in social and economic matters, to be elected by universal suffrage. Under the pressure of the Neo-Destûr and more radical nationalists led by Sâhîb ben Yûsûf, the Bey signed a decree, establishing a Constituent Assembly, on 29 December 1935.

The Neo-Destûr, a "dominating party" (in Verger’s sense) has continued since to consider itself as the instrument of "national will". Hence in order to dominate the 98-seat Constituent Assembly (al-Madżlis al-Ta‘sisl), it insisted on an electoral law (promulgated on 6 January 1936) which would favour it over smaller parties and groups. All Tunisians, directly into 8 constituencies and the slate of candidates obtaining a relative majority of the vote in each was considered as "winner take-all".

Complete independence was the main issue in the 25 March 1956 elections to the Constituent Assembly. The National Front, led by the Neo-Destûr Party, won an impressive victory (597,813, out of a total of 610,989 votes, or 97.8%). Consequently, it induced the Assembly to pass regulations granting considerable parliamentary powers to the Assembly, its Bureau and six committees. Adoption of those regulations enabled the political bureau of the Neo-Destûr to control the proceedings of the Assembly efficiently and to delay the formation of any meaningful opposition within it. The wide and often unanimous support of the Assembly was skillfully exploited by the Neo-Destûr, especially by its leader, Habîb Bûrgiba, who was also the Assembly’s first Speaker; in April 1956, he left this post to become Prime Minister. The party utilised Constituent Assembly support to extend the powers of the Assembly beyond those of the Bey, his government and the French, on the one hand, and to achieve full independence for Tunisia, on the other. The Constituent Assembly increasingly considered itself sovereign; one of its most significant steps was to proclaim the republic on 25 July 1957. No less significantly, it established the norms for future Assemblies, both by its own practice and by adopting the June 1959 Constitution.

This constitution grants the National Assembly (Madjlis al-Minima) wide powers, limited, however, by the very essence of Tunisia’s presidential regime: the State President is elected by universal suffrage and neither he nor the various Ministers are responsible to the National Assembly. The National Assembly is elected in constituency voting for five-year terms by all Tunisian citizens aged 20 or over (candidates must be 30 years or over). In theory, it is the only legislative body and its members enjoy parliamentary immunity. However, the State President also has the right to initiate legislation—taking priority over the Assembly; he may also enact decrees while the Assembly is in recess (subject to the Assembly’s subsequent confirmation). Thus, further restrictions are imposed upon the Assembly’s legislative prerogatives.

The National Assembly elections of 8 November were, in many respects, similar to the 1956 Constituent Assembly elections. Once again, a National Front led by the Destûr Party won without serious competition. However, Tunisia was independent in 1959 and women were enfranchised for the first time. Separate polls determined the composition of the Assembly and elected the President of the Republic. The National Front won in the Assembly and Bûrgiba was elected President. All 90 Members of the National Assembly belonged to the Neo-Destûr Party or were independents sponsored and supported by it. As a result, main policy decisions were initiated and controlled by Bûrgiba and the party in the 1959-64 Assembly; in this respect, the National Assembly in Tunisia can be considered as an extension of the Neo-Destûr Party, renamed the Socialist Destûr.
Party in October 1964. However, as Tunisia achieved full independence and secured its place in international relations, internal affairs increasingly took precedence, and wide divergences of opinion became apparent in the Assembly, both because of the various interests represented in the single party and because the Assembly was no longer able to be influenced by the extra-parliamentary demands and reactions of those socio-economic and political groups excluded from the official political game.

Much of the above holds true for subsequent National Assemblies as well. In the Assembly elected on 8 November 1964, the Socialist Destür Party again held all 90 seats (a majority of the outgoing Members of the Assembly including its only woman, were re-elected). The 2 November 1965 National Assembly elections (increased to 107 seats) were essentially a repetition of earlier ones, with heavy voter participation and the election of the party's own candidates, even though the issues debated at this time chiefly concerned the government's economic policies, which had led to considerable controversy. Consequently, economic problems occupied much of the attention of the National Assembly elected in 1965. The results of the elections of 3 November 1971 to the Assembly (increased to 112 seats) were no different from previous ones: the party obtained all seats, although 77 of its Members were elected for the first time, including many representatives of the younger generation. Concurrently, several Members who had opted for a more liberal political and economic regime, thus opposing the line of Bourguiba, had been dropped from the candidates' list.

Although there is no detailed statistical breakdown of the Members of all National Assemblies in Tunisia, available material indicates several characteristics. As mentioned above, all Assembly Members were selected from within the single party; the top party leadership—identical with Tunisia's political leadership—had occupied the Assembly. The first National Assembly, elected in 1959, comprised 12 members of the party's political bureau, 9 Ministers, the director of Bourguiba's Cabinet, 8 former Ministers, 4 former governors, the secretary-general of the Neo-Destür youth and 7 fermer and then current party political commissioners. Members of that Assembly were markedly well educated: 37 had graduated from French universities, and another 23 from modern secondary schools; thus 56 out of the 90 had had a good French education. Most of the others had had traditional education; only one was illiterate. Professionally, the Assembly comprised 13 lawyers, 13 businessmen, 14 manual or clerical workers, 12 professors, 12 farmers, 7 physicians, 6 school teachers, 5 senior civil servants and 4 others. While later elections obviously introduced new members, the essential characteristics of the Assembly elected remained substantially the same. Thus the Assembly remained highly educated, and its Members were mostly well educated.

The parliamentary history of Tunisia since the 1950s indicates that the Constituent and then the National Assemblies have generally been of secondary importance to the single party. The latter has been the real focus of most important decisions, even in legislative matters. The Assembly's work is scheduled by its Bureau, usually after due consultation with the party. Assembly control is minimal, as nearly all its work is done in committees; on the average, only fifteen plenary meetings take place each year, mostly to approve legislation submitted by Bourguiba. On the whole, the Assembly has displayed docile subervience, rarely demonstrating a will of its own or even reflecting differences of opinion within the party itself.


xx) Algeria

The French, who ruled Algeria from 1830, introduced several moderately-representative institutions on 23 August 1898. The decrees established the Financial Delegations (Les Délégations financières) —intended to represent economic interests—which existed until 1945. The franchise changed several times, while candidates consistently had to be French citizens aged 25 or over, residing in Algeria at least three years. All were elected for six-year terms, half of them leaving every three years. Two of the three Delegations comprised 24 European Members each; a third, with 21 (later 24) non-European Members, included six who were nominated. Each Delegation was concerned solely with its own economic interests. Delegations served in an advisory capacity only, concentrating on the budget. United into one body by a decree in 1918, their powers remained unaltered. During 1945-1947 they were transformed into a Financial Assembly (L'Assemblée financière) of 37 elected members with broader representation but the same essential capacities.

The Financial Assembly was obviously unsatisfactory to proponents of Algerian nationalism, particularly during the period following the Second World War. All legislation was still passed by the National Assembly in Paris or by the French Governor-General in Algeria. Pressured by Algerian nationalists and by its own Algerian and French Members, the National Assembly in Paris approved a new Statute for Algeria (Statut Organique de l'Algérie, or al-Annabiyā) on 4 April 1945, setting up an Algerian Assembly on 20 September 1947.

This Statute provided for an Algerian Assembly (al-Madjlis al-Djawārī) of 120 Members, elected for six years—with half renewed every three years—in two separate “colleges” of 60 members each. The franchise was granted to all French citizens of legal age (although participation of Muslim women was deferred) in two-stage constituency voting. Candidates were subject to the same criteria but had to be at least 23 years old. Members of the Assembly were to convene in Algiers, for three sessions per year, each lasting not longer than six weeks (probably to prevent it from becoming too powerful). Much of its work was to be done in six committees. As legislation for Algeria remained the prerogative of the National Assembly in Paris, the Algerian Assembly’s function was chiefly to apply—with some modification—French laws and regulations to Algeria. The Algerian Assembly could also transmit its proposals to the National Assembly in Paris.

The first elections to the new Assembly under the Statute were held in April 1948, with partial elections in February 1951 and January 1954. It soon became evident that the Statute satisfied no one; it was too much for the local French and too little for the Muslims. Nationalism, expressed in moderate to extreme anti-French terms, was the main issue in the elections. Nevertheless, the Nationalists obtained only 16 seats in the 1948 Assembly and even fewer in subsequent elections—perhaps because the two-stage voting, the constituency-system and the disfranchisement of French citizens only favoured upholders of the status quo, supported by the French Administration.

The three Assemblies devoted much time to economic and financial matters—particularly Algeria’s annual budget; they were also responsible for instituting social security throughout the country. However, debate moved increasingly towards politics, largely as a result of the rise in nationalism, anti-French campaigns, now impelled into extra-parliamentary activity after the total failure of the nationalists in the 1954 elections. This appears to be the main reason for the Assembly’s dissolution on 12 April 1956. Algeria’s sole parliamentary representation remained in the National Assembly in Paris alone, which (in 1937-8) was concerned with drawing up a new constitution for Algeria, providing for a Federal National Assembly. However, this concept was never put into practice, because of growing unrest and violence in Algeria.

Parliamentary life revived only after the end of the war in Algeria; the Evian Agreements spelled out the necessity for electing a representative assembly. A Constituent National Assembly was elected accordingly on 20 September 1962, first meeting on 25 September. Its powers included legislation, promulgation of a constitution and selection of a provisional government. It comprised 195 Members, about one-third of whom had been guerrilla leaders and another 16 European Algerians. The 60-Member Front for National Liberation (known by its French acronym—FLN) dominated the Constituent Assembly, which had elected Ahmad Ben Bella Prime Minister, and dedicated only part of its time to legislating, as Ben Bella and the government were busy decreeing laws. However, the Constituent Assembly did initiate a fruitful exchange of opinions, with free criticism, meeting increasing disapproval from Ben Bella and his close advisers. Thus there was a marked difference between the level of tolerance for the opposition during the first year of the Assembly, presided over by liberal-mindedFarhat Abbas and during the second, when others presided. In the second year, political debates became increasingly infrequent and most attention was focused on economic matters, in which there were fewer differences of opinion.

Elections to the National Assembly took place in September 1964, in accordance with the August 1963 Constitution, approved by popular referendum on 8 September. This aimed at legitimising personal rule in Algeria, as well as the predominance of the FLN over the National Assembly. The constitution declared FLN as the only legal party and consequently empowered it to control the National Assembly. It provided for a unicameral National Assembly (al-Madjlis al-nuwtanī), seating candidates endorsed by FLN and duly elected by a general, direct vote for five-year terms. The Assembly and the State President were to initiate legislation; the latter exercised direct legislation under certain circumstances. The Assembly was also supposed to control the government’s rule-making. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly’s committees, whose members could interpellate them. Members of the Assembly enjoyed parliamentary immunity. According to a new electoral law, adopted in the Assembly on 25 August 1964, the number of seats was reduced from 104 to 138, which proved useful to the FLN government in eliminating members who were considered oppositionists. Nevertheless, about 43% of the Members were indeed re-elected. This Assembly, however, was short-lived and its achievements unspectacular, as more and more laws were promulgated by Presidential decree. Boudouyn’s coup of 19 June
1965 resulted in the suspension of both the 1963 Constitution and the National Assembly.

In June 1973, Boucheney announced his intention to hold elections for a new representative assembly, Algeria's new constitution, approved by a popular referendum on 19 November 1976, provides for a National People's Assembly, to be elected for a five-year term by direct secret and universal suffrage at the proposal of the single Party's leadership. A number of seats is to be reserved for representatives of peasants and workers. Legislation is to be the prerogative of both the Assembly and the State President, although only the latter may introduce bills on national defence. The Assembly is to hold two annual sessions of not more than three months each, while its sub-committees meet regularly.

Members are to enjoy parliamentary immunity. A National People's Assembly has not yet been elected to date (1976) and the Council of the Revolution, headed by Boucheney, is the state's supreme executive and legislative organ.

There is only meagre data available on members of the various parliamentary bodies in Algeria. During the pre-independence era, most were middle-class and were frequently identified with circles cooperating with the French and interested in preservation of the status quo. More specific data are available for the post-independence Constituent National Assembly, which sat for two years, between 1962 and 1964. Among its 194 members, 15 were of European origin; 10 were women. The average age was 39—fairly young as parliamentary bodies go. Its occupational breakdown was as follows:

**Occupational breakdown of 183 of the 194 Members of the Algerian Constituent Assembly, 1962-1964 (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Professions</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant-farmers</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>56.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Anisse Salah-Bey—see Bibliography).

The "military" component was a direct result of the Algerian war; some had probably had a different background initially. The proportion of merchants and clerks seems high for a revolutionary Assembly. Those representing the free professions, on the other hand, comprised a relatively small group; apparently, however, some of the military had formerly been professionals. In any event, it was a well-educated body: some 25% of the Members had had university education and many others secondary school training. More than 75% spoke French, which was consequently the language used in the Assembly.

Algeria's parliamentary history falls into two main periods: the colonial era, until 1956, when the nature of the Assemblies, determined by the French, remained largely consultative, although some autonomy was acquired gradually; and the brief experience in independent Algeria, with the Assembly controlled by and largely subservient to the FLN.

**Bibliography:** The parliamentary debates (generally held in French) have been published in the *Délégations financières Algériennes, Debats et, later, in Conseil du Gouvernement, Débats*. These were superseded, during 1948-1962, by *Assemblee, Journal Officiel*, published in *Compte rendu in extenso des séances*. During 1962-1965, this appeared weekly as *Assemblée Nationale, Journal Officiel*...
Socio-economic groups. The King inaugurated the Assembly on 12 November 1956. When independence was achieved, King Muhammad V considered the issue of parliamentary bodies. Although the 1962 Constitution was criticized by both traditionalists and modernists in Morocco as being too modern or too traditional, respectively, it remained in force for several years; the first two Chambers were elected following its provisions and those of a subsequent Electoral Law, which was mainly a declaration of principles. This was enhanced by Morocco's first constitution, prepared by a commission and submitted by Hasan II to a popular referendum on 7 December 1962. Some 80% of those eligible voted, with a heavy majority in favour (3,706,732 versus 113,879).

The 1962 Constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature—a Chamber of Representatives (Chambre des Représentants, Madjlis al-nuwtāb) and a Chamber of Councils (Assemblée des Conseillers, Madjlis al-nuṣūḥātijāhārīn). The former was to be elected for four years by direct universal suffrage and the latter for six years (with half the membership changing every three years)—by and from colleges consisting of local assemblies (two-thirds of this body) and chambers of agriculture, commerce and industry, artisans and trade-unionists (one-third). Both Chambers debate policy and legislate, although the Chamber of Representatives has greater authority. For example, the latter may bring about the resignation of the Cabinet by a vote of censure (Ministers are nominated by the King, who has also the right to dismiss them). While the Representatives have greater authority, legislation in both Chambers is hampered, in practical terms, by their meeting for only two annual two-months sessions. Furthermore, the King may withhold approval of laws indefinitely and may submit laws for popular referendum without prior consultation with the two Chambers. Members of both Chambers enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Although the 1962 Constitution was criticized by both traditionalists and modernists in Morocco as being too modern or too traditional, respectively, it remained in force for several years; the first two Chambers were elected following its provisions and those of a subsequent Electoral Law. Elections to the 144-seat first Chamber of Representatives were held on 17 May 1963, following a simple majority system with single-member constituencies, of which 117 were rural. There were 64 candidates running, each was required to deposit 200 dinars (then about £ 70), to be forfeited if the candidate his vote was cast in the constituency. About 73% of the 4,650,000 eligible voted. The Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions, a pro-King and pro-Government group, won 65 seats, four short of an absolute majority. Next came two nationalist groupings, the Istiqlāl with 42 seats and the National Union of Popular Forces with 28, together equaling the number of seats obtained by the Front, with Independents holding the remaining 6 seats. Elections to the 120-seat Chamber of Counsellors were held on 23 October 1963; the Front for the Defence of Constitutional Institutions won decisively with 107 seats, the Istiqlāl received 12 seats, and independents another 2. Hasan II opened the first Moroccan parliament on 18 November, re-

Under the French Protectorate, Morocco was an absolute monarchy, in which the Sultan and the French (particularly the latter) ruled without any parliamentary institutions. The King nominated a 76-member Consultative National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale Consultative, al-isti'mār al-nuwtāb) on 3 August 1956, striving to make it as representative as possible of the three major political parties, of the different regions of Morocco and of various socio-economic groups. The King inaugurated the Assembly on 12 November 1956. The powers of the Consultative National Assembly, amplified by a royal decree on 27 November 1956, were renewed every two years. The Assembly convened each year in spring and autumn. Most of its work is carried out in four (since 1958) committees comprising between 12 and 24 members each (every member may belong to one committee only). The Assembly's regular term is two years, although the King may prolong it (in 1958 it was prolonged by six months) and Members enjoy immunity. Since the Moroccan Cabinet preceded the convocation of the first Assembly, the Ministers were neither part of the Assembly, nor responsible to it, although the Members of the Assembly could interrogate them. Ministers were responsible to the King alone, who succeeded in imposing his will on the Assembly thanks to both the definition of its powers and to his own standing and prestige. Hence there were large pro-Government majorities in practically every vote on all important matters during the Assembly's first two years. Only during its third year were there signs of growing independence—and even increasing criticisms and opposition, probably reflecting the overall political climate outside the Assembly. This seems to have led Muhammad V to allow the Assembly to die a natural death in May 1959; its term was not renewed, nor did the King convene another Assembly during his reign.

Muhammad V's son and heir, Hasan II (mounted the throne in 1961), contributed to the course of parliamentarism in Morocco. On 5 June 1961, the new King promulgated a new Political Law, which was mainly a declaration of principles. This was enhanced by Morocco's first constitution, prepared by a commission and submitted by Hasan II to a popular referendum on 7 December 1962. Some 80% of those eligible voted, with a heavy majority in favour (3,706,732 versus 113,879).

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inquiring the post of Prime Minister which he had filled until then.

The achievements of the 1965 parliament were not particularly remarkable and ended abruptly in June 1965, with the declaration of a state of emergency by Hassan II (all within the framework of the constitution). There followed a pause in parliamentary activity, restored by the 1970 constitution published by the King on 8 July. It was reportedly approved by a 98.7% majority in a popular referendum held on 24 July. These official figures are questionable, however, as many have indicated the strong opposition of most parties and many organisations to the new constitution, largely caused by its differing from that of 1962 in that it further strengthened the powers of the King at the expense of the Prime Minister and parliament. According to the 1970 Constitution, the King was empowered to amend the constitution at will, promulgate decrees in almost any matter (even to declare war) and reject parliamentary bills and requests. Conversely, the nature of parliament was altered; it was now to be a unicameral Chamber of Representatives of 240 seats: 90 elected directly, 90 by members of local councils and 60 elected in two-stage voting by chambers of commerce and industry (including professional and workers' groups), all elected for six-year terms.

As most parties boycotted the 21 and 28 August 1970 elections to the Chamber of Representatives, the majority of candidates were independently supported by the government. Many candidates were returned unopposed and the government claimed huge participation despite the boycott. The Chamber comprised 158 independents (nearly all pro-government), 60 members of the pro-government Mouvement Populaire and 22 belonging to other parties and groups. The Chamber achieved little during its two-year lifespan and was sharply criticised from many quarters, prompting Hassan II to promulgate yet another constitution.

Morocco's third constitution was promulgated on 16 March 1972, following a popular referendum which approved it on 3 March. It was slightly more liberal regarding parliamentary powers; two-thirds of the unicameral Chamber of Representatives (of 264 seats) were to be elected by direct, universal suffrage and only one-third by two-stage voting of local councils as well as professional and employees' organisations. The Cabinet was made responsible to both the King and the Chamber. Nevertheless, the King's position remained pre-eminent, particularly as he had postponed the holding of new elections several times, ruling by decrees in the interim.

Under the 1972 Constitution, elections to the Chamber of Representatives were held on 3 June 1977. For the benefit of illiterate voters, each party was allotted a specific colour for its ballot. Some 82.9% of those eligible voted. Independents, mostly pro-Government, held 141 seats and Istiqlal candidates, 49; the pro-Government Mouvement Populaire held 44 seats and other groups 30. The King enjoyed a comfortable majority of his supporters in this Chamber, which he inaugurated on 14 October 1977.

The characteristics of Moroccan parliamentarians have not yet been studied in detail. Both the will of the Sovereign and subsequent electoral laws ensured that all Morocco's regions were represented, with rural areas favoured somewhat. Many of the Members were young; according to official figures, about 46% of the Members of 1963 parliament and 60% of those of the 1970 Chamber, were between 25 and 40 years of age. When nominating the Members, the King and his officials strove to strike some balance among political parties, non-political leaders, economic and social groups and diverse occupations. In November 1956, the occupational distribution was as follows: free professions - 10, agriculture - 19, commerce and industry - 17, workers - 16 and religious personalities - 5. In later Chambers, this distribution appears to have been more diversified.

Independent Morocco's bitter-and-thither experience with parliamentarism at first continued the tradition of the French Protectorate in nominating the whole institution, then moved towards elections, although the King did preserve his special powers in both the written constitutions and in the practice of imposing a two-stage electoral system (for at least a part of the membership) on parliament, ensuring the election of a largely-compliant body. Legislating by decree, without the benefit of parliamentary participation, completed the circle of the King's powers vis-à-vis the elected Chamber. This is all the more remarkable in light of Morocco's multi-party system.

region. Representation was then provided on three levels: (a) Territorial: a General Council elected by the Assembly could formulate its own policies in such local affairs as agriculture, forestry, trade, health and education. In Mauritania's case, these included the primary and secondary education. In Mauritania's autonomous membership in the new Community of the Sahara (Comunauté Frangaise), the Mauritanian Progressive Union (Union progressive Mauritanie) won 35 out of the Assembly's 54 seats, obtaining 252,868 out of the 272,474 votes cast. This party represented both the administrative and political elite—a study in segmented politics, as well as trade unions and co-operatives, government officials, wage earners, owners of registered property and war veterans. Consequently, few were eligible to vote in the 1946 Mauritanian elections. In 1947, the literate male population was added and in 1951, heads of households and mothers of two or more children. The following table indicates the sizable increase in the number of eligible voters. By 1956, the franchise was universal, so that the population was not unprepared for the new Loin cadre. The Loin cadre of 1956 bestowed a larger measure of autonomy on France's overseas territories, vested in respective elected Territorial Assemblies and in Councils of Government (Conseils de Gouvernement), comprising senior French officials and Ministers elected by the Assembly. Each Territorial Assembly could formulate its own policies in such local affairs as agriculture, forestry, trade, health and primary and secondary education. In Mauritania's first elections to the Territorial Assembly, held on 31 March 1957 (the first held under universal suffrage), the Mauritanian Progressive Union (Union Progressive Mauritanienne) won 35 out of the Assembly's 54 seats, obtaining 252,868 out of the 272,474 votes cast. This party represented both the administrative and traditional attitudes as well as tribal chieftains who had already participated in the 1952 election to the General Council (Territorial Assembly), winning 22 out of 24 seats. It was led by Mouhîd Nasr Mâddà, a lawyer-turned-politician who was to lead Mauritania to independence and serve as its first president. Mauritania's heavy "yes" vote in the De Gaulle referendum of 28 September 1958 signified its approval of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and its autonomous membership in the new Community Francaise. Mauritania's Territorial Assembly was converted into a Constituent Assembly (Dînîyya ta'asrîyya), on 28 November 1958, with the task of drafting a constitution. Prepared by former administrators, the Assembly approved and promulgated a constitution on 22 March 1959, providing for a 40-seat Legislative Assembly (Assemblee législatif, Dînîyya tasrîyya), to be elected for five years by direct, universal and secret voting. The Assembly was to meet for two sessions annually, not exceeding two months each. Its powers were mainly legislative, although it also elected the Prime Minister, who in turn appointed the rest of the
Cabinet. Ministers were responsible to the Assembly, which could bring the Cabinet down by a no-confidence vote. Members enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The first elections to the Legislative Assembly were held on 27 May 1959, with some 326,000 out of about 373,000 participating. This time, the Mauritanian Progressive Union, renamed Parti du Regroupement Mauritanien (since 1958), captured all 40 seats.

After negotiations with France, the independence of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed on 28 November 1960. A new constitution, required for a sovereign state, was adopted by the Assembly on 20 May 1961 by a vote of 31 to 2, with one abstention. The 1961 Constitution—amended in 1972—was basically a modification of the former one, adopted for a presidential regime. It established the office of a state president, absorbing that of the prime minister, strengthening it at the expense of the Assembly. The 1961 Constitution provided for a 40-seat National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale) (30-seat since 1971 and 20-seat since 1975), elected for five years, legislating only in a limited number of areas, including the budget. The Assembly convened for one four-month session per year. It cannot pass a vote of no-confidence in the President or the Ministers (although it may impeach them). Ministers are responsible to the President but not to the Assembly. The President has priority in legislation and right of veto, but cannot dissolve the Assembly.

In the early 1960s, the Assembly produced much-needed legislation, such as the establishment of an adequate judicial system for Mauritania (1963). It also discussed policy, sometimes displaying an independence of spirit which caused considerable friction between the National Assembly and President Ould Dadda. The latter succeeded in strengthening his position, however, particularly since a constitutional amendment was passed, institutionalizing the Mauritanian Progressive Union as the only legal party. Since this action of his, it is the single party (led by Ould Dadda), rather than the National Assembly, which has served as the main locus of power in Mauritania and dominated its politics. This has been at least partly motivated by Ould Dadda's intention to use the party as Mauritania's main vehicle for modernisation, as traditionalists still have a strong hold in the National Assembly.

Consequently, in the general elections for the National Assembly held on 9 May 1966, the party, whose name had been changed to Mauritanian People's Party (Parti du Peuple Mauritanien, Hizb al-sha'b), won all 40 seats; it obtained 445,644 votes or 92.1% of the 447,660 valid votes cast (out of a total of 482,955 eligible to vote). Such results were repeated in the general elections for the National Assembly, held on 8 August 1971, when the party won all 50 seats, obtaining 502,547, out of 502,945, valid votes cast (nearly 100%). Again, in the general elections held on 26 October 1975, the party won all 70 seats obtaining 99.9% of all valid votes cast.

In February 1979, Mauritania participated with fourteen other African states, in Agadir, in the establishment of a Union of African Parliaments (Union des parlements africains), whose avowed aim was "to strengthen parliamentary institutions by improving the functions of representative democracy". Mauritania was represented in this new body by one of the Union's Vice-Presidents, 'Abd al-‘Aziz Sali, President of Mauritania's National Assembly and by Muhammad Fall, who entered the Union's Executive Committee. Mauritania's own parliament, however, was suspended following the July 1976 military coup.

Not much is known about the socio-economic composition of the National Assembly, although the 1965 Assembly reflected the administrative character of the single party; 39 out of the 40 members were civil servants. There is every reason to believe that this group has continued to predominate.

The parliamentary history of Mauritania falls into two periods: until independence, the Assembly was virtually led by the French, who even had a special college within it to protect the interests of France and French settlers. Since independence, it has been dominated by President Ould Dadda and his single party, generally (although not invariably) serving in a rather docile manner.


(xxiii) Israel.

Israel is one of the few Middle Eastern states with a sizable Muslim minority sharing in its parliamentary life. Upon the establishment of the State, on 14 May 1948, Israel had a population of about 1,362,000 Arabs, out of some 770,000 people; on 7 October 1978 there were approximately 590,000 (including those in East Jerusalem) out of a total population of 3,708,300. With some variation, the Arab vote has been relatively greater than that of Jews, due to the success of the nationalist Arab image and the fact that representation, so that every vote counts. Israel's electoral laws pass there are printed, in Hebrew, in Dever ha-Kneset, in Arab, in 'Itab al-Kawâdin; and, in English, in the Laws of the State of Israel. The immediate results of parliamentary elections are published in the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, in Riqâghat -Yahâri ha-Firsâmin and, later, in detail, in special volumes entitled Results of election to the Knesset (Hebrew and English). See also M. Wight, British colonial constitutions, 1647, Oxford 1952, 99 ff.; Davies, 229-35; Godchot, 253-9; Atallah Mansour, Israel's Arabs go to the polls, in New Outlook (Tel-Aviv), iiii (Jan. 1960), 25-6; D. Peretz, Reflections on Israel's fourth parliamentary elections, in MEJ, xiv/1 (Winter 1960), 13 ff.; ibid., xiv/2 (Spring 1960), 19 ff.; R. Levinger, Electoral competition in Israel, in Res Publica (Brussels), ii/3 (1960), 125-56; B. Alzin, The Knesset, in International Social Science Journal, xii (1964), 567-82; J. M. Landau, Les Arabes israéliens et les élections à la quatrième Knesset, in International Review of Social History (Amsterdam), vii (1962), 9-32; A. Arai, Le système électoral israélien, Geneva 1964; Abner Cohen, Arab border villages in Israel, Manchester 1965; M. M. Czudnowski and Landau, The Israeli communist party and the elections to the fifth Knesset, 1967, Llandau, Cal., 1965; A. Mansour, How the Arabs voted, in New Outlook, viii/8 (Nov.-Dec. 1965), 22-5; Peascke, ii (1966), 301 ff.; Asher Zidon, The parliament of Israel, New York 1967; Landau, The Arabs in Israel: a political study, London 1969, 108-25, 190-201; Czudnowski, Legislative recruitment under proportional representation in Israel: a model and a case study, in Midwest Journal of Political Science (Detroit, Mich.), xiv (1970), 216-48; H. H. Smith et al., Area handbook for Israel, Washington, D.C. 1970, 168-79; E. S. Lithwick, Israel's parliament the law of the Knesset, Oxford 1971; Subhi Abu Ghosh, The election campaign in the Arab sector, in A. Arian, ed., The elections in Israel—1976, Jerusalem 1976, 230-52; Landau, The Arab vote, in ibid., 253-63; Blaustein and Flanz, eds., Constitutions vii (1973); Israel; E. E. Gutmann and Landau, The political elite and national leadership in Israel, in Lenczowski, ed., Political elites..., 169-99; M. Shokairy, Strategy and change in the Arab vote, in A. Arian, ed., The election in Israel—1973, Jerusalem 1973, 145-66; O. Stendal, The rise of new political currents in the Arab sector in Israel, in

Most (although not all) of the Arab Knesset Members connected with the Establishment have been farmers; one was a Bedouin sheikh. Those voted in as Communists, however, have generally been townspeople. All have been—or have become—professional politicians. The education level of Arab Knesset Members, like that of Jewish ones, has risen from one legislature to the next; the Arab contingent has increasingly comprised journalists and writers.


29%; 1973-33% (about 48,000 votes); 1977 48% (about 70,000 votes). This party, formerly strongly principally among Christians, has made considerable inroads among Muslims and Druzes in recent years. As a result, its representatives in the Knesset have increasingly claimed to speak for all Israel's Arabs and have frequently insisted upon using the Arabic language there (Israel has two official languages—Hebrew and Arabic).

During the past twenty years, Arab electoral support for the Communist Party has increased, probably due to the success of the nationalist Arab image created by this party. The following are the percentages of Arab votes for the Communist Party, out of the total Arab vote, in recent Knesset elections: 1955-20%; 1961-22%; 1965-23%; 1969-

(xxiv) Cyprus

Cyprus is another Middle Eastern state with a large Muslim minority; although estimates vary, the Turkish community there numbers close to 20% of the island's inhabitants—the second largest after the Greek community.

The island was a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1571 to 1878. One of the first measures of the British, after they had taken over Cyprus in 1878, was to institute some form of representation for its inhabitants. Their first experiment, in August 1878, was a nominative Council of 4 to 8 members, with the Greek community having a proportionate representation. Soon, however, in the March 1882 Constitution, promulgated by an Order in Council, a more representative Legislative Council was appointed. This could initiate discussion in certain matters, although some financial matters were not within its competence.

The Legislative Council comprised 12 elected members (9 Greeks and 3 Turks) and 6 appointed members, generally officials, with the British High Commissioner or another senior official presiding and having a casting vote in case of a tie. The members were elected within their respective communities.

On 6 February, 1925, the membership was increased to: 24: 22 Greeks, 3 Turks, and 9 officials. The British intention appears to have been to be able to offset a collective vote of the Greek majority against the Turkish community. In practice, however, the British officials voted almost regularly together with the Turkish members. This led to no little frustration on the Greek side and to its increasingly introducing extremist measures into the Constitution. The moderating British presence, however, legislation slowed down frequently and policy debates turned to stant friction continued in the House and other levels of government, at a ratio of 70% for the Greek, and 30% for the Turkish community. The Cabinet has 7 Greek, and 3 Turkish, Cypriots—who may be Members of the House. Legislative authority is vested in a House of Representatives, elected for five years; it is made up of 35 Greek Cypriots and 13 Turkish Cypriots, elected within their communities. The Speaker of the House is a Greek Cypriot, the Deputy Speaker a Turkish Cypriot. While the President of the Republic (a Greek) or the Vice-President (a Turk) alone may initiate financial bills, the House discusses them. The House's powers are limited further by the absolute right of veto of the President and Vice-President in foreign affairs, defence and security, as well as by the establishment of separate communal Chambers of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, which have competence in all religious, cultural and educational matters, and by the decisions of the communal courts in matters of personal status. Both Greek and Turkish are official languages.

The first House of Representatives was elected, according to the pre-independence Electoral Law of 31 December 1939, in 6 multi-member constituencies; each community voted only for its own candidates. The first elections to the House of Representatives were held on 31 July 1960. Those to the Communal Chambers were held on 7 August; the Turkish Cypriots elected, to all the 25 seats of their Chamber, the National Front of Faiz Kâğızık. From the start, Turkish Cypriots stood fast for protecting their constitutional rights, while the Greek Cypriots argued that their rivals were taking an unfair advantage of the constitution. Constant friction continued in the House and other levels of government, sometimes reaching crisis dimensions. As with the establishment of separate communal Chambers of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, the House of Representatives served to emphasise discord rather than accommodate conflict. Without the moderating British presence, however, legislation slowed down frequently and policy debates turned to hickering. Deadlock sometimes ensued, and in November 1963 Makarios, the State President, proposed various constitutional amendments; the main ones were to do away with the separate voting of Greeks and Turks in passing certain laws, and to abolish the right of either of the State President and Vice-President, separately, of vetoing legislation. The amendments were energetically rejected by the Turkish Cypriots, who argued that the amendments would undermine the regime. When disturbances, late in 1963 and early in 1964, prevented the Turkish Cypriots from attending the House, the Greek Cypriots passed the above amendment, anyway, on 23 July 1965, modifying also the 1959 Electoral Law to make voting general, instead of by communities. The Turkish Cypriots rejected all the above—and the joint House of Representatives ceased to exist, becoming a Greek Cypriot body. The Turkish Cypriots reacted by boycotting the House and instituting their own "Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration" (December 1967).
General elections for the House of Representatives were held on 5 July 1976 (the former House, elected in 1960 for five years, had had its term prolonged, annually, by Presidential decree). The Turkish Cypriots, on the same day, elected their own 25 Representatives to the House, These, however, continued to boycott the House and, together with the 15 Members of the Turkish Cypriot Communal Chamber, formed a joint 50-Member Chamber, part of the Turkish Cypriot Transitional Administration. After Turkey's military intervention in July 1974 an Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration was established, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Assembly. Following the decision, on 23 February 1975, to create a Turkish Cypriot Federated State in the whole area under Turkish control, a 50-Member Constituent Assembly (Kurucu Meclis) was elected in the same month, comprising 25 Members of the joint Chamber and another 25 Members selected by various organisations. This body prepared a new, separate constitution for the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, which was approved with a large majority, by a popular referendum, on 20 June 1976. The National (Yasama Meclis) was elected in the same month, comprising 25 Members of the joint Chamber and another 25 Members of the Turkish Cypriot Communist Party and the Republican Turkish Party each.

The Territory of Cyprus, in its history, has been divided into three main parts. Under British rule, the Turkish Cypriots sat—first from 1883 to 1913—as a minority group together with the Greek Cypriots and the British, usually voting with the British for what they saw as their special interests. In the independent Republic of Cyprus, from 1960 to 1963, they sat with the Greek Cypriots in a House of Representatives, as a minority group, but with special safeguards for their community. Since 1963, first in their own area in the Republic, later in what they consider the Turkish Cypriot Federated State, they have maintained their own, all-Turk, representative institutions.

Afghanistan has known two distinct types of representative assembly, the *djirga* and the *madjlis*. Their origins, development and functions are quite different and they are best discussed separately.

The *djirga* is a tribal council operating at all levels from the family upwards and reflecting the collective authority of the group over the individual. At the lowest levels its membership comprises all adult males; at higher levels various units are represented by men chosen primarily on the basis of seniority, but also for skill in negotiation or family reputation. Djirga decisions represent a consensus, weighted according to age and reputation. The functions of the *djirga* embrace all matters, but especially the resolution of disputes within the group and the relations of the group with outside organisations. The authority of the *djirga* depends upon the distribution of power within the group concerned. In state affairs, two varieties of council are employed: one was the permanent council of chiefs, members of the royal family and other notables, which was consulted frequently on all matters of state business and which offered detailed advice. References to such an institution under various names are common from the time of Ahmad Shah Durraní (*i.e.* Abd Allah onwards. The second, usually known as the Loya Djirga, dealt with the most important matters. It was a much larger body, including all men of influence in the region or country, and it was usually summoned to deal with one issue alone and subsequently dismissed. It was called in cases of succession where the legitimacy of the claims of a candidate to the throne were in doubt and where some broad expression of national endorsement was required. In 1747 Ahmad Shah Durraní elected a ruler by a *djirga* of Abd Allah and Ghaznavi tribal chiefs and religious figures; in August 1880 'Abd al-Rahman (see *Abd al-Rahman Khan*) was chosen by an assembly of tribal chiefs; and in February 1919 Aman Allah (*i.e.* in Suppl.) was proclaimed sardar by a gathering of tribal chiefs and notables at Kábul. Ba££a-yi Sak&w legitimised his claim to the throne through the *n/ami* and in March 1929 his decision, not to discuss it. In 1921 Amín Allah was chosen of Abd Allah's plans for reform. In 1941 a Loya Djirga was called to endorse Afghanistan's foreign policy in the Second World War following the Allied demand for the expulsion of German citizens; and in 1949 and 1953 Loya Djirgas (possibly representing only certain tribes) were called in connection with the Pakhtunistan dispute. The constitutions of 1969 and 1977 were also submitted to Loya Djirgas for approval. In keeping with its inclination towards parliamentary democracy, the 1964 constitution considerably reduced the role and importance of the Loya Djirga. The Loya Djirga of January-February 1977, which considered the new constitution and elected Muhammad Da'ud as President of the Republic, in particular, provided good evidence of the development of the Loya Djirga and its continuing importance as a major source of legitimisation. In the Presidential proclamation of 28 December 1976, which announced the summoning of the Djirga, it was stated that "in accordance with the conventions of our society Loya Djirgas in the course of the history of Afghanistan have been convened on sensitive and important occasions and have deliberated vital national issues". The Loya Djirga was described as a *supra-parliamentary body*. Article 65 of the 1977 constitution defined the composition of the Loya Djirga, which was represented as "the supreme manifestation of the power and will of its [Afghanistan's] people". The 1977 Loya Djirga consisted of elected representatives, members of the government, members of the central committee of the only political party, the high judicial council, the constitutional drafting committee, military officers, and other persons appointed by Presidential decree. The Djirga sat for twenty-six sessions and made several amendments to the constitution before finally approving it (see further *Afghanistan in Suppl.*). In particular, it legitimised the institution on the Indian side of the Frontier.

The constitution of the *madjlis* proper has a much shorter history. Until 1923 Afghanistan knew only consultative councils appointed by the ruler from among the notables. The 1923 constitution provided for three national bodies: a council of ministers, the Darbār-i 'Aîl; and an advisory state council, half nominated and half elected. The state council was the first Afghan institution which possessed some likeness to a Western parliament, but its role was reduced and it seems to have played an insignificant role in Afghan public life. The 1923 constitution also provided for regional advisory councils, an innovation continued under Nádir Shah. By 1924 the Afghan parliament bore a strong resemblance to the European institutions upon which it was, no doubt, modelled, although in his defence of the constitution Nádir Shah argued (in the manner of
Under British rule in India, Muslims were involved in two forms of assembly. There were the sessions of the various Muslim organisations, the most important of which were those of the All-India Muslim League, founded in 1906, in which major matters concerning Indian Muslims were discussed and resolutions passed. But for most of its existence the League was not a particularly representative organisation; support was limited to the upper classes and professional men from provinces where Muslims were in a minority, "ulama" refused to join, some Muslims preferred to support the Indian National Congress, others supported regional organisations of Hindus and Muslims like the Unionist party in the Punjab or the Krishak Samiti in Bengal. The League's fundamentally limited appeal was emphasised in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1937, when it won a mere 104 out of 489 seats reserved for Muslims. Only in the years 1927-47, as the meaning of Congress government was revealed and as the League began to campaign for a Muslim homeland of Pakistan, did the organisation come to win the support of most Muslims and its sessions to embrace their views. The extent of this support was demonstrated in the general elections to the legislative councils in 1945-6, when the League won 439 out of 494 seats reserved for Muslims.

The second form of assembly in which Muslims participated was a system of provincial councils which the British began to introduce in the second half of the 19th century. These operated at two levels, there being a legislative council for the whole of India and a legislative council in each province. When, from the beginning of the 20th century, the British began to make elections the main way of choosing council members, Muslims demanded special measures to protect them against Hindu majorities, which they feared. Each time the franchise was extended and council powers were increased, that is in 1909, 1919, 1929, 1935, Muslims were given separate electorates and, where appropriate, extra seats to take account of their "political importance". Each time the result was to raise the Muslim proportion of seats above their proportion of the population where they were in a minority, to reduce their number of seats where they formed a large majority of the population, and to destroy the possibility of a majority of seats where they formed a small majority of the population, notably in the key provinces of Punjab and Bengal. Up to 1937, although quick to defend Muslim interests when they saw them
threatened, whether it was the matter of money-lending in the Fandjb or local schools in the United Provinces, Muslims did not in general operate in council politics from a specifically Muslim platform, tending to belong to supra-communal groupings of landlords, local interests or nationalists. But all changed after the Indian National Congress formed governments in seven out of eleven provinces following the 1937 elections and the prospect of independence began to loom during World War II. Now Muslims realised that they must either support the Indian nationalist cause or follow the Muslim League. Most chose the latter course. Between September 1942 and March 1947, helped both by the mistakes of the nationalist leadership and the skill of its rivals from the League, it was possible to form governments in the provinces of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, Assam, Bengal and the Fandjb.

After the partition of the subcontinent, 40 million Muslims remained scattered in minorities throughout the provinces (now known as states) of independent India, except in Kashmir where they formed a large majority. The new Indian constitution, promulgated in 1950, abolished the old Muslim safeguards of separate electorates and reserved seats; the law forbade any political appeals on the basis of religion. Nevertheless, distinctively Muslim political parties persisted; the relics of the pre-independence Muslim League survived in Kerala and spread to the northern states in the 1960s; in 1957 the Majlis Ittihad al-Muslimin revived in Hyderabad and a decade later was petitioning the Government of India for the foundation of a purely Muslim state on India's eastern coast; in 1964 the Majlis-i-Mushawarat was formed to press for specifically Muslim concerns through the political system. But, beyond winning a few seats and striking the occasional bargain with other parties at state level, these communal parties had little success in promoting Muslim interests or in winning large-scale Muslim support. Most Muslims have entered both state assemblies and national Parliament as members of the Congress Party, which has come to be seen, among the unsatisfactory alternatives available, as the best protector of Muslim interests. Indeed, so firm has been Muslim support that it has been recognised as one of the main sustainers of Congress dominance in Indian politics since 1947. The weakening of their support is marked down as a major cause of the Congress's defeat in the general elections of 1977; the return of their support as a cause of its victory in the general elections of 1980.

In the Muslim state of Pakistan, we are concerned less with Muslim representation in assemblies than with the fortunes of assemblies themselves. At independence there were the old provincial legislatures inherited from the British period, and these elected a Constituent Assembly whose task was to frame a constitution for the new country. But at the same time to act as a national legislature. Framing a constitution proved immensely difficult. Amongst the many problems were those of balancing the claims of East Pakistan, where a majority of the people lived, against those of West Pakistan, and finding an appropriate place for Islam in the country's constitution. The Assembly worked with much rancour and increasing slowness. When in 1954 it moved to curb the powers of the Governor-General, he replied on 24 October of that year by dismissing the Assembly and declaring a state of emergency. In June 1955 the provincial legislatures elected a second Constituent Assembly and on 29 February 1956, nearly nine years after independence, the Assembly adopted Pakistan's first constitution which provided for a federal and parliamentary system of government with a strong centre, adult franchise and direct elections. There was to be one house of Parliament and its members were to be divided equally between East and West Pakistan (see Table on p.107). General elections were proposed for 1958, but they were not held. Politicians squabbled. Faction, violence and corruption were rife. The public lost all respect for political institutions. On 7 October 1958 President Iskandar Mirza, under pressure from General Ayyub Khan, declared martial law, abrogated the constitution and dissolved all legislatures. Thus democracy lost its first struggle with authoritarianism in Pakistani life. In the first eleven years of its existence, the National Assembly met for a mere 385 days and passed only 163 acts. For the rest of the time, the executive had unrestricted power and issued 376 major ordinances.

On 1 March 1962 President Ayyub Khan promulgated a new constitution, which provided for two provincial assemblies, one for East and one for West Pakistan, and a National Assembly of 256 members whose seats were equally divided between the two wings of the country. Members were to be elected by a college of 80,000 "Basic Democrats" who had been elected directly by the people. The first meeting of the National Assembly was convened on 8 June 1962, but from the beginning it met with powerful opposition in the country. As political parties were forbidden, and as all executive and much legislative power was in the hands of the President, the Assembly seemed less a forum for democracy than a weapon of dictatorship. Eventually, opposition grew so great that Ayyub Khan was forced to declare martial law in March 1969 and to dissolve the Assembly. Agitation continued. On 25 March 1969 the Commander-in-Chief, V. B. Khan, dismissed Ayyub Khan and abrogated the 1962 constitution. On 28 November 1969 he reaffirmed a pledge to restore parliamentary government and announced that general elections would be held on the basis of one man, one vote, in autumn 1970 to elect a National Assembly to draft a constitution. Parity between the East and West wings of the country was now abandoned; on the basis of its population East Pakistan could now control 56% of the seats. On 7 December 1970 Pakistan held its first general elections. The Awami League won 160 out of 162 seats in East Pakistan and therefore had a potential majority in the National Assembly. On 1 March 1972 Vahiy Khan, under pressure from the West Pakistani leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, decided to postpone the National Assembly, and events were set moving which led to the transformation of East Pakistan into the new state of Bangladesh in December 1971.

In 1972 the National Assembly of the now truncated Pakistan began to meet and agreed that the country should have a federal and parliamentary system of government. There were to be four provincial assemblies and two houses of Parliament, a National Assembly and a Senate. This, the first constitution framed by a directly elected assembly, was adopted on 10 April 1973 and came into force on 14 August. The National Assembly was dominated by the Pakistan People's Party whose leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, resigned the presidency of Pakistan to become Prime Minister. In 1977 Mr Bhutto called Pakistan's second general elections for March. His party won 135 of the National Assembly's 200 seats. Soon it became evident that the elections had been
rigged on a huge scale. The nine opposition parties which had coalesced to form the Pakistan National Alliance refused to accept the results, launched a mass movement to press for Mr Bhutto's removal and for fresh elections supervised either by the Judiciary or by the Army. On 5 July the Army took the leaders of both sides into "protective custody", declared martial law and disbanded the national and provincial assemblies. The Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Zia-ul-Haq (Diyu' al-Hak) promised elections for 18 October. They were postponed. He promised elections again for 17 October 1979. They did not take place. Now, General Zia-ul-Haq has promised to establish a government of people's representatives who are to be chosen through the "Islamic mode".

In Bangladesh, a Constituent Assembly met on 1 March 1972 which comprised those members who had been elected from Bangladesh to the Pakistan National Assembly and the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly in the general elections of 1970. On 4 November 1972 the Assembly adopted a constitution which provided for a Parliament (Jatiya Sangsad) of one house. Three hundred members were to be directly elected by universal adult suffrage, and a further fifteen seats were reserved for women who were to be elected by the members of Parliament. General elections were held on 7 March 1973 in which Shykh Mujeeb-ur-Rahman (Diyu' al-Rahman) of the Bangladesh National Party won 31 seats. But then, by means of a series of amendments passed between 1972 and 1975, Mujeeb-ur-Rahman changed the constitution, creating a presidential and one-party system in which all the powers of government were concentrated in the President, and the power of the legislature to control the executive was virtually destroyed. On 15 August 1975 an army faction killed Shykh Mujeeb. Martial law was declared. Parliament was dissolved. Shykh Mujeeb's submerged constitutional amendments were repealed and elections promised for 28 February 1977. These elections were eventually held on 18 February 1979 and produced a majority in Parliament for the Bangladesh National Party, the party of General Zia-ul-Rahman (Diyu' al-Rahman), Chief Martial Law Administrator and President.


MADJLIS - MADJLIS AL-SHURĀ

The name given to extraordinary, ad hoc consultative assemblies in the last century-and-a-half or so of the Ottoman Empire in order to deal with special matters. While it had existed in the Ottoman Empire, and in earlier Islamic states, to hold special consultations about urgent matters (see MASHHARA), such meetings appear to have become especially frequent among the Ottomans between the Russo-Ottoman War of 1787-88/1796-97 and, roughly, the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826. Referred to by a variety of synonymously terms, such as mawṣil-i šurā, dar al-ṣurā, madjalis-i meṣkhat (or mawṣil-i meṣkhat), or endjumen-i meṣkhat, these assemblies were convened ad hoc and included a variable list of high-level officials: the grand vezir, the gayḥūk al-ʾĪslām, the senior military commanders, top scribal officials, and perhaps others. The place of meeting was also variable: the palace, the Sublime Porte (Baḥr-i ṣāl [q.v.]), the headquarters of the gayḥūk al-ʾĪslām (baḥr-i meṣkhat [q.v.]), military headquarters in the field, or even provincial administrative centres. The increased frequency of such consultations clearly reflected the gravity of the crises of the time; it may have been related, too, to the decline of the old system of diwan [q.v.]-meaning, in Ottoman usage, conciliar bodies, rather than government
bureaux. The pattern of convening consultative *medjizes* continued to some degree until the end of the empire (Devereux, 37-8, 45-6, 96-7, 243-4; Davison, Reform, 34-9, 354, 356, 353, 368, 393-4; Patalin, OTD, iii, 361; Findley, 245).

Ottoman histories of the late 18th and early 19th centuries provide many accounts of consultative *medjizes* (e.g. Cevdet, i, 99-102, 175-7, 316-9; ii, 79-80, 126-9, 136; iii, 276-9; iv, 360; vii, 28-9; ix, 302). Such comments against him after the meeting (Cevdet i, 3x6-7; Otub, x, 199-201; ii, 195-8; iv, 2-5, 37-5, 155-8, 201-4; Cevdet, ii, 242-3, 276-8; iii, 33-47, 53-5, 74-5; iv, 154-60, 187-95, 289-91; v, 52, 53; vii, 28-9; ix, 160-1, 300-2; x, 17-20, xi, 95, 186-7, 272-5; xii, 147-51, 158-9; Mehmed Es'ad, 14-15; Lütül, i, 291-2; i, 172; cf. d'Ohsson, vii, 228-3; Shaw, Old and new, 73-9). These accounts contain some of the most vivid documentation available for any facet of Ottoman history. Often, they testify to the importance of these bodies, the need to extend quotations from the participants. The remarks may be quite heated, and are sometimes expressed in plain language sharply in contrast with the normal style of the author who quoted them. It is not impossible to find different accounts of the same assembly, in which a given remark will be rendered in "plain Turkish" according to one author, and in highbrow Ottoman according to another. In recounting an assembly of 1808, for example, Cevdet Paşa commented on the "reckless" (karbakhsh) way in which Sıçalzade Mustafa Paşa then grand vezir, expressed himself. Cevdet went on to quote the Alemdar as using the plainest of language to say that his earlier action had been mistaken (padiyem yolsun ve bağımsız parlyakh: Cevdet, i, 95). Şanlızade's earlier history recounts the same assembly, but there the same remark is "translated" into Ottoman (sülüknamâ cavv-ni hahk-i feth-i 'ıdâh-ı khlrka-yi sherif-xcel ra'iiyytl). As for Şanlızade, his point in making this comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 296). As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—with appropriate reference to the authority of the sultan and the source of the Prophet—that Ottoman assemblies ought not to be as large as those of the states he was describing. He argued that some of those invited to participate in the larger of the Ottoman assemblies had nothing to add to the discussion. In fact, the issue was not so simple. Particularly as the problems at hand grew more threatening, the Ottomans discovered a variety of needs, of which some reinforced, but others conflicted with, the tradition of a narrow scope of consultation.

One of the first concerns to emerge out of the consultative assemblies of the late 18th century was for greater care in maintaining the confidence of proceedings. At first, it appears that there had been little care to have the councils meet in closed session (Cevdet, ii, 243) or otherwise maintain secrecy. By the 1790s, however, great concern had developed over this point. Participants were sometimes made to swear secrecy. Threats were invoked upon those who divulged what they had heard or later criticised decisions they had supported in council (Cevdet, iii, 35, 45, 332; iv, 188, 360; vi, 133; x, 18). Ma'mûn I carried out such a threat on at least one occasion, by exiting Rızaşhâh Fevzi Molla, father of the future grand vezir Fuâd Paşa, for criticising a measure that he had not opposed in assembly [see VIZET MOLLA].

Perhaps the most striking procedural trait of the consultative *medjizes* of this period was the terms and war with almost certain prospect of defeat. At such moments, the proceedings could become highly dramatic. The shaikh al-İslâm might become so agitated that he would threaten to take a gun in hand and set out on the dhîhdâh himself (Şanlızade, iv, 201; cf. Cevdet, iii, 40). The senior military men would answer such effusions with sober talk of what war really meant for a state in the position of the Ottoman Empire (Davison, Reform, ii, iii, 36, 42). Consultative meetings of the tens of consultative assemblies occurred at Topkapı Palace in 1847/1860, just prior to the decisive strike against the Janissaries. With the sultan himself hesitating due to uncertainty over the outcome, it was an impassioned speech by one of the participants that incited him to rush into the chamber where the mantle of the Prophet (hârbiyi-ya sirâf (f.t.), and other relics were kept, bring out the banner of the Prophet, turn it over to the grand vezir and thus symbolically launch the attack (ibid., xii, 158).

In general, the accounts of the *medjizes* of the late 18th and early 19th centuries convey a number of interesting points about what such assemblies were supposed to be and do. On a comparative note, first, it is worth comment that Şanlızade 'Aṭâ' Allah (d. 1822/1860) already knew enough about parliametary institutions to compare the Ottoman consultative assemblies with what sound like bicameral parliaments (Şanlızade, iv, 5). Probably by design, Şanlızade evoked Cevdet Paşa and the Madjîlis as the "well-ordered states" (sâde-i vaqfatmanâ), but he did give a recognisable account of such features as popular election of members, majority rule (hukm-i aşghâb), and membership in two "classes", described as government servants and agents or representatives of the subjects (hades-i-ziyâdet ve wâlîhâ-i ra'iiyytl). This comparison of Ottoman assemblies with those of the West is of particular interest as an early illustration of a theme to which later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306]. As for Şanlızade, his point in making the comparison was to argue—either forcibly or by later writers often returned [see 306].
demand that the participants arrive at their decisions in "unanimity of opinion" (ittifâd-i ârâd or equivalent expressions; Wâlîf, i, 177, 317; ii, 14, 233; Şâhîzâde, i, 62, 64; Djeuwdet, iii, 38, 43, 333: ix, 350; vi, 276; vi, 6, 19; ix, 3; x, 16; xi, 201. "Consensus" would perhaps be a more exact rendering of what was really desired. Still, the idea of "unanimity" is a striking sign of desire to maintain unity of decision even while broadening participation in decision-making. This desire, like the need for secrecy, would have suggested keeping the consultative assemblies small in size.

By the time of Mâmûd II, however, there were clearly situations where it seemed necessary to enlarge the councils, or even usethem as means for mobilisation of mass opinion. One example of this occurred in 1823/1832, when the grand vezîr, Alemâr Mûsâî Fâha, himself one of the provincial ağâyın, held a great assembly in Istanbul, to which he invited not only high officials of the central government, but also other provincial notables, to conclude an agreement between the ağâyın and the sultan (Şâhîzâde, i, 62; Djeuwdet, ix, 3; Lewis, 75-6; Shaw and Shaw, 1-3). In the 1820s, with the outbreak of the Greek Revolution, there were medjîles to which an unusually large range of military officers and even such non-officials as the agents (beşkâfitlî) of various guilds were summoned (Şâhîzâde, iv, 2, 3, 201): these were assemblies that Şâhîzâde criticised as being too large. By this time, however, the concerns of the government had clearly extended beyond secret consultation into mass mobilisation of Muslim opinion. The "crowded" (djezînî yettîlî) assemblies contributed to this purpose by making, or legitimating, decisions that were communicated to the populace through the non-official participants, or by such other means as dispatching circular orders to local officials or sending out public criers (mârinî; Şâhîzâde, iii, 203-6; iv, 201-4; Djewdet, xi, 272-5; xii, 159; al-Sâzî, Tal'îsî, i, 100-2).

Appeals to Muslim solidarity are a speciality illustration, finally, of perhaps the most important feature of the medjîles: the emphasis on Islamic ideals and values. Such appeals were a general theme of traditional Ottoman culture; even so, they appear particularly prominent where the consultative assemblies are concerned. It is surely no coincidence that these important assemblies were designated by the term giûrî (gûrî) or its derivatives, or that Ottomans were quick to cite giûrî in support of the procedures. It is significant in this regard that Djewdet Pagha, who was trained as an Âlim prior to his transfer into the civil bureaucracy and who was politically quite conservative, was consistently critical of the capacity of the giûrî to contribute to the medjîles that we have been discussing. If Djeuwdet's opinion is debatable for the period before the 1820s, it points to a problem in relations among governmental elites, and to a feature of policy, that was unmistakable thereafter (Djeuwdet, iii, 38; iv, 195, 261-2; v, 27-35, 231; xii, 82-3; Heyd, 63-96; Findley, 61-3).

As for the apparent decline of the medjîles, on the other hand, there are signs that this signifies, not a loss of interest in consultation, but rather an adaptation and institutionalisation of the deliberative medjîles in a variety of setttings. The fact that the term medîjes from this time on virtually supplanted the term hâliîn as a designation for conciliar bodies suggests that the frequent medjîles of preceding decades indeed formed the major link through which the Ottoman divân tradition evolved into the 19th century. As early as 1832, then, we find a military council (hâliîn-i 'içeri; Levy, 479-80). A key moment in the proliferation of councils occurred in 1836, when, as part of an effort to abolish the grand vezîriate and redistribute its powers, Mâmûd II set up two councils, the Consultative Assembly of the Sublime Porte (dâr-i giûrîl-î divân-i divân) and the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (medjîles-veyîl-i ahkâm-i 'adîlye). The latter was supposed, like the imperial divân of earlier times, to meet at the palace (Lutfî, v, 106-3, 176-9; vi, 926; Kaynar, 198 ff.; Shaw, Legislative councils, 57-77; Findley, 141). Following Mâmûd's death in 1839-1839, the grand vezîriate was quickly restored; and the various councils and ministers who had begun to appoint on European example in the mid-1830s, were grouped into a "council of ministers" (medjîles-i wâlia-i ahkâm-i 'adîlye) or "privy council" (medîjes-i kârîyân). The pâyâh al-'îslâm also served as a member of the cabinet. Of the two councils created in 1839, only the medjîles-i wâlia-i ahkâm-i 'adîlye survived. It assumed the function of drafting the new legislation called for under the Gûlkhânî decree. It also served as the highest court for trying cases under the new legislation. Thus the medîjes-i wâlia embarked on a long evolution, in course of which it turned, in political terms, into a new constellation of offices in 1865, into the Council of State (dâr-i giûrîl-î divân [g.]), later the Dönûsbey of the Turkish Republic. In the late Ottoman period, the council of state was the most important civil administrative body after the council of ministers; it also normally retained top- level responsibility for administrative justice (Shaw, Legislative councils, 57-84; Findley, 172, 174-6, 247-50, 307-9).

The early history of the medjîles-i wâlia, as well as that of the military council created in 1832, also included important steps in the development of Ottoman ideas of conciliar procedure. Procedural
regulations for the mediâlis-i ülâ, dating from ca. 1255/1839, began by citing problems experienced in earlier deliberative assemblies. The document went on to require changes such as circulating documents on important issues prior to meetings, requiring those who wished to speak to sign up in advance and speak in order of signing (thus without regard to rank), and—most important—taking decisions by majority approval (êkûber-i yelid-i 2ârât), rather than by unanimity. At this point, Western ideas of parliamentary procedure, known in some measure at least since Şânîzâde, began to be incorporated into Ottoman practice. The fact that a French translation of the new regulations for the mediâlis-i ülâ reached the British embassy almost immediately may be a sign of direct European influence on their formulation (Kaynar, 268–8; Levy, 480–1; Findley, 158–9, 385 n. 356).

As the council of state took shape, the Tanzimât also witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of smaller, specialised medâjlîses, many of which subsequently disappeared. In part, this is because they served as committees to perform new tasks for which, up to that point, there were no permanent administrative agencies to assume responsibility. Some of the specialised medâjlîses evolved into such agencies. This is clearly how the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture emerged; traits of the pattern also appear in the formation of the Ministry of Justice. In other cases, medâjlîses continued to supplement the regular bureaucratic apparatus where it remained thinly developed (Findley, 176–7, 179, 181, 245, 253). The clearest example of this is the local administrative councils, first created in 1840 and ultimately known as medâjlîs-i idrâr. These administrative councils were originally intended to supplement the functions of the jûdâs of the bâbâs, at least in the roles that these had acquired in local administration, as well as the divûses of the provincial governors. Emulation of conciliar institutions created under Muhammad 'Ali in Egypt and Syria may also have stimulated the development of the Ottoman local councils (Heidborn, i, 156–6; Ma‘ûs, 87–107; Russell, i, 139, 322–3, 225–8; Guys, 143–9; Barber, i, 144–8, 316–7; Davison, Aden, 98 ff.; Innis, Tanzimât-î Uglulanmas, 623 ff.; idem, Application of the Tanzimât, 300–1, 107–9; Kornrumpf, 44–57; Ortayli, 13 ff., 42 ff.). As organised in 1840, the councils included not only the local officials and religious leaders, but also indirectly-elected representatives of the notables. These councils were thus the first Ottoman governmental institutions to include representatives of the people as a matter of system. In 1261/1845, there was even an experiment—clearly following an Egyptian model—with the convening of a consultative assembly in Istanbul, to which each province of the empire was to send two delegates. The Istanbul assembly served as a model for the years immediately following, but the local administrative councils became permanent fixtures. Since they exercised not only administrative functions, but also local responsibility for cases tried under the new legislation of the Tanzimât, they also represented the starting-point of an important organisational development of a different kind: the emergence of what eventually became the distinct system of nâmâyye courts [see Nâmakâmâ, 2. The Ottoman Empire excluding Egypt, ii. The Reform era]. Even as the nâmâyye courts became separate from the local administrative councils, they retained marks of their origins in being known, until the 1860s, as mediâlis or divûses, rather than medâjlîses (Duârât, i, 10–12, 65–18; Heidborn, i, 226 n. 57), and in continuing until the end to be collegial bodies.

In terms of elaboration of the underlying organisational form, the most important of the organisational progeny of the Ottoman mediâlis-i shâhâ was the Ottoman parliament. The link to the earlier councils appears both in the Ottoman name for the parliament, mediâlis-i şurâtî [see Medâjlîs, 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section 1] and in the adoption, which Şânîzâde had anticipated, of the concepts of shâhâ and mehdürel to refer to parliamentary government. The parliament also represented the ultimate extension among the Ottomans of the representative principle first introduced in the local administrative councils. In this sense, whatever the shortcomings of the Ottoman parliaments, their emergence indicates the extent to which the scope of political participation, or at least the demand for it, had continued to broaden since the convocation of the consultative assemblies of the 18th century.

Organisations like the Ottoman mediâlis-i shâhâ and its derivatives appeared in other Islamic political centres as well. In Egypt, Muhammad ‘Ali Pâşi was as attached to conciliar deliberation as he was to the centralisation of ultimate decision-making. Under him, the development of conciliar institutions advanced to the point that the dihdâr—a term referring in Egypt to administrative bureaux—were sometimes displaced by councils with corresponding functions (Deny, 33–4, 108). This happened with his civil and military councils (mediâlis-i ściïh-i mulkîyye, mediâlis-i dihdâleyye). The former of these was also known by designations including the terms mediâlis-i shâhâ or mediâlis-i mehdürel and in existence from 1240/1824–25 to ca. 1254/1838. As with some of the Ottoman councils, the responsibility of this council included matters of administrative justice (ibid., 108–9; Lane, i, 142–4). Muhammad ‘Ali also had a "cabinet" referred to as the shâhâ-yi êkhâṣâ (Deny, 109, 125). Beginning in 1243/1829, there was an annual "general assembly", including leading officials, together with provincial notables and the leading ulema. This assembly was known by a variety of names, such as mediâlis-i şurâtî, demêlîyye-i demêlîyye, mediâlis-i mehdürel (or shâhâ) and mediâlis-i nâmâyye (ibid., 10–11). There was also a "general assembly and regular system of local councils", at least in Syria and Palestine, while they were under Egyptian control in the 1830s (Ma‘ûs, 100; al-Shâbidî, tâ’likh, ii, 72; idem, Lubbûs, iii, 305; Rustum, ii, 356, n. 3204). The local councils of Egyptian-ruled Syria may have provided a model for the Ottoman local administrative councils. Subsequently, under the Khedive Ismâ‘îl (1863–79), when Egypt acquired a "parliament", it was known as the mediâlis shâhâ al-amâ‘al. It was in fact an assembly of delegates, some of whom were local notables. This assembly did not attempt to assume any more active role before 1279/1863 (Khalîlî, 427–8; Shûkî, 27–30, 27–88, 93–4, 123–25, 268–69, 250–7, 243; see also Medâjlîs, 4 A. In the Middle East and North Africa, section v, Syria, xvi, Egypt).

Kâdir Iran also eventually acquired consultative assemblies resembling, and to some degree inspired by, those of the Ottoman Empire. Like Mahmûd II before him, Nâsr al-Dîn Şâbî decided in 1858 to rule without a prime minister (sâdîr-i dâ‘âm). Instead, he appointed a six-man council of ministers, as well as—a year later—two advisory councils, a mediâlis-i şâhâ-yi dâ‘âmî and a larger mehdürel-

MADJLIS AL-SHÎRÂ — MADJLISI

Bibliography:


MADJLISI, MULLA MUHAMMAD BAKIR, known also as 'Allama Madjliši and Madjliši-y Thâni (1837-1870/1827-98), an authoritative jurist, a most prolific hadîth collector, an unprecedentedly influential author in the world of the Twelver Shi'a. He was also a distinguished expert in bibliog-
riage, a well-read man in Islamic philosophy and mysticism, and an active authority in politics, social and judicial matters during the late Safavid period. He belonged to a distinguished clerical family; his father, Muhammad Teki, mostly referred to as Ma'djilisi-yi Awwal [q.v.], his ancestors as well as his descendants, have been mentioned among men of knowledge.

Ma'djilisi, in line with his family tradition, became "eager for learning various Islamic sciences and noble branches of arts right from ... early youth" (Muhammad Bakiir Ma'djilisi, Bihdr al-anwar, i, Tehran 1887, 3). He successfully studied Islamic subjects such as fiqh (jurisprudence), usul al-fiqh (fundamentals of jurisprudence), commentary of the Kur'an, hadith (theology), philosophy, mysticism, etc., under his father and many other professors such as Sayyid Amir Sharaf al-Din al-Husayyi al-Shafii' osób (d. 1660/1659) and Hasan All al-Tustari (d. 1075/1664); the names of eighteen of his teachers and other authorities who granted him certain certificates are given in Husayn Nuri, al-Fayd al-bulub fi tafjam al-Alisha al-Majdilisi, Tehran 1887, 12-23 (attached to the first volume of the old edition of the Bihdr). At a certain point in time, however, Ma'djilisi decided to abandon those fields of knowledge which had then become popular, and to concentrate only on the study of prophetic traditions which were, in his belief, beneficial for him in the hereafter, though they had then a depressed market (kisiih (Bihdr, i, 4).

Henceforth, Ma'djilisi devoted the most part of his life not only to lecturing on the Shi'i subjects to the students, whose number at times exceeded one thousand (al-Fayd, 15; in this book, only forty-nine of them are introduced with some bibliographic information), but also to collecting the scattered and forgotten Shi'i hadiths and to compiling them into various Arabic and Persian books. His main work in this field is the immensely voluminous Arabic book Bihdr al-anwar whose outline he sketched out in 1070/1664 and completed its compilation ca. 1106/1694. He also wrote books in Persian, a number of these being translations of different sections of the Bihdr. His aim in writing in Persian, as he himself repeatedly mentioned, was to make the prophetic traditions easily accessible to "the masses of believers and common Shi'a" who had "no familiarity with the Arabic language", hoping that his works "may give life to the hearts and spirits of the dead-hearted people!" (Muhammad Bakiir Ma'djilisi, 'Ayn al-baydt, Tehran 1952, 4). In his efforts, in fact, Ma'djilisi was quite successful because his 'Ayn al-baydt alone reportedly converted 70,000 of the Syrian Sunnis to Shi'ism (Muhammad b. Salyman Tunakabunl, Kiigar al-isla, Tehran n.d., 205).

Ma'djilisi had very close relations with at least two of the Safavid monarchs, Shah Salyman (d. 1075/1664) and Sultan Husayn (d. 1078/1713). In compiling his book, he received effective financial and other types of support from them, and in return he praised those rulers and dedicated several of his books to them. In reference, for instance, to Shah Salyman, he used many phrases of a hyperbolic nature (Muhammad Bakiir Ma'djilisi, 'Ayn al-bulub, i, 1860; 3; the second volume of this book is translated into English by James L. Merrick under the title of The life and religion of Muhammad as contained in the Shi'ite tradition of the Hydi-al-isla, Boston 1856). He used also highly eulogistic expressions for Sultan Husayn (see, for instance, Muhammad Bakiir Ma'djilisi, 'Ayn al-masai', 2:3).

In 1085/1676, Ma'djilisi was appointed as the official Shaykh 'ulamal by Shah Salyman, but his title was changed to 'ulamal al-masai on Sultan Husayn's accession to the throne in 1106/1794. While holding these highest, institutionalised clerical offices, Ma'djilisi "personally undertook all proceedings of law and legal matters" (Husayn Nuri, Mustadrak al-asma' wa-musannafat al-masai, iii, Tehran 1903, 408). He used his power and influence to suppress anything which appeared to him as heresy and infidelity. He ordered the Indian idols of Isfahan to be demolished in 1095/1686 (al-Fayd, 3) and "suppressed the aggressors and transgressors" who were adherents of sectarianism and innovation, and were enemies [of the right religion], especially the heretic Sufis (Yafur Bahrami, Lujn al-bulub fi tafjam al-Alisha al-Majdilisi, n.d., 55). These "aggressors and transgressors" also included Zoroastrians and the Sunnis (L. Lockhart, The fall of the Safavid dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia, Cambridge 1958, chs. 3-4, 6).

During the last four years of his state position under Sultan Husayn, Ma'djilisi was practically the actual ruler of Iran. With his vast power and influence in the country, he undertook so strict a religious policy against the Sunnis that, in some authors' opinion, it expedited the Afghan invasion of Iran in 1135/1722 (cf. inter alia Hamid Algar, Shi'ism and Iran in the eighteenth century, in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), Studies in eighteenth century Islamic history, London and Amsterdam 1977, 288-502, 400-3). It is interesting to note that Ma'djilisi wrote his famous 'Ayn al-baydt when the execution of his anti-Sunni policy was about to reach its culmination. In this book, written one year before Ma'djilisi's death (1109/1697), he clearly declared the first three Sunni caliphs, i.e., Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman, to be hypocrites and unbelievers who deserved God's curse (Tehran 1968, 154-278, 519, and passim).

There is no doubt that the culture and tradition of Twelver Shi'ism enjoyed an unprecedented blossoescence through Ma'djilisi's efforts, and the influence of his teachings and practices on later generations—common believers as well as clerical circles and leaders—is undeniable. One of Ma'djilisi's fundamental teachings is that the Shi'a should have full respect for the rulers, the emperors and transgressors who were that anyone "who despises the kings" will suffer exceedingly severe punishment; he says that "one who does not obey the kings, has not in fact obeyed God". He also reminds his audience that "the hearts of the kings and those of all mankind are in the hands of God; one must have regard for all tyrannical kings and other oppressors, and it is even compulsory to exercise dissimulation before them, to prevent oneself from their harms, and not to expose oneself to their wrath" ('Ayn al-baydt, 560-7).

Among the distinguished clerical leaders who, following Ma'djilisi's teachings, had regard for the tyrannical kings by not opposing their oppressive rule and never despising them was Shaykh Murta'da Ansari (d. 1281/1864) [q.v. in Suppl.], whose aloofness from state affairs seems to have been taken as a sign of his asceticism (Hasan Khan Shaykh Dinari Ansari, Tarikh-i Isfahan va Ray va hansa-yi isla, Tehran 1943). One may also mention Shaykh Muhammad Talu Isfa'ali, known as A'la Ma'djilisi (d. 1332/1913) [q.v. in Suppl.] as a good example of those Shi'i religious leaders who followed Ma'djilisi's pattern of strict religious policy by putting heavy
pressures upon religious minorities in Iran (cf. inter alia Abd al-Hadi Haji, art. Aqā Naftā, to appear in Encyclopedia Iranica). It is not, therefore, unexpected to see that the latter cleric made strenuous efforts to propagate in favour of Majdīlī's ideas by translating into Persian, summarising and publishing several volumes of Majdīlī’s books (Khanbābā Mūsār, Mu’alla‘īn-i kutub-i tāpī-yi farsi va al-saddat, i, Tehran 1961, nos. 198-203).

Majdīlī’s thoughts, teachings, and practices, however, perhaps also influenced, have not been secure from the criticism made by a number of Shi‘i religious thinkers since Majdīlī’s time. Mr. Lawī [9], for instance, accuses him of the distortion of the sense of some hadīths, and suggests its reason to have been either ignorance or worldly interests (Muhammad Mir Lawī, Kifayat al-nuṣūḥ fī ma‘rūfīs al-Mahdī, ms., no. 172, Faculty of Theology, Mashhad, 212). ‘Abd al-Hāy, another contemporary of Majdīlī, criticised him particularly over the Friday Prayer which Majdīlī and his father had revived (Muhammad Bākī Kāsānī, Ramādān al-nuṣūḥ fī khāṣṣat al-Safa‘fī wa ‘l-sudūd, Tehran 1947, 111) and which ‘Abd al-Hāy, indeed, believed that in the absence of the Twelfth Imam should not be performed. He also criticised Majdīlī because "he authorised every imbecile and wicked person to transmit hadīth on Majdīlī’s authority" (‘Abd al-Hāy Raḍawī Ḵānjī, Ḵānīqāt al-Safawī, Arabic ms., Majdīlī Library, no. 3770, p. 110). A Persian Sufi of the Kājam period believed that Majdīlī was inconsistent in his ideas (Muhammad Ṣadīq Ḵān Ṣafarī, Šīrāzī Ma‘ṣūm ‘All ‘Alī, Tehran 1960, 279 ff.). In reference to some of the hadīths, quoted from ‘Abd al-Hāy, which indicate the Shi‘ī Imams’ humiliation at the hands of contemporary caliphs, a Persian author of our time writes that if any person trusting Majdīlī happened to read Majdīlī’s thoughts, teachings, and practices, all of which are led by the clerical leaders. The ‘ulamā‘ active participation in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11/1324-9 (Abd al-Hadi Haji, Šī‘īm and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics, Leiden 1977) and their unquestionable leadership in the Islamic Revolution of 1979 (Hamid Rōhkī, Bārsī va tabī‘ī al-nakhš va al-māhāl-i Imām Khvānīyāt dar Īrān, Kūn 1979) were certainly in sharp contradiction with Majdīlī’s teachings. Although the ‘ulamā‘ rose against the political establishments in these revolutions, they seem in reality, one may say, to have revolted against the legitimacy of many of the legacies of Majdīlī.

Bibliography: No comprehensive and critical study of Majdīlī’s life and work seems to have been yet undertaken. The most informative available biography of Majdīlī is al-Fayj, written in 1302/1884 and mainly based on Ahmad b. Muhammad ‘All Bihbahānī’s work still in manuscript entitled Mīrūt al-nuṣūḥ fī ḥadāths nam, Persian ms., Majdīlī Library, no. 5554; this valuable, original book, written between 1250/1796 and 1255/1810, is skillfully outlined in Abd al-Ḥasan Haen, Ṣafawī-i khitābāh-yi majdīlī-i šī‘ī, Tehran 1966, 19. Majdīlī’s own books may well be rated as the best sources of information concerning his thought as well as his links with the Safawī monarchs. Over 50 Persian books are ascribed to Majdīlī, and 13 Arabic books are also listed under his name, all in al-Fayj, 6-9. Majdīlī’s major work is the Bihār, which was first published in twenty-five large volumes in Tehran in 1305-13/1887-97, and a new edition of it has recently appeared in 110 volumes (Tehran 1956-72). This edition, however readable, finely printed, and handy in size, is not only devoid of any notably valuable editorial work, but since no pagination of the old edition is given in the new edition, the researcher has to face certain difficulties in collating the references to and quotations from the old edition with the new one. An extremely useful alphabetically-arranged guide to the Bihār is ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Mīrūt’s Safawī al-bihār wa-madānīat al-khān wa ‘l-biḥār, i-i, 1943, but its abbreviation systems apply only to the old edition. Some of Majdīlī’s books have been translated into other Islamic languages, many of his books have also been published, but only forty-five of them are listed in Mu‘alīfīn, i, nos. 23-42.


(Abdul-Hadi Haji)
Diebal 'Amil (southern Lebanon) because, according to his son Muhammad Bākīr Madjlīṣī [2, 5], Darveš Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-'Āmilī, a great mujtahid of Ẓahrābād (Ḵᵛārezm) and was his maternal grandfather (Muḥammad b. 'All Ardabīlī, Dījāmī al-rūwāt, ii, Tehran n.d., 553); the latter was also called Naṭanżūr from his stay in Naṭanżūr, north of Isfahān, for a certain period of time (Muḥsin al-Anān al-Husnaylī al-'Āmilī, Aṣ'ān al-Sīaṣa, xxx, Damascus 1949, 371-3). Muḥammad Bākīr Khvānsārī [5, e.] has held that Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl's place of origin also on his father's side was Diebal 'Amil because ʿAbdíy b. Abl Ṭālil, a mujtahíd from the same region, was his paternal cousin. This view, however, logical and acceptable, seems difficult to combine with the fact that Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl's son and great grandson claimed descent from Abū Nūrāyīn Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Isfahān (d. 430/1038) (Rawdāt al-dīnānī fī ahādīth al-nuṣūra, i-v, i, 1065, 3-130; see also Nāma-yi dāngīvāsan-i nāṣer dar gbâl-i hāl-i shāhīndān ixtan dar dawâmskañog-i nāmī, vii, Kūn n.d., 1-21). At any rate, he himself was born in Ardastān, north-east of Isfahān, and brought up and lived in Isfahān (Walsh, Kuft, and others had compiled) in that honourable [Imam]" (Abbas Kummī, Diwān-i naftān, ii, 363). Muḥammad Taṣī Madjlīṣī, Lawdmt-i sāḥabīn-i jihāndi, i, Tehran 1213, 363).

Having been born into such clerically distinguished family, he began his religious education very early in life. He himself writes that at the age of four he knew about God, prayers, paradise and hell, and used to preach to children according to the verses of the Kūrān and passages of the hadīth which his father had taught him (Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl, Lawdmt-i, new edition, Tehran n.d., i, 903). He studied with remarkable steadiness under a number of teachers, including Bāhā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī and 'Abd Allāh b. Husayn Ṣaḥḥāfī. He writes, at the age of sixty: "I spent over fifty years of my life in doing research on the traditions of the Prophet [Muḥammad] and on those of the infallible Imāms ... First of all, I read the ordinary books written on theology (kalām), fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), and jurisprudence (fīqh); secondly, I studied whatever [works] our Twelver imām and others had compiled" (Muḥammad 'All Kakhānī, Nudjūm al-sāmāt fī tarājdīm al-tulāmā, Kūn 1974, 65). Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl seems to have begun to be exceptionally prolific towards the end of that fifty-year period, because he wrote his voluminous work Rawdāt al-muladāt in approximately two years, i.e. from ca. 1065/1653 to 1066/1654 (Nudjūm, 3; cf. also Muḥammad Taṣī Madjlīṣī, Rawdāt al-muladāt, i, 120, 125, 128, 130, 136, 139, 141, 144, 147, 150, 154, 157, 160, 163, 166, 169, 172, 175, 178, 181, 184, 187, 190, 193, 196, 199, 202, 205, 208, 211, 214, 217, 220, 223, 226, 229, 232, 235, 238, 241, 244, 247, 250, 253, 256, 259, 262, 265, 268, 271, 274, 277, 280, 283, 286, 289, 292, 295, 298, 301, 304, 307, 310, 313, 316, 319, 322, 325, 328, 331, 334, 337, 340, 343, 346, 349, 352, 355, 358, 361, 364, 367, 370, 373, 376, 379, 382, 385, 388, 391, 394, 397, 400, 403, 406, 409, 412, 415, 418, 421, 424, 427, 430, 433, 436, 439, 442, 445, 448, 451, 454, 457, 460, 463, 466, 469, 472, 475, 478, 481, 484, 487, 490, 493, 496, 499, 502, 505, 508, 511, 514, 517, 520, 523, 526, 529, 532, 535, 538, 541, 544, 547, 550, 553, 556, 559, 562, 565, 568, 571, 574, 577, 580, 583, 586, 589, 592, 595, 598, 601, 604, 607, 610, 613, 616, 619, 622, 625, 628, 631, 634, 637, 640, 643, 646, 649, 652, 655, 658, 661, 664, 667, 670, 673, 676, 679, 682, 685, 688, 691, 694, 697, 700). Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl has been described by many of his biographers as a Sōfī, and a number of his books also attest this fact (cf. i, 3-6). However, his famous son, Muḥammad Bākīr, and many other authors who considered Sūfism as heresy, have attempted to exonerate him from any truly mystical ideas or practices, and some of them have questioned the authenticity of Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl's authorship of those mystical books which have been ascribed to him (Nudjūm, 59-61). Muḥammad Bākīr writes that his father had close associations with the Sūfis during the early part of his life and that he tactically pretended to be a Sūfī in order to lead them to the right path. Towards the end of his life, however, he found his efforts to have been useless and henceforth he openly turned against the Sūfis and even declared them unbelievers (Muḥammad Bākīr Nudjūm, 64). Muhammad Bākīr's statement, however important and thought-provoking, may well be questioned by the fact that his father's Lawdmt-i, written as late as 1065-6/1654-5, that is to say four years before his death, contains many favourable references to Sūfism (cf. i, 2-3, 38, 44, and passim in the new edition of vol. i; for an interesting discussion on this particular subject, consult Muḥammad Maḥṣūr Shāykh Maḥṣūr Allāh, Tahān, 1306/1987). Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl's deep ties to Sūfism were also demonstrated by the spiritual stages he was known to have achieved and by his ascription, which became proverbial. He, despite his close friendship with a tyrannical ruler such as Shah 'Abbas II, claims to have established certain relations with the Shī'ī Imāms and the Prophet Muḥammad, who gave his sanction to the path Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl was pursuing (Lawdmt-i, new edition, i, 1-2). With regard to his attitude towards Allāh b. Ṭalīb, Madjlīṣī-yi Āwāl points out that while paying a visit to the shrine of Allāh b. Ṭalīb in Najaf and "becoming occupied with an earnest spiritual striving (madākhādat), many things which weak intellects cannot bear were unveiled to me (wâdākāt) through the blessing of that honourable [Imam]" (Abbas Kummī, Encyclopaedia of Islam, V
of Turkish domination, and represented the

rediscovery of a common cultural heritage and a common language of discourse. In the nahda, there was a clear parallel between linguistic and political aspirations, which were directed first against the Turks and later against the British and French. Moreover, an opposition turned towards modern science and instruments of knowledge and their assimilation in Arab society. These aspirations, together with the religious aspects, gave to all discussions on science and language a particular acuteness.

Several private madjimā’i of language and scholarship arose as a consequence, though their existence was short-lived. In Beirut, al-madjamā’ al-mahāl al-sharqī was established in 1899 in co-operation of Fāris Nimr (1856–1956). In Egypt, the Institut d’Égypte founded by Napoleon in Alexandria in 1797 and transferred to Cairo in 1839 stood as the model for different madjimā’i in Cairo. Thus a madjamā’ existed there in 1892–3 due to the initiative of Shāykh al-Sayyid Tawfik al-Bikrī (1875–1933). An equally short existence was enjoyed by a Ḥijrīyya tarbiyya al-‘arabīyya founded by ldrīshī al-Ya‘ṣīrī (1847–1910), Īsādi Sayyid (1862–1914) and Shāykh Muḥammad Rāṣūl Rādī (1865–1939). Former students of the Dar al-Ulūm, like Hūfī Na‘īf (1859–1919) and Ṭāhir Barākāt Bey, founded the Ndūr Dār al-Ulūm in 1907 with the explicit purpose of “Arabising” foreign words. This circle disappeared, as well as a similar madjamā’ which was founded by Fathi Zaghlul (1863–1944) around the same time. The same fate overcame the Lāḏiyya al-mustasharkat al-‘ārabiyya founded by Ahmad Hījīmat Pasha when he was Minister of Education, and of which Ahmad Zāki Pasha (1860–1934) was a prominent member. A madjamā’ founded by Ṭutlī al-Sayyid (1872–1926) [42] in 1917 and transferred to Cairo in 1926 by Shāykh Sayf al-Biγālī (1892–1917) and then by Shāykh Abī l-Fadl al-Dīnāwī (1847–1927) existed from 1917 until 1925 with 28 members, among whom were a Persian, a Syrian Christian and a Jew. From 1921 to 1923 there existed a madjamā’ in Cairo which was presided over by Idrīs Rāghib Bēk. Māṣūr Fānlī (1889–1939) and Tāhā Husayn (1889–1976) were counted among its members. It had as its explicit purpose the composition of a modern Arabic dictionary, but this attempt was abandoned in 1925 because of the lack of official support.

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subsequently been amended. Administratively, the Academy depends on the Ministry of Education, but it has financial autonomy. In 1960 a fusion took place with the Academy of Arabic Language in Cairo.

Besides the active members (tamaddun), whose number is fixed at present at fifteen, there are corresponding members (surusum) without a fixed number. All members and the president are elected and then appointed by the head of State. Well-known presidents were Muhammad Kurd All (1870-1953), Abd al-Kadhir al-Maghribi (1876-1956) and Mustafa al-Shirafi (1873-1968). The president, vice-chairman and permanent secretary have the direction of the Academy. The Academy has published the journal Madjalat al-tnada al-Hall al-arabiyya (al-which has as its coherences; article One of the constitution of 1928 describes the task of the Academy (Madjalla, xii [193-2], 765) as being to guard and perfect the Arabic language, and to research into the history of Syria and the Arabic language. The fuṣūl and its principles are to be a starting point and norm, since that is the noble language (lisba sharifa) of the Kur'an and of classical literature, and Arabic is the common patrimony of all Arabs. The aims of the Academy are more specifically:

i. To preserve the language (al-muhāfaza 'ala kalimah al-lugah), in particular from the dialectal language, foreign orthography, archaisms and incoherences;

ii. To protect the purity of the language (al-muhāfaza 'ala fasaha al-lugah) against foreign (dakhil) terms and style figures (a'yān); and

iii. To adapt the language to modern needs.

Bearing these aims in mind, the Academy can be of assistance to authors and translators as far as their use of language is concerned. Unlike the Academy in Cairo, the Academy in Damascus does not consider its decisions with regard to new general scholarly terms to be definite: they are preferences (tardījih) or propositions (tiwārif) which are submitted to others. The articles in the Madjalla are published under the responsibility of their authors, not of the Academy.

Most of the work of the Academy is done in committees (la'īf), of which three have been in existence since the beginning: the administrative committee, the linguistic and literary committee (lādiyin iqūh wa-'adabiyya), and the scientific and technical committee (lādiyin 'ilmīyya fa'mīyiyya) which has as its task the spreading of science and the arts in Syria. Later, more specialised committees were added: for general principles (al-salik al-'ilmī), for the dictionary (al-muṣāf), for the journal (al-madjalla), for the neologisms (wawī 'aṣrī', arabiyya ḫadidā), and for the dialects (al-lahāf). The committees work in closed sessions (jīlaṣ 'alá bāya), either according to a plan which is fixed at the annual meeting of the Academy, or in response to a particular problem. As an example of the latter, one could mention the project to enquire about words which are not found in the great Arabic dictionaries (al-balāmad gharb 'al-limāṣīyya). Representatives of particular professions and groups can be consulted by the committees. Once a year, there is an annual general meeting, with both closed (jīlaṣ 'alā ḫadidā) and plenary (jīlaṣ 'alā bāyā) sessions where all members meet together with notable figures (al-a'yān) and men of letters (al-udābi). In 1960 the name of the Madjalla became Madjalat al-maraj al-arabiyya-Madjalat al-adimā al-arabī sīlābīn.

As to the work which has already been done, Rachad Hamzaoui characterises the attitude of the Academy as trying to maintain the status quo, while introducing reforms where needed. Subjects which have been treated are the principles of orthography; (simplification of) grammar; and the diminishing of dialectal Arabic. Important work has been performed on modernising the Arabic vocabulary by means of istinbūl (resurgence of pure ancient Arabic words), sīltiḥ (derivation by means of ḥiyā and analogy conforming to given waṣāa and schemes), nāzī (composition of words) and ḥirī (borrowing from foreign languages), in this order of precedence. No definite solutions have been offered for the problems of orthography, grammar and dialectal Arabic. The fact that the Academy was tasked with a norm could not but restrict in advance the possibilities and means of the modernisation of language as it was striving after.

(b) Egypt. On the initiative of King Fu'ad I and the Senate (Madjīs al-shu'ūrī), the Minister of Education in 1928 requested that three reports be submitted by Latif al-Sayyid, Ahmad Ḥafis al-ʿAwāḍ and Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Bishrī concerning the creation of an official Academy, and this led to its foundation in 1932. This was accelerated by a previous suggestion made by King Fayṣal I of 'Irāq (1933-1933)—who had already established the Academy of Damascus in 1919—presented by Nūr al-Saʿīd to the Islamic Congress held in Jerusalem in December 1931, to establish an Islamic University in Jerusalem as well as an Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo. The Madjīma al-ḥiṣn al-ʿarabīyya al-malāki was then founded independently by a royal Decree of 7 January 1932, presenting Independently by a royal Decree of 7 January 1932, when Muhammad ʿĪsā Pāša was Minister of Education in the cabinet of Ṣīrāfī Sīrāfī Pāša, which had been in power since the promulgation of the Constitution of 22 October 1932. The text of the constitution of the madjīma was first prepared by the Chairmen of the Scientific Committee and was modelled on the Académie Française, dating from 1660. Its specific tasks included guarding the integrity of the Arabic language and adapting it to the needs of present-day life. In order to achieve these aims, the Academy was to compose dictionaries and word lists, compile a historical dictionary of the Arabic language, carry out studies on Arabic semantics and study modern Arabic dialects in Egypt and other Arab countries. The Academy was also to treat all those subjects which the Minister of Education submitted to it with the aim of developing the Arabic language. There would be twenty active members on an international basis. The first active members would be nominated directly by the King. Subsequently new members would be elected and then nominated by royal decree, or by decree of the head of state. In addition to the active members, there would be corresponding members. The president of the Academy was to be selected by the Minister of Education from a list of three names chosen by a majority of the members, and then nominated by decree of the head of state.
A royal decree of 36 Dhimādād 11/6 October 1933 appointed the first twenty members: ten Egyptians, among them three Azharites, one Christian and one Jewish scholar, five European orientalists and five scholars from other Arab countries. Some opposition came from religious and conservative circles, and in particular, the presence of five orientalists on the list gave rise to fervent discussions. In the press, protests were made against both the methods and the results of the work of the mustagrīṣīn with regard to the Arab-Muslim world; they were also thought to be collaborating with Christian missionaries against whose activities in Egypt a press campaign was carried out. As a result, A. J. Wensinck (1882-1939) was replaced as a member by E. Littmann (1875-1938). Authors like Muhammad Parid Wajjel (Nūr al-ṣīrām, IV (1352 A.H.), 399-402) attacked Wensinck because of his articles on Ibrāhīm and the Ka'ba in Līmā (cf. Littmann, xiii (1931), 345-54). Besides orientalists, Egyptian scholars like Tāhā Husayn and 'All 'Abd al-Rāzīk, who had opposed traditional conceptions of language, culture and religion, were also attacked. Seen in a wider perspective, attacks on orientalists reflect a zeal for total arabisation; though their vast knowledge was recognised, they were not seen as being loyal to the cause of Arabic language and culture and Arab self-affirmation in general during the period concerned. Such attacks notwithstanding, within the Academy the European orientalists—A. Fischer (1865-1940), H. A. R. Gibb (1893-1931), E. Littmann (1875-1938), L. Massinon (1883-1962) and C. A. Nallino (1872-1938)—worked together successfully with the arabophone scholars, although from 1960 onwards non-Arabs could only be corresponding members of the Academy.

The first session of the Madīna took place on 14 Shawwād 1352/30 January 1934, after which the "house rules" were established and the chief officials were chosen. Presidents were successively Muḥammad Tawfīq Rūṣāf Pasha from 1934 until 1944, Ḥāfīz al-Sayyid from 1945 until 1963, and Tāhā Husayn as his successor until 1973. Permanent secretaries of the Academy were Maṣūr Maḥmūd al-Ṭayyib (1888-1959) from 1934 until 1959, and Ibrāhīm Maḍīr (b. 1902) from 1960 onwards. The administration is carried out by an administrative directorate (khizanat al-maṣ̱āfa al-ūlā) and by a Numerous committees were founded where needed, as well as technical committees. In their sessions, specialists in various fields can be invited as experts whenever the Academicians are not sufficiently competent. As the number of specialisations has grown, the number of committees has increased and sub-committees have been founded where needed, as well as technical committees. The committees submit annual reports to the President of the Academy; they should keep more records of their meetings (nāmadūd al-dīwān). The conclusions of the committees are provisional until they have been presented to and adopted by the general meeting of the Madīna. Members can publish their work outside the responsibility of the Academy; a special part of the Madīna is reserved for this purpose. The Minister of Education has always been very much alert as to the consequences of the decisions taken by the Madīna for schoolbooks.

Special mention should be made of the precious collection of cards (gunsīd) which have been prepared for the historical dictionary and for the dictionary of technical and scientific terms. Massinon used to lay great stress on this project and the need for a correct organisation of the cards, but it took some time before the system was introduced. August Fischer, whose project of a historical dictionary of the Arabic language was officially accepted by the Academy in 1938, made some 100,000 cards of his project, which were transported from Leipzig to Cairo, but were neglected after his death in 1949. The cards for the scientific dictionary and for the historical dictionary have been differently organised; they have been placed in rooms not accessible for the public, and apparently they have been filled out only partially. In 1946 an office of registration (nāmadūd al-taṣāfīl) was established with the task of classifying all terms accepted by the Academy.
The Academy has acted as patron for certain works and book publications, and it has given awards to certain manuscripts of quality which could be published as a consequence. The Academy has an international audience and is represented at international conferences dealing with the Arabic language. It has contributed to the organisation of the Union of Arab Academies and to that of the Arab Scientific Union.

In its efforts to adapt the Arabic language to the demands and needs of modern times, it has paid attention primarily to problems of vocabulary and, in particular, to the creation of neologisms. Studies of grammar and especially of morphology serve in part to facilitate this work and to contribute to the making of modern dictionaries. Compared with this, studies on orthography, phonetics, dialects, syntax and stylistics have been less prominent. Work has concentrated on semantics and the grammar of the _fusḥa_; the more conservative members have always tended to defend at all costs the integrity and purity of the language. Members try to avoid an accumulation of synonyms. The rule has been established to prefer whenever possible one term to two or more if a neologism has to be made, or otherwise—if it is not possible to find one Arabic term—to proceed by means of a literal translation of the foreign term. Another rule is to study anything which could simplify Arabic writing as well as the rules of syntax and morphology. In particular, the Ministry of Education stresses the need for simplification of grammar. The interest taken in dialectal studies derives from the desire to be able to know the _fusḥa_, so that a decision can be taken about the integration of the dialects of the Arab world into the standardised Arabic and to avoid the transliteration of foreign words written with geographical names. Throughout the discussions, the history of Arabic grammar, the place of the _Kūrān_ as a norm for the Arabic language, and the role of linguistic norms as such, have come up again and again. Although some attempts have been made to propose a simplification of orthography for the purpose of printing, problems of writing and orthography, like those of phonetics, have hardly been dealt with. Most important has been lexicography (al-muṣṭaḏfaʾiyyāt) and the technical procedure of composing dictionaries; this has entailed, besides the creation of neologisms, the evaluation of texts of ancient Arabic literature. Through its discussions since 1934 the _Madjmaʿ_ has established a sort of linguistic _idjmaʾ_ for Arabic, though the discussions themselves have taken place in a non-systematic way.

In the conclusion of his study about the _Madjmaʿ_ al-_lughā al-ʿarabīyya_ R. Hmamziou observes two features by which it distinguishes itself from other academies. In contrast to the Academies of Damascus and Baghdad, it concentrates completely on the Arabic language, and in its decision-making it tries to arrive at a linguistic _idjmaʾ_ of its members before giving any authoritative statement. As in the Academy of Damascus, the work of the Academy of Cairo takes its departure from the _Kūrān_ and seeks to ensure a cultural and linguistic continuity from the beginning of Arabic literature until the present day. This often leads to a purist stand, seeking to defend the _ʿarabīyya_ against encroachments by foreign languages, in particular modern Western ones. This approach to the modernisation of the Arabic language and of Arabic culture in general leads to compromise solutions and the rejection of any radical solutions which may be proposed.

Among the major publications of the _Madjmaʿ_ al-_lughā al-ʿarabīyya_ are _al-Muṣṭaḏfa al-wasītā_ (3 vols., Cairo 1960-3) and _Mujādara al-ṣūf al-Kurān_ (3 vols., Cairo 1953) as dictionaries; five volumes of _Mafṭūha al-ṣawāhid_ (1936-48), four volumes of the subsequent _al-Buḥūra _wa l-ṣawāhid (1959-62) as reports on the work being done and papers read by Academicians; the _Madjmaʿ_ al-_muṣṭaḏfa al-ṣawāhid_ wa l-_żimiyā_ wa l-ṣawāhid (8 vols., 1959 and 1968, and specialised listings of neologisms created by the Academy for particular fields; finally, the _Majallat madjmaʿ al-_lughā al-ʿarabīyya_ from 1934 onward as the regular journal of the Academy. One special volume was published of _al-Muṣṭaḏfa al-lughawā al-tāʾrīkh_ (Ibl al-ḥamza it-tābī), the project of the historical dictionary initiated by August Fischer but later abandoned (Cairo 1937/1967, 53 pp.). Two specimen volumes were published of the great _al-Muṣṭaḏfa al-lughawā al-tāʾrīkh_ meant to be an Arabic Larousse Encyclopédique: _Harf al-ḥamza—al-ḥādī_ (Cairo 1956, 519 pp.), and _Naskh al-ḥamza_ (Cairo 1957, 155 pp. in typescript). Several studies on the Cairo Academy have been published, as is shown in the Bibliography below.

(c) _Irlak_. The history of the _Madjmaʿ_ al-_lilm_ al- _Irlak_ goes back to 1945 when a _lilm_ al-tāʾrīkh wa l-ṣawāhid was established in the Ministry of Education in order to expand the sphere of scientific activities in _Irlak_ and to keep up with such activities in the more developed countries. Due to the initiative of Muhammad Rūḥ al-Shābībī and his collaborators, amongst them Fāḍil al-Djamālī, _al-Madjmaʿ al-_lilm_ al- _Irlak_ was founded by the government in 1947 and organised by the Ministry of Education, the Arab Scientific Union, and the IAAC. The project of the historical dictionary initiated in 1934 as the regular journal of the Academy (no. 62, 26 November 1947): _Madjallat_ 5, (1960), 10:

(i) to maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and seek to adapt it to the demands of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life;

(ii) to undertake research and writing in the fields of Arabic literature, the history of the Arabs, the history of the peoples of _Irlak_, their languages, sciences, and civilisation;

(iii) to study the part played by the peoples of Islam in the propagation of Arabic culture;

(iv) to maintain in safe-keeping rare Arabic manuscripts and documents, and revive them by publishing them according to the latest scientific methods; and

(v) to undertake research in the modern arts and sciences, encourage original writing and translation in these fields, and promote the spirit of scientific enquiry in the country.

The _Madjmaʿ_ clearly wanted to provide an impetus to the scientific _nāḥa_ in _Irlak_, as had been the purpose of the _Madjmaʿ_ in Damascus, founded after World War I, for the scientific _nāḥa_ in _Syria_. On 25 June 1949 (no. 40), ten Articles were promulgated as an Amendment to the Regulations. The first meeting of the _Madjmaʿ_ was held on 21 January 1948 and up to 30 June 1956, 66 sessions were held as well as 130 committee sessions. At the meeting of the _Madjmaʿ_ of 3 November 1956, there were ten active members, all _Irlaki_; at the beginning of 1949, the _Madjmaʿ_ was considered to be a government body, and since by law the accumulation of ministerial or parliamentary functions with any other state positions was forbidden, several members had to leave the Academy; later that year Fāḍil al-Djamālī and Mattīaʿ _Aṣīr_ left _Irlak_ on official duty and had to be replaced by...
others, though they remained honorary members of the Academy. At this stage also, 28 corresponding members were elected, both among 'Irākī and among Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese scholars; four western orientalists also became corresponding members, A. Guillaume, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Marçais and L. Massignon.

The activities of the Academy in Baghdad consisted from the beginning both of purely internal activities and of activities directed towards the outside world; giving public lectures, bringing about publications, allocating funds in order to support the publication of books and awarding prizes for essays on particular subjects fixed by the Academy. Since 1950 it has publised the Madhja il-madżama il-timī il-'irākī on a yearly basis, to which Academicians and other scholars have contributed on a number of scholarly subjects. The public lectures organised by the Academy may be published in its Madjalla or separately. Each issue also contains a number of book reviews. In 1950 the Academy was able to acquire a printing-press. In its internal sessions, the Academy has established a number of new scientific and technical terms which are published in part in the Madjalla and in part on separate lists sent to various Ministries at their request. It should be noted that 'Irāk during the early years did not yet possess a university, the University of Baghdad being established only in 1958. Well-known Presidents of the Academy have been Muni al-‘irādk as from 1949 onwards, Muhammad Rida al-Shaibī from 1958 onwards, and Abd al-Razāk Muḥy al-Dīn since the later sixties, Yūsuf ‘Irīz al-Dīn being its permanent secretary since that time. The Law no. 49 of 1963 introduced certain changes in the Regulations of the Academy.

The Academy has continued to hold its regular sessions and committee meetings and also to give financial assistance to the publishing of books and to acquire books for its library as well as microfilms of manuscripts. In 1970 the library counted some 25,000 books, more than the bibliographies and more than 400 manuscripts on microfilm. It had developed a card-index system, assigned prizes to winners of poetry festivals and participated in inter-Arab conferences on cultural subjects. The Academy also gave its opinion on cultural treaties which 'Irāk was concluding with other countries. The Academy was liberal in giving its publications to numerous official institutions and personalities in the country and abroad; it gave assistance to students and scholars, photographed manuscripts from public and private libraries. Members participated in Committees for the Protection of Monuments, for a Translation Programme, etc. At present the Academy has active members (not exceeding fifteen 'Irākī scholars), associate members, honorary members and corresponding members, the last two categories including both 'Irākī and other nationalities.

(d) Morocco. Although not a madżama in the formal sense of the word, a similar institution in Rabat may be mentioned. After the first International Congress on Arabisation held in Rabat in 1961, a Bureau Permanent de l’Arabisation was established in Rabat and recognised by the League of Arab States in 1968. Subsequently, this became the Bureau de Coordonnation de l’Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes à Rabat, which was integrated in the ALESCO (Arab League, on the pattern of a regional UNESCO) in 1977, its definitive regulations being established in 1973. Since 1964 this Bureau has published al-‘Irāk al-‘arabī, with lists of neologisms and further articles of linguistic interest; it also publishes specialised listings of terms in particular fields with the Arabic, French and English equivalents. The members of the Bureau participate in meetings of the Academies in Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad. In its work on the modernisation of the Arabic language, the Bureau de Coordonnation de l’Arabisation de la Ligue des États Arabes follows less conservative lines than the established Academies and appears to work more efficiently. Finally it should be noted that by a shahir (dahir) of 24 Shawwal 1302, October 1977, the king of Morocco created a royal academy (al-Sabil ‘al-madżama‘), which consists of 60 members, 30 of which have the Moroccan nationality while 30 are foreign correspondents. The statutes of the academy have been published in al-Bābī il-timī, xxviii (1398/1978), 135-44.

A Union of Arab Academies was founded in Cairo on 30 March 1957, by Decree no. 2349.


(ii) Iran

The establishment of the first Iranian language academy (Farhangistān-e ta‘līmān-i ‘Irān) resulted from developments representing two separate but related types of concerns, both stemming from the advent of modernisation in the early 19th century, and resulting in the double nature of the activities of the two academies. These two sets of developments were: (a) the desire for purifying Persian from the foreign (mostly
Arabic) words, and (b) the need for new words created by the introduction of new concepts (technical and general). The history of the language academies and related events can be divided into five periods:

1. Historical background (up to 1921).
2. The immediate setting (1921-1935).
3. The first Farhangistān (1935-41).
4. Between the two Farhangistāns (1941-70).
5. The second Farhangistān (1970-).

(1) Historical background (up to 1921). Attempts to write in a Persian devoid of Arabic words go as far back as at least the 4th/10th century. In recent times, the opposition to foreign words was triggered far back as at least the 4th/10th century. In recent decades, it has come to be used also in the sense of "culture", and in the 1930s it replaced the Arabic Ma'dārif in the name of the "Ministry of Education".

(2) The immediate setting (1921-35). Rīdā Shāh Pahlawī took over the government in 1921, and became king in 1925. Because of the encouragement of nationalism by the new regime, and the emphasis on the glory of ancient Iran, the debate on the foreign elements in Persian acquired greater prominence. Opposition to loanwords grew and became more serious as their numbers increased. The debate spread to newspapers and journals. The government, and several of its agencies, also became involved, issuing public orders as well as internal memoranda, forbidding the use of European words and names, and even ordering that Persian writings on store signs should be made more prominent than anything in foreign scripts. Foreign words were considered "worse than a foreign army", their use a "literary disaster". The subject came up in parliamentary debates, and Rīdā Shāh himself took a direct personal interest.

(3) The first Farhangistān (1935-41). By 1934, the efforts to purify Persian of its foreign element had acquired the proportions of a movement. Starting mostly in some periodicals, it soon spread to the various government offices, and to a major department of the Ma'dżma 'ilmī. A widespread hunt was on for "pure" Persian words to replace many common Arabic words. The words were found in dictionaries as well as other sources, including the Shāh-udna. Articles written in Farsī-yi sara were accompanied by glossaries, without which readers would have been at a loss, but nevertheless correspondence in this style was often unintelligible. Difficulties often arose in intra-governmental communication, since each person felt free to use "pure" Persian words which he had found, and there was little or no common ground among the many enthusiasts.

Rīdā Shāh Pahlawī visited Turkey in 1934, where a movement for purifying Turkish from Arabic and Persian words was afoot, supported by the government of Kemal Atatürk, on whose order the Turkish Linguistic Society had been founded on 12 July 1932 (see section 3. below). Upon Rīdā Shāh's return to Iran, approached by a number of purification supporters, he ordered a committee to be selected in the Ministry of War to adopt Persian equivalents for military terms. The Army Staff had already adopted native Persian equivalents for a large number of military terms, which had been reported to the king and put in use. These included the words afsar "officer" and artistāk "army", both now established terms (and both objectionable from the etymological point of view).

The Ministry of Education, which was opposed to the movement, tried to subvert the new committee. Within a few hours after the committee's first meeting, Prime Minister Muḥammad 'All Forūghī, an experienced politician and a respected scholar, and unsympathetic to the cause of purification, recruited for the task by the equally unsympathetic Ministry of Education, suggested to the king that
a group of scholars be commissioned to study the matter, and to prepare the way for the establishment of an academy [Farhangistdn].

The idea of establishing a language academy was not entirely new. In 1903, the government decided to establish a Madjlis-i Akhâden, which, however, did not last long. One of its coinages was râh-i bâh "railway", a translation of French chemin de fer, now a well-established part of Persian vocabulary. The idea continued to come up from time to time, until Furüghî was permitted by the Shah to found an academy. Furüghî charged 'Âsa Sâdîk with preparing a plan for an academy. He drafted a constitution, based in part on that of the Académie Française. The idea of establishing a language academy was not entirely new. In 1903, the government decided to establish a Madjlis-i Akhâden, which, however, did not last long. One of its coinages was râh-i bâh "railway", a translation of French chemin de fer, now a well-established part of Persian vocabulary. The idea continued to come up from time to time, until Furüghî was permitted by the Shah to found an academy. Furüghî charged 'Âsa Sâdîk with preparing a plan for an academy. He drafted a constitution, based in part on that of the Académie Française. After some changes, it was approved by the Council of Ministries on 19 May 1935, and sent to the Ministry of Education on 26 May 1935 for action.

Article II of the constitution specifies the responsibilities of the Farhangistdn in twelve items. Items 1, 2, 4-7, deal with collecting, adopting, and coinings. Items 8-12 concern literary literature. Item 12 calls for "inquiry into the reform of the Persian script". References to purification of Persian are mild, and almost casual: Item 2 states that the words to be chosen "in all domains of life" should be Persian "as much as possible". Item 3 states the responsibilities of the Farhangistdn as "pruning (breshîtan) from the Persian language inappropriate foreign words".

The Farhangistdn held its first meeting on 2 June 1933, and a few days later the extraordinary plenary members present included Muhammad Ta'îlî Bahâr [q.v.], 'All Akbar Dîhkhûdâ [q.v. in Suppl.], Abu 'l-'Uzân Furüghî, Bâdî' al-Zanânî (Furünîfûrû), Husayn Gulgâlî, 'All Asghar Hikmat, Majmûd Hisîbî, Sa'da Naâfî, 'Abâd al-'Azmî Kârîb, Chulâm Rîdâ Râshîd-Yâmînî, 'Âsa Sâdîk, Sâdîk Râshîdâda Shâfâk, Husayn Samîlî, Hasan Wûdkhî, and others. Among members added later were Ibrahim Pur'âni, 'All Akbar Shi'âstî, 'Abbâs Ikâtî Aštyâyânî, Muhammad Hâjîzâlî, Muhammad Kazîmînî, Ahmad Bahmânînî and Êzâlî al-Dîn Humâî. Among the associate (vâhânîa) members elected at various times were the Iranian novelist Sayyîd Muhammad 'Ali 'Abâdî Darbârî, and a number of foreign linguists, including: Professors A. Christensen (Denmark), Henri Massâd (France), Jan Ryppka (Czechoslovakia) and Muhammad Hasan Hayûtî [Egypt].

The Farhangistdn adopted its internal by-laws on 4 August 1935, and later slightly modified them. Other by-laws were adopted later. The internal by-laws called for the establishment of seven committees. Although the designations of these committees, and the description of the tasks of the Farhangistdn found in its constitution, set down a wide variety of tasks for it, in practice it spent all of its time and energy in adopting Persian words to replace foreign words.

According to its constitution, the officers of the Farhangistdn consisted of a president, to be appointed by the king, and two vice-presidents and two secretaries elected for two years by a majority of the ordinary members. The first president was Premier Fûrûghî. He resigned as premier a few months later and after that did not attend its meetings. In March-April 1936, Hasan Wûdîkhî succeeded him.

Rîdâ Sâhî was dissatisfied with the speed with which the Farhangistdn was progressing, and ordered it to be reorganised. This reorganisation took place on 28 April 1938. Several new members were added; and three members, including Wûdîkhî and Dîhkhûdâ, were removed. The presidency of the Farhangistdn was henceforth to be given to the Minister of Educa-

tion. The president under the new system was 'All Asghar Hikmat. He was succeeded by 'Îsmâîl Mirî three months later. Mirî's presidency lasted until September 1941. The committees structure also was changed. Of a total of eight committees, five were charged with coined terms. The work of the Farhangistdn was now practically restricted, both officially and in fact, to the coinage of terms.

Not everyone was in sympathy with the aims and the activities of the Farhangistdn. Indeed, its founder, Fûrûghî, himself apparently became involved in it more to keep those whom he considered extremists from controlling it than to help the purification movement. In fact, in a public lecture he gave a few months after the Farhangistdn began work, he tried to correct what he considered mistaken ideas about the organisation's work; e.g. the idea that it was a "word-manufacturing plant", and that its raison d'être was "purging Persian of Arabic words completely". In March-April 1937, the Farhangistdn published an expanded version of this lecture under the title Pipâm ba-Farhangistdn ["Message to the Farhangistdn"]. Throughout this message, he stressed the importance of Arabic for Persian, and preached moderation in the attempts to purify Persian, and patience in introducing new Persian words and reviving old ones.

The first Farhangistdn was active for little more than six years (though it continued to exist on paper until 1951). It consisted of ordinary members. The first president was Premier Mirî; he was succeeded by Hasân Wûhkî in November 1935. During this time, it invented, revived and adopted over 2,400 words. These words were widely circulated in the press and in book form. The largest number of the words were technical terms in banking, medicine, zoology, arithmetic, geology, physics, botany, geometry, and government. In addition, it adopted Persian equivalents for some 200 Arabic expressions used in Persian; e.g. nawsât for dâjdâl al-îbâdî newlly built. It also changed some place names, mostly from Arabic to Turkish or Persian; e.g. Muhammadara was changed to Khuurâmâghâr, Anzât to Pahlawi. In their forms, the words adopted by the Farhangistdn fell into several categories: (a) old words revived, e.g. dâjdâl "advertising"; (b) compounds, e.g. na'îyân-nâmâ (from na'îyân "end" + nâmâ "letter") "thesis, dissertation (for a college or university degree)"; (c) words made with suffixes, e.g. dâjdâl (from dâjdâl "justice" + -gîh, a suffix of place) "court"; (d) dâjdâl (from dâjdâl, a prefix comparable to the English prefix re- + dâjdâl, past stem of the verb "to have") "detention. A few of the Farhangistdn words were European loanwords; e.g. min "mine" from French mine. Most of them, however, were made up of native Persian elements, and can be classified in several categories: (a) old words revived, e.g. dâjdâl "physician"; (b) old words given new or specialised meanings, e.g. dâjdâl (originally "judge") "arbitrator", ars ("value") "[foreign] exchange"; (c) assignment of different meanings to members of a doublet (or triplet, etc.), i.e. the different phonological forms of what was historically a single word, e.g. dâjdâl "secret police: aghât商业模式; (d) differentiation of meaning among a set of synonyms or near-synonyms, as in the geological terms dawr "epoch"; dawwara "period"; dawrân "era"; râgâr "age"; (e) in a few instances (mostly in place names), a slight change in the form of an existing word making it more Persian in appearance, e.g. from zarânina to zarânîn "quarantine", from avâsîz (orig. Arabic "pilgrimage") to ziârâ (an obsolete Persian masculine name); (f) in a few cases, Persianising the spelling of a word, mostly in place names,
The inactivity and later disappearance of the Farhangistdн did not for long weaken the movement for purification. After Rидд Shад, the debate on purification was revived, with the opponents once again becoming active and vociferous. They included Аbbас Rббй Абшйрадн and Валйд Дасдйрн, whose journals, Yдйдар and Aрашадн respectively, published attacks on the Farhangistdн. The major spokesman for the opposition was Sayyid Hasan Takйзда (г.r.). The chief advocate of language reform—not the same as purification—was Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawй (г.r.), who, however, disagreed with the majority of the proponents of purification. Both of these men became active in this area during Rидд Shад's reign. They exerted their greatest influence after his abdication, however, and for this reason it is appropriate and convenient to discuss them at this point. Sayyid Hasan Takйзда was a well-known, widely respected, influential politician, diplomat, and scholar. In 1933, he had attacked purification in an article published in the journal of the Ministry of Education. His reference to "the intervention of the sword in the work of the pen" as being "contrary to the taste and dignity of Iranians" was taken as an insult to the Shah, and the article was cut out of the issue and replaced. This paper was reprinted in 1942. On 24 February 1948, he gave a lengthy lecture entitled LUsum-i fййб-i Fйдйн-yi Fййб ("The necessity of preserving the Persian language") at the Dndйsй-yi Єлй (National Teachers' College) in Tehran. Almost three-quarters of it is given to the question of Arabic words in Persian. Among the points he made were that many Arabic words in Persian had been "naturalised"; that expulsion of Arabic loanwords was a "malicious attempt on the Persian language and Iranian nationality" and would impoverish the language; that purifying Persian would gradually cut off Iranians from the neighbouring Muslim nations; that Arabic was an extremely rich language; that words for new concepts should preferably be borrowed from "the more familiar, easier Arabic words common in Egypt and Syria". Finally, he believed that choice of new words should be left to writers, and that "legal and coercive force must not enter it".

The major proponents of purification since the discussion grew serious in the 1930s included Dйhйb Bilйrй (d. 1971); Abu 'l-Кsйm Azйd Нарйghй (d. 1948); and Ахмйd Kasrawй Tabшйrlй (1890-1946). Kasrawй was the most active of the nationalist advocates, and the most enduring. He was also the most relentless in ignoring the Farhangistdн and its instructions even in its heyday during Rидд Shад's reign.

Kasrawй was a historian, a linguist, and a jurist. In the early 1930s he also became an advocate of far-reaching social change in all areas of culture. It was in close connection with his extensive writings and lectures on Iranian society and its tiles that he pursued language reform. Kasrawй believed that, through the centuries, Persian had come to be a language fraught with problems in all its aspects, including grammar and semantics. The foreign element in it was only one of the problems in all its aspects, including grammar and semantics. The foreign element in it was only one of the problems.
else for the current decayed state of Persian—both its vocabulary and its grammar; and this decadence has harmful psychological effects on the speakers of Persian. On the Arabic words in Persian, he believed that those Arabic words that were common in Persian, and for which no native Persian equivalents existed any longer should be retained; that, except for scientific terms, no words should be invented, but people's usage should be followed; that needed new words should be coined from Persian materials (by compounding and affixation); that Persian words selected should be correct; that they should be so formed as to make possible the derivation of other words from them; that there is no need to find a Persian equivalent for each and every foreign word, since many of the latter words were superfluous; that each word should have only one meaning; and that each meaning should always be expressed by the same words, thus eliminating synonymy. Furthermore, he repeatedly emphasised that the question of language reform was a scientific matter, and that to undertake such a reform was a scientific endeavour, requiring certain qualifications.

Like Talashá, Kasrawi was opposed to the establishment of an academy. He felt that language reform should come about through the efforts of writers, who should improve their styles, and thus provide models for the people at large. Kasrawi, however, would permit the establishment of an organisation for coining and selecting scientific and technical terms.

(5) The second Farhangistán (1970- ). Kasrawi was assassinated in March 1966. For the next twenty years or so, there was a virtual lull in the debate on language purification and reform. The first break in the lull was a lecture by Dr. Muhammad Mukaddam of the University of Tehran in December 1963, and an interview with him published in 1966. Mukaddam believed that Persian was poor in technological and scientific terminology, but was fully equipped to meet its needs; that Persians should not, as was frequently suggested, confine themselves to the language of their literary classics; that, contrary to the suggestion made by many, coining new words from Persian resources would not cut off Iranians from other speakers of Persian, since no one was advocating the replacing of Arabic words with Persian in the writings of the past—that, in fact, the other Persian-speaking peoples should welcome the new terms.

Soon, discussions of language reform began to appear in the daily press (e.g. Kayhán), and in journals, such as Wahid, Yaghma, and Talaš. In 1970, the Ministry of Culture and Art sponsored a conference for discussing the Persian language, held on October 28-30, in Tehran. At the opening session, a message was read from Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlevi, in which he announced that he had already approved the constitution of the Imperial Foundation for the Farhangistán, which was to be established. He said that the constitution provided for a Farhangistán-i sahab-i Iran (“Language Academy of Iran”). On the last day of the conference, the Minister of Culture and Art presented the members of that Farhangistán to the Shah: Dr. Sądik Riddásá Shafak, Husayn Gulguláb, Dr. Mahmúd Hisábi, Dr. Isá Sádí, Dabīb Bihrúz, Esmáíl Rídá, Muhammad Mukaddam, Yáhýá Máihr-Núwábbú, Mohammad Mukarrám, and Šahúr Karmísh and Sádiq Kiya, who was appointed president of the body by imperial order.

In his message, the Shah referred to the old Farhangistán and to the new one as an expansion of the old one. Four members of the new one (Gulguláb, Sádí, Hisábi, and Shafak) had been members of the old one also. Another member, Bihrúz, had served on one of its committees. President Kiya had for many years been a collaborator with Mukaddam in language-reform activities. The new Farhangistán differed from the old one in that it was to be one of several such organisations. The Farhangistán-i Humar wa Adab (“Academy of Art and Literature”) was founded soon afterward. However, the Language Academy was the main focus, received the greatest financial support, and became very active.

The new body had an elaborate organisation, consisting of a Council, made up of the ordinary members; four Fardangistán (Research Centres); a library; a phonetic laboratory; and a secretariat. The four Fardangistán were: (1) Wistá-guyvái (Adoption of words); (2) Wáshá-yi Farsi (Persian words), which was charged with “collecting Persian words and showing the capabilities of this language in making words”; (3) Sabdán-yi farsí wa miýána wa gauyá-yi irání (Old and Middle Iranian languages and Iranian dialects); and (4) Dastár-sáh-i Farsi (Persian grammar). The first of these centres was the only one to be established. It began with 13 groups, each responsible for terms in a specific field or fields. By the end of 1975, they had proposed 30,000 Persian equivalents for some 15,000 foreign words.

One feature of the procedure followed by these groups is the publication of lists of words for which Persian equivalents are being sought, in monographs entitled Farsíwad-i shámí fiáli? (“What do you propose?”). These monographs are distributed worldwide. The proposals received were to be considered when deciding on new terms, which were to be approved by the Shah before becoming final.

As far as their forms and etymological histories are concerned, the words adopted by the second Farhangistán are by and large similar to those adopted by the first one. Several points are worth mentioning, however: (1) greater and bolder use of affixation and compounding; (2) greater consistency among the various adopted words; (3) greater tendency to revive obsolete or archaic words unknown to the majority of Persian speakers; (4) formation of words from Middle and Old Persian bases; e.g. parás “park” (cf. Mod. Pers. firdaus “paradise”, and English paradise, and its cognates in other European languages); parásá “campus” (related to the preceding); and (5) insistence on replacing some quite common words; e.g. mibrá for minbar “architect”; dášgúsh for dástgúsh “candidate”; forshá-yi farhang, wáshá-yi varshá-ye forshá-yi farsí “education”, parás for moháb and pérdáín “environment”, etc.

CONCLUSION

A brief comparison between the old and the new Farhangistán might be useful: (1) The new one is a far more serious undertaking—as evidenced in its elaboration organisation and procedures. (2) Its work is not
confined to word-making but covers the entire language. (3) Its members, as a group, believe in their work, while the old one was organised and at least at first controlled by people (e.g. Ferigh) not in sympathy with language purification. (4) Its members and those outsiders working with them are professionally more highly qualified than their predecessors, in linguistics and other relevant fields. (5) It is a more open operation, in that it consists the public, or at least the scholarly community. (6) Its work is more systematic, and its procedures more elaborate.

As for the future of the academy, and of language purification, it is difficult to predict after the February 1979 overthrow of the monarchy by a revolution with strong religious overtones. The Farhangistān is now inactive, if not in fact defunct. If the atmosphere prevailing during the first nine months of the new regime continues, any undertaking of his type would most likely discontinue, or at least be weakened and restricted. Under such conditions, the activities of any language academy would very likely be confined to the coining and adoption of technical terms.

Bibliography: A short history of the two language academies and similar organisations in Iran and of language reform is provided in M. A. Jazayery, Farhangistān: la Academia Iranía de la Lengua, Mexico City (forthcoming), which contains a comprehensive bibliography. A shorter account, from a somewhat different perspective, will be found in his article The modernisation of Persian vocabulary and language reform in Iran (forthcoming). For a list of the persons writing in pure Persian from the earliest times, see A. A. Elhamat, Farsī-yi naqša, Tehran 1951, where examples of such writings are given. See also M. Ishaque, Modern Persian poetry, Calcutta 1943. Information on the various terminological and purification groups is found in Muhammad Muhī-Tabātabā’ī, Naghābān-yi zaband Farsī, in Yazdānī, xxiii (1971), 569-75; Mūhsīn Shāmīl, Ta’rīkhī az wad-i baghat dar ʿIrān, in Wahēz, v (1969), 834-8; and in the Jazayery monograph cited above. On the committee at the Dānīṣūh-šāh-yi ‘Allī, see ‘Īsā Sadīkī, Yādātā-yi samā, Tehran 1959-75, ii, 109 ff. The constitution and internal by-laws of the Farhangistān, lists of its members and committees, and of words adopted up to 21 March 1942, are found in Wāḥshā-yi nuvān kī ādābī-yi sālī 1939 dar Farhangistān, Tehran 1973 (repr. of the original 1942).

A brief analysis of the words approved by the two Farhangistāns is given in Jazayery’s book and in A. Shākoor Ahsan, Modern trends in the Persian language, Islamābād 1970, 111-30. On the developments between the two Farhangistāns, see also Laosāhā-yi Farsī-yi hāft farsī, in Yādātī, vi (1946), 1-40. On Kasrawī, see now (in addition to Bibl. in the article, s.v.), Nūr-illusion-yi Kasrawī dar zamān-yi zaband Farsī, ed. Ḥusayn Yārdāndānī, Tehran 1979. For an analysis of Kasrawī’s views on, and methods of, language reform, see Jazayery, Yaddāštī-yi dar ʿirān-yi zaband Farsī, in Yādātī, vi (1942), 1-40. On Kasrawī, see now (in addition to Bibl. in the article, s.v.), Nūr-illusion-yi Kasrawī dar zamān-yi zaband, which appears on pp. 11-47 of that book in lieu of an introduction. On the second Farhangistān, see Jazayery’s monograph and article cited at the beginning of this bibliography, the Ashan book cited, and the publications of the Farhangistān itself. The latter include Farhangistān-yi zaband ʿIrān; kāf, lām, wādī, ʿaṣāf, fāʾ, šāḥīyāt, Tehran 1975, and the Pishkhnād-e shamāl-e tāsīr monographs of which four were published, Tehran 1972-6. Samples of its adopted words are found in Barābarshā-yi Farsi-yi barāhī az wādī-yi ansārī, Tehran 1971.

(M. A. Jazayery)

(iii) TURKEY

There are two academies in Turkey, the Society for Turkish History and the Society for the Turkish Language, both set up on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [g.e.], who supervised their work closely until his death in 1938, whereupon nearly all his estate was divided evenly between them. Both during and after his lifetime, these academies closely followed his views on the interpretation of Turkish history and the reform of the Turkish language respectively. In brief, they maintained that the Turks were an ancient people, connected with Anatolia since the oldest times, with a language of their own and responsible for major contributions to world civilisation. The operational results of this approach, which the academies were expected to foster, were to be an increase in pride among Turks regarding their past and their language and the will again to play a role in world civilisation through rapid modernisation.

The Türk Tarhi Kurumu (TTK) or the "Society for Turkish History" had as its predecessor the Türk Tarih Tətik Təyeti or "Committee for Research into Turkish History", founded in 1930. In 1931, this was succeeded by the Türk Tarih Tətik Təyeti or "Society for Research into Turkish History", whose own name was changed to Türk Turki Kurumu (meaning the same) in 1975.

The scope and goals of the TTK were to study the history of the Turks and of Turkey and to publish and disseminate the results of this research. The following methods were suggested for attaining these objectives: 1. Research and investigation of sources relating to the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 2. Translation (into Turkish) and publishing of these source materials. 3. Convocation of congresses for discussion of new findings and other scholarly topics. 4. Despatch of scholars (individuals or groups) for investigation of documents and other sources relating to the history of the Turks and of Turkey. 5. Cooperation with local and foreign scholarly institutions regarding the study and publication of relevant material.

The TTK, organised like other academies and learned societies throughout the world, is housed in its own building in Ankara, with an impressive library (including archival materials, 902 manuscripts, 180 microfilms, 172 photocopies of manuscripts, numerous local and foreign journals and 73,169 books and offprints, by late 1979) and its own printing press. The TTK's manifold activities, which include research, lectures, exhibitions and international congresses —convened approximately once every five years since 1932— as well as publication of the proceedings of these congresses under the title Türk tarhi kongresi sunulan bildiriler (later renamed Türk tarhi kongresi bildirileri) along with numerous other scholarly and popular publications. The TTK's conception of Turkish history is maximalist; one of its first publications was a four-volume textbook for secondary schools (ñîe), emphasising the overall history of the Turks and Turkic peoples) throughout Asia and their contributions to world civilisation. The 547 scholarly books—many of which comprise several volumes—published
neologisms are indeed words of Turkish and Turkic of Arabic or Persian origin. While many of these films and over 100 volumes of photocopies of 48 Turkish dialects. 3. To prepare and publish re-

moderate. Starting with 1932, the TDK has convened the coining of new words and terms to replace those which are attended by both local and foreign linguists.

The Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK) or the “Society for the Turkish Language” was preceded by the Dil Heyeti or “Language Committee”, established in 1929 to coordinate and advance—on a more institutionalised level—the language reform which had commenced one year earlier upon adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 1932, with the government’s blessing, the Committee expanded and became the Türk Dili Tektik Cemiyeti or “Society for Research into the Turkish Language” whose name was changed in 1934 to Türk Dili Araştırmaları Belleten (annual, 1953— ), Türk Dili: Türk Dili Tektik Cemiyeti Buluslari, renamed Türk Dili Belleten (monthly, 1933-50), superseded by Türk Dili: Aykik Dergisi (monthly, 1951— ).

By a law passed on 11 August 1983 (published in the Recem Gazetesi, no. 18518, dated 17 August 1983), the Türk Tarih Kurumu and Türk Dil Kurumu, along with the recently founded Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (the Atatürk Culture Centre), have been united in a new, state-sponsored Academy, entitled Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (the Atatürk Culture, Language and History Higher Organisation), located in Ankara.


Under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and in imitation of the Academies of Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad, the al-Madja' in al-imam al-Hindi was founded in 1368/1976, aiming mainly at expanding knowledge of Arabic in India, furthering studies on the literature, history, sciences and civilisation of the Arabs, publishing valuable manuscripts; publicising the work of Indian scholars; and stimulating the intellectual spirit of the country.

The Academy comprises twelve active members (‘almāni) of Indian nationality, 28 corresponding members (mustafimīn) representing the Arabophone countries (Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine [E], Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Kuwait) and 15 other corresponding members chosen from the Arab states of Iran, Pakistan, USSR, Germany, Great Britain, France, Hungary, Italy and the Netherlands.


MADJNUN (a.), pl. madjnnān, possessed, mad, madman; the passive participle of djinn, "to cover, conceal", passive, djinnā, "to be possessed, mad, insane".

Its meaning and usage have been closely related to belief in the djinn [q.2]. In pre-Islamic Arabia, soothsayers were believed to have received messages from the djinn during ecstatic experiences, after which they delivered oracles in short, enigmatic verses of rhymed prose called sa’di [see kāhin], and poets were believed to have been inspired by their individual djinn, similar to the Greek idea of Muses [see spā’tir]. Soothsayers and poets were both said to be madjnnān, literally "djin-possessed" or "inspired by the djinn". The term madjnnān occurs eleven times in the Kur’ān, where its exact, original meaning is not certain, but its usage is significant for the later history of the term. It refers explicitly to Muhammad seven times and probably alludes to him in the other contexts, where episodes in his life seem to be projected into stories about Moses (XXVI, 27, LI, 39 and Noah [LV, 9]) and the general statement that each of God’s Messengers was accused of being a sorcerer (sākJ) or madjnnān (LI, 32). In four of the seven contexts where madjnnān refers explicitly to Muhammad, it occurs in accusations against the Prophet quoted from his opponents: "O thou upon whom the Reminder has been sent down, thou art madjnnān" (XY, 6); "Shall we abandon our gods on account of a poet (gāhir) madjnnān?" (XXVIII, 36); "They turned from him [i.e. Muhammad] and said, ‘One who is tutored, madjnnān’" (XLIV, 24); "When they hear the Reminder they say, ‘Surely he is madjnnān” (LXVIII, 31). In the other three contexts God responds to these accusations, assuring Muhammad and his companions: "Thou art neither a soothsayer (kāhin) nor madjnnān” (LI, 29) "Thou, by the bounty of thy Lord, art not madjnnān” (LXVIII, 2); and “Your comrade is not madjnnān” (LXXXI, 23). In the Kur’ān the term madjnnān, always in the singular, functions sometimes as an adjective and sometimes as a noun. It occurs only in Meccan passages, only in the context of accusations made against Muhammad by his opponents (and against earlier Messengers by theirs), and only in contexts involving the question of the source and process of revelation. The primary meaning of madjnnān in the Kur’ān seems to be "djin-possessed, djinn-possessed person (like the ancient Arabian soothsayer)" or "inspired by the djinn, person inspired by the djinn (like the Arabian poet)". Muhammad’s opponents in Mecca, seeing the similarity between the form of his messages and the sadjī oracles of the soothsayers, argued that his messages were not revealed by God, but were inspired by the djinn. In response to this charge, the Kur’ān develops some interesting counter-arguments. Identifying the alleged djinn inspi-
MADJNUN—MADJNUN LAYLA

ments on XV, 6 and LXVIII, 1). An analysis of cognate expressions in the Kur'an also offers little new understanding of the concept madjnun. In late Meccan and early Medinan contexts, madjnun was replaced by the expression bii fi gharib al-lfur'dn (see VII, 184, XXII, 25, 26, and XXIV, 8, 46). This change of terms could be interpreted as a change or development of ideas within the Kur'an, but this possibility is unlikely since the two expressions seem to be synonymous (e.g., ma sâkhbun bi-madjnun, in LXXXI, 22, and ma bi-yâh saddun min gharib, in XXV, 49). In contexts where madjnun functions as a noun (e.g. XXIV, 24, LI, 32, and IV, 9), its meaning seems to be identical with the expression madinun in XXV, 25, i.e., both seem to mean "a jinn-possessed person". While Baydawi explains bii fi gharib al-lfur'dn (e.g. in XXIII, 25) as simply giving the synonym gharib, which has the same range of meanings (e.g. al-Zamakhshâri on the same verse).

One striking fact about the history of the usage of madjnun is that Muslims adopted the concept and gave it widespread currency, assuming it to be Islamic because it occurs in the Kur'an, whereas in fact the term never occurs in the Kur'an as an Islamic concept, but always as an idea of Muhammad's Meccan opponents and those who rejected Islamic belief and practices. When the Islamic world-view developed within the Kur'an, and when required Islamic beliefs and practices were introduced in a series of late Meccan and early Medinan credal statements, some of these pre-Islamic concepts, such as belief in the existence of ginn and deities other than Allah, came to be explicitly rejected, while others, such as madjnun and belief in the existence of the ginn, simply ceased to be mentioned in later parts of the Kur'an (see A. T. Welch, Allah and other supernatural beings: the emergence of the Qur'anic doctrine of tawhid, in fin of the manuscripts, p. 134, 771-773). Still, the concept madjnun, along with magic, sorcery, soothing and other related phenomena that were a vital part of the Arabian world-view of Muhammad's time, became part of popular Islamic belief and practice, and these have remained so in modern times (see e.g., E. W. Lane, Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, London 1856, chs. 2-4; E. Poulet, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, Alger 1909; D. B. Macdonald, The religions attitude and life in Islam, Chicago 1912, lectures 1-2; E. A. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, London 1926, 1, ch. 4; C. Svanberg Hjorungne, Mosk, Leiden 1931, 39-70). The concept madjnun occurs occasionally in the classical literature, with the same literal meaning as in the Kur'an. In the hadith literature, see al-Bukhâri, Sahîh, II, 151; Muslim, Sahîh, DIYMAN, 45, and Hududd, 22; and J. Rothos, Michkat al-asbâb, Lahore 1965, 515, 1260 f. Al-Tabarî records an account in which Muhammad is reported as saying he feared he had become either a poet or a ginn-possessed person (madjnun), but then Gabriel appeared to him and informed him that he was a prophet inspired by God (Ta rebell, i, 1150; tr. A. Guillaud, The life of Muhammad, London 1955, 106). For a contemporary dependence of belief in the ginn and their influence on man by the al-Azhâr scholar, Sayyid 'Abd Allah Husayn, see his al-Dîjna fi sâhîh al-dîjna 'ahdul al-dîjna, Cairo n.d. The Islamic philosophers and a few scholars such as Ibn Khaldûn rejected the concept madjnun as related to the world of the ginn (see Macdonald, Religions attitude, 130 ff.). In later usage, the association of madjnun with the ginn has sometimes been lost as this term has come to mean simply "mad" or "insane".

Bibliography: Cited mostly in the article; in addition see the Kur'an commentaries on the madj-nun verses and al-Shi'ah al-lajx, al-Manût, al-Djada fi gharib al-Kur'an, Cairo n.d., 132; E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English lexicon, 1/2, 462; and, for additional hadîths containing the term madj-nun, A. J. Wensine, Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane, i, Leiden 1950, 374.

MADJNUN LAYLA, "the Madman of Layla", or Madj-nun Ban'U 'Amir, the name given to the hero of a romantic love story, the original form of which could date back as far as the second half of the 19th Century.

1. In Arabic literature

This imaginary character (acknowledged as such even by some Arab critics; see Ahghâni, ed. Beinrat, ii, 6, 11) has been furnished by the ruwâd with an aren and with a complete genealogy; Kays b. al-Mulawwah b. Muzâhim b. Kays b. 'Udas b. 'Abâd a. Dja'da b. 'Amr b. 'Aqâf b. 'Amir b. 'Abâd b. Râbi'a b. 'Abâd b. 'Abî Sâ'da, but according to the evidence, although this filliation could be accepted from the starting point of Kays b. 'Udas, the latter does not have a son named Muzâhîm (see Ibn al-Kalâb-Casfer, Djamhara, Tab. 101, 194, 196). Furthermore, various other less common names have been given to him: al-Buhîbî b. al-Dja'd a, Mahîd b. al-Mulawwah, al-Akrâ or Kays b. Mûlîh (Ahghâni, ii, 8). Al-Djâhîs splits the character into two parts by distinguishing between a Madj-nun of the Banû 'Amir and a Madj-nun of the Banû Dja'd (Bayân, i, 385, illi, 224, iv, 22), where Dja'da is a descendant of 'Amir. As for his loved one, she is given the following genealogy: Layla bint Yûsuf b. 'Abî Sâ'da b. 'Abî 'Amir, Kays b. Râbi'a b. 'Abî 'Amir. The content of the romance, insofar as it can be extracted from the ancient versions, is relatively simple and commonplace. However, from the start, two opposing traditions have been current: according to one version, the two young people spent their youth together, tending their flocks in the DJabal al-Tawbâb (which belonged, however, to the Mubârîb; al-Ispâhânî, Bîdêl al-Arab, 182; cf. ikhît, s.v.); according to the other, Kays meets Layla by chance at a gathering of women, and the effect on him is devastating; he kills his camel as a contribution to the feast, but when a certain Mûnâzîl arrives, the women turn their attention to him, and only Layla, who shares his emotion, takes an interest in Kays. Subsequently he asks for her hand in marriage, but her father has already given her away in marriage to a certain Ward b. Muhammad al-Uqâyîlî. Gripped by the most violent anguish, Kays loses his reason and sets out to wander half-naked, refusing nourishment and living among wild animals. His father takes him on a pilgrimage to make him forget Layla, but his madness only inten-
sifies. He does, however, have moments of lucidity when he talks of his lady-love and composes verses which he recites to those curious people who come to see him. Until his death, he encounters Layla on only one further occasion.

It is difficult to establish the origin of the story. According to a remark in the *Agknh* (ii, 7, 10), the initial author would have been a young Umayyad who, under the pseudonym of Madjnun, circulated some stories designed to introduce verses in which he sang of his ill-starred love for his cousin. This identification is, however, isolated, and in any case, the poet is anonymous. The fact that historical individuals such as Nawfal b. Musaib, governor of Medina in 47/762, are mentioned in the traditions relating to the adventures of Kays, suggests that the latter came into existence at about this period, but this is all that can be said on the subject. The author, or rather the authors of the verses attributed to this Madjnun and the introductory or explanatory tales, will always be unknown, and it may simply be supposed that these creations are owed to the desire of the Arabs of the North, represented by the 'Amir b. Sa'ida, to show that unhappy love affairs were not the prerogative of those of the South, the Umayyads in this instance, and that they were capable of producing the equal of a Dami al-'Udhr b. [8].

From the moment that verses and akhbar concerning fictional characters achieved normative status, it is not hard to imagine the role played by inventive narrators and *masd* whom al-Asma'i (in *Agknh*, ii, 6) also accuses of having concocted this novel, which is included in a long series of imaginative works and fictionalised biographies of which the *Fihrist* supplies a detailed inventory (cf. M. F. Ghazi, *Sezgin*, GAS, iii, 392-3) who has written a book on *imagination*, in Arabic, iv/2 [1937], 174-8). The story of Madjnun and Layla, like many tales of the Middle Ages, has never obtained a definitive form. It is true that transmitters of tradition like Ibn Da*b, 'Umar b. Shabba, Ibn al-Kalbi or al-Zubayr b. Bukkâr, must at a quite early stage have set down in writing the more or less numerous and disparate elements, but independent akhbar continued to circulate orally and to be enriched according to the taste of the narrators. Evidence of this process is furnished by a study of the sources for the recension of the *Agknh* (ii, 1-78) which, after that of Ibn Kutayba (al-Sa'ida al-Ishârâ', 355-64 = ed. Shâkir, ii, 345-59), is the most ancient and the most developed. Abu 'l-Farajî, in order to bring a successful conclusion to his enterprise, which aspires to be a complete, if not coherent, history, takes effective precautions to shield himself from the critics by citing opinions for and against the historicity of the character, then combines, without regard for chronological order, a series of oral and written sources which have been inventoried by I. Y. Králëkovsky, in an article published in Russian in Leningrad in 1946 and translated into German by H. Ritter, in *Orhov*, vii/1 (1945), 1-50 [*Die Frühgeschichte der Erzählung von Mandûn und Layla in der arabischen Literatur*; cf. *Sezgin*, GAS, ii, 390).

The story of Madjnun and Layla seems to have taken precedence over the majority of others of the same genre towards the end of the 3rd/9th century or the beginning of the 4th/10th; the fact that numerous verses taken from it were set to music, plus the importance attached to it by the *Agknh*, leave no doubt that the vogue which it subsequently enjoyed was not an entirely new development. In the Arabic literature subsequent to the *Agknh*, the akhbar of Madjnun recur in a number of works of 'asab, in particular in those which concern famous romances (like the *Tayyyn al-asa'dh* of Dâwûd al-Antakî, ed. Beirut 1974, i, 97-188), but little is known of independent monographs, apart from the *Dârin* and two works which have yet to be edited: the *Nushat al-musdmir fi dîhâr bâl dîhâr Madjnun Banî 'Amir, by Yusuf b. al-Hasan al-Mibrâdi (d. 909/1503) and *Bâat al-sâmî* al-musdmir fi akhbar Madjnun Banî 'Amir, by Ibn Tûlah (d. 953/1404). It is remarkable, but not entirely unexpected, that the story of *Madjnun wa-Layla* should have inspired no literary work in Arabic in the Middle Ages; in fact, it is not until the present day that one sees the theme exploited by several dramatists: Ibrahim al-Abdâb (J. M. Landau, *Études sur le théâtre et le cinéma arabes*, Paris 1965, no. 39), Salim al-Hustani (ibid. no. 161), Abu Khalil al-Kabbâni (ibid. no. 406), whose works do not seem to have been performed, or even printed; the *Khitbat Madjnun Layla* by Muhammad Muslih Khayr Allâh, on the other hand, has been performed in Alexandria and published in 1968 (and 1982; Landau, no. 304); the most celebrated of these verses is undoubtedly the *Rivdat Madjnun Layla* by Ahmad Shawki (Landau, no. 517); J. Arberry, Cairo 1933; see also R. Robinacci, in *AVON*, vii [1957], 9-66; A. Bououd-Lamotte, *Abd al-Samâl, Damascus 1927, 275-82*). It is not known whether it is necessary to place at the end of the 2nd/8th century, since there is no mention of him in the *Fihrist*, a certain Abû Bakr al-Wâlîbî, to whom is attributed a recension of the *Dârin of al-Madjnun* of which a considerable number of manuscripts exists, containing or not containing relevant passages (ibid., ii, 7, 10), to attribute to Madjnun Layla the verses of any unknown poet where reference is made to a Layla; further-more, the homonymy with Kays b. Dharîb has certainly caused confusion. At all events, R. Blachtre, who has analysed this *Dârin* (*HLA*, iii, 69) considers that it "cannot be regarded as occupying an insignificant place in the study of archaic poetry". (Cf. *PILLAT*)


**2. In Persian, Kurdish and Pashto literature**

The poems of Madjnun and the tales of his love Layla (commonly named Layly in Persian) also became a part of the Persian literary tradition, where they were used in various ways. Quotations of Arabic lines of poetry ascribed to Madjnun occur quite frequently in Persian prose works. He was reckoned to be one of the great poets of love (cf.
The subject of Arabic origin existed in 'Ayyubid times. The theme was chosen for the requirements of a Persian romance. They were joined and wandered through the wilderness because of love (Whitaker, 476). According to Djalal al-Din Rumi, Madjnun's deepest despair; of autumn at the time of Layli's death. Much attention is given to Madjnun's role as a poet. In several places, ghazals are quoted in the text, which in metre and rhyme are adjusted to the prosodic characteristics of the mathnawi. It is quite evident that, to Nizami, the subject matter was not least interesting because of its emblematic possibilities. His poem is, therefore, a didactic work as well as a narrative. The former quality is noticeable in the frequent asides containing reflections on such themes as ascetism, the vanity of the world, and the like. Didacticism is also the main element of the introduction and the epilogue.

This Layli u Madjûn was the starting-point of a long series of imitations which were written in almost any language of the area where the cultural influence of Persian literature made itself felt. The poets who tried to emulate the model set by Nizami borrowed most of its contents and its metre but often also elements of its composition, e.g. the advice given to the son of the poet and the address to the cupbearer which both occur in Nizami's introduction. Each of them, however, made an effort to produce an original work by making changes in the episodes of the romances, by the addition of new stories or through a shift of emphasis from one motif to another.

No more than a few of these imitations can be rated as valuable literary works in their own right and have apparently enjoyed the interests of a wide public over a long period. The Madjûn u Layli of Amir Khusraw Dihlawi [q.v.] written in 1198 and the very first among them, belongs to a complete imitation of the Khamsa. This poem is much shorter than the model (2,650 bayts) and puts less emphasis on didactic aspects. New elements of the narrative are among others the designation of Madjûn's fate at the time of his birth and the wish expressed by both lovers to have their eyes picked out by the ravens who prey on the dead bodies left after the battle of the clans. Amir Khusraw dedicated his work to his spiritual guide Nizâm al-Dîn Avîlî and to the sultan of Dihlaw. The much longer poem of Qâmil al-Din Qâmil, written in 1229, exhausts the contents of the original abhâr. The beginning of the love story (the meeting of the two lovers is not situated at school but at the camp of Layli's clan) is also closer to the Arabic tradition. The mystical meaning attached to the romance cannot be mistaken, though the narrative as such is given its full due. In the song addressed to the cupbearer of the introduction, Dihlawi commemorates the development of a frantic love affair from the scene of the first meeting of the two lovers till the death of Madjûn at the grave of Layli. In some respects, the Bedouin setting of the original has been changed under the influence of urban conditions more familiar to the poet and his audience: the young lovers become acquainted at school; the generous Nawfal (whom the love between the main characters is reflected) is no longer an Arab official. Nizâmi added a second pair of lovers, Zayn and Zaynab, in whom the love between the main characters is reflected. It is Zayn who in a dream sees Madjûn and Layli united in paradise at the end of the romance. Several other features mark this new adaptation of the romance. Specimens of nature poetry were used to emphasise, symbolically, important points in the development of the plot: a description of a palm bush in spring where Layli sits in the flower of her youth; of the night at the moment of Madjûn's deepest despair; of autumn at the time of Layli's death. Much attention is given to Madjûn's role as a poet. In several places, ghazals are quoted in the text, which in metre and rhyme are adjusted to the prosodic characteristics of the mathnawi. It is quite evident that, to Nizâm, the subject matter was not least interesting because of its emblematic possibilities. His poem is, therefore, a didactic work as well as a narrative. The former quality is noticeable in the frequent asides containing reflections on such themes as ascetism, the vanity of the world, and the like. Didacticism is also the main element of the introduction and the epilogue.

This Layli u Madjûn was the starting-point of a long series of imitations which were written in almost any language of the area where the cultural influence of Persian literature made itself felt. The poets who tried to emulate the model set by Nizâm borrowed most of its contents and its metre but often also elements of its composition, e.g. the advice given to the son of the poet and the address to the cupbearer which both occur in Nizâm's introduction. Each of them, however, made an effort to produce an original work by making changes in the episodes of the romances, by the addition of new stories or through a shift of emphasis from one motif to another.

No more than a few of these imitations can be rated as valuable literary works in their own right and have apparently enjoyed the interests of a wide public over a long period. The Madjûn u Layli of Amir Khusraw Dihlawi [q.v.] written in 1198 and the very first among them, belongs to a complete imitation of the Khamsa. This poem is much shorter than the model (2,650 bayts) and puts less emphasis on didactic aspects. New elements of the narrative are among others the designation of Madjûn's fate at the time of his birth and the wish expressed by both lovers to have their eyes picked out by the ravens who prey on the dead bodies left after the battle of the clans. Amir Khusraw dedicated his work to his spiritual guide Nizâm al-Dîn Avîlî and to the sultan of Dihlaw. The much longer poem of Qâmil al-Din Qâmil, written in 1229, exhausts the contents of the original abhâr. The beginning of the love story (the meeting of the two lovers is not situated at school but at the camp of Layli's clan) is also closer to the Arabic tradition. The mystical meaning attached to the romance cannot be mistaken, though the narrative as such is given its full due. In the song addressed to the cupbearer of the introduction, Dihlawi commemorates...

J. T. P. DE BRUYN

3. In Turkish literature

The Turkish poets were fascinated also by the Madīn Lāylā theme, in the first place, and above all, because they were inspired by the classical version of Niṣāmī [q.v.] and then later, when taking up a critical position contrasted the versions of other Persian and Turkish poets. Because the theme itself, the combination of the motifs, and, for the greater part, the metre as well, were all fixed, Turkish poets were able either to aim at a more exciting elaboration of the external motivation, or else to try to draw out the "meaning" of the story as included in the material. A comparative study of the poetical aims, which, because of the similarity of the theme, should also take into account Navaî and Gǔšč, is still lacking.

Gǔšč and Ašāfī Pāsha [q.v.] had already taken up the theme in the Maqṣūn" and Ghārîb-nāme. The line of independent Turkish versions starts with the lengthy mēkâna'ī [see MATHÂNĪ] written by Şāhîd on behalf of Prince Dīn [q.v.], and later plagiarized by a certain Navaî. Already in Şāhîd's poem, as well as in Madīn Lāylā of the late Turkish prince of poets Mir 'Abbâr Nawâvī [q.v.] and later principally in a certain Kâtîb. Already in Şāhîd's poem, the latter continued to be read till the end of the 19th/20th century, the Ottoman Ahmed Sinâş Bîhîšîf [q.v.], who lived for a time in Herat, wrote a mystically-inspired version influenced by Dżāmī [q.v.], to which he added some important alterations in the motifs. At about the same time, Hamd Allah Hamdî [q.v.] and Tutunûsî Ahmed Râfîwî composed their arrangements. The 19th/20th century was particularly rich in Lāylâ-Madjânn versions. Dżâmî Hamdîi-Râmî Bursâlî (d. after 977/1569-70) wrote his version in 968/1561-2, more or less simultaneously with his dramatically-shortened version of Shârān uШârâs, apparently concentrated, like the latter, on the external aspects of the action. Two years later Sâwâdî's arrangement appeared, in whose copy verses by Fudûl [q.v.] have intruded. In 931/1524-5 the Āghâsâhîvî Şâhîrî [q.v.] wrote a version, inspired by Navaî and Hâfiz [q.v.], which he transplanted to his native country (see 977/1571), and in which "chance plays an important role" (Levend, op. cit., in: Bīkî 235-6). Exemplary for Turkish poetry was the way in which Fudûl treated the subject. In his version, finished in 942/1535-6, Maqṣūn appears as the symbol of the religious ideology of love, whose task consists of freeing himself from the beloved. With this epic poem, which is strewn with gûzâsz [q.v.], does justice also to the feelings of Layîlā, who remains an earthly figure, Fudûl created an impressive Turkish counterpart to the Persian models, which he now came to equal. In 950/1543-4 Hamdî of Lundara wrote a little-known version again inspired by Navaî, Dżâmî and Nawâvî. In 969/1534-5 Sâlîh b. Dżâlî produced a version which slavishly follows Hâfiz. Shahîfî (d. ca. 980/1578-9) copied passages from Fudûl's work after having criticized him and Nawâvî in his preface. An Āghârî poet by the name of 'Āţâyî (11th/12th century?) transformed the story into a fairy-tale in which he inserted quotations from Dede Köşû [q.v.]. The version of Şâfîzâde Fudûl (d. 1031/1623-4) remained unfinished. The following...
Allah wa'u b. IsbSk in Gudjarat in 1196/1782. composed by 'Ubayd/is/Cwa

muthnaurl and 1040/1630 respectively. A late Dakani Mubanimad *A

ti, both poets of the Ḥusaynī-Sabkhat, /i.e./, al-bashar)

rat Khayr in praise of the Prophet /i.e./, al-bashar)

Death until the latter, after consulting God, returns

He hears of a Layla who is the daughter of a

and wanders in search of her, his mind affected.

published several times both before and after 1857; the later editions, however, tend to modernise the language, bringing it into line with the contemporaneous Urdu of Northern India.

Dakani Majdun Laylā maḫṣūsī is a characterised not only by their Indian flavour, but also by their concentration on the story, which is told in simple, at times naïve, language. The story derives considerably from the old Arabic versions. Thus Wāris makes Majdūn the son of a Ghaznavid king by an Arab woman whom he marries while on the

hardly. The king has to return home before the boy is born, and an astrologer foretells the boy's future, and suggests the lašab of Majdūn for him. The boy's mुrâmāt recommends night prayer and Kur'ānic reading, and on the basis of the pun between Layla and laš, Majdūn falls in love with an imaginary Laylā and wanders in search of her, his mind affected.

4. In Urdu literature

The story came into Urdu literature via Persian, not direct from Arabic, and it is most frequently called "Laylā Majdūn". It is found in three main forms: firstly, in casual reference to the lovers, especially in poetry; secondly, in narrative poems telling the story, generally in maḫṣūsī; and thirdly as the plot for early Urdu dramas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly written for various Parsi theatrical companies in Bombay. However, failing the discovery of some hitherto unknown manuscripts, the theme seems to have inspired no work of major literary importance.

Casual references to the lovers are far too numerous to permit detailed discussion. They date from the earliest period of Urdu in the Deccan and Gūjarāt, and continued into the present century, though with decreasing frequency. Nor were they restricted to ghazal, or even to secular poetry. For example, Wall Dakani [see majdūn, 4. In Urdu] in a ḫaṭā in praise of the Prophet (dar al-madār ḫayyār al-balqar) includes Laylā and Majdūn amongst several famous pairs of lovers, as a metaphorical representation of faṭ al-Allāh; Wall was, of course, a Sufi (see his work cited in Bibl., 361).

The narrative maḫṣūsī was a favourite poetic form in Dakani, the type of Urdu current in South India from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Several examples devoted to Laylā Majdūn are extant; they were modelled on Persian works, particularly those of Hāfiz, Nūrī and Dīlānī, and perhaps also on that of Amīr Ḥusayn of Dīl, composed in 1300/2000. In any case, despite the Persian models, the atmosphere in these Urdu works is distinctly Indian, as can be seen, for example, in the sarājā passages describing the heroine from head to foot. Hāfizīn, Bākīr and Dīlānī mention maḫṣūsī by Ahmad Gūjarātī and Muhammad Ḥāzī, both poets of the Kutb-Šahī period in Golkonda. These were written in 1486/1636 and 1490/1630 respectively. A late Dakani maḫṣūsī is Kišā Laylā va Majdūn, composed by 'Ubayd Allāh Wāris b. Isbāk in Gūjarāt in 1500/1662. It is included in a collection of 12 early Urdu maḫṣūsīs by an unknown editor, under the title of Bāna ḥa. This collection was very popular, and was

By the other three, it has now been republished in the Urdu script at Lahore.

These four plays are distinguished by a certain stagecraft and popular appeal rather than by literary merit. With this in mind, the famous Lucknow polymath and novelist, Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥādī Ruswā (1859-1931) [see k193a. 3. In Urdu] wrote his Murabba'-i-Laylā Madjīnān ("the Album of Laylā Madjīnān") published at Lucknow in 1885 and at Allahabad in 1887. He had seen plays performed by various touring Bombay companies in Lucknow, including doubtless Majdun Layla plays. As he
writes in his introduction, he was dissatisfied with their language, which he found to be not that of Delhi orLucknow, but of the Bombay fish-market! [Ruswa, *tashdid*, 5]. Encouraged by friends, he wrote this play to demonstrate how dramatic poetry should be. He employed different poetic metres to suit the characters and situations, and envisaged their being set to music, so that the result might be described as an Urdu opera. But no theatrical company would stage it, and critics generally regard it as a failure. [Ghraf Rahmán (cited in *Bihb*, 279) remarks that it was entirely in verse at a time when prose was playing an increasing part in Urdu drama. The poet, he suggests, had been "worked to death" and had lost its appeal. As a poet of Lucknow who had seen the heyday of the *marthiya* [see *Marthiya*, 4.] in Urdu, he was well equipped to write effective passages of melancholy and lamentation: in this respect, the play has much to commend it. But Ruswa was no dramatist; and the story does not lend itself easily to dramatic treatment.

At least one modern Urdu writer has brought *Madjfr* up-to-date in a short story. Sayyid Sadidjał Haydar’s collection of short stories *Khayaldistan* includes one entitled *Hikayat Layla va Majdfr* (cited in *Bihb*, 294-61). In it, the two lovers are reborn under modern conditions. Majdfr follows Layla about on a bicycle. Layla is ordained electric shock treatment, and at the time of this treatment, Majdfr has a fit. He is taken to Mecca to be relieved of his obsession, but prays only that his suffering may never be lessened. Thus ends this "whimsical and delightfully written story" (Suhrwaday, cited in *Bihb*, 216), which forms a fitting conclusion to an account of Majdfr Layla in Urdu literature.

*Bibliography:* For Dakanli _mathnawis* on the story, see Nashr al-Din Ḥashimi, _Dakhan min Urda*; Lucknow 1963, 62-3, 108-13 (including extracts); Majdfr Dihll, _Ta’rikb-i-adab-i Urda*; i. _Kadam dawr*, Lahore 1975, 249-50; for the text of Wāzīr, see Urdu _ki hadim mansūm dastān*; ed. Khaliṣ al-Rahmān Dāwūd, i, Lahore 1957, 1-10, 81-148; a critical assessment is given by Muhammad Bākir, _Urdu-i-Dakhan aur Pandjāb mina*; Lahore 1972, 77-85; the reference by Wali Dakanli to Majdfr Layla will be found in Kulliyāt Wall, ed. Allāb Šarāh Mawhrāwī, Aranwāgbād 1927; J. F. Bhumhrādt, *Catalogue of Hindustani books in the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, 1896; mentions were published in Northern India in the 19th century. Plays on the story are listed by *Ghraf Rahmān, Urdu dramāt—‘tārikh-o-tahān*; Lahore 1957, 212-23. The Layla *Majdfr* dramas of Aṣām, Rawnaw, Zārd and Hāfiz ‘Abd Allah are included in the volumes of collected dramatic works of these authors published by the *Andijan-i-tarabāl-i-yr* in Lahore in recent years; the same society has published Mīrāz Muhammad Ruswa’s *Maraḥkha-i-layla va Majdfr* and *Urdu Rahmān*; Lahore 1965. This includes not only Ruswa’s own preface, but a useful introduction by the editor which lists previous dramas on the theme. Sādijdāl Haydar’s *Khayaldistan* was first published at ‘Allgār in 1932, and there is a Dihll edition of 1946; Shāyista Aghar Bānā Suhrwaday’s brief account and assessment of his *Hikayat Layla va Majdfr* is in her _A critical survey of the Urdu novel and short story_, London 1945.

(J. A. Havwood)

**Madjfr**, mediaeval Arabic name of the city of Madrid (Spain). The Arabic sources seldom mention this place in the Muslim period. According to al-Himyari, the _asyāf* of Majdfr was built by the Umayyad *amir* of Cordova, Muhammad I (926-928; 852-86). M. A. Makki believes that its foundation may be dated between 255/866 and 257/871 in the reign of three or four of the Umayyads. This year 238/850 marks the beginning of the reign of Alfonso III of the Asturias, whose military activities had the effect of destabilising the region between Medinaelmi and Toledo (*‘l-lagfr al-adnu*), which would then have been consolidated by the construction of the fortress of Majdfr as an important element in the military dispositions of the region, with a governor appointed by Cordova, ‘Ubayd Allah b. Sālim, who imprisoned and executed a rebel from Toledo named Ibn Bāhīj. From its foundation until the period of the *fama* of Al-Andalus (996-1009), the few facts supplied by the ancient sources on the subject of Majdfr are indicative of its role as a frontier fortress (*‘l-lagfr*). In 320/932, it was subjected to an attack by King Ramiro II of Léon, according to the Christian historian Saniro. In 324/936, a party of citizens of Majdfr undertook an expedition into Christian territory and, on their return, they were massacred by the enemy, according to Ibn Hayyān. The _bābā_ Ibn Abī ‘Amir al-Mansūr (Almanzor), in the course of his campaign against the fortress of La Muela in 366/977, met at Majdfr the governor of Mérida, Khālíṣ (Ibn ‘Utbaḥ). Ibn Haram supplies an interesting item of information concerning Majdfr: the slave of a perfumeseller known by the name of al-Fāṣīq led an insurrection in this town, pretending to be ‘Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, but he was attacked and killed. J. Oliver Asin believed that this insurrection was inspired by Fātimids; on the other hand, M. A. Makki reckons that the rebel wished to be recognised as the son of the short-lived Umayyad caliph of Cordova al-Mahdi (996-1009 and 1009-1012). Thus the rebellion would have taken place at the time of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfi b’ilāh (414/1024-5).

In the period of the Taifis (*mudahl al-‘aṣaf*) Majdfr must have been attached to the kingdom of the Banā Dih ‘l-Nun of Toledo. The king of Castile Alfonso VI took possession of Majdfr as well as of other fortresses in the region, shortly before the fall of Toledo, in ca. 476/1083. It seems to have remained under Christian domination except for a very short period, at the time of the so-called Tulvārera conquest of 475/1082, led by the slave of a perfume-seller known by the name of al-Fāṣīq. Ibn Abī ‘Amir [see *Andalusi*, 224-61]. In it, the two lovers (cited in *Bihb*), 224-61). In it, the two lovers...
and other military constructions forming a citadel whose Arabic name was apparently al-Mudayna (Almudena), a name preserved by the church of Santa María de la Almudena, to the south-west of the hill, at the extremity of the Calle Mayor. It apparently had two gates, whose existence is known to us from Christian documents, the Puerta de la Vega, to the south-west of the hill, towards the valley of the Manzanares, and the Puerta de la Almudena, to the south-east, linking the citadel with the town or madina. The latter probably had its own surrounding walls, in common with many other towns of al-Andalus. The Arab madina must have extended towards the eastern end of the hill, covering a half of what is currently the Calle Mayor (Plateres), where the gate known as the Puerta de Guadalajara was situated. Its northern extremity was located to the south of the Plaza de Oriente and the theatre of La Ópera. On the other hand, the southern limits of the Arab Madrīt are the object of greater controversy, since to the south the hill of the Palacio Real and the madina overhang a ravine of considerable depth, which today is crossed by means of a viaduct and which opens on a small valley (Calle de Segovia) before climbing again towards other hills (Las Vistillas and San Andrés). Oliver Asin supported the hypothesis that the pre-Arab Madrīt first grew up in this narrow valley and that the walls of the town must have enclosed the valley, on the descent from the hill of al-Mudayna and the rise towards those of Las Vistillas and San Andrés, as was the case with the mediaeval and modern surrounding walls (see the engraving of Códice de Verguer, 1563-70). But the archaeologist Basilio Pavón is not in agreement with this hypothesis about the southern limits of Madrīt; he considers that the wall of the second enclosure skirted the northern ridge of the small valley, running parallel to the Calle Mayor, a hypothesis which had already been propounded by E. Tormo. It would be necessary to attribute an origin to the Christian period to the wall which encloses the valley, Las Vistillas and San Andrés, and which would have formed a third southern tier in the fortifications of Madrid. B. Pavón furthermore maintains that the citadel or first tier did not embrace entirely the hill of the Palacio Real; the southern section, currently occupied by the cathedral of the Almudena, would have formed a part of the second tier, as far as the Puerta de la Almudena. Almudena or al-Mudayna would thus be a toponym designating not only the citadel, but the madina or town with the sense of “small town”, in accordance with the text of al-Himyarī.

The site of the Great Mosque is also the subject of various hypotheses. It may have been on the former site of the church of the Almudena or that of the church of San Salvador, which has likewise disappeared and used to stand opposite the present-day Town Hall; it could also have been on the site where the madjar-style church of San Nicolás now stands, a few metres to the north of the extremity of the Calle Mayor. The Fuero de Madrid of 1202 also mentions the existence of asiques (markets, bazaars), the most important of which was situated along the Calle Mayor. There was also an almusa (al-musār), a promenade and place of recreation, as in other towns of the Muslim West; it was most probably located outside the walls. But the most remarkable characteristic of Madrīt, as also of mediaeval Christian Madrid, was its system of catchment and distribution of subterranean waters, this being the basis of the legend, documented from the 15th century onward, asserting that Madrid had been built on water. The hydraulic system of Madrīt— and of Madrid until the 15th century—was based on the catchment of water by means of wells linked by large subterranean galleries (kandt [gēr]), pl. kanaudt) descending from an elevated place towards the town, where they form new ramifications, on or below the surface, which emerge in public fountains, in gardens or in houses. It is highly probable that this technique was employed in various parts of the Iberian Peninsula in pre-Islamic times; but traces of it have only been preserved in Madrid, a huge complex which has lasted remarkably well over the centuries. This is perhaps a tribute to the quality of the soil of Madrid, noted by al-Himyarī, which is such that even today some public fountains of the town are supplied by this system of water distribution. The bands of Madrīt have been studied by Oliver Asin: the two most important canals are the Alto Abrofgal and the Bajo Abrofgal, whose respective sources are situated in two hills which are still known as Carillas and Carilejos, toponyms whose Arabic etymology is to be found in baṣati, of which the plural form bahniya is encountered in the Arabic of al-Andalus. The Alto Abrofgal came to an end by the site of San Nicolás, the church already mentioned, close to the citadel, in the heart of the Arab town. The Bajo Abrofgal terminated at the Puerta del Cerrado, on the hypothetical third tier of the town’s defences.

It is furthermore quite possible that the name of Madrīt should be associated with this hydraulic system, according to a popular etymology which has it evolving from madjar, canal or water-course. The origin of this name does not seem to have interested the Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but as soon as Madrid became the capital of the Spanish Empire at the end of the 16th century, many scholars tried to find Arabic origins for it, helped perhaps by the Moriscos: majjar, madara, madrīt, etc. Subsequently, an etymology of clerical origin prevailed: Maioritum (from the Latin maior), of which Madrīt would be the Arabic transcription. In the 16th century, faced with numerous ill-founded theories, the Maronite priest Michel Casiri (al-Gazri) was obliged to establish a compromise theory; the original name was the Latin Maioritum, but Madrīt was a word of African origin signifying canal or conduit (aquaeductum).

In the 17th century, and in the light of modern philological studies, R. Menéndez Pidal has constructed a hypothetical Celtic name Mezaruso with the sense of “ford” or “long bridge”. M. Gómez Moreno claimed to have discovered in Madrid a terminal -if having its origin in the Latin ending -datum, collective of abundance. Oliver Asin proposed a brilliant hypothesis, that Madrīt must be a hybrid formed from the Arabic word madjar, canal, and from the Roman suffix -if, of abundance; Madrīt would thus signify “place where canals are abundant”. He considered, however, that the present name of the town comes not from the Arabic name Madrīt, but from Madrīti, a Roman toponym having its origin in the Latin Materici, the primitive name of the small valley where the Calle de Segovia is currently situated, on the site of a pre-Arab settlement, according to this author. Finally, Joan Corominas has made some adjustments to this theory while retaining the connection between Madrīt and madjar. He rejects the possibility of the use of the collective -datum (if) other than in the sphere of plants, and he believes that Madrīt is a
metathesis of the word of Latin origin madridi (from matritem), according to a popular etymology which seeks to link it with madjiri. He also considers that the current form of Madrid may derive from the Arabic Madjirith, by means of an intermediary form meddirt with an epenthetic -d.

The best-known native of Madrid in the Muslim period is the astronomer and mathematician Abu l-Kasim Maslama al-Madjiri [g.v.], but other individuals of secondary importance who have been studied by Oliver Asin were also born there. Ibn Hayyân and other historical sources of al-Andalus supply some names of governors of Madrid in the Umayyad period, in particular numerous members of the family of the Banû Sâlim, of Berber origin, and especially in the region of Mâdînacélí firmly implanted in the central marches of al-Andalus. Some time later, he apparently brought the Rasa'il Hikmat al-Saâfi to public attention in al-Andalus. It is possible that he performed the duties of a court astrologer, since in a letter one attributes the cursive form which, according to Ibn Tîhâr (Bowin, ii, 189, 32, 334, vi, 73, 733) and (b) in a Hebrew version; the Arabic translation can be judged thanks to the Paris manuscript which contains Maslama's own commentary, (c) the latter's pupil Ibn BishrQn al-Majli having taught some of the tables of al-Batâini to public attention in al-Andalus. His disciples included: al-Kirmâni (d. 458/1066), who introduced the Rasa'il Hikmat al-Saâfi to Saragoza and the frontier regions of the North; Abu l-Kasim Abû l-Samh (d. 1026/1035), see Ibn Abî al-Samh [g.v.]; Abu l-Kasim Abî al-Esâfi (d. 1426/1435, see Ibn Abî al-Asâfi [g.v.]); the astrologer Ibn Khâyth (d. 1474/1455); the mathematician and astronomer, al-Fârâbî, of the family of the Banû Salim, of Berber origin, and especially in the region of Mâdînacélí (Medina de Madrid, Arbor, xxvii (1961), 155-79. the principal ones are the Kutbat al-hakim, the Qanats, and H. Goblot, das almuxaras: La elimologla de Madrid y la antigua Cta-}


of worship tended to be reinterpreted by semantic having to do with the Yazatas as being deserving literature in a context of polemic with Islam, and Jews and Christians. The most complete dualist of Ohrmazd appear in apologetic contexts with Sasanid period because of its authoritarian implications existed with choice of emphasis and interpretation these represent Ohrmazd and Ahriman as co-etemal to assert the ultimate primacy of the god of Time Monotheist, dualist, and polytheist expressions co¬
nor was there any doctrinal orthodoxy. Sacred book of scripture or closed canon in terms of specific rituals. Since the Avestan texts were im¬
ly murmuring with by eating in a state of ritual silence (in
by tying and untying the sacred cord (A/Lsri), and
purity by performing ablutions with bull's urine
level, the cult involved ceremonies at the hearth fire,
mountains above Ngâhpâr for farmers. Other fires are mentioned on seals and in texts, and although fire temples were usually state property, they could be founded and endowed privately. At the personal level, the cult involved ceremonies at the hearth fire, and emphasized the maintaining of a state of ritual purity by performing ablutions with bull's urine (gômêz) and cold water, by avoiding dead matter, by tying and untying the sacred cord (kahtn), and by eating in a state of ritual silence (âtâq) with only murmuring (sâmâme). The popular cult included food-offerings at fire temples, the veneration of sacred trees, and public seasonal feasts (gâhâmbârs) and dances. The bodies of the dead were exposed in the open. Elaborate private rituals contributed to social differentiation, with the standard of observance greatest among the upper classes and declining as one moved down the social scale among servants greatest among the upper classes and de¬

arguments concerning the definition of deity and of worship.

An elitist social ethic honouring establishmentarian virtues provided ideological justification for the hierarchic society of the Majûs. High values were placed on order, stability, legality and harmony among the functionally-determined divisions of society (priests, soldiers, bureaucrats, and workers, or else priests, soldiers, farmers, and artisans) so each would perform its specific duty towards the others. The justice of rewards and punishments was emphasised at the spiritual, political and social levels, while economic, legal, and religious sanctions were used to ensure the obedience of women and children. Consanguineous marriage (hâmûbôdâs) was approved as a means of preserving the social exclusiveness, solidarity, and purity of descent of the upper classes. Material wealth was equated with the virtue and goodness inherent in the upper classes, whose destiny or fortune (hârûnâh) it was to enjoy the good creation of Ohrmuzd. Naturally anti¬
asetic, their ethic equated poverty with the sin and evil inherent in the lower classes.

Consequently, the Majûs were vulnerable to the loss of political support and to the rejection of authority and material success by alienated members of their own society. In the Sasanid period their position was eroded by the internal ascetic, gnostic sectarian movements of Mani and Mzbdak and by conversions to Christianity in the west and to gnostic sectarian movements of Mani and Mzbdak and by conversions to Christianity in the west and to
In Iran the Madjús kept their fire temples, suffered little interference in their cult at first, and were allowed to pay džiyía. In some places, such as Rayy, Kúnim and Shíz, the peace terms provided for the preservation of their fire temples. However, there was no recognition of the priesthood as the representatives of a religious community by the Muslim state, and since no unitary organization or hierarchy of priests survived the conquest, leadership devolved on local priests and ḍhikhs.

The loss of political power and support had several consequences for the Madjús. First, the loss of members by conversion to Islam was added to continuing conversion to Christianity. The descendants of the Persian soldiers in Yaman (Abad [q.v.]) were converted to Islam in the lifetime of Muhammad, as were the marzbin of Fádjas with some of his followers. A number of ḍhikhs and units of the Sásanid army became converted to Islam in al-Tráq, and by the time of Umar II (691-1006/712-72), the Madjús of al-Hira had become Muslim. Generally, members of the Sásanid establishment became converts in order to avoid paying džiyía, to keep their property and position, and to join the Muslim army and administration. The Madjús also lost many members through captivity, since children taken captive were raised as Muslims. Nevertheless, there was a tendency to early mass conversions in Iran. The governor of Síjistán in 456/666-7, al-Rabí, is said to have encouraged conversion by a combination of persuasion and force, and he required converts to learn the Kurán, Kutubya b. Muslim [q.v.] also encouraged conversion at Buhkara in 94/72-12, built a Friday mosque on the site of the former fire temple, and attracted converts among the poor by paying them two ḍhikhs to worship there, although afterwards conversion was discouraged in order to preserve the tax base. Conversion was also discouraged by the Madjús themselves, who treated apostates as legally dead, disinherited them, and required property to remain within their community. Converts were also subject to discrimination by local authorities, such as Bahram Sís who, when appointed mérsah by the Muslim governor of Khorásán in 105/725 and charged with collecting taxes from the Madjús, collaborated with the Christian and Jewish agents to make 30,000 converts to Islam pay the džiyía and exempt 80,000 non-Muslims.

Second, the advent of Muslim rule subjected the Madjús to sporadic persecution. About 50-5/760-1, Ziyád b. Abífí, the governor of al-Tráq and the east for Mu‘áwiya, sent his cousin Ubayy Alláb b. Abí Balraw to destroy the fire temples and to confiscate their property in Fárs and Síjistán. Although Ubayy Alláb destroyed the fire temple at Káryán near Dárábjírd and killed the ḍhíbíd, the chief hídáš of Síjistán, Shíráq, escaped with his fire temple at Káryán near Zarán because the local divísh and Madjús appealed to the caliph. There were later rebellions in a village at Káryán by al-Hadídijad and at Íhad on the border between Kályán and Isfáhán in the time of Hárún al-Rášíd (170-93/386-909). Al-Mutawakkil (532-47/847-61) is said to have had a famous ancient cypress tree reputedly planted by Zoroaster cut down in 247/861. In 282/901, the Turk Barun, who was governor of Kánn, destroyed a pre-Islamic fire temple in the village of Fárdgán near Isfáhán, and in 289/901 destroyed the last fire temple in the village of Dáshmaran at Kánn. Sometimes fire temples were converted into mosques in places where Arabs had settled or as the result of conversion, although afterwards the Madjús often continued to venerate sites where fire temples had been.

Third, the Madjús gave an apocalyptic meaning to the events at the end of the Sásanid period, interpreting them as signs of the end of the millennium of Zoroastrians and the beginning of the millennium of Oshedar, which calculations based on the Letter of Tárus would place about 41/661 but which was later identified with the beginning of the era of Yazdahzad in 10/631. The end of the millennium was signalled by the advent of Arab rule and destruction by them, and by the overturning of social classes and values, when the nobles would be powerless, separated from their families and forced to share their status with people of low origin, and when people would copy foreign customs. Predictions of the arrival of the liberator, Varhrán Vardjivand, of the destruction of Muslim places of worship, and of a Roman invasion, may belong to the propaganda of Sásanid restoration attempts. The Madjús hoped associated with Abí Muslim have also been linked to Zoroastrian eschatology, the restoration of Zoroastrianism and the end of Arab rule in Káryán. It was against this background that a series of risings by Zoroastrian peasants provoked by fiscal oppression in eastern Iran in the 4th/10th century served as the occasion for the emergence of new anáma, anti-establishment Zoroastrian sects. This began with the peasant revolt near Nishápír led by Bihárfard from 129/766-7 to 351/780, who claimed to be a new prophet with a book in Persian, abolished zamán, the use of wine and meat, consanguineous marriage, and fire-worship, and limited dowries to 400 ḍhikhs. Although the médins got Abí Muslim to suppress the rebellion, his sect could still be found near Marw in the 4th/10th century awaiting his return, even though džiyía was not accepted from them. Madjús also joined the rising of Sínbd in 387/755, and followers of Bihárfard and Madjús in Síjistán and at Harát and Bajdi distributed Ustádhás in 350/767, his sect also survived until the 4th/10th or 5th/11th century. Muslim authors noted four sectarian divisions among the Madjús. Al-Sháhristání lists the Kayümáníyya, Zarawáníyya, Zaráshtíyya, and Sayááyíyya called Bihárfardíyya, while Al-Baghdádi says that the Kayümáníyya, Zarawáníyya, Zaráshtíyya, and Bihárfardíyya, while Al-Baghdádi says that džiyía was only acceptable from the first two.

Fourth, the stability of wealth and poverty among the sinners and apostates themselves produced a change in attitude towards non-conforming members of their own community. Persuasion replaced the threat of force lest sinners be tempted to convert. The nobility of the virtuous poor, whose good works cannot be stolen and who will be rewarded in heaven instead of on earth, appears as a theme in andárs literature. This was probably the result of the growing impoverishment of the priests and ḍhikhs as well as an attempt to keep the loyalty of still poorer members of the community and to prevent a degree of social levelling among Madjús after the Muslim conquest, although the sincerity of the sentiment was questioned in the apocalyptic Dzúsák-náma.

Fifth, unavoidable contact with unbelievers and the loss of texts led to changes in cult and custom. The more elaborate aspects of ritual purity went unobserved. Madjús were allowed to sell animals to non-Zoroastrians when survival depended on it, and they began to expose their dead inside an enclosure (dákhím) out of the sight of unbelievers. They did not consider it a sin to steal property from non-
Zoroastrians that had been stolen from them. Although they learned to be content with compromises that could not be avoided, they also exerted themselves to maintain their rituals whenever they could.

In spite of their decline in status and in numbers, the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries appear to have been a time of relative recovery, stability and consolidation for the Madjus. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (185-218/843-33), a new didactic, apologetic and polemical literature was produced by Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ḥasan (d. 211/826) for the cure of the most prominent and influential of the Madjus at Kairuyn, and in Farghānā, what remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Aṭurūn-bāghi Fārsāhāštūn, mawdūd of Fārs in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. A new didactic, apologetic and polemical literature was produced by Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ḥasan (d. 211/826) for the cure of the most prominent and influential of the Madjus at Kairuyn, and in Farghānā, what remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Aṭurūn-bāghi Fārsāhāštūn, mawdūd of Fārs in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. A new didactic, apologetic and polemical literature was produced by Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ḥasan (d. 211/826) for the cure of the most prominent and influential of the Madjus at Kairuyn, and in Farghānā, what remained of the old religious literature was collected and preserved by Aṭurūn-bāghi Fārsāhāštūn, mawdūd of Fārs in the reign of al-Ma'mūn.

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shrines on the pretext that they had replaced former fire temples.

Customs of Zoroastrian origin can also be found among Muslims, sometimes in secularised form such as the Iranian solar calendar, the celebration of the festivals Navroz and Mihrajgan, or astrology. The fires lit at 1 Safar about 31/32 to celebrate Muhammad's birthday seem to have been inspired by Zoroastrian winter fire festivals. Symbols associated with Zoroastrians such as the cup of Dariush, wine, the tavern, the old mowbad, and the youth came to represent those things forbidden by Islam in Persian poetry with middleasi africa connotations. It is sometimes suggested that so many similarities as these may have made conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam easier, although it might also be suggested that many common features were the result of conversion.

The history of the Madjus in Iran after the 4th/5th century is little-known. They are presumed to have survived as local minorities suffering general disasters with the rest of the population, while their traditions were preserved in priestly and learned lay families. In particular, they preserved and transmitted their religious texts which have survived in India, and manuscript colophons indicate the presence of bchdins in Madjus in the 6th/7th century. A copy of the Vedudvad made in Sidjistan in 601-2/1205 was taken back to India by a Zoroastrian named Mhbar from Uch in the Pandjub who was instructed in the religion by the khvards of Sidjistan for six years. The copy of this text made at Cambay in 723/1323 is the source of the oldest known manuscript of this work. We are also told that in the early 8th/9th century the wazag ceremony for making the mouth-masks worn by priests attending the fire festival was abandoned at Yazd because there was no one left who knew the ritual.

At the same time, Zoroastrians were spreading in Gujdar&t and the Pendjub, beginning in the 6th/7th century as farmers, weavers, artisans, toddy dealers, and merchants in the coastal trade. By then they had returned to Cambay, and by 574/1174 there were Madjus at Navsari, at Andeasvar by 660/1223, and at Thana about 720/1320. By the 8th/9th century, Gujar&t was divided into five religious districts (fontakab). The sole first-rank fire, the Atsh Bahram at Navsari, was at Pendjub and in Sijistan in the 7th/8th century. A copy of the Vedudvad made in Sidjistan in 601-2/1205 was taken back to India by a Zoroastrian named Mhbar from Uch in the Pandjub who was instructed in the religion by the khvards of Sidjistan for six years. The copy of this text made at Cambay in 723/1323 is the source of the oldest known manuscript of this work. We are also told that in the early 8th/9th century the wazag ceremony for making the mouth-masks worn by priests attending the fire festival was abandoned at Yazd because there was no one left who knew the ritual.

The oldest secondary type of fire temple or Dar-i Mihr was at Navsari from about 574-7/1174 onwards, but did not have a permanent fire; the priest attending it brought embers from his own hearth fire every day. There was another Dar-i Mihr at Broach in the late 6th/7th century. By the 7th/8th century, vernacular Gujdar&t versions of Avestan and Middle Persian texts began to be made.

Important changes in the Indian community began with new pressures from Muslims and the Portuguese towards the end of the 9th/10th century. The Zoroastrians who joined the Hindus in the unsuccessful defence of Sambadi against Muslim attack in about 892/1490 left, taking the Atsh Bahram with them in a metal vessel, and eventually settled at Navsari in 922/1326, where a layman (behdin) called Canga Shah, who was the local tax farmer (desai), persuaded the Muslim ruler to exempt local behdins from the gusya. The 10th/11th century saw the rise of the Bhagaria priesthood at Navsari, based on fees for performing rituals, gifts of endowed property and Mughal patronage. In order to control income from fees, in 987/1579 the chief priest at Navsari, Dastar

Mehrdad Rana, required his personal permission for other priests to perform rituals. The priests from Sandjan were only allowed to attend the Atsh Bahram, and became increasingly impoverished as their numbers grew. The desai-gar of Navsari remained in the family of Canga Shah until 1490-5, when Kaykobad the son of Mehrdad Rana combined it with the priesthood. This concentration of priestly authority and control, as well as a greater degree of organisation, signals the formation of the Parsi community. To give it a backbone of uniform and authoritative content, from the time of Canga Shah onwards questions on doctrine and ritual were sent to the priests at Yazd and Kirman. Their answers survive in the form of letters (Rivayals), the earliest in 883/1478 and the latest in 1187/1773, which provide precious evidence for the circumstances of Zoroastrians in Safavid Iran.

By the end of the 9th/10th century, Yazd and Kirman had become the spiritual if not numerical centres of Iranian Zoroastrianism. The Rivayals reveal the presence in 926/1520 of 500 behdins as Yazd, with 400 more in the villages of Turkabad and Sharifabad, 700 at Kirman, 2,700 in Sidjistan and 1,700 in Khurasan. These figures must represent the minimum adult male population, for we also hear of a group of 3,000 behdins at one place in 883/1478 in Kirman, while 21 behdins from Kirman had their own congregation at Kirman in 966/1559. There was also a Gujarsap Fire at Kirman, and Zoroastrians could still be found in Fars. Local communities appear to have been under the joint leadership of desais and behdins. In the late 9th/10th century there were only four or five khvarts well-versed in Pahlavi at Yazd, who performed all the rituals. The priests complained of being unable to get behdins to give them the tithe of their income, although they performed all the meat offerings at Dar-i-Mihr because of their owners and the desai recognised by the offerer. Relations with non-Zoroastrians were rather ambivalent. Behdins were urged to keep their promises and to pay their debts to non-Zoroastrians, and the testimony of a non-Zoroastrian was accepted in a case between two Zoroastrians before a Zoroastrian judge. However, the robbery and murder of unfriendly non-Zoroastrians were condoned and there are references to forced conversions to Islam both in Iran and in India. There was a reliance on the apotropaic function of rituals performed to repel powerful enemies, the tyranny of rulers, the loss of property, conversion and disease, as well as to gain worldly advantages such as wealth, happy marriages or royal favour. Anxious behdins were exhorted to exert themselves and to hope for the best. Although the year 1000 in the era of Yazdadjird fell in 1040/1631, expectations of the arrival of the millennium and of the saviour Bahram Vardjivand or of Oshmid were expressed throughout the period, including in 883/1478, 935/1533, 977/1566, 982/1574-5, 1045/1637, 1054/1647 and 1083/1662.

In the 11th/12th century, the Zoroastrians of Iran are described as farmers, labourers, fuller嘴 manufacturers of carpets and, especially at Kirman, of woollen cloth, and they used their own dialect of Persian called Dari among themselves. Men wore undyed garments and women wore red and green clothing. In ca. 1077/1668, Shah 'Abbas I (955-1038/1588-1629), who is remembered as a just king, brought 1,500 peasant families from Kirman to Isfahan as labour and settled them across the Zanda Rijad near Dylius at Gabbrabad. In 1027/1618 their district consisted of about 3,000 plain, single-storied
houses along several long, wide, straight, tree-shaded streets, and the people worked as labourers and craftsmen in Isfahan and the countryside nearby. There was a dakhma outside their settlement where they placed their dead fully clothed. Most of them returned to Kirmān when ʿAbbās I died, and ʿAbbas II (1052-77;1623-66) turned the district into a suburban resort with palaces, mosques, markets, and baths and moved the remaining Zoroastrians to the oasis priests. Durham estimated that the Zoroastrian population of Kirmān at over 10,000 in 1064/1654, many of whom were involved in the wool industry. In 1064/1654 a new khāna-yi mīhr was built at Kirmān by a behdīn, and there are references to pilgrimage to the shrines of Kirmān and Isfahan.

The attraction of India as well as the possibilities for the religious integration of Zoroastrians had already been demonstrated by the syncretistic mystical movement of Atar Kayawī (1319-40 to 1337-53;1660-81) and his followers in Patna, Lahore and Kashmir in the first half of the 17th/18th century. Their allegorical interpretation of Zoroastrianism allowed them to combine it with Hindu asceticism and Sufi Neo-Platonism. Half of the group were Sabs north-west of Yasd at mid-century. Conditions appear to have worsened towards the end of the 17th century. The internal conflict, however, was continued in the 18th/19th century in a controversy over the ritual calendar at Surat, which was in economic decline in the 1740s/18th century with trade shifting to Bombay, while Marathā control of rural areas deprived the traditional elite of its former sources of income. In 1749/1750 an Iranian behdīn encouraged the laymen of Surat to adopt the old-style Kadimi calendar used by Zoroastrians in Iran instead of the Parsī calendar which had fallen one month behind it. This issue led to violence in 1747/1686, but the behdīns successfully boycotted the Bhagaria priests by establishing secondary fire temples (Dar-i Mihr, Agāsari) for laymen for the second-rank fire (Ardā Azar). The quarrel finally ended when the Atdsh Bahram was removed from Navsari and permanently established at Udvada in 1755/1792.

The Parsī community is reflected in the composition of the pandalayat appointed at the request of the British by the Pandi Andjoman in 1801/1787 which contained six behdīns and six priests, both Kadimī and Shāhānshāhī, while the pandalayat of 1818-36 had twenty behdīns and six priests. In addition to controlling
community charities, the latter panjâyât issued behavioural codes aimed at increasing conformity and eliminating popular syncretism and participation in non-Zoroastrian customs. The code of 1819 forbade Parsi women to attend Hindu or Muslim places of worship, to wear their charms or to perform their rituals. The code of 1823 forbade child marriage and costly rituals at weddings and funerals, while the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 ended polygamy.

In the 19th century, religious reform was an important means by which the new élite of urbanized, educated, westernising laymen, prominent in British and native administration, business and the professions, aimed to control the rest of the community, although they had growing cultural differences with the poor, rural, conservative majority of Parsis. Reform was also a reaction to the threat of conversion by Christian missionaries, which provided the immediate impetus for the foundation of the Rahnamâi Mazdayâsan Sabha by a group of young, wealthy, educated laymen in 1852 for the purpose of encouraging a return to the original ideals of Zoroastrianism. The same interests led to the foundation of a school in Bombay in order to train the sons of priests for the priesthood in 1854. Modernist reformers and apologists were attracted to the theories of Martin Haug, that the original monotheistic religion of Zoroaster had been corrupted afterwards into ritualistic dualism by the priests. Haug's theories were used to counter Christian criticism by intellectuals who were also attracted to the Theosophical Society. Reformers who favoured rational explanations for the cult objected to the use of texts that no one understood in rituals, while conservative priests insisted on the effectiveness of ritual liturgies and on the importance of purification from pollution, preserving a way of life increasingly limited to themselves and ignored by laymen. These issues became involved in the conflict between reformers and conservatives over the role and income of priests called the frasângi controversy, which mainly involved opposition to expensive, repeated ceremonies for the dead and which is still current and unresolved.

Nevertheless, the Parsi community multiplied in the 19th century. By 1841 they numbered 65,000 in India with 3,000 more abroad, about 10,000 of whom were Kâdâris. Although intermarriage between the sects was also allowed by the 19th century, objections to accepting non-Zoroastrians into the community as converts increased because of fears that lower caste Hindus would be attracted by Parsis also emerged as the leaders of the world's Zoroastrians as the result of changes in both India and Iran.

Although estimates of the Zoroastrian population of Iran in the early 19th/18th century that range from 100 to 1 million seem exaggerated, there can be no doubt that their numbers declined disastrously due to the combined effects of massacre, forced conversion and emigration in that century. Having suffered massacre and forced conversion at the hands of the Safavid army that expelled the first Afghan invasion in 1133/1720, the Zoroastrians of Kirmân and Yazd joined Mahmûd's Afghan army during the second invasion in 1135/1722 and also served as officers in the army of Nâdir Şâh (1149-60; 1173-47). The sack of Kirmân by the Afghans after the death of Nâdir Şâh, one repeated by the Kâdâris in 1209/ 1794, left the Zoroastrian district in ruins. By the end of the century, almost none of the 12,000 Zoroastrians at Kirmân survived, and the Zoroastrian population of Iran is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 and then to about 30,000 in the reign of Muhammad Şâh (1234-48); of these, some 8,000 were at Yazd.

The late 18th/19th and early 19th centuries seem to have been a time of unprecedented insecurity, poverty, and discrimination for the Zoroastrians of Iran. The extent of the oppression they suffered then appears to have been more a reflection of contemporary social problems in Iran, where they served as scapegoats for the frustrations of their Muslim neighbours, than to have been characteristic of centuries-long conditions. However, Zoroastrians were vulnerable to robbery and kidnapping while their murder went unpunished. Although they were required to wear honey-coloured clothing and were officially forbidden to build new or to repair old houses, to wear new clothing, to ride horses, to travel outside of Iran or to engage in skilled crafts or professions that might bring them into contact with Muslims, summary rules were enforced in the usual selective way and exceptions can be found to many of them. Forms of economic discrimination that prevented them from accumulating wealth were probably more effective than social pressures. Zoroastrian merchants were subject to extra taxes, newly-acquired property was taxed up to one-fifth of its value and houses were liable to be lost. The activity of daily dârs, which was supposed to amount to 2,000 idâms, which by mid-century was paid by 1,000 adult males, was reduced to ten day's wages for a labourer. The Şâh legal provision that favours a Zoroastrian convert to Islam over other Zoroastrian heirs encouraged conversion and resulted in the loss of property. During the 19th century, forced conversions created a population of half-Zoroastrian, half-Muslim màjid-al-Islâm at Yazd with distinctive clothing and a separate cemetery.

For self-preservation, the Zoroastrian community turned inwards. The style of fire temples and homes provided a maximum of protection and concealment from unfriendly intruders. The exterior of fire temples resembled private houses, while inside was a confusing maze of rooms, passages, and low doors with the fire chamber behind a blank wall and inaccessible even to the faithful. A succession of defensible doorways guarded the entrance to homes, while access over the rooftops was restricted by covering the courtyards to protect the women, children, and valuables. Only property endowed as waqf for the benefit of the benefactor's soul was respected by Muslims. In spite of general illiteracy, religious learning was preserved among priestly families that provided local readership, especially in the villages. From the late 18th/19th century onwards, refugees who escaped to India became objects of Parsi aid and concern and helped to develop trade connections between Yazd and Bombay.

In 1854 the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Bombay sent Manakji Limji Hataria (1813-90) to Iran, where he found the Zoroastrian community had shrunk to 7,725 people. Yazd was the main surviving centre, with 6,658 Zoroastrians in the city and 24 surrounding villages. Most of them were farmers, but there were also about one dozen merchants at Yazd, while the poorest were artisans, weavers, bricklayers and carpenters. Each spring a group of several hundred Yazdifs went to Tehran to work as gardeners, even in the royal
by the end of the century, while their children in cities and provincial towns but keeping up some is still transitional, with the labour force living increasingly Muslim as the result of immigration. entire deserted the villages south of Kirmān and increasing oppression. By 1962 Zoroastrians had conflicts over water, and moved to Kirmān to escape remaining Zoroastrians were at a disadvantage in move into them. In these newly-mixed villages the 20th century. As a falling water tabic, rural impover¬ based priesthood has been drastically affected by be challenged by the creation of a new secularly- based priesthood has been drastically affected by diversities and religious reforms from Bombay. ManakdjT revived abandoned rituals, forbade animal sacrifice, the eating of beef and camel meat, and he discouraged polygamy, the use of cosmetics and Muslim clothing styles as too immoral. The sons of priestly families took advantage of the opportunity for a secular education in the village schools and left for the cities in order to become physicians, teachers, engineers, bankers and merchants.

While villagers at Yazd remained engaged in the traditional fields of work from the Gulf across central Iran as camel-drivers and owners until the early 20th century, by the end of the 19th century many Yazdis were going to work in Bombay and the women they left behind often put themselves under Muslim law to claim a share of their inheritance. Zoroastrians from the provinces were also employed by the Indo-European Telegraph and by Tehran banks in the last two decades of the 19th century. Yazd merchants grew wealthy through their contacts with India by the end of the century, while their children left for Bombay and the import-export trade, re-investing their profits later in industry. Their numbers rose again to about 8,900 in 1879, over 9,000 in 1892 and about 11,000 in 1902, with the largely rural majority still at Yazd and Kirmān. However, modernising changes, new opportunities and wealth had begun to transform the Zoroastrian community by the late 19th century, breaking down village and communal ties and undermining the position of the priests, whose authority began to be challenged by the creation of a new secularly-educated elite of laymen.

The position and even existence of the village-based priesthood has been drastically affected by the increasing urbanisation of Zoroastrians in the 20th century. As a falling water table, rural impoverishment and the lure of employment in cities drew Zoroastrian peasants from the villages south of Kirmān early in this century, Muslims began to move into them. In these newly-mixed villages the remaining Zoroastrians were at a disadvantage in conflicts over water, and moved to Kirmān to escape increasing oppression. By 1962 Zoroastrians had entirely deserted the villages south of Kirmān and lived entirely inside the city, where they numbered 2,385 in 1963 in spite of emigration to Tehran. The villages around Yazd have also become increasingly Muslim as the result of immigration and conversion. The urbanisation of Zoroastrians is still transitional, with the labour force living and working, often seasonally, outside the villages in cities and provincial towns but keeping up some joint family ties and sending part of their income back to support the women, children and old people who remain behind to manage the land. People who have moved to Tehran still keep their houses in Yazd and return for the annual ceremonies for the dead.

Religious usages have been affected by strong Parsi influences, modernisation and changes in social context. Although a bull was sacrificed annually at Yazd until the late 19th century and sheep was offered to the fire until the early 20th century, most Zoroastrians in Iran have abandoned animal sacrifices since 1900 and object to calling those animals slaughtered and eaten at seasonal festivals sacrilegious. Nor has čoča been used since the middle of the 19th century, although offerings to water are still made. New Indian-style fire temples open to laymen were built in Tehran in 1906, in Kirmān in 1923 and in Yazd, and the fire now burns in silver vessels, Indian fashion, instead of in the stone altars. Old festivals such as Sada, 100 days before Nawrz, have been revived and new ones such as the birth—day and death of Zarōoster on 7 Farvardin and 5 Day respectively have been created. While rituals that survive have their meaning subject to reinterpretation, the elaborate details of purification have been observed only by priests since the early 20th century. Unable to live on the fees for rituals, the priesthood has declined in number. There are now only 15 Iranian priests, and only about half of all living older and no young Iranian priests are being trained. Since they are too few to serve all the fire temples, those are now sometimes kept up by laymen, and since the 1940s communal leadership has developed on the anda'dman in Tehran.

Several issues currently divide younger, educated, modernised Zoroastrians from the older, more conservative generation. The younger generation objects to interbreeding through marriage between converts, because of the high incidence of hereditary diseases within the community and favours inter¬ marriage with non-Zoroastrians, the acceptance of converts, and the re-admission of recent converts to Islam and the Bahá'í Faith. Their opponents wish to preserve racial purity, and fear that to encourage apostasy from Islam would provoke Muslim violence against them. Although the influence of the Bahá'ís is credited with improving their own security, most Zoroastrian families have lost members as converts to the Bahá'í Faith because of its appeal to young people impatient with priestly authority. The practice of interring the dead on a metal stretcher in a grave with cement walls and cover, instead of exposure in a daḵham was started at Tehran and Kirmān in the 1930s and was begun at Yazd in 1965. By 1975 a daḵham was used only at the village of Šahrābād. The sects formed during the calendar dispute still exist. Iranian Zoroastians adopted, in 1939, a seasonal calendar beginning at the vernal equinox, which is close to the Iranian secular calendar, although the community at Yazd reverted to the kyadnil calendar in 1940.

After recentently slighty to about 10,000 in the 1930s, the Zoroastrian population of Iran rose to 16,800 by 1938 and by the 1970s to between 20,000 and 25,000, with 19,000 in Tehran and other cities. The younger generation has taken advantage of the opportunities in management and in the professions provided by the economic growth in Iran in recent decades. In the 1960s and 1970s the five major Zoroastrian firms in Iran were all leaders in their fields and Iranian Zoroastrians were encouraged to
return from India. However, the Iranian revolution of 1979 has created anxiety in the Zoroastrian community and uncertainty about the future.

The relative circumstances of the two communities have been reversed in the 20th century, which has been a period of retribuncheon for the Parsi. The Isma’iil Ahmadi movement began in Surat in 1947 as a combination of Theosophical ideas with ritual purity which was justified as being the esoteric meaning of the Avesta. In a victory for the conservatives, membership was restricted to descent from Parsi families in 1909, the only exception being the child of a Zoroastrian man by a non-Zoroastrian woman. The communal welfare system, supported by the benevolence of the members of the few very wealthy families, leaders in Indian commerce and industry, and providing schools, hospitals, and the cost of marriages and funerals, as well as fire temples and daḵhmen, became increasingly inadequate to care for the growing numbers of the poor created by rural flight to Bombay. Social and economic changes since independence have eroded the economic base of the community still further. Increasing industrialisation has brought more management opportunities for other Indians than for Parsis: support for communal charities has been reduced by taxation to pay for the state’s socialist and welfare programs; and Parsis have been hurt by the effect of prohibition on the toddy industry, which began in Gujrat in 1937, and of land tenure acts on Parsi landlords with Dobra labour. The Parsi population in Gujrat in 1937, and of land tenure acts on Parsi


In spite of her tendency to minimise pre¬modern change, the most important work on modern Iranian Zoroastrians and the history of the Zoroastrian cult is that of M. Boyce, The fire temples of Kerman, in AO, xxx (1968), 51-72; idem, Bibi Shahbanu and the lady of Pars, in BSOAS, xxx (1967), 30-44; idem, The Zoroastrian villages of the Jupar Range, in Festschrift für Wilhelm Eduard, 149-36; idem, On the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians, in BSOAS, xxxi (1968), 52-68; idem, The pious foundations of the Zoro¬astrians, in BSOAS, xxxi (1968), 271-80; idem, Manuṣchi Lomī Hauria in Iran, in K. R. Cara Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume, Bombay 1955; and the Feast of Sade, in Festschrift für Wilhelm Eduard, 229-236.

The Zero¬astrians from the viewpoint of social anthropology is by M. Fisher, Zoroastrian Iran between myth and praxis, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago 1973, unpublished.

(M. MORONY)

al-Māḏīs, the term used by Arabic historians and geographers writing about the Maghrib and Mus¬lim Spain with the sense of Northmen, Vikings, denoting the participants in the great Viking raids on Spain. These raids were maned from Scandinavia, sc. from Norway, Denmark and to a certain extent also from Sweden, the raiders leaving Denmark, Norway and Ireland, where Norwegian Vikings from the end of the 830s had gained a firm footing and had founded some minor tributary states towards the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In western Latin and Spanish sources they are called, inter alia, Normanni, Normannni, Loridomani, Lor¬manni, Almoravides, Almunsūs and Almowndin.

1. The first attack by the Vikings on Muslim Spain took place in 230/844. As early as 1 Dhū 'l-Hijja 229/228 August 844, 54 Viking long ships (the Norwegian Gokstad ship from the latter half of the 9th century, the biggest ever found, was 23.8 m. long, 5.1 m. broad amidships, had 16 oars and 32 shields on each side, and could take 70 men, The Viking, London (1966), 254 appeared, and the same number of smaller ships, in the estuary of the Tagus, anchored there and fought three fierce battles against the defenders. After thirteen days they re-embarked and sailed south¬wards. The governor Wābb Allāh b. Ḥazm had in¬formed the amir ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān II, who advised his commanders to be on their guard. Part of the crew disembarked on the coast of the province of Shadhūnā (Sidónia) and occupied the harbour of Cadiz, but the main part of the fleet sailed up the Guadalquivir and encamped on a large island in the river about 20 km. south of Seville. A few days later, in the middle of October 844, the inhabitants of the city caught sight of the fleet, which then put to sea, sailed on the river. They tried to organise resistance, but as the city had no defences, could do nothing. The few ships they sent against al-Māḏīs were attacked with showers of arrows and were set on fire. The pirates went ashore in the city, where the main part of the citizens had fled precipitately. Those left behind were killed, even old and disabled people; women and children were taken prisoner; and they tried to set the mosque on fire, without success. The sack continued for seven days. ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān sent troops against the invaders, inflicting on them heavy casualties. In the decisive battle to the south of the city on 1 November 844, more than a thousand of the pirates were killed and four hundred others were taken prisoner; these were killed before the eyes of the others, who in great haste fled to the ships and set sail southward. Thirty abandoned Viking ships were set on fire. The defeat of al-Māḏīs was proclaimed all over the country, and ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān even informed the Berber rulers in Morocco, ʿAbd al-Raflmīn II, about the victory. The Viking fleet steered north towards Aquitania after some attempts at landing at Nībla, on the coast of Algarve and in Lisbon; in the meantime, a few Scandinavian ships had made a brief landing on the coast of Ašlā (Arcila [see Ašlā]) in northwestern Morocco, about 50 km. below Tanger. On the dating of the descent on Ašlā and the foundation of the town, see A. Mel¬ving, Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes, Upsala 1955, 51-5.

ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān II ordered defenses and an arsenal to be built in Seville, watch-posts to be set up along the Atlantic coast, and warships to be built in greater numbers, according to Ibn al-Kītīyīn, Hence when in 244/858 another Viking offensive, comprising 62 ships, was launched, the Muslim squadrons patrolled along the west coast of the peninsula up to the French coast. Two of the Viking ships sailing in advance were captured off the coast of Algarve, with their cargoes of silver and gold, prisoners and supplies. The rest of the ships sailed on towards the Guadalquivir estuary, but on discovering that a Mus¬
The Muslim army was advancing along the river valley, they sailed on to Algeciras (al-Dzāira al-Maġdra) [i.e., Algeciras], where they disembarked, took the town and burnt down the great mosque. They were soon driven away, but advanced along the coast of Tunsīr (near Murela) the fleet faced forward up the furrows of Uruyula (Orihuela, 23 km. north-east of Murela). From Algeciras, some of the ships sailed to the northern coast of Morocco, where they took the town of Nakīr, some 20 km. south of Alhucemas Bay, for eight days sacking and taking prisoners all those who did not flee, among those some members of the princely house, later ransomed by the ruler in Cordova. As to the timing of the attack on Nakīr, there is varying testimony among the Arab authors, mentioning the occurrence [see the long discussion in Melvinger, op. cit., 151-77], but the exact date cannot be established, since it has not been possible to investigate what Ibn al-Khṭīb in his still-unpublished part of Aʿmul al-Aṣām relates about Nakīr. After the attack on Uruyula, the Viking fleet sailed towards the French frontier, invaded the country, took rich spoils and numerous captives and passed the winter in the Camargue. Then they returned to the Spanish coast, but were met and attacked by Muhammad I’s ships, which set fire to two of the unbelievers’ ships and took two more as spoils. More than 40 of their ships had now been lost. The rest joined another Viking fleet which had harried the Balearic Islands, and a few smaller ships found their way up the Ebro valley or via the River Bidassoa and its valley from Irún on the Bay of Biscay, so that a contingent arrived at Bambaluña (Pamplona) [see Bambaluña] and in 347/859 captured the amir of the Basques, Gharšiyīn b. Wannajī (García Iníguez), who had to ransom himself for 70,000 dinars. This was published part of ʿAlī b. Ahmad al-Rūdmanī’s [see Al-Rūdmanī] Textos históricos del “Muḥāṣib” de Ibn Hayyān sobre los orígenes del reino de Pamplona, in Al-And., xix (1953), 300). After this Viking raid, which probably lasted till 347/859, it was more than a century before Muslims annals tell us about further attacks from al-Maġūṣ.

On 12 Radjab 353/23 June 966, the caliph al-Hakam II received from Rašīd Abī Dānīs (Alcazar do Sal, 94 km. south of Lisbon) a message that a Viking fleet of 28 ships had been seen in the neighbourhood. The Muslims marched on them when, after ravaging the coast, they reached the place around Lisbon; many were killed in the battle on both sides. The Sevile fleet left and found the enemy ships in the mouth of the River Silves, put several of them out of action, rescued the captured Muslims, whom they found on board, killed a great number of the unbelievers and put the rest to flight. News continued to reach Cordova from the west coast about the movements of al-Maġūṣ, until they disappeared. During the same year, al-Hakam II ordered Ibn Ḥayyān to keep the fleet ready in the Cordova River (se. the Guadalquivir) and to build ships of the same type as those of the Vikings, in the hope that they would come near the ships.

2. At the beginning of Ramaḍān 360f from 21 June 971, alarming rumours spread abroad about movements at sea by al-Maḡūṣ al-Urdūmāniyyīn [on this term, see below]. Al-Hakam II immediately sent the admiral of the fleet to Almeria to make it ready to leave for Sevile and to sail with all the naval forces to the western coastal district, but we hear nothing this time about any landing operation. Ibn Ḥayyān mentions in A.A. el-Hajj, Andalusian diplomatic relations with western Europe during the Umayyad period (A. H. 133-358/ A.D. 752-976), Beirut 1976, 163, also in Hespēris-Tamuda, viii (1957), 74 f.) that at the end of 360/971 the Vikings made an attack on the west coast but that the Muslim fleet was able to repel them. The last thing we hear in Arab sources about Viking raids on Muslim territory is a notice by Ibn Ḥayyān (Lévi-Provençal, Histoire esp., ii, 171 n. 2) about a summer campaign by land to Algarve in Ramayān 361/June 972; the Muslim army advanced up to the town of San-tarem to the north-east of Lisbon and returned to Cordova in the middle of September 972.

In all the previous texts except one, the word al-Maḡūṣ is used about the Vikings, but in the text of 353 the phrase al-Maḡūṣ al-Urdūmāniyyīn is used. The last two texts mentioned above by Ibn Ḥayyān are only available to the present writer in Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por ‘Uṣa Ibn Ahmad al-Rūsī (350-364 H. = 962-972 J. C.). Trad. por E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967, 76, 88, 101, 116-7. The translation has on p. 75 los Mayos, on pp. 88 and 102 lo s Mayos Normandos, and in the events of 17 September 972 on pp. 116-17 first los Mayos Nor¬mandos and then only los Normandos. So there is a certain doubtfulness here. It is no longer a question about al-Maḡūṣ in its earlier sense. This fits well in with the fact that, in this case, the attackers came from Normandy. The Vikings had, after the treaty of St. Clair in 914, been given the territory in northern France which got its name Normandy from them, and had settled there. They no doubt soon accepted the Christian faith, at least officially, but they sometimes received heathen reinforcements from their original fatherland. In the early 960s, one of these bands of reinforcements arrived from Denmark at the request of Duke Richard I of Normandy, who was in conflict with Count Thibaud de Chartres. When peaceful relations between them, the Viking presence was no longer desired in France. They gradually returned to the northern lands, but encouraged by Duke Richard, they made an expedition against Muslim Spain, in the course of which they also attacked Christian Galicia and in 970 occupied Santiago de Compostella, which they held for some time. It was these troops from Normandy, partly heathen and partly Christian, who are here quite logically described by the double name.

3. Only the term al-Urdūmāniyyīn (= Normans) is used by Ibn Ḥayyān in his account of the capture of the town of Barbastro [see Barbastro] in 361/972, when the inhabitants were treated in a very barbar¬ous way by the Christian army, in which Normans were included. The later geographer Ibn Ṣubī al-Munṣīr al-Himyarī uses in a summary account of this same capture of Barbastro the word al-Rudmāniyyīn for “Normans” instead (Melvinger, op. cit., 68 f.).

4. The Spanish-Arabian author Ibn Dīyā (d. 332/945) relates in his anthology al-Maḏḥib min annāf al-Maḏḥib that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (306-332/920-52), after the disembarkation of the Vikings in 844, was said to have had relations with them and sent an ambas¬sador to their country to come to an agreement with them. Ibn Dīyā’s report is founded on what this envoy told the vizier Tammam b. ‘Alīkama (d. 283/896) on his return twenty months later. The ambassador Yahyā b. Ḥakam al-Bakl (al-Ghazāl (d. 370/984) [see al-Ghazāl], who had led a mission to Byzantium in 844, does not give us any details from his journey to the country of al-Maḡūṣ which confirm the authen¬ticity of his report. But even if the journey never in reality took place, it is nevertheless probable
that we have here the contemporary Hispanic-Arabic view of al-Madžūs. The Viking king’s residence, it is related, was situated on a large island in the ocean. There are Madžūs there in great numbers, and in the neighbourhood of this island there are many other islands, big and small, where all the inhabitants are Madžūs… They used to be Madžūs, but now they profess Christianity, after having forsaken the worship of fire, and they continue to marry their mothers or sisters [a trait attributed likewise to the Persian Magians] and practise other infamous deeds. They fight them and make them slaves (Melvinger, op. cit., 58-61, with refs.; here it must be stressed that—pace p. 60 n. 1, the information about marriage with a near relative seems suspicious, and must be due to a misunderstanding on the Arabic side).

The reason why the Vikings and the people or groups of peoples living on the northern fringes of civilization were described by the Arabs as Madžūs was evidently the fact, as appears from the account by Ibn Dībya, that their religion reminded the Arabs of that of the Persian Magians. According to Islamic sources, Madžūs denotes “die Einwohner des alten Persiens, vor allem in ihrer Eigenschaft als Feuerverehrer” (E. Fruin, Feuerverehrung in Kleinasien und Iran, Lund 1946, in Skrifter utg. av K. human, ret.-samf. i Lund, xi, 28). The religion of the Scandinavians and other Germanic peoples was essentially the same. All-Madžūd mentions in his Murājī al-dhahab, written between 944 and 947 (Melvinger, op. cit., 47-8) that in 330/942-3 in Fustat in Egypt he had come across a book written by Bishop Ghudhab, which was first a Madžus and that his companion Ghurūdād (Chrodelchidi) made him a Christian.

According to western sources he was baptised in 496. The same Ghurūdād, whom we have dealt with before in this work,” in his K. al-Buldān (written 297/859), 354, the historian and geographer al-Ya’fī gives names those who in 229/843 invaded and sacked Seville as “al-Madžūs who are called al-Rūs” (al-Madžūs allaahuma yuqudu lahuum al-Rūs). Thus even very early Arabic authors linked the Madžūs with the Rūs, and both the above-mentioned authors were widely-travelled and knew from personal experience the conditions not only in the Middle East but also the western parts of the Mediterranean countries. A. A. EL-Hajji, The Recent Attack on Constantinople in 280, in The Mediæval Acad. of America, Public., xvi, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, 3-4 with refs.). The author al-Watwāl (d. 718/1318) assigns in his scientific and geographic encyclopedia (Melvinger, op. cit., 63) “to Ya’fī’s (Japhet’s) descendants, al-Rūs … They believe in the Madžūs religion and burn their dead in fire.” The Persian Magians, on the other hand, did not burn their dead. The Spanish-Arabic historian and geographer Ibn Sa’ūd al-Mağribī (d. 672/1274) writes in Bābi al-arqf fi jāhili wa l-arqf (Melvinger, op. cit., 62-3) about the great Şāliḳ Island, “whose length is about 700 miles (one mil = 4000 dhūra’) and its extent across the middle about 330 miles. There are mountains, rivers, towns, built-up areas and a numerous population. It is said that they still adhere to the Madžūs religion and worship fire, as they consider nothing more important than this (see first, rochinius, 1902, 7); the fire-scene is well-known, the Muslims in Spain used the term al-Šakāliba as a general word for slaves, procured to Spain from different parts of Europe; since many of them were of Germanic origin or from Scandinavia, in that way the Germanic tribes became known as al-Šakāliba: cf. A. A. El-Hajji, op. cit., 207, n. 1, with refs. and šaṣṭaṣta). The geographer al-Iṣfī (d. 565/1166) says in his Nisbat al-madžūs (Melvinger, op. cit., 37): “The fourth section of the seventh zone comprises the majority of the provinces in al-Rusiyya (Russia), the provinces in Finskirk (Finnmark or Finland), the country of Tabast (Tavastland), the country of Astalanda (Estonia) and the country of al-Madžūs.” R. Eckblom (Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Gestirnländer, in Namen och bygd, xix (1931), 63-6) writes: “Madžūs … is in earlier Arabic sources the usual name for the northern Slavic peoples, and the name is also applied in 852/1449 to the Scandinavians living in North Russia. In the sixth century the Slavs had crossed the Dnieper Life and had thus been introduced into the Russian area. In 1446 the area was conquered by the Tatars, and the name Madžūs remained.”

Thus even very early Arabic authors linked the Madžūs with the Rūs, and both the above-mentioned authors were widely-travelled and knew from personal experience the conditions not only in the Middle East but also the western parts of the Mediterranean countries. A. A. EL-Hajji, The Recent Attack on Constantinople in 280, in The Mediæval Acad. of America, Public., xvi, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, 3-4 with refs.). The author al-Watwāl (d. 718/1318) assigns in his scientific and geographic encyclopedia (Melvinger, op. cit., 63) “to Ya’fī’s (Japhet’s) descendants, al-Rūs … They believe in the Madžūs religion and burn their dead in fire.” The Persian Magians, on the other hand, did not burn their dead. The Spanish-Arabic historian and geographer Ibn Sa’ūd al-Mağribī (d. 672/1274) writes in Bābi al-arqf fi jāhili wa l-arqf (Melvinger, op. cit., 62-3) about the great Şāliḳ Island, “whose length is about 700 miles (one mil = 4000 dhūra’) and its extent across the middle about 330 miles. There are mountains, rivers, towns, built-up areas and a numerous population. It is said that they still adhere to the Madžūs religion and worship fire, as they consider nothing more important than this (see first, rochinius, 1902, 7); the fire-scene is well-known, the Muslims in Spain used the term al-Šakāliba as a general word for slaves, procured to Spain from different parts of Europe; since many of them were of Germanic origin or from Scandinavia, in that way the Germanic tribes became known as al-Šakāliba: cf. A. A. El-Hajji, op. cit., 207, n. 1, with refs. and šaṣṭaṣta). The geographer al-Iṣfī (d. 565/1166) says in his Nisbat al-madžūs (Melvinger, op. cit., 37): “The fourth section of the seventh zone comprises the majority of the provinces in al-Rusiyya (Russia), the provinces in Finskirk (Finnmark or Finland), the country of Tabast (Tavastland), the country of Astalanda (Estonia) and the country of al-Madžūs.” R. Eckblom (Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Gestirnländer, in Namen och bygd, xix (1931), 63-6) writes: “Madžūs … is in earlier Arabic sources the usual name for the northern Slavic peoples, and the name is also applied in 852/1449 to the Scandinavians living in North Russia. In the sixth century the Slavs had crossed the Dnieper Life and had thus been introduced into the Russian area. In 1446 the area was conquered by the Tatars, and the name Madžūs remained.”
5. R. Brunschwig put forward the hypothesis, that, as the law school of al-Awzâ'î (q.v.) declared as Madjus all heathen with whom they wanted to become to an agreement, this was the reason why the Vikings harrying in Spain have been called Madjus in Arabic; "leur premières apparitions sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844, il y a eu entre eux et l'emir de Cordoue des tractions de paix" (Ibn 'AbdAllâh al-Khabûrî et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes. Étude critique, in AÉEO Aïger, vi [1942-7], 112; reprinted in Al-Andalus, xl [1975], 133 f.). But this hypothesis is groundless. There is no certain proof of relations between the Vikings and the Muslim rulers, and in any case, al-Awzâ'î's madhab had been pressed back in Spain by that of Mâlik towards the end of the 2nd/8th century [Melvinger, op. cit., 74-2].

6. Ibn Thârî relates [ibid., 116 f. with ref.] that the ruler Highâm I in 775/972 sent Abd al-Mallî b. 'Abd al-Walîhd b. Mugîtth on a summer campaign to the Rûm country. This expedition is famous in history and one of the most important. He came to Ifrahid (Gorona), besieged the town and made a breach in its walls by using catapults. And he got nearer to the land of al-Madjus, marched through the enemy's land and stayed there several months, burning villages and destroying strongholds. He attacked the town of Arbûna (Narbonne). It was a great victory, where the value of one-fifth of the prisoners amounted to 45,000 in minted coins. In 775/972 Highâm I b. 'Abd al-Rahîm, according to the same author [ibid., 14 fl.] sent out a commander on a summer campaign against Galicia. The latter was informed that Idifunî (Alfonso II el Castro) had asked al-Bashkurxigh (the Basques) for help and the people in this neighbourhood, viz. al-Madjus and others. Ibn al-Athîr [ibid., 10 fl.] speaks about his neighbours the Basques and those of al-Madjus who lived near them and the people round there. In Ibn Hayyân's al-Madâbîs (García-Gómez-Lévi-Provencal, op. cit., 296 f.) it is related about a summer campaign in the year 200/816 against the Prince of Pampeluna that in a battle lasting thirteen days many were killed, among others Saltân, the leader (el mejor caballero) of al-Madjus. Ibn Hayyân (Lévi-Provencal, Hist. Esp. mus., 1, 204) is the only one to mention a campaign against Alava, commanded by the idâb al-samdîy 'Ubayd Allah, who invaded the district in August 825/Ra'î II 210, caused devastation and finally met with the Asturian forces, who, after a battle, put an end to this campaign because the Muslims had asked the Basques to become to an agreement, this was the reason why the Vikings harrying in Spain have been called Madjus in Arabic; "leur premières apparitions sur les côtes d'Espagne en 844, il y a eu entre eux et l'emir de Cordoue des tractions de paix" (Ibn 'AbdAllâh al-Khabûrî et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes. Étude critique, in AÉEO Aïger, vi [1942-7], 112; reprinted in Al-Andalus, xl [1975], 133 f.).

8. Al-Madjus was used in the West as a name for Vikings, evidently because they did not know of, nor did they use, the correct term al-Rûs, which was used by the Arabic Persian authors. Besides, the latter knew the difference, as far as religion was concerned, between the Rûs on one hand and the other the Madjus (Zoroastrians), who never burnt their dead. The Arabs in the West did not know the crucial difference between Vikings and Zoroastrians in the use of fire for funeral ceremonies, but mostly paid attention to the dominant element of the fire itself. And since the Vikings were neither Christians nor Jews, they were consequently assimilated to the Madjus because of the role of fire in their religious culture.

Bibliography: An addition to the works mentioned in the text: R. Dozy's monograph Les normands en Espagne, in his Recueils, ii, 250-371 and Appendix XXXIV, deals with the various attacks by the Madjus in Spain. At the beginning of this survey, references are given to earlier literature by Werlauff, Mooyer, Kruse and Kuhn. Dozy, Melvinger and El-Hajî have abundant references, Dozy and Melvinger also some Arabic texts; see also A. K. Fabricius, La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844, in Actes du Xe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Lísbon 1952. A. Seppell has mentioned all the texts known to him, also dealing with other peoples than the Madjus, in Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici. E libris quam typis exsudat manus scriptis coll. et ed., Oslo 1896-1928, Norwegian tr. in Det Norske Videnskaps-Akad. i Oslo. Skrifter. II. Hist-filos. hi. 1931, no. 2 by H. Birkeland, Nordens historie i middealdelen etter arabiske kjelder. Overs til norsk av arabiske kjelder med innled., forfatterkatalog, bibliografi og merknader, Oslo [1955]; J. Stefansson, The Vikings in Spain. From Arabic (Moons) and Spanish sources, in Saga-Book of the Viking Club, vi (1959), 37-45; F. Lot, Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe, i, Paris 1937, 159-62; Husayn Muhis (Mones), Contribution à l'étude des invasions des Normands en Espagne musulmane entre 839 et 844 [sic] J.C., in Bull. de la Société royale d'études historiques, Égypte, ii (1959); D. M. Dunlop, The British Isles according to medieval Arabic authors, in Jq, iv (1957-9), 11-28; W. E. D. Allen, The poet and the space-wife, a attempt to read the mural "Guisal's embassy to the Vikings, Dublin-London 1660; H. Arman, The Vikings, London 1961, 85-8. (A. Melvinger)

AL-MADJUS — MADMÛN

MADRAS, a major port and city on the Coromandel coast of southeastern peninsular India, in lat. 13°40' N. and 80°15' E., formerly a governorship of the presidency of the same name (the latter comprising the eastern coast of India from Cape Comorin to the Northern part of Calicut coast and as well as a large part of the interior of the Deccan, and the northern Malabar coast); since independence the capital of the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu.

1. Nomenclature. The origin of the name "Madras" has been much debated. Perhaps the two most plausible explanations are offered by Hobson-Jobson, which says Madras was named for the Madras Presidency, and the Madras glossary. The former (532) points out that the "earliest maps" of the region show Madrasapatanam as a Muslim settlement, and "havine got so far we need not hesitare to identify it with Madrasa, a college... That there was such a Madrasa in existence is established by the quotation from Hamilton, who was there about the end of the 17th century. Fryer's map (1619, but illustratting 1672-73) represents the governor's house as a building of Mahomedan architecture, with a dome. This may have been the Madrasa itself. Lockyer (1711) also speaks of a college of which the building was very ancient, formerly a hospital, and then used apparently as a residence for young writers". The *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*, ii, 311, dismisses this idea, however ("Madrasa, a Mahommedan school, has been suspected, which considering the date at which the name is first found seems fanciful"), and vol. ii of this work, the *Madras glossary* (144), offers the alternative explanation that "Madras", in Sarskrit *Mun达尔ipatanã*, is derived from the Telugu *Mundarddu*, the name of a local ruler.

Until the early 19th century Madras was a small fishing village. It is not mentioned by Ibn Batûta, who landed in *Mabhar* [q.a.] at the "large and fine city of Pattan" (though it has been Kaveripattanam, Gibb, op. cit. in *Bibl.*, 263-4 in ca. 739/1338. Marco Polo, however, writes at some length of the shrine of St. Thomas, built at Malipper, "the name of which is still applied to a suburb of Madras about 3½ miles south of Port St. George" (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ii, 354-9).

2. History. In March, 1639, Francis Drake of the East India Company "obtained a piece of ground five miles long, and one broad"; (Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, ii, 279) at the small village of Madras, on which to build a town and fort. The land thus purchased, formerly a part of the vanning Vijayanagar Kingdom, was to become the nucleus of the modern city of Madras.

Called originally by its founders Fort St. George, Madras remained subordinate to the Chief of the Settlement of Bantam in Java until 1653, when it was raised to the rank of an independent presidency. In 1702 David Bhan, a general in the service of the Moghal Emperor Awrangzêb, blockaded the settlement for a few weeks, but without success. In 1744 the town was again attacked, this time by the Maratha, once again unsuccessfully. Fort St. George was expanded and strengthened in 1743, but this failed to prevent Labouissouins from bombarding and capturing it in 1745. The city, by this time the largest in southern India, was restored to the British in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, although the Government of the Presidency did not return to Madras until 1752. The French made a second, unsuccessful attempt to take the Madras in 1758; the city was occupied, but the French, under Lally, failed to take Fort St. George. After two months the French were forced to withdraw by the arrival of a British fleet in the Madras Roads. From this time the city, although threatened in 1769 and again in 1788 by the approach of Haydar Ali and Myson's cavalry, was to remain in British hands.

At the time of the 1971 Census of India, Madras, the third most important port and fourth largest city of India, had a population of 2,469,449 (Census of India, series 19, part X-B); of this number 210,083 (comprising 116,444 males and 93,639 females) were Muslims (Census of India, series 19, part II-C-I). The Census of India figures are not divided to show sectarian affiliations, but the great majority of Madrasi Muslims are Tamil-speaking, either Râthwâ or Lablab [q.o.]. South Muslims of the 'Hamân naqibâb who do not claim Arab ancestry and who predominate in the Imaging Tamil Nadu; or else Marakaray and Rayalar, South Muslims of the Shâfi 'naqibâb who claim some Arab ancestry and who predominate along the Coromandel coast.

MADRASA, in modern usage, the name of an institution of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e., a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type (kuttāb); in mediæval usage, essentially a college of law in which the other Islamic sciences, including literary and philosophical ones, were ancillary subjects only.

1. The institution in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish lands

The subject of Islamic education in general is treated under ARABIA. Here it should merely be noted that the earliest, informal institutions of learning in the Islamic world were probably children's schools, such arrangements doubtless going back to the pre-Islamic period. In Medina, the teachers were often Jews (see Al-Balākīhīr, 473 below); cf. the name rabbānī for the teacher: Kurān, III, 79; V, 44, 63; Bukhārī, ʿImām bāb 10; Yaʿqūbī, ii, 242); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca. After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (al-Mubārakfī, Ḫāsim, ed. Wright, 171). A contemporary of ʿUmar's, Dūhbār b. Ḥayyā, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (muṣallim kuttābī) in a school in Tāʾif (Ibn Ḥadジャar, ʿĪbāda, Cairo 325, i, 235). Muḥāwīyā, who had acted as the Prophet's amanuensis, took a great interest in the education of the young. They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Kurān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Ḥadjdādī and the poets al-Kūmāyī and al-Trīmīmānī are said to have been schoolmasters. (Lammens, Muḥāna, 309 ff., 360 ff.). The main subject taught was ʿadāb, so that the schools of the children were called madījīs ʿadābī (Aḥḡānī, xviii, 87), and the teacher was called muḍādībī, also muṣalīn or muḥāṭīb (al-Makī, Kitāb al-ṣulūb, i, 138, i. 8), in modern times ṣafīb (see Lamo, Manners and customs, 61). The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools; thus Dāhīb b. Muḥāmān, the exegete, traditionalist and grammatical, who died in 109/725 or 110/726 had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, who used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yāḥyā, ʿUdābā, iv, 272-3). As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Dedūnīn being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Baṣra (ibid., ii, 239). School spread during the Umayyad period, and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, Schule und Lehrweise, 4.4). For the subsequent development of children's schools, see kutābā.

2. Islamic studies in the mosque: the early period.

The madrasa is the product of three stages in the development of the college in Islam. The mosque or masjidī, particularly in its designation as the non-congregational mosque, was the first stage, and it functioned in this as an instructional centre. The second stage was the masjidī-kutāb complex, in which the kutāb or hostelry served as a lodging for out-of-town students. The third stage was the madrasa proper, in which the functions of both masjidī and kutāb were combined in an institution based on a single masjidī (q.v.) deed.

The masjidī (q.v.) appears early in Islam as a centre for instruction, above all for the inculcation of the sacred texts and scriptures. Within the masjidī, the focus of learning was the masjidī (q.v.), from gidāsa "to sit up" in contradistinction to the near-synonymous verb baṣada, which means "to sit down". Learning took place in the masjidī, a place of worship, specifically a place of prostration (from ṣajāda, "to prostrate oneself") in prayer before God. From the prostrate position of the prayer, the teacher and his students would then "sit up", and the class, or masjidī, would begin. (From the near-synonymous verb baṣada, the masjidī, i.e., masjidī, is a bunch, upon which one sits from a standing position).

In the new studies associated with the mosque, the learning by heart and the understanding of the Kurān formed the starting-point and next came the study of hadīth, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (al-Bukhārī, ʿImām bāb 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 48). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in matters of the law, and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of hadīths. This process is reflected in the hadīth sciences. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about hadīth (ibid., bāb 4, 28, 30, 31, 51); the Prophets sit in a mosque surrounded by a halāka and instructs this hearer; the latter repeat the hadīth three times until they have learned them (ibid., bāb 8, 30, 35, 43). The Prophet sent teachers of the Kurān to the tribes, and so did ʿUmar in the year 17 (ibid., bāb 25). The place where this is strongly emphasised. Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognized when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Bukhārī, ʿImām bāb 20; cf. Proverbs, xvii, 4; Pirke ᾲbrōba, i, 4, 11) and the teachers are called rabbānīyyān (al-Bukhārī, ʿImām bāb 10). A special class of students, ahl al-ṣulūm, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (ibid., bāb 7, 22). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islam. In this simple form of instruction, which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions, lay the germ of Islamic studies. The knowledge imparted was ʿilm or hikma (ibid., bāb 15). It was from the study of the Kurān and of hadīth that a science of jurisprudence began to develop, since the principles which were to be followed by the faithful did not always come ready-made from the mere reading of scripture. Although the early religious scholars, the 'ulamā (q.v.) (sing. ʿulīm), were usually the experts on the Kurān and were called al-kutābī (sing. kūṭībī) [see KUTĀB, and 3 and KURRA], on the hadīth (q.v.), and were called al-muhaddīthīn (sing. muḥaddīth), and on Kūrānic exegetics and were called al-muṣaffārīn (sing. muṣafārī) [see TAṢBĪH], yet the 1st century of Islam saw the development of the jurist-doctor of the law, the muṣīfī-fatḥī. The turn of the century was later commemorated as "the Year of the Jurists", sanāt al-jahāli, because of a number, generally considered to be seven, who died in and around that time (J. Schacht, Origins, 243, and see AL-FUṢAHĀʾ AL-SBĀʾI). We hear of a muṣīfī for studies in the Medina.
mosque in the 1st century A.H. (Aghani, i, 48; iv, 192-3). Yâlid b. Abî Bâbû sent by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azîz as muftî to Egypt, is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (Sunî, ibn al-mukhtarî, i, 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Laylî (al-Kindî, Wulât, 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements fatwâs were issued, had his hadâ'î in the mosque (Sunî, i, 134). 'Umar II had before this sent al-Nâfi', the masûdî of Ibn 'Umar, to Egypt to bring them the sunan (ibid., 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Qur'an to the Maghrib as hadâ'î to teach the people bâ'î'a (ibid., 131). Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. The first teachers in the mosques were the bâ'îs, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Qur'an and the proper conduct of divine service. Their masûdî was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. al-Bukhârî, Jâm, bâb 29). The instruction started in the mosque of 'Amr was continued for centuries. In the 2nd/8th century, al-Shâfi'î taught various subjects here every morning till his death (304/918) (al-Suyûtî, al-muhadara, ii, 134; Talhî, Usûlan, vii, 63). It was after this time that the study of fiqh came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give fiqhîs (cf. Sunî, i, 182-3).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islam; the fakÎh Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (d. 95/713*4; cf. al'Tabari, caliphate, 218/833, the extension across the lands of the eastern caliphate during the 4th/10th century by Badr b. Hasam-awîy (d. 405/1014), governor of several provinces under the Buwayhîs (see HASANAWIY), such men of power and influence needed the good offices of the 'ulama', their sure link with the masses of the faithful. To establish this connection, such men founded for the 'ulama' institutions wherein they could teach the Islamic sciences. Besides carrying favour with the 'ulama', the powerful founders were perpetuating highly munificent acts of charity endearing them to the masses and the 'ulama' alike.

The terminology for legal studies developed before the flourishing of the madrasa in the 3rd/11th century. It derived from the radicals al-ru. The second form of the verb, al-nusrah, used without a complement, meant "to teach law", its verb noun was used in the sense of "the teaching of law", the function as well as the post of professor of law; the plural, tâdrîs, or "professorships of law", was of later development, when the holding of several professorships by one doctor of the law became a common practice. The term fakîh, meant "a lesson or lecture on law"; madi'da, the active participle, meant "the professor of law". It must be kept in mind that these terms had these significations in different senses, reference to law, especially when used in the complete form, without a complement. The term masâ'id, used in the sense of "doctor of the law", or "professor of the law", was of later development, when the holding of several professorships by one doctor of the law became a common practice. The term fakîh was used in the sense of "doctor of the law", or "student of law", particularly "a graduate student", in contradistinction to mudallâh, used to designate the "undergraduate". The accomplished fakîh was eligible to become a maddâris and a můjîf; for as a fakîh who had successfully defended his theses in disputations (mutâ'a), he obtained his licence to teach and to issue legal opinions (fûjud fi 'l-thulthî) (K. 122).

The college of law therefore began as a masâ'id and was soon joined by the hâmî or hostel for out-of-town students. The lodging place next to the masâ'id was especially necessary for the student of law as distinguished, for instance, from the student of the hadîth. Jurisprudence was by now a science whose rudiments had to be learned in a period of years, usually four, and these usually under the direction of one master. After this basic undergraduate training, if he was successful and chosen by his master as a sbîb or fellow, he went on to graduate studies, which lasted an undefined period of time, some followed working as repetitors (ma'dî) under their masters for as many as twenty years before
acquiring their own professorial chair. In contrast, the student of hadith travelled from one place to another, acquiring rare hadiths, and collections of hadith, from hadith-masters who often were the last link in the chain of transmitters, holding alone the authorisation to pass on their collections authoritatively to others. The hadith student travelled therefore from place to place and collected as many authorisations, iji'd, as possible from as many masters as he could reach. The law student was interested in an authorisation covering a field of knowledge, that of law, in one iji'd; the licence to teach law and issue legal opinions, iji'd al-adh, it was therefore necessary as a lodging-place for law students away from home.

3. The library as an adjunct to the mosque and other institutions of higher learning.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the musjiin or al-ul'm (e.g. al-Shafi'i al-Baghdadi, Yikli, Udabha, 1, 252; cf. iv, 289). Many other libraries were semi-public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, falsafa, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy; the latter were called al-ul'm al-basma or al-ul'm al-mad (cf. Goldziher, in Alh. Ph. Al. W., 1915). The academy, ba'i, or madrassa (e.g. al-Mahmud al-Razi, founded by al-Mahmud of Bagdad in 279/892), was a learned place for a scholar to give his books for the use of the musjiin or al-ul'm. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundeshapur in 198-218/813-33) in Baghdad, deserves first mention. With the dar al-ul'm or dar al-hikma founded by al-Hikim in 395/1005. It contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians and assistants, with their servants, administered it, and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented—astronomy, medicine, etc., in addition to the primary legal studies. Al-Hikim built similar institutions in the Umayyad (al-Maqrizî, i, 334 ff.). The whole institution was closely associated with Shi'a propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the dar 'l-darâ'it, who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (al-Maqrizî, iv, 226; al-Kâshâshâbi, al-aksâ's, iii, 487; see also madrasa. 2. In Isma'îlism usage). A similar missionary institute (dar al-darâ'it) was built in Aleppo in 507/1112-13 by the amir Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghribirdî, ed. Popper, ii, 362). We may assume that the accommodation and rooms were also arranged for the performance of the salât.

With the dar al-hikima, Islam was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Maqrizî mentions a dar al-hikma of the pre-Islamic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv, 372); Ibn Abî Usaybiya also mentions pre-Islamic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (dar al-sîmû, i, 104), and the similarity with the Alexandrine Museion, which was imitated in Pergamum and Antioch, for example, is apparent (J. W. H. Walden, The university of ancient Greece, Bâle, 1919, 45-50). Al-Hikim's institution was finally closed with the end of the Fâtimid dynasty (567/1171). al-Din had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000, but many were saved for new libraries. Buildings were also arranged for the performance of the salât.


1. The origin and spread of the madrasa proper. Although the madrasa proper now began to evolve, there was for a long time much overlapping between
the mosque and the madrasa, for even after the appearance of madrasas, the regular mosques remained school as before.

Ibn Battûta, who traveled in the 8th/14th century, in the period when madrasas flourished most, attended lectures on hadith in the Dâkimî of Shâhîz, and in the Dâkimî of the Maqâmar in Bâghdâd (I, 83, 210). In Damascus in 589/1194, Ibn Dâbîyâr only gave 32 rooms to the Umayyad Mosque, which were used for Shâfiî and Malikî students, who received considerable stipends (ṣâlîh, ʿāmmân) (Râhîa, 272, above). In Egypt in the time of al-Mâkûlî (5th/11th century), there were 8 rooms for iṣâh studies in the Mosque of ʿAun (al-Mâkûlî, iv, 20, 21). In al-Ashâr in the 7th/13th century, and later, after the earthquake of 702, many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (ibid., 52), likewise in the Mosque of al-Ḥâkîm (ibid., 57).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a madrasa; for example six of the Damascene madrasas were built in the Umayyad Mosque (I. A. s. 9, iii, 410, 432, 437; iv, 262, 270, 481; others: vi, 230). The madrasas were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (Chron. Mecca, ii, 104 f.; cf. Ibn Baṭṭûta, i, 342). The name of madrasa was decided on.

The building of madrasa was an independent institution, and the ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less so as the sermons were also preached in the madrasa. In the Nîzâmîyya in Nâysâbûr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by Abû al-Râhîm: Wiistenfeld, 1, 236), and for Rukn al-Dîn al-Iṣâfînî (d. 526/1132) a school was built which surpassed all others (ibid., 239). As early as the 4th/10th century, we find al-Mukaddasî praising the very fine school at al-Shârîn (EGD, iii, 313). In the first half of the 5th/11th century, there were four especially famous madrasas in Nîyâsbûr: al-Madrasa al-Bayhâkîyya, founded by al-Bayhâqî (d. 438/1046), when he became a teacher in Nîyâsâbûr in 441/1049-50 (Wiistenfeld, op. cit., iii, 270); al-Saḍîqîyya founded by the amīr Nasr b. Sâbûkhî (governor of Nîyâsâbûr in 359/969); one built by Abû ʿAbdallâh Isfâfî al-Astârîbâdî, and another built for the teacher Abû ʿAbdallâh al-Iṣâfînî. A Nîzâmîyya was also built here by Niẓâm al-Mulk for the Imâm al-Harâmâyn al-Dawâyîn (al-Mâkûlî, iv, 192; Husn al-mukâkkârîn, ii, 142-7). It was an event of great importance when Niẓâm al-Mulk (538/1142-92 vizier of the Sulṭâns Alp Arslân and Malik Shâh) founded the celebrated Madrasa Niẓâmîyya in Bâghdâd; the building was begun in 570/1174 and in 571/1175 it was consecrated. It was founded for the Shâfiî teacher Abû Isâbî al-Sâfîrî. The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the madrasa. Niẓâm al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Mâkûlî and al-Sâfîrî point out that madrasas were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named ones; but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al-Subîkî thinks (ṣâyî al-Sâfîrî) that the new feature was that Niẓâm al-Mulk endowed scholarship for the students. This again, however, nothing new, since the financial support and energy of Niẓâm al-Mulk marked the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the madrasa (cf. G. Makdisi, Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh century Bâghdâd, in BSOAS, xxiv [1961], 1-56; A. L. Tibawi, Origin and character of al-Madrasah, in BSOAS, xxv [1962], 215-28; H. Halm, Die Anfänge der Madrasa, in ZDMG, Suppl. III, 1, 19, XIX, Deutsche Orientalistensch (1977), 436-48). The sultan and men of high rank were now interested in it, and the type evolved by Niẓâm al-Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time. We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they were a kind of mosques. The type of school
known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques contained living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name madrasa, plural madāris; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word darasa, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic.

In the time of Nizām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the madrasas spread in Iraq, Khurasan, al-Andalus, etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Nāṣir al-Dīn and Bāghdād. There was also a Madrasa Nāṣimiyah in Bāghdād (Wüstenfeld, Schöfl, 240); in Mawṣil (ibid., 319); in Ḥarrāt, to which al-Shāghī (d. 485/1092) was called from Ghazna (ibid., 310); and in Ḥarrār (Yāḵt, iv, 509). The great vizier's rival Ṭāj al-Mulk (d. 468/1070) founded a Madrasa Tādjiyā in Bāghdād (ibid., 311). In Nāṣirābād, other madrasas were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manfi (d. 469/1070-1; ibid., 277) and a Shābtīyā (ibid., 257).

The prosperity of the madrasas stimulated by the example of Nizām al-Mulk was developing in Bāghdād, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Nāṣimiyah, renovated in 504/1110-11 (Rīktā, 226). In 635/1234, the caliph al-Mustānṣīr founded the magnificent Mustanṣīrīyā as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Qur′ān, but also included merchants and quite a number of women also. This prosperity of the madrasa owes its main origin to two factors. It is a genuine Arabic formation from the word darasa. "to read*, "to study", taken from the word plural middris; it is a genuine Arabic formation. The prosperity of the madrasa is due to two factors. The first is the establishment of schools in the east. The Mongols also built madrasas, which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. The founders were mainly rulers and amirs, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also.

Sālhā al-Dīn introduced the madrasa into Jerusalem. According to Muḥammad al-Dīn (d. 927/1521), there were 31 madrasas and monasteries (which were in part used in the same ways as madrasas) in direct connection with the Haram area, 29 near it, and 26 at some distance. Of these, some 40 are especially called madrasa, one a dār al-Kur′ān and one a dār al-kalālah (Šaibil, Hist. Jirās al-Elmār, Paris 1876, 159 ff.; van Berchem, Corpus, ii, 11; cf. for Sālhā al-Dīn: Ibn Ῥaḥilīn, Wajjā, ii, Cairo 1310/1892-3, 401-2).

Next to Nizām al-Mulk, Sālhā al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of madrasas. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries which became of great importance in the Muslim world: Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fātimids, in the year 586/1191: he had founded in Cairo the Nāṣirīyā for Shāffis and the Kāmiyā for Mālikis; for Shī′is also the Shāfiyīyā and notably the great Salāhīyā or Nāṣirīyā (for the identity of the two, cf. al-Maqrizī, iv, 231, with Ḥusn al-mukādara, ii, 140-2), beside al-Shāfi′ī's mausoleum (Ḥusn al-mukādara, ii, 141-2; al-Maqrizī, iv, 192 ff.; Ibn Ῥaḥilīn, ii, 402 ff). Those around him emulated this activity.

During the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of madrasas increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Zafrayn there were two long rows of madrasas on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. F. Ravasse, in MAF, i, 1089, 400 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maqrizī (d. 834/1428) mentions 73 madrasas, 14 for Shāffis, four for Mālikis, ten for Ḥanafis and Mālikis, six for Shī′is and Mālikis, one for Ḥanafis and Ḥanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as dār al-kalālah, while the two of Shī′is were added. In the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of madrasas increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Zafrayn there were two long rows of madrasas on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. F. Ravasse, in MAF, i, 1089, 400 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maqrizī (d. 834/1428) mentions 73 madrasas, 14 for Shāffis, four for Mālikis, ten for Ḥanafis and Mālikis, six for Shī′is and Mālikis, one for Ḫanafis and Ḫanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as dār al-kalālah, while the two of Shī′is were added. In the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of madrasas increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Zafrayn there were two long rows of madrasas on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. F. Ravasse, in MAF, i, 1089, 400 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maqrizī (d. 834/1428) mentions 73 madrasas, 14 for Shāffis, four for Mālikis, ten for Ḥanafis and Mālikis, six for Shī′is and Mālikis, one for Ḫanafis and Ḫanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as dār al-kalālah, while the two of Shī′is were added. In the period of the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the number of madrasas increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bayn al-Zafrayn there were two long rows of madrasas on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. F. Ravasse, in MAF, i, 1089, 400 ff., pl. 3). Al-Maqrizī (d. 834/1428) mentions 73 madrasas, 14 for Shāffis, four for Mālikis, ten for Ḥanafis and Mālikis, six for Shī′is and Mālikis, one for Ḫanafis and Ḫanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as dār al-kalālah, while the two of Shī′is were added.
and al-Kayrawan. Education in the Maghrib was on a madrasa in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments of 490; Margate, Boldin de la Real Acad., de la Hist., xxvii, was founded in Granada by the Nasrid was given in the mosques (al-Makfearl, instruction). Manuel d'art musulman, J.A.ser. n, x [1917]. xii [1938]; C. Margate, 34 [Arabic] — 44 [French]). Other Marind and their Hespiris, edition by Lévi-Provengal, in in 684/1285 (also called al-talaf'd'iyytn; see the of law continued to teach there, as for instance, cither type of college of law was usually twenty.

In Spain, according to Ibn Sa'd (7th/13th century), there were no madrasas; instruction was given in the mosques (al-Makfearl, Analec, 1, 136); in the following century, however, a large madrasa was founded in Granada by the Nasrid Yusuf Abu 'l-Hakim in 730/1330 (Almagro Caracas, in Bolletin de la Real Acad. de la Hist., xlvii, 490; Marçais, op. cit., 316-17).

Ibn Khaldun (808/1406) testifies to the spread of madrasas in Tunisia and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In the Andalus, Muslin culture was dying out and after the decline of Kortuba and al-Kayrawan, education in the Maghrib was on a low level, while the old schools in sharik were no longer of importance. Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way, and studies also flourished in Persia (Mubadilun, foest 6, no. 2). This decline in learning of the time lacked vitality, and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A.D., Leo Africanus says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied fiqh, but very few the arts (Decte. de l'Afr., iii, 324, in Rec. de Voy. et de Doc., ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-9).

5. The constitution of the madrasa.

We have seen that, already in the 4th/10th century, there were a number of madrasas outside Baghdad, the cultural centre of the Islamic world, but we have also noted the impetus to madrasa-building which took place in the next century and is associated especially with Nīṣām al-Mulk. Even so, as further noted, earlier types of educational institution continued to flourish.

The madrasa, combining the functions of the masjid and its nearby hād in one architectural unit, was new to medieval Islamic society. Nor was the student body more numerous in the madrasa than it was in its predecessor; the number in either type of college of law was usually twenty. Nor did the new madrasa put an end to the masjid as a college; these last continued to be established as charitable foundations. Indeed, many "ulama" deposed the innovation of the madrasa which provided for all the needs of the student, including room and board, and encouraged, according to the "ulama" complaints, the worthy and unworthy alike to pursue knowledge for the wrong kind of motivation, a parasitic life of ease, instead of learning for the greater glory of God. Thus the masjīd-hād type of college continued to be founded, and many professors of law continued to teach there, as for instance, within the Hanbal madakh, whose first madrasa was founded only in the first part of the 6th/12th century. This lingering preference for the masjid is not surprising, given the place of the mosque in the Muslim community and the encouragement of the faithful to build mosques: "The Apostle of God ordered . . . that masjīd be built" (quorora rasul Allah . . . bi-budūt al-masjid).
After the masjid and madrasa, other institutions came into existence, especially the dar al-hadith \([q.v.]\), the first of which was, as already noted above, founded by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangi in Damascus. In this institution, the mubāhāt thā al-badīf, the ulama an obligation incumbent upon the dar al-stūnna, occasional terms that dir al-tadris dir al-hadirh must not be confused with either The nationalism represented by the ddar al-‘ilm may thus be seen as a further manifestation of the and to bring together students of all madhhab tended to be divisive, The level of the madrasa was raised to mikhaddih from those of private individuals; they were moti¬vated by the prestige brought by their foundations. This combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Niẓāmiyya in Cairo of the year 757/1355 (Van Berchem; Corpus, i, 242 ff.) and in the mausoleums of Barsbāy, 855 \(\text{ibid.}, 356-60\): cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 21, 22, 24, 41, of al-Mālik al-Asghārī Inšāl, 855-60/1453-6 \(\text{ibid.}, no. 271\); no. 272). In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūta found the same relationship, for example in Shīrāz and in Karbala\(\text{i.}\) (ii, 78-9, 85, 96), and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the sāliha the madrasa (ii, 30, 32). In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid sāliha in Fās (i, 84); here also learning and Sīʿām were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, Supplement, s.v. sūlū). The madrasa still plays an important part in North Africa.

Learning further took place in the hospitals (madīṣidān, from the Persian bi-mārīsīn \([q.v.]\) which were also used as schools of medicine, as well as in the private homes of scholars and elsewhere.

6. Courses of Instruction and Personnel.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Kur'ān and hadīth, to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In al-Balāshīri (Kūḥ ʿal-l-Tim), in the 9th/15th century, this combination can be detected in several cases, for example in the mosques of al-Asghārī in Basra, al-Aṣ'ārī heard al-Djūbudī who taught in the Friday mosques. In the mosque of al-Maṣūṣ in Basra, al-Aṣ'ārī heard al-Djūbudī who taught in the Miḥāzāt kalām (Wüstenfeld, Schafs, 135); closely connected with this was methodology (al-maḥkāhara wa l-natur: cf. Yāḥūt, Uṣūl, vi, 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭṭāṭ al-Baqhdādī, who taught in al-Maṣūṣ's "Dar al-Mālikah" in Baghhdād, lectured on his history of Baghdād (Yāḥūt, i, 271 ff.); this disappeared however, disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, falsafā and tādhīm were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as sindīb, and even stoned or burned (al-Maḳkārī, Aṣnaqī, i, 236). The madrasas were mainly established to teach the systems of fikh, and originally each school was intended to represent only one madhab. Where the four madīṣidān are represented in one school, one can speak of four madrasas, e.g. al-Maḍirī al-sulṭānīyya (al-Maṭṭārī, iv, 209, 358).

The ordinary madrasas, however, included other subjects beside the study of fikh alone. Special mention is made of māṣūṣ (al-Ṣāḥīḥyya; al-Maṭṭārī, iv, 209). In the Niẓāmiyya in Baghhdād and in other
madrasas in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf. Yākūt, Udābā, v. 473-4; vi. 409). The custom, often occurring before Niẓām al-Mulk's time, of founding a dār al-hadith was continued after him, e.g. in Cairo and Damascus. In 604/1207 al-Malik al-Muqaffā' built beside the Sāhāra mosque a Madrasa Nahawwā', exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvain, H. J. E. H., 86, 110), and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. al-Sudkī, Nā'ūl al-nawm, ed. Myhrmann, 153). Al-Suhbī mentions, in addition to the special hadīth schools, also madāris al-tasāfiyya and madāris al-nahw. In his Ḍāhī'uddin (fatī 5, nos. 4 ff.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islamic studies. They are divided into ʿulūm tabbīyya and nahlīyya. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called fakrīyya or nahlīyya; the latter are dependent on revelation by the lawgiver (al-ʿādī al-ṣāliḥ), and are therefore based on special transmission. The ʿulūm nahlīyya therefore comprise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islam, namely Kurʾān, i.e. insāfīr and the seven bīrūfī (no. 9), hadīth with the sciences auxiliary to it, including al-nādīsūr, ʿuqūfīn fī al-masālik, ṣuṭūrīn al-mālikī, hadīthīn al-fatīy, al-fatāwa, the law of inheritance (nos. 7-8), ʿuṣūl with the principles of law including methods of deduction and the differences between the mudḥāba (no. 9), al-kalīm, theology, which is nahlīyya in as much as it is really a further development of īmān which comes under the head of religious duties, but is šābīyya in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (no. 10), al-tasawwuf, something like practical theology (no. 11) and ʿuṣūr al-rūʿyā, interpretations of visions (no. 12).

Linguistic sciences are related to the study of Kurʾān and hadīth (cf. nos. 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts; al-nābī, al-ʿādīh, al-bayān and al-adāb (no. 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The ʿulūm nahlīyya are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (no. 13), and are al-māndīfī, logic which is the foundation of all others (no. 17), al-arqīnī, arithmetic, including ḥaṣāb etc. (no. 14), al-ḥanās, geometry (no. 15), al-ḥayāt, astronomy (no. 16), al-μuṣīkī, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see no. 13); then there is al-tabībīyya, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion—heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral; among its subdivisions, special mention is made of al-ṣīḥ, medicine, and al-falāḥa, agriculture (nos. 18-20; cf. no. 29). The seventh main head is ʿilm al-taḥāyya, metaphysics (no. 27). Magie, talisman, mysterious properties of numbers, etc., also form branches of Muslim learning (nos. 22 ff.).

Medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques and the madrasas; about 600/1204-5, ʿAbd al-Lattīf lectured in the Azhar Mosque, but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in ʿībī was also given there ( Ibn Abī Usaybī, ii, 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" were cultivated outside the mosques.

The method of teaching was by lecturing and learning by heart (talābkīn). The first task was to learn the Kurʾān by heart and then to acquire as many traditions as possible. The hadīthīn was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bāghārī, Ḥim, bāb 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (mīṣūr), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Kurʾān (approved: al-Buḫqārī, Ḥim, bāb 34, 35). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for hadīthīn, ʿĪsāfī, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Durayd (Wustenfeld, Schfelt's, 1729) or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd (d. 345/957), who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on Ṣūhā (Yākūt, Udābā, vii, 26), but also the text of the poets, like al-Tābarī, who lectured on al-Tirmīzhī in the Mosque of Ḥam in 125/780 (ibid., vi. 432). Dictation was especially important in the case of ʿībī, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated ʿībī" (Ibn al-Muḥāṣṣara, ii. 139; Yākūt, Udābā, i. 126). The class of a teacher is therefore madāris al-ʿādī (ibid., ii. 243; vii. 74), and his fimālu under the students is al-mustāmil (cf. ibid., vi. 282; vii. 74). Problems of ʿībī were also dictated (for Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Ḥuṭluṣ- būgḥā, ed. Fügel, no. 249).

All this meant that reliance on the memory, for the learning above all of the Kurʾān and hadīthīn, was highly prized, and repetition much cultivated. Jurisconsults were quoted as saying that in their student days they used to repeat each law lecture fifty times or more in order to imbed it in the memory.

A school exercise was developed, whereby students quizzed one another as an aid to learning their lesson and as a contest to see who knew more than the other. The term used for the exercise was madārṣa- kara ("a calling something to mind with another, conferring with another"). However, the importance of understanding was also recognised, above all as legal studies developed, and this is the lexical meaning of the term ʿībī (q.v.), which comes to have the technical meaning of "positive law". This shift of emphasis to both memorisation and comprehension is illustrated by the saying that "learning is a city, one of whose gates is memory and the other is understanding" (al-ʿīm al-mudin, ṣāhāt al-riwāy, wa-l-ḥakīr al-dīrūyā).

But the most important method developed for legal studies was the method of disputation (mudnā, fāṣlāt al-ṣāqa), the legal school exercise par excellence. It consisted of (1) a thorough knowledge of ʿībī, that is, the divergent legal opinions of jurisconsults; (2) a thorough knowledge of ʿībī, dialectic; and (3) mudnā, disputation. The disputant had to know by heart as extensive a list as possible of the disputed questions of law (al-maṣūf al-ḥaṣīf, fīṣīh), and have ready answers for them. It was his skil at disputation which earned for him the licence to teach law and to issue legs* (al-Malik al-Mu ʿīt, ii, 86, 140), and his famulus among the students was al-mustāmil (cf. ibid., vi. 285; vii. 74). Problems of ʿībī were also dictated (for Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Ḥuṭluṣ- būgḥā, ed. Fügel, no. 249).
was used to designate the director, Shaykh al-Riḍā, i, 253). It was only natural that the dictation of text, able to get copies for themselves. The text was in copies of the chief texts that the students were handed to a teacher in the Ni?Amiyya in Baghdad (Yakut, Ḫudayr, vii, 20) and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained only any remarkable phrases, was used as early as by the teacher of hadīth, Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/1112; ibid., vi, 282).

Ibn Kaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understood the correct methods of teaching (jarūk al-taλawī). They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of arranging the taqddīm so that it is always combined with explanations, and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. They laid too much stress on learning by heart (ḥafīz) (Mukaddasī, faso, i, 6, no. 2, 29, 30; cf. al-Subkī, Mukaddasī, ii, 351). Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Kurān.

When the above-mentioned Ibn Kaysān expounded hadīths, he also asked his hearers about their meaning. Conversely the class was at liberty to ask questions of the teacher. Al-Shāfīi used to sit in his great ḫalqa in Mecca and say: “Ask me what you want, and I will then give you information on the Kurān and sunna” (ibid., vi, 391; cf. al-Mukaddasī, in B.G.A., iii, 379). The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yakut, Ḫudayr, ii, 272). Ibn Dūḥayr saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Niṣāʿīyya in Baghdaḍ (219/521). Both practices are still in vogue, and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions.

7. The scholastic community: the teachers.

The general designation for master was shaykh. When used with a complement, the term designated the master of various fields: as, for instance, shaykh al-hadīth, shaykh al-fīrsā, for the professor of hadīth and the professor of Kurānic studies respectively. The termОсновной term was a kind of honorary title (see Yaqūt, Ḫudayr, i, 123, 209, ii, 277; v, 355; 354, 358, 449); it has continued in use till the present day and in a contemporary Arabic usage is the equivalent of the Western term “professor”, “holder of a professorial chair”. But in distinction from these more general terms, the professor of law had a designation all his own, a term used without a complement, ḥāfīz. He was not referred to as shaykh al-fīrsā. The term ṭudurās with a complement was sometimes used to designate other professors. Shaykh al-ṭudurās was used to designate the director, or abbot, of a monastery. The ṭudurās, like the bābī, was entitled to have a deputy, a ṭudurās, who taught during his absence. The ṭudurās could, in fact, have several ṭudurās. This happened when the professor of law held several posts (ṭadris, pl. ṭadrisā); he would teach in one or the other of these posts and hire deputies to teach in the others. Thus, as the chair for the professorship of law could be divided, the professorships could be multiple.

The term ṭadrisī was applied to any scholar who had reached the summit of his field in his locality. It was used especially in the field of law; biographical notices often express it by saying that “leadership in the school of law ended up with him” (intṣās ṭalḥiyā ṭudurār al-ma?ṣūma). The terminology used in these notices is indicative of the competition that existed among the jurisconsults: bārāʾ (the excelled in the field of law); la yugbabī ghabarār (“his dust cannot be penetrated”—comparing the legal scholar to a thoroughbred so swift that other horses in the race fail to keep in sight, the dust of his hoofs having settled by the time they get to where he was); kāna bābī al-magārā (“he was the multiplier of his peers”); etc. The titulature is also indicative of this competition for the gain, the nobility, and in government: amīr al-uṃarā (“prince of princes”), naṣīr al-mulk (“king of kings”), sūlūn al-sulūn (“sultan of sultans”), bābī l-kullād (judge of judges), sīām al-sīāh (“scholar of scholars”), and even of the term ṭadrisī itself, ṭadrisī al-rasīd (leader of leaders’).

In places where the term ṭadrisī designated a post, as for instance in Maysābīr, where there was also a nāṣibī, a sub-leader, or deputy-leader, the post appears as one requiring, besides the qualification of leadership, that of non-partisanship, that of some one capable of acting as peace-maker, a moderator between opposing factions among the scholars.

This, however, was not the head of a guild of masters. Such an organisation was unlikely in a system highly individualistic in character. The concept of a guild or corporation based on juristic personality was unknown to mediaeval Islam, where juristic personality belonged to the natural physical person alone.

It has often been said that teachers were organised into a guild, and the usual argument advanced for this assertion is an anecdote cited in Yakūt, Ḫudayr, i, 246 ff., according to which al-Khāṣīb al-Baghdādī (d. 46/1057; q.v.) had the permission of the Caliph to lecture in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr because the nāṣibī, al-Nāṣibī, in order to teach hadīths in Baghdād’s Mosque of al-Manṣūr. The function of the nāṣibī al-nāṣibī was also confused with the term ṭadrisī, further adding to the concept of a head of a guild of masters. No one has claimed to know how the guild worked, which is no surprise, since there was none. The nāṣibī was the marshal of the nobility, the aṣlīfī. His function was to investigate all claims to descent from the Prophet’s family and to keep rolls of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet, for they were entitled to a lifetime pension. There were two nāṣibīs: one for the Sunnīs, nāṣibī al-ḥadīthīyyīn, and one for the Shīʿīs, nāṣibī al-takhrīsīyyīn.

The so-called anecdote has to do with the nāṣibī al-ḥadīthīyyīn. The Mosque of al-Manṣūr was located in the quarter of Bāb al-Bayrā, on the west side of the city, the stronghold of the constituency of the nāṣibī. This constituency was made up of traditionalist aṣlīfīs and an overwhelming majority of Hanbalīs. Al-Baghdādī had been a Hanbalī, had changed over to the Shīʿī school of law, but was suspected of Aṣhrāmīs, to which the Hanbalīs were highly hostile. Al-Baghdādī asked the caliph’s permission to lecture in the Mosque, for
It was his declared, lifelong ambition to do so, the Mosque being known as the institution with the highest reputation for the science of hadith. The caliph, aware of the hostility of the people of the Bâb-al-Basra to the lecturer, called on the naib as the Marshal of the Sharifs of the Bâb-al-Basra quarter, to see to it that the event would not produce a riot. The naib agreed to do so, but reluctantly, since he felt that the idâd was in danger of control if it should get out of hand. An incident did occur, bricks were thrown at the speaker, and turbans were snatched, but the naib succeeded in limiting the damage.

Thus permission to lecture in the Great Mosque was sought from the caliph, who alone made appointments to the teaching posts, the halâkas, of the great mosques (there were, at the time, six of these) in Baghdad. The naib was not the head of a guild of masters, such as the universitas magistrorum of the Latin West; there was no such guild in mediæval Islam.

In spite of all flexibility, a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of hadith the practice is both supported and condemned, and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lecturers without payment (al-Buḫârî, igâza, būb 16; Abî Dâwûd, Baγîk, būb 36; Ibn MâDîq, Ta沐浴ât, būb 8). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims, but was found occasionally among men who made shoes, locksmiths and sandal-makers (Wustenfeld, Schådî'fî, 227, 231, 237; cf. also Mea, Renaissance des Islam, 179). It was the rule, however, for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be a wholly personal donation from a prince or other rich man; for example al-Ṭabarî was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of “Amr (Yaḳûtî, Udâbî, vi, 428; cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars). It was as a rule, however, a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professional chair; this was especially the case in the madrasas. The salaries of the teachers (ma'mûm, also dâlamâh, dâlamûk; see Dozy, Supplement, s.v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. According to al-Mâkrî, learned men might have 50 dünds a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (ii, 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques. In the madrasas at first only one was appointed. A madrasa frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Ghaznaviyya in Cairo; al-Mâkrî, iv, 235; Shafiîyya, originally the Nisârîyya; ibid., 193; cf. the Masjid al-Khâṣî in Bagdad). In the larger madrasas, however, several teachers were appointed; Šalîh al-Dîn appointed 4 lecturers to the Šamîbîyya in Cairo (ibid., 203); in this case a definite number (26) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. Chron. Mekbû, ii, 205-6).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the madrasas, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was probably as a rule no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After textbooks had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the igâza, and so it has remained to modern times. Anyone who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictionary; the teacher reserved this permission (igâza) in the book (e.g. Yaḳûtî, Udâbî, 253; 272). A teacher also gave an igâza šama, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Baṭṭûta, i, 253). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous igâzat; thus Abî al-Lâtîf had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdad, Khurasân, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'â, ii, 204). There were special formulae for the igâza for kadîs and jûfâys (al-Kalâshândî, Šahiba al-'âqîf, xiv, 322 ff.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures, and others only dealt with a very limited subject; thus one was appointed to the Nişâmîyya to lecture in al-Buḫârî’s Šâhid because he was the only lecturer on this from a celebrated teacher. There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects; often they taught many hours every day (e.g. Yaḳûtî, Udâbî, vi, 282, 383; vii, 176), and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wustenfeld, Schådî'fî, 258).

Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating hadîth and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (ibid., 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute; any one could have an igâza in one subject while he was still a student in others, and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures on this from celebrated teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect ṭidâs (al-Buḫârî, Šim, bûb 7, 9, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this; the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. Walden, The universities of ancient Greece, and royal courts still played the same part; at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭûta, i, 72 ff.; Ibn Khâlid, Khâṣî al-'Thâr, Bûlìq, 1284, vii, 432; Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'â, ii, 205; cf. Mommsen, Römische Geschicht, vi, 509). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said ṭidâs šâfi'î or šâfi'î khabar al-raziha “they used to travel to him” (Yaḳûtî, Udâbî, vii, 174; Ḥasan al-muḥâdara, i, 207; cf. 141).

The blurring of the distinction between the teachers and the taught only really applied to fields where the authoritative transmission of a text was involved. This occurred especially in hadîth. In this field one remained, in a sense, a student all one’s life, collecting authorisations (igâza) from the transmission of one or more hadîths. There were many instances where an accomplished scholar of hadîth would seek the authoritative transmission of a collection of hadîths, or even of a single hadîth, from one many years younger than he but who had the igâza of his teacher (e.g. Mâlik’s hašîba), and was, most likely, the last to receive that authority from its last holder.

This situation was due to the oral character of authoritative transmission. The perennial preoccupation of the conscientious hadîth scholar was to travel in search of those rare hašîbas, whose rarity was due to the ever-decreasing number of transmitters duly authorised to transmit them. Biographical notices sometimes tell of the authorised transmitter
who had made a collection of such ḥadīths and had waited until he had survived all other authorised transmitters before making them available, at which time he could exact his own price for them. This practice was, of course, condemned. There are well-known ḥadīths not only encouraging the gathering and spreading of knowledge but also condemning those who would gather and conceal it.

On the other hand, the distinction between teacher and taught in the field of law was quite clear. To obtain the licence to teach law, one had to study many years under a professor of law, become proficient in the scholastic method of disputation and build up as vast a repertoire of disputed questions of law as possible, together with solutions to those questions; then one had successfully to defend one’s thesis or theses against the adversary, often one’s own master. This long process could take place under one master alone; but it sometimes took place under two, one for the basic four years, another for the graduate, apprentice, period. More rarely, a law student could study under as many as five professors, but the process was always the same: the defence of a thesis or theses which learned him the licence to teach and to issue legal opinions, a licence attesting to his competence in the law as a field of knowledge.

Islamic law is individualistic; this may be seen in the function of the ḥādiṣ, the mujtahid and the mudarris, or professor of law, as well as in the madrasa, the college of law. The ḥādiṣ was alone responsible for his legal decision; the mujtahid was alone responsible for his legal opinion, based on justiṣṣ, and individual, personal activity of research in the sources of the law. Likewise, every madrasa represented one muṭḥab: a double madrasa represented two muṭḥabs where students were kept separate; so also with the triple, and quadruple madrasa; and every muṭḥab was represented by one professor of law, who might have under his direction one or several muṣlis and muṣfīds. Some instances is history illustrate this unicity of the professorial chair in the college of law. In the university it was the duty of the muṭḥab (Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabarî to the NijAmīyya’s chair) to teach and to issue legal opinions, a licence attesting to his competence in the law as a field of knowledge.

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque. Of course, a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there; al-Ḡazālī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyads, where Ibn Djuḥayr saw his room. But these were exceptions; al-ʿAẓīz built a dwelling-house for the teachers in the Azhar near the mosque (al-Makrīzī, iv, 49). The earlier madrasas founded by Nizām al-Mulk often had lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom, and this is also found later. Thus in the Sālāḥiya, the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Djuḥayr, 48).

Of the teachers, many were also ḥādis (as in their day were the ḥādis, who were in a way the predecessors of the teachers). The ḥādis frequently were able to accumulate a considerable number of disciples. The chief ḥādiṣ Ibn Bint al-ʿAẓīz (ca. 700/1300-1) had 17 offices (Quatemère, Hist. Sult. Maml., ii/1, 137-8). The teacher could also be a muṣīf (e.g. Yākūt, ʿUdāba, iv, 156).

The professor of law was assisted by the “repetitor”, muṣīf, as drill-master. The professor of law was also assisted by the muṣīf, a sort of “scholar in residence” who imparted “useful information”, faṣīda, pl. faṣīdān, to the students of the institution. The post of muṣīf was also used in the field of ḥadīth, for the same general purpose. There were usually two muṣīfs for each teacher. The muṣīf’s duty was to read over with the students the lecture after the class and explain it to the less gifted students. The celebrated fāṣīda al-Buḳīlī began as a repeater with his father-in-law in the Khurābīya (al-Makrīzī, iv, 202); it was also possible to be an independent teacher in one school and a repeater in another (al-Nasīr, d. 690/1290-1; ʿUsān al-muḥādara, i, 189). The Sālāḥiya, which ought to have had 4 teachers with 2 repeaters, was run for 30 years by ro repeaters and no teachers (al-Makrīzī, iv, 251; cf. also 210; al-ʿUbūkī, Muṣīf al-nīṭām, 154-5; al-Kalāṣaṣṇī, Suṣū al-ṣāḥīb, v, 464, and Hāneberg, Schriften und Lehrwerken der Mamlukener, 25; ʿAbbāsī, ʿIbrāhīm, Muṣīf, 464; W. Leibnitz, Lehrer, 1837). As noted above, the counterpart of the muṣīf in law was the muṣfin in ḥadīth, whose function it was to repeat the ḥadīth dictated by the professor of ḥadīth to a class that could often run into the hundreds and thousands. In the case of such large classes, several muṣfinīs relayed the ḥadīth to those who were not within earshot of the professor.

Other posts in the various institutions included the grammarian or nabhū, who taught grammar and the other literary arts generally, and the various preachers. These comprised al-ḥaṣīb (q.v.), who preached the Friday sermon in the ḥādīṣ; al-ʿidāq (q.v.), who preached the academic sermon and taught the art of the sermon; and the popular preachers called al-bāṣṣ (q.v.) and kātiib al-kurāt. Other holders of posts included al-imām, who led the five daily prayers in the mosques; the elementary school teacher of the muḥādb and ḥadīth, called variously al-muṣālim al-muṣ añīd and al-fāṣī, colloquially, in Egypt, esp., al-fāṣī; the monitors, al-ʿarīj, kātiib al-ghāyba; the抄ists of manuscripts, al-nāṣīḥ and al-marrāk (the latter term was also used for the bookstall; it would seem that the marrāk copied books for sale and hired the nāṣīḥ, pl. muṣaṣṣar, to copy for him); the corrector of copied manuscripts, al-muṣākhī; the collator of copied manuscripts, al-muṣākbī or al-muṣārīd; and the scribe, al-ḥaṣīb, a scribe who worked for a professor or a rich student while pursuing his own
studies. Most of these functions were performed by students working their way through college.

8. The scholastic community: the students.
Every one was absolutely free to join a hulka in the mosque in order to hear a teacher. Al-Muqaddasi for example tells us that the learned men of al-Fars used to sit from early morning till midday and from yarr to magrib for the common people (lit. 'l-umām') (BG.A, iii, 459). But as soon as the teachers developed into a regular class of society, the students (jalaba, tuṣab, sing. ḥulba) who were systematically training in the Muslim sciences also became a recognised section of the community. Together with the teachers, they formed the guild of the educated, āṣhab al-ṣimāma (now al-ṣimām in Egypt). They were able to select their teachers as they pleased; the most celebrated teachers had therefore large numbers of students. Many never finished studying, for they could always find new teachers to study under until their old age, even if they themselves also taught. The ambitious would only study under (darasa 'ālī) great teachers and therefore travelled about the Muslim world a great deal (cf. al-Muqaddasi, 237). This travelling, partly as teacher and partly as student, for the sake of jalab al-ṣim was long kept up in Islam.

When the student had completed his teacher's course, he declared his knowledge mature in the particular subject and the student was able to regard himself as perfect in it (tibkarradāja 'alayhi). The relation of student to teacher is patriarchal and the student kisses his hands. This does not prevent quarrels breaking out, and in such cases the teachers might be treated very disrespectfully (cf. Sulaymān Raṣād, Kunt al-ja'miyr, 142 ff., 194 ff.).

The madrasa introduced an innovation into the relationship of teacher to student, when a definite number of students (as a rule, twenty) was allotted to a particular teacher. Instruction was thus organised on more systematic lines. But even then irregular students were also admitted. It is only in quite modern times that the instruction has been made properly organised.

We have exceptionally of women students; one was a member of al-Ṣafī's madrasa (Iṣnān al-nawāhāra, i, 187, below). In the early centuries it cannot have been unusual, for it is several times mentioned in hadiths, which reserve special days for women (al-Buḥārī, Ḥlm, būb 32, 50, 56).

In the madrasas and some mosques, students were offered lodging and certain allowances in addition, food, bread (djarā) and money.

A student living in a mosque is called muḍajār (al-Makrīzī, iv, 54), a word which is also applied to Meccan pilgrims ( Ibn Dūbhayr, 222) and to anyone living in a mosque. The students' apartments are divided into arwāḥa, usually according to nations, a word which is derived from the fact that they originally lived in the colonnades. Each rīṣāḥ is under a ḥulba. Many students live in ḥanākhāhs, other in private houses.

9. Conclusion.
The Muslim system of education in the Middle Ages was based on the wasf, which, as already mentioned, gave the founder a free hand in determining the course of his foundation, as long as his stipulations were in keeping with the tenets of Islam. The historian must be circumspect about generalising for one institution on the basis of the particulars of another. The history of Muslim education must therefore be written on the basis of the deeds of the wasf, of which few are extant, and are in any case mostly late in date, as well as on the basis of biographical literature and the chapters on wasf in the ūṣūs-works. These are the main sources to be consulted for the history of institutionalised education; that is, that education which took place in the djami', the masjid, the madrasa, the dār al-ḥadīth, the dār al-Kur'ān, the ribāb, the khānāḥ, the ṣeṣiyā and the various combinations of these.


II. In MUSLIM INDIA
The madrasas in Muslim India were institutions of higher learning similar to those in other parts of the Islamic world. Their principal function was to train personnel for government service, more particularly for the administration of justice. They were either founded and subsidised by the state or established by private individuals. The education provided in them dealt mainly with religious subjects, and was offered by well-qualified teachers. The real foundations of Muslim education in India may be traced back to the establishment of the Dīhil Sultanate in 1206 and the emergence of Dīhil as an important seat of Islamic learning. Evidence points to the existence of two major madrasas in Dīhil in the early years of Muslim rule. One of them was the Mu'izziyya, an institution probably founded by Ilutmish (607-33/1211-36), and named after Muḥammad Ghūrī's title Mu'izz al-Dīn. The other
known as Nasiriyah, was built by Balban while he was working as chief minister to Nasir al-Din Mahmud (644-64/1246-60), from whom the madrasa took its name. As the Mongols overran the heartlands of Islam, many refugee scholars from Central Asia and Persia took shelter in Dhill, and their presence gave further momentum to educational activities in the capital. During his early Muslim period, Tuglul (752-90/1351-88) who, according to Firighta, built a large number of madrasas which had fallen into disrepair. Among the institutions founded by him the most outstanding was the Madrasa-yi Firdusi-Sahi, constructed in Dhill in 753/1352-3. It was the biggest madrasa in the capital, with residential facilities for both teachers and students. It stood on the southern bank of the Hawali-i Khayy, an enormous tank built by Ali al-Din Shuhuli in 695/1296. It was a double-storied building with arched galleries on all sides and projecting windows overlooking the tank, and its imposing facade gave further momentum to the task of establishing schools and colleges in the country during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. This, in turn, led to the growth of a parallel school system distinct from the regular madrasas. The emphasis on religious subjects in their curriculum seems to have remained constant throughout, and was the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband. Its organisation and working of the madrasa. The emphasis on religious subjects in their curriculum seems to have remained consistent throughout their history. An attempt was made during Akbar's time to give importance to the instruction of mediaeval rational sciences such as logic, mathematics, medicine and astronomy, but it is doubtful whether this was followed by every madrasa. The Dars-i Naqshbandi, after its introduction in the mid-15th/16th century, was adopted by the madrasas all over the country, thus standardising the syllabus for traditional education. It included Arabic grammar and syntax, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, scholastics and dialectics, exegesis and traditions. The cause of traditional Muslim education received a setback in the years following the decline of the Mughal rule. It suffered further reversal with the expansion of English education and spread of Western knowledge and ideas. Nevertheless, many madrasas continued to flourish in later times. The oldest among these was the Madrasa at Farang Mubals; another important madrasa was that of Deoband, a small town north of Dhill. It was founded in 1867 by Mawlana Muhammad Rasul Nizamuddin (d. 1879) in conjunction with other ulama. The last of the traditional institutions to be mentioned is the Nadwet al-Ulama of Lucknow established during his reign. But under his successor, Akbar (963-1014/1556-60), numerous madrasas were founded by the state as well as by private individuals. Akbar built a big college in his new capital Fatehpur Sikri [q.v.], and, in Dhill, his wet-nurse, Maha Anja, founded a madrasa in 969/1562-2, which was noted for its architecture. Akbar also laid down that the curriculum of the madrasas should include subjects such as ethics, mathematics, agriculture, geometry, astronomy, physics, logic, natural philosophy, theology and history. In response to Akbar's policy of religious accommodation, non-sectarian institutions increased in number, providing common education to Hindus and Muslims alike. During Akbar's reign (1014-37/1605-27), many madrasas which had ceased to function or had fallen into decay were restored and revived. The ruler issued an ordinance which required that if a wealthy person or a traveller died without an heir, his property should revert to the state and be utilised for the building and maintenance of the madrasas. Shahjahan's (1057-8/1648-57) name is associated with the imperial madrasa attached to the congregational mosque built by him at Dhill in 1610/1660. Under Awrangzib (1068-1118/1658-77), special emphasis was placed on the diffusion of Islamic learning. The foundations of the famous seminary in Lucknow, known as Farang Mubals [q.v. in Suppl.], were laid during this time. The name actually referred to the building granted by Awrangzib, towards the end of the 11th/17th century, to a family of scholars who made Farang Mubals a leading centre of Islamic learning. Mullâ Najm al-Din, author of Darari Nawâlid, the syllabus named after him, used to teach at this place. Another well-known institution, opened in Dhill during Awrangzib's reign, was the Madrasa-yi Râbihshul. Among the noted divine and father of Shâh Wali Allâh, this madrasa specialised in the teaching of exegesis and traditions.
in 1894. Among its founders was the reputed scholar Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914), who remained actively associated with it from 1904 to 1913. All the above madrasas have survived up to the present time, despite their limited financial resources and meagre enrolments.


**III. Architecture**

The madrasa was a response to the specific needs of the Muslim community; it was a custom-built structure tailored to serve an institution which was itself a collaborative effort. Moreover, the madrasa was the creation of a self-confident, well-established civilization near the peak of its achievement: the earliest madrasas recorded are those of eastern Iran in the early 4th/10th century, and evidence unearthed by modern historians working on the pre-Saljûq period in eastern Iran suggests that the "prehistory" of the madrasa can be traced for at least one and a half centuries before the official Saljûq adoption of the institution. It is, however, highly unlikely that these earlier madrasas were substantial public buildings. Their very number argues against it. By 418/1028-9 there were twenty madrasas in the modest provincial region of Khuttal [g.v.], and each was fully endowed with waqfî. The missionary Karânjîmî movement [g.v.] which was so strong in eastern Iran in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries had a strong educational and polemical bias, and both khânâkhs [g.v.] and madrasas were built in quantity by the adherents of this sect. The Ghaznavids also used madrasas endowed with waqfî in order to establish Islam in the stubbornly pagan territories of Ghur, possibly through the intermediary of missionaries from the Karânjîmî.

Above all, such foundations should be seen within the context of a well-established tradition of building madrasas in the large cities of the eastern Iranian world. The best documented case is Nishâpûr, where no less than 36 madrasas predating the great Niẓâmîyâ of the Saljûq empire (found ca. 456/1067) are recorded, though none of them survive; for further details, see above, section i, 4.

The apparently Eastern Iranian origin of the madrasa makes the obvious area in which to seek the architectural origins of the institution. Two major possibilities present themselves, and these are not mutually exclusive. The first, espoused by Bartold over sixty years ago, would link the madrasa with the Buddhist viharas as attested in Central Asia and Afghanistan. This area had been saturated with Buddhism in the centuries immediately preceding the Muslim conquest, and it seems not surprising that a Buddhist institution combining the functions of worship, education, communal life and burial should have flourished in the almost very area associated with the earliest madrasas. Bartold's preciosity was confirmed by the discovery of one such site at Adzhina-Tepâ just across the Oxus to the north-east of Balkh. This consisted of a monastery and stupa complex, the whole comprising two equal halves joined by a gangway and each measuring some 50 m square. Both elements use a four-aisled plan focused on a central courtyard. The monastery element consisted of temple structures, cells for the monks, and a large assembly hall, plus various ancillary buildings. All this is linked by corridors. In its essentials, and even more in its four-aisled plan, this 7th-8th century monument comes remarkably close in spirit to a madrasa, though the Islamic emphasis on education is somewhat more marked. Numerous other Buddhist sites have been excavated in Soviet Central Asia over the last two decades, among them Ak-Beshim, Airam, Kalâj-Kafirînqan and Kuba, while perhaps the most important Buddhist site in the Iranian world was just south of the Oxus—the Nawbahâr of Balkh.

The other architectural source which has been proposed for the Iranian madrasa is the typical Khurâsânî house. Godard, the champion of this theory, concentrated at the expense of the broken continuity of tradition between the mediaeval and the modern houses of the area. He then compared this domestic form with that of later madrasas and concluded that it was the private structure that had generated the public one. While the literary evidence gives ample warrant for the functions of a madrasa being carried out in private houses, no such houses which can be shown to have served this function have survived. Not as Godard's theory is, it cannot be more than speculative.

The formal, as distinct from the informal, history of the madrasa is commonly taken to begin in 468/1076 when the great Niẓâmîyâ madrasa was inaugurated in Baghdad. In short succession, a whole series of state-sponsored and largely state-financed madrasas sprang up throughout the Saljûq empire (see above, section i, 4). Two related factors deserve special emphasis here. One is the whole-hearted state support for these buildings, which is reflected in the name Niẓâmîyâ which they bore. They represent, in short, a state investment of the first magnitude. The other is their carefully calculated location in the major cities of the Saljûq realm. From this one may deduce that each was designed to serve as a provincial centre with a wide catchment area embracing the smaller towns and villages of the region. Such a function presupposes buildings of considerable scale and capacity.

The reasons behind this sudden spate of building activity, which significantly enough was confined to the Saljûq empire, are probably to be connected with the resurgence of Sunnite orthodoxy, spearheaded by the Saljûqs after their entry into Baghdad in 442/1055, as a counter to the propaganda efforts of militant Ismâ'îlî Shî'ism organised by the Fatimids from al-Azhar (founded in 359/970 [g.v.] and other
centres (see above, section 1.3). In fact, the Sunni orthodox madrasa-building activity soon stimulated a Twelver Shi'i counterpart movement, for according to the Kūthb al-Nabādī the latter 6th/12th century saw Shi'i madrasas appear in Ray, Kūn, Raḵān, Aša, Warāmīn, Sabzawār and elsewhere. One of the madrasas at Sāwā had indeed been found as early as the mid-9th/15th century. The form of these madrasas is as obscure as that of their Sunni counterparts, but to judge by the parallelism between Sunni and Shi'i madrasas in the Islamic world, there was probably no formal distinction between them.

The number of madrasas erected within a short space of time throughout the Sāljuḵi empire at the order of Niyām al-Mulk and by others is itself a clear indication that some kind of blueprint had been developed for this purpose. Unfortunately, none of these early Iranian madrasas has survived; in fact, the earliest extant Iranian building of this type is the Madrasa-yi Ḩācffī of 723/1325 in Isfahān. It is a compact structure (some 92 m × 72 m at its widest extent) employing the standard Iranian 4-iwan plan, but the modifications to the traditional layout are significant. The iwān no longer rear above their roof-line the tall arcades of the roofed iwān as in Khargird. This simple change entirely reverses the traditional pattern, in which the iwān was the dominant feature and dwarfed the flanking arcades. Two stories of continuously niched façades, behind which the cells for student accommodation were located, form the principal accent of the elevation and engulf the central iwān on each side. The question is, of course, whether such massy, cliff-like façades also characterised the elevations of the first Nizāmīyyas. The example of the Madrasa Ḩācffī, the known Sāljuḵi predilection for the 4-iwan plan, and the need to accommodate some 1,000 students living in the building as distinct from visiting it, all combine to suggest that the first official Iranian madrasas were indeed fairly similar to their Ḩācffīyān descend-ants.

So far the discussion has assumed that the more important of these early madrasas were purpose-built structures intended solely for the students accommodated in them. Other possibilities have, however, been aired. Perhaps the most extreme is that the buildings generally accepted as the major urban mosques of the Sāljuḵi period—those of Ardīstān, Qaswīn, Gulpāyagān and so on—were actually madrasas. This theory runs counter to common sense, for it does not account for the resultant absence of Friday mosques in these centres. More intrinsically likely is the proposition that the larger mosques contained an inbuilt madrasa element in the provision of a second storey around the courtyard. On occasion, the niched façades of these upper storeys could indeed lead to separate chambers, but the extremely diverse functions discharged by a Friday mosque in a large city means that a wide range of other purposes can be suggested for such rooms. Elsewhere in the Islamic world such joint foundations were labelled as such; cases of mosque-madrasa (see above, section 1.2) or mosque-mausolea and various other combinations abound in Manṣūrī Cairo. A further argument against the madrasa function of the upper storeys of large urban mosques in the Islamic world is provided by the well-documented practice of adding self-contained madrasas to established mosques (e.g. Isfahan and Maḥbād). There would have been little need for such new foundations if the mosques in question were already serving inter alia as madrasas. If one bears in mind the noted imprecision of the Arabic terminology of building types, and also the virtual interchangeability of these types, it will be clear that no firm conclusion as to the form of the pre-Mongol madrasa in Iran is warranted. Rather does the evidence suggest that the forms of the madrasa were scarcely less varied than those of the mosque itself. But the sad lack of standing buildings hangs like a cloud over any discussion of these early madrasas. Their organisation, curriculum, staff and finances, and arrangements can be followed up in minute detail in the literary sources; but the all-important question, for the student of architecture, namely the precise material form which they took, remains obscure.

With such a plethora of literary evidence available, it is ironic that Iran should retain not one pre-Mongol madrasa that is universally accepted as such. Two Sāljuḵi buildings have been identified by some as madrasas, but others deny this. The more controversial of them is a mud-brick ruin at Khāffīdī (ʿr.), whose damaged inscription specifically identifies it as a foundation of Nizām al-Mulk. Its principal surviving feature is a broad and deep double iwān with at least one room of comparable depth flanking it on either side. Little sense can be made of any other part of the structure, but the dimensions of the courtyard in front of the iwān might well be about 22 m × 28 m. In favour of the identification as a madrasa may be cited the very fact that Nizām al-Mulk is cited in the inscription as the official founder, although a mere Ḥācffī actually carried out the work of supervising construction. Why should this august personage, the pivot of the Sāljuḵi state, take an interest in Khāffīdī? The family of Nizām al-Mulk hailed from Sabzawār, and he himself was born in Tūs, so there can be no question of explaining his connection with this monument by his desire to erect a public building in his native town. Khāffīdī was a small town of secondary importance. Moreover, this structure is, as Herzfeld noted, very small for a courtyard mosque of its period, and the row of windows high up in the kibla iwān would make much better sense in the context of the cells on the first floor of a madrasa than as an element of mosque architecture. These various factors suggest that the most natural interpretation of the ruins is to see them as the sole surviving trace of Nizām al-Mulk's extensive programme of building madrasas, though against this it must be admitted that the presence of supplementary mihrābs does suggest a mosque rather than a madrasa. The flanking halls have also been cited as evidence that this is a mosque, but this feature occurs consistently in Anatolian Sāljuḵi madrasas. To summarise, the evidence seems to incline towards interpreting the Khāffīdī structure as a madrasa, but without fresh evidence there is no clinching the matter.

The other putative madrasa is a shoddily-published structure found in excavations at Ray in the late 1930s. Godard himself, the source of all the information available, at first expressed himself with reserve as to its function but eventually shed such caution and treated the identification as a certainty. Nevertheless, he produced no arguments to offset his earlier qualms about the eccentric orientation of the structure and its equally atypical emphasis—by means of the differential size of the iwāns—on the east-west rather than the north-south axis. It must also be admitted that the 16 habitable spaces which together parcel out the ground plan do not correspond in their layout to any known madrasa. All this being
admitted, it would be still more accurate to say that no mediaeval house of this kind is known either; that no of the ground floor spaces could well have functioned as cells accommodating one or several students, to say nothing of the capacity of an upper floor; and that cases of the faulty orientation of religious buildings are legion in mediaeval Islam and may vary with the efficiency of the local cleric. Commonly, by this building disappear if one assumes that the west iwan was intended to function as if it faced south-west, the direction of the kibla. Finally, and most significantly of all, the presence of a mitrâb is not easily explained away. Unfortunately, Godard's plan does not mark it, so that to identify it as a mitrâb is itself somewhat hazardous. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in its present form, on display in the Tehran Museum, it is largely a figment of the restorer's imagination, the published photograph of it in situ shows clearly enough the Kur'anic Kufic inscription which it bore. The presence of a mitrâb with a Kur'ânic inscription in a private house takes somewhat more explaining than does the eccentric orientation of a madrasa. Even so, it may be felt that the building at Ray presents rather more problems of identification than does its counterpart at Khârgird. Whatever conclusion is reached, it is regrettable that the undoubtedly seminal role of Iran in the early development of the madrasa is so unjustly obscured by the lack of early surviving specimens whose claims to be madrasas are not disputed.

It is with some relief, therefore, that one turns to an examination of the surviving madrasas whose identification as such is incontrovertible. The earliest of these, the madrasa of Gumbârgânî in Boşrâ, built up apparently by late date—532/1135—and located in Syria, an area which has not yet entered the discussion, is followed in brick succession by some fourteen surviving madrasas in Syria all dated or datable before 700/1300, and the literary evidence confirms that these are only a fraction of what was built in this period and has since vanished—82 madrasas are mentioned in the detailed chronicle of mediaeval Damascus, for example, and 41 in the more summary account of mediaeval Aleppo (see above, section 1, 4).

These numbers, impressive though they are, are, need not, however, be interpreted as confirmation of the primacy of Syria in the architectural development of the madrasa. Nor, pace Creswell, can this honour be claimed by Egypt without further ado. He lists some 29 madrasas in Cairo dated before 700/1300, and of these a scant four have remained. From the undoubted fact that the latter group includes the first cruciform four-rite madrasa to survive he has built an elaborate edifice of argument designed to establish the innovatory role of the Egyptian madrasa.

As will shortly be apparent, however, the area with the largest number of surviving madrasas datable before 700 is Saldjûk Anatolia, which boasts no less than 50 examples, of them datable to the 6th/12th century. Egypt and Syria together cannot match the latter tally, and indeed have only a third as many madrasas datable before 700/1300. Yet these buildings figure not at all in Creswell's history of this architectural type. Common sense dictates that the Anatolian madrasas, built in an area culturally dependent on Iran and geographically close to it by patrons who themselves sprang from Great Saldjûk stock would be likely to reflect the Saldjûk madrasas of Iran, whose decisive role in the formation of the genre has never seriously been questioned. Iranian influence may in any case readily be detected in the plan types, brickwork and the decoration of much of Rûm Saldjûk architecture. The historical background outlined above encourages the assumption that it is precisely in these unfortunately vanished Iranian Saldjûk madrasas that the essential original lineaments of the official madrasa are to be sought. Hence the paramount historic importance of the Anatolian Saldjûk madrasas as the closest surviving relatives of the Iranian type. Many of their features are duplicated in contemporary Syrian madrasas, which may be seen as a parallel and coeval group.

Returning to the Boşrâ madrasa, one notes that, like most Syrian madrasas, it is diminutive; for all that its patron was a senior amîr serving the Atabegs of Damascus, its external dimensions do not exceed 20 x 17 m. On this tiny scale, there is scarcely room for a proper courtyard, and the space which would normally be designated as such is, instead, a feature which was to recur a century later in some of the Saldjûk madrasas of Konya and elsewhere. Two lateral iwans open off this space, while a prayer hall and a kind of narthex to the south, the latter reached by narrow entrance vestibules to east and west, fill up most of the remaining area. In this single-storey building, the only space left over is the area flanking the prayer hall, which yields two rooms per side. Since these each average less than 4 m square, the total number of students accommodated in this madrasa can scarcely have exceeded a dozen. Such a building will simply not fit the popular image of officially sponsored madrasas located strategically throughout the Saldjûk empire and serving, at least in part, significant political ends.

Later Syrian madrasas rejected many of the solutions found in the example at Boşrâ. Perhaps the most distinctive local characteristic was to be the laterally developed prayer hall entered by a triple archway and vaulted in a variety of ways (Dâr al-Ḫadîjî [q.c.], Damascus, between 549/1154 and 569/1174; Madrasa Kân al-Tutun, Aleppo, 564/1169-5; Madrasa of Nûr al-Dîn, Damascus, 567/1172; and Madrasa of Shâdbakht, Aleppo, 589/1193 among others). Sometimes the central bay of the masâqal is domed, with groin vaults covering the flanking iwans facing each other across an empty space. Altogether exceptional is a joint foundation: in al-Ḫadîjî, for example, there are one large and one small courtyard unit, each with a pair of iwans facing each other across the court, an intimately domestic arrangement encountered earlier in palaces and caravanserais.

The emphasis on one rather than several iwâns may reflect the fact that the great majority of these buildings—all but seven of the 128 madrasas
in Damascus and Aleppo which pre-date 700/1300 and are recorded in the literary sources—were erected to serve a single madhhab and therefore required only one location for teaching. But this is purely supposition, for the two-inlin madrasas at Bôrâ was built to serve the Hanafi madhhab alone, while the two-rite Sultânîyya madrasa at Aleppo (620/1223-4) has no idâs at all. It therefore seems equally possible that any causal connection between the number of idâs in a Syrian madrasa and the number of madhâbahs which it served is more apparent than real. This conclusion seems all the more appropriate when it is remembered that neither Anatolian nor Turkish madrasas attest any consistent connection between the number of idâs in a madrasa and the number of madhâbahs which it serves. Against this wider perspective the Egyptian cruciform four-rite madrasa is nothing short of freakish, reflecting perhaps a conciliatory religious policy on the part of the founder. Not surprisingly it remained very rare; the overwhelming majority of mediaeval madrasas throughout the Islamic world were built to serve a single madhhab.

A cursory examination of the Syrian madrasas is enough to establish that the provision of student accommodation was not a major priority. The information available on this score is unfortunately not very precise, for most of these buildings are long since disaffected and modern houses have encroached on them. But the Bôrâ madrasa, as noted above, suggests in the gross disproportion between public and private space that the structure was purpose-built to accommodate no more than a handful of students, and that its catchment area was probably no wider than Bôrâ itself. Nûr al-Dîn’s Dir al-Hadîth in Damascus also seems to have had no more than four rooms, and although the other surviving Syrian madrasas are more generously provided with student cells, not one of them approaches the larger Maghrîbi madrasas, let alone those of Iran, for capacity. The Rûm al-Tutun madrasa in Aleppo probably had ten cells, while the Dar al-Hadîth, which was purpose-built to accommodate no more than a single student, is belied by the epigraphic evidence, which suggests that the teacher appointed to decorate them lavishly. What decoration there is, large capacity, just as it would have been wasteful to decorate them lavishly. What decoration there is, however, maintains a high level of quality and is set off by the consistently fine stereotomy of Syrian tradition. The stone vaulting of the time deserves particular commendation. Thus these madrasas were firmly rooted in a topographical, sociological and artistic context which depended little on external influence.

Perhaps the main distinguishing feature of these Syrian madrasas is the inclusion of a mausoleum (barâk [q.s.] or turba). Indeed, it is doubtful whether the connection between the madrasa and the mausoleum was ever closer than it was in Ayyûbîd Syria. Once again, epigraphy provides a clue for this, for incriptions in the Sultânîyya and Attabakîyya madrasas, located in Aleppo and Damascus respectively, refer to the recitation of the Qur’ân there. Provision was made for this recitation to be unceasing—an Islamic parallel for the Christian custom of paying for masses to be said for the souls of the dead. Burial in a madrasa, then, was—like burial in the neighbourhood of a saint—intended at least in part to confer barâk upon the dead. It was in Syria rather than in Egypt that the exaltation of the mausoleum at the expense of the madrasa proved itself a distinctively Syrian practice. One finds (e.g. Farrukh-Shâhiyya and Amjadîyya turbars, Damascus). Conversely, it sometimes happens that the inscription of a turba may mention the madrasa of which the mausoleum was part, and may indicate the only surviving evidence that such a madrasa ever existed (‘Izizya madrasa, Damascus).

The intimate symbiosis of turba and madrasa is epitomised by a curious joint foundation in Damascus. The Farrukh-Shâhiyya madrasa, with the mausoleum of ‘Uzz al-Dîn Farrukh-Shâh attached, dates from 578 or 579/1182-3. A generation later, in 628/1230, another madrasa was built beside it and this
tion was provided with a mausoleum, which housed the son of fizz al-Din, al-Malik al-Amgijd. Father and son, then, are buried in adjacent turbas; the turba of the former is, perhaps appropriately, the larger of the two. Similar pairs of tombs survive in Damascus and later in Mamluk madrasas. If the madrasas of Ayyubid Syria were analysed from the purely formal point of view, with no backward glance at their eastern origins, the obvious conclusion would be that a major, if not indeed the primary, purpose of the institution was to contain a monumental mausoleum. Is it fair to assume, then, that the term madrasa did not have a consistent meaning throughout the mediaeval Islamic world? Certainly, Ayyubid Syria provides evidence suggesting that the term did not denote one single type of building. Thus the Dur al-Hadidh or al-Ashrafyya in Damascus (654/1257) is called a madrasa in its foundation inscription, and in its sequence of entrance vestibule, prayer hall and turba conforms to the standard type of contemporary madrasa as illustrated by the Murshidkaya madrasa in Damascus. Conversely, the Khidryya, also in Damascus, is defined in its foundation inscription as an institution for teaching hadith, but is identical in form to the Murshidkaya. As in Iran and Egypt, it was common for a private house to be converted into a madrasa, but more ambitious conversions are also recorded and it is these that testify yet again to the loose boundaries between mediaeval Islamic building types. Thus the Halaiiyya madrasa in Aleppo was successively a church and a mosque before it became a madrasa, while the Madaddiyya served in turn as a madrasa, a burial ground and mosque. Thus the mere fact that a structure was founded with a given purpose in mind was no guarantee that it would continue to function as such, especially if the value of its endowment fell; it might easily shed some functions or acquire additional ones. The absence of any sign of student cells in many of these admittedly half-ruined Ayyubid madrasas invites speculation that at least some of these foundations were never intended to be residential.

If the Syrian madrasa tradition, as it developed during the scant century of its heyday, is analysed as a whole, the sheer variety of types encountered cannot fail to make an impression. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these differences are not casual or contingent on the local topography, but rather reflect a basic uncertainty about the ideal form such buildings should take. For a long time, Syrian architects were sidetracked by the influence exerted by the mosque. The prestige of that long-established model helps to explain why ideas derived from mosque design permeate these madrasas. They were after all religious buildings. The Shaddabkhiyya madrasa in Aleppo (565/1170) is essentially a mosque writ small, especially in its laterally developed domed mosque that joined to the prayer hall by the plan alone, the teaching function of the building is plainly secondary.

Since Fatimid Egypt was officially Shi'i, it was impossible for the explicitly Sunni madrasa movement to establish itself there, or for that matter anywhere else in the Fatimid domains, before the fall of that dynasty in 585/1190. Within five years of that date, however, under the militant orthodoxy of Salah al-Din there were already as many madrasas in Cairo, swiftly to be followed, no doubt at least partly for propaganda reasons, by examples at Mecca and Medina. However, the long start which Syria had enjoyed in building madrasas seems to have resulted in a more lavish provision of these buildings in that area than in Egypt, where the total recorded before 700/1300 is only 31, about a third of the comparable figure in Anatolia or in Damascus alone. These figures are enough in themselves to cast doubt on the supposed primacy of Egypt in the architectural development of the madrasa.

The building of madrasas in Cairo gathered new momentum with the coming of the Mamluks. The largely vanished Zahiryya madrasa (686-9/1286-7) of Sultan Baybars was a gigantic 4-iwan structure with a stalactite portal probably of Syrian inspiration, a theme repeated in the deep niches with muqarnas hoods which articulated its façade. This building inaugurates, if indeed it was not preceded by some comparably magnificent earlier madrasa, the distinguished tradition of Cairoene madrasas with splendid façades and interiors to match. Anatolia was about a generation earlier in this development, so far as surviving evidence indicates, while Syria lagged behind.

This notable degree of splendour can be explained on both political and economic grounds. Mamluk madrasas in Cairo are overwhelmingly the product of royal or high official patronage, a fact consistently reflected in the names they bear and in their lavish decoration. Outward splendour would be the natural corollary of such patronage. But it would be inaccurate simply to treat these buildings as instances of conspicuous consumption, even though the lengths to which an amir or sultan would go to secure a fashionable site with ample street frontage do suggest such a conclusion. Many of them were endowed far more generously than their size and therefore the scope of their activities dictated, and while these endowments (nakfi) were inalienable under Islamic law, that same law permitted any surplus from an endowment to be applied to the benefit of the descendants of the original endower. The more lavish the endowment, therefore, the more such a foundation would approximate to an investment. Not surprisingly it was among the first concerns of an amir, upon reaching power, to found some charitable institution, not was there any bar to his adding pecuniary to its endowment over the years.

Perhaps the most ambitious of these multi-purpose Mamluk foundations, and the one which seems to have set the fashion for such institutions, is the al-Mu'tases tomb and madrasa of Sultan Kal'Uun, the whole built in a mere thirteen months (683-4/1284-5). As in the case of the al-Muhawwara (635/1237), the Sharif wa'din al-'Uqba, its internal arrangements are at odds with its façade, which at nearly 70 m is exceptionally long and to which a sense the whole building is subordinated. Mausoleum and madrasa are surmounted by a long corridor which led to the now largely-vanished hospital. It is no doubt significant that the Mamluk, now enlarged by a functionally dispensable courtyard, occupies a far larger proportion of the combined tomb and madrasa portion of the ensemble than it did in the al-Muhawwara. The madrasa itself has a generous courtyard with two fases on the longitudinal axis and cells disposed laterally. Its most notable feature is without doubt the qibla iwan which is divided into three naves and therefore explicitly associated with the traditional architecture of the mosque. Interestingly enough, Khallaw's son, al-Nasir Muhammad, himself built a mausoleum-madrasa cheek by jowl with his father's grand foundation, and in this later ensemble (655-703/1255-1303), the mausoleum is relegated to a subsidiary role beside a substantial 4-iwan madrasa.
This latter building has the peculiar distinction of being the first known cruciform madrasa intended to serve all four madhhabs.

By common consent, the masterpiece among these Mamlik ensembles, (150 x 68 m.), and certainly the largest of them was the mosque, madrasa and mausoleum of Sultan Hasan (737/6-1335-63). Its lofty portal, originally designed to have flaming minarets, and with a spacious vestibule behind it, bears the unmistakable imprint of Anatolian Seljuk architecture, but most of the detailing within is typically Cairoene. At first sight, the layout seems familiar enough, focused as it is on the ample tertia plan. But—and here again foreign influence, this time from Iran, must be taken into account—this cruciform plan is employed, exceptionally in the case of Egypt, for a mosque, while each madhab has its own madrasa in one of the corners of the building. The Sultan's own mausoleum, a gigantic dome chamber, extends the full width of the kibla wall and is placed emphatically not in Iranian fashion directly behind the kibla wall. It therefore usurps the position of the dome sanctum in the classical Iranian mosque. The building thus epitomises the vitality and versatility of the traditional tertia formula.

Several prestigious Mamlik buildings in Cairo, such as the various funerary madrasas of Sultan Qalawun and the funerary complex of Sultan Hasan, followed the lead of the Sultan Hasan ensemble. But its principal impact on later buildings was through its tertia schema, which henceforth was to be repeatedly used for mosque architecture until the Ottoman conquest. In other words, the architecture of the madrasa had now come to influence that of the mosque; indeed, the unprecedented expansion of the kibla tertia into a full-scale masjadda in later Mamlik buildings (e.g. the Káhit Bay complex) can only be explained by such a process. Presumably the decisive factor was that the mosque thereby gained a large unbroken space for the masjadda, which, unlike mosques with the tertia wall (which is sufficient indication that their role as places for prayer was not paramount.

At the mosque-madrasa of Burjikl, built a generation later (786-8/1384-6) the emphasis is reversed in favour of the madrasa without any fundamental change in plan. Thereafter, while true tertia mosques or madrasas remained the exception rather than the rule in Egypt (e.g. the foundations of al-Malik aI*N-Din of 845/1449 and Sultan Iskander of 860/1459), the principle that the same building could serve both functions was unassailable. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover in 717/1317 and 858/1454 century Mamlik architecture a marked propensity to use tertas, though the combinations varies widely—one, two or three tertas may be used in conjunction with courtyards, halls, madrasas or sets of smaller chambers; acute shortage of space was no doubt a contributory factor in these developments.

The diminutive scale of many Circassian Mamlik foundations, noted above, a set of domed bays forming miniature compartments take up the areas normally reserved for tertas. The liturgical distinction between the kibla tertia and the subsidiary ones was expressed in architectural terms too. The former was vaulted, and thereby given the illusion of still greater spaciousness, while the scale of the latter was reduced and their ceilings were now flat.

The madrasa to influence mosque design was indeed a momentous change; it signalled a new relationship between the two buildings. Earlier, the dependent status of the madrasa had been vividly expressed by the way it had been tacked on, very much in the manner of an afterthought, to the parent structure. Examples abound; they include the madrasa of 507/1113-14 beside the Great Mosque of Urfa and a trio of madrasas—those of the amirs Taybars (709/1309-10), Abuqbug (720/1320) and Æavanaugh (before 844/1440)—attached to the Azhar mosque in Cairo. Henceforth, however, these two institutions could combine their functions within a single building which was highly desirable given the chronic shortage of space in Cairo) and with minimum trespass of one upon the other. For it is noticeable that in the Sultan Hasan complex a novel solution for the madrasa has been devised: not only does each madhhab occupy a corner of the building, but certain aspects of the traditional full-scale madrasa are retained even on this miniature scale. The cells for students are clustered on two sides of a diminutive courtyard, except in the case of the Mlik madrasa situated in the western corner, where the exigencies of the site bisected the space available. Since the Mlik ete enjoyed relatively less popularity than the other three (though the Mliki professor was allotted the prestigious kibla alwi in the funerary madrasa of al-Mlik al-Na'ir), this solution was not as unjust to that madhab as might at first appear. Furthermore, the small size of the student cells meant that their numbers and dimensions could be readily adjusted to fill the space available, thereby obviating the need toNONE
al-Ghanndmiyya 1372 in Cairo, dated 774

al-Sh's ensemble conferred an implied legal recognition on al-Sh's madrasa, built in conjunction with a madrasa. This madrasa, the mausoleum occupied such a significant portion of the ensemble that it appropriately takes second place to the madrasa itself. The mausoleum in turn would have provided access for buildings behind it.

Among the surviving madrasas in Cairo one type is clearly predominant—the funerary madrasa. So traditional was this kind of building in Cairo that (to judge by surviving structures) it was the madrasa tout court that remained exceptional. In the earlier funerary madrasas, the mausoleum occupied such a significant portion of the ensemble that it is appropriate to describe such structures as joint foundations. Five such monuments survive dated between 677/1278 and 715/1315 alone, and they were only gradually superseded by foundations of still wider scope. It is hard to deny the conclusion that in the madrasa a convenient means of justifying the mausoleum was a conventional means of justifying the large room behind it—a focus both for the relentless emulation of the earlier Islamic orthodoxy. An example of this process is the vanished madrasa built in conjunction with a mausoleum near the grave of the Imam al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820) in 572/1176-80. This ensemble conferred an implied legal recognition on the cult of the imam; after all, if a funerary madrasa could be erected in honour of the founder of one of the four major madhhab, the practice could henceforth safely be regarded as unimpeachable. Nevertheless, the mausoleum continued to provide the true focus of the building, and it is almost invariably usurps pride of place. This is particularly evident when the ensemble includes two mausolea instead of one (funerary madrasas of Salar and Sardjar al-Djawili, 703/1303-4), although later in the century such double mausolea appropriately enough take second place to the madrasa itself madrasa of Khwain al-Baraka, also known as that of Shabtin, 770/1373-9). The inclusion of minarets, which by this time were too common in the city for fresh ones to be anything but redundant, may also have been designed to ward off pious disapproval. Even so, it was the mausoleum and the mausoleum, not the madrasa itself, which gave these buildings their distinctive stamp externally. Perhaps the competition of these already well-established building types was one of the factors which prevented the madrasa from developing its own instantly recognisable form. A modest edifice in the name of the Mamluk Khalik al-Djawand (719/1320), described as a masjid in its inscription, has long been demolished; rooms on the roof, the striking resemblance to the slightly later Mihr'ihilyya and the historical evidence all point to its being a madrasa, epitomises the simplicity and austerity of the madrasa, once the conspicuousness of such parodic structures. It is the first Cairo madrasa to have the sabil roofed in the Anatolian manner. This feature continues in later madrasas and results in the courtyard shrinking to the level of a large room (madrasa of Jaiat Bay, 808/1403).

These remarks should not be construed to suggest that Caliphs' madrasas served exclusively educational, religious or funerary purposes. A casual resemblance set down by al-Makridi indicated that the madrasa-mausoleum of the Aflār Karasunkur was used as a hostel by couriers of the barid service preparing for their return journey to Syria and elsewhere. The same source mentions a ribat for women attached to the madrasa and mausoleum of the Aflār Sarkour Sa'dī (715/1315). But above all, the madrasa provided a focus both for the relentless emulation of the Mamluk anton in architectural projects and for their desire to make financial provision for their descendants.

Just as the madrasas of Syria in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries yield valuable data not available from Egypt as monuments, so for Mamluk Egyptian madrasas provide both the basis and the opportunity for their emulations. This decline is not reflected solely in Syria; it is a widespread characteristic of later mediaeval architecture in Syria, and is only to be expected given the henceforth provincial status of the area. After the death of Baybars, whose own early career adequately explains his interest in Syria, it was very rare for a Mamluk sultan to undertake a major building project in Syria in the 8th/14th and 9th centuries, such as that of Sha'bun, 770/1370. The funerary mosque of Sulaym Shajrī (719/1320), described as a madrasa and a mausoleum of the Sultan Shajrī (808/1403), may also have been designed to ward off pious disapproval. Even so, it was the mausoleum and the mausoleum, not the madrasa itself, which gave these buildings their distinctive stamp externally. Perhaps the competition of these already well-established building types was one of the factors which prevented
The ensemble takes an unusual form which is due only in part to the exigencies of the site. At ground floor level it comprises three elements. The most important of these is a large assembly hall (ma'djma)
whose capacity and spatial extent are much reduced by the architect’s decision to retain in his remodelling (the original piers of) the arcade enclosing the Haram. Here congregated the judges, fukah, and other notables connected with the madrasa. Behind the hall is a series of three adjoining square or rectangular rooms whose western walls about the Bala-diyu madrasa; they neatly subdivide an awkward lateral corridor of space. The third component of the ground floor layout is the entrance complex, which comprises a vaulted porch open on all four sides and leading to the entrance itself flanked by stone benches (masbahas), which opens into a tripartite area. The last two are ingeniously and slightly planned to serve as a self-contained madrasa. As such it immediately recalls, for example, the Djamhiriyya madrasa in Jerusalem itself, which like the Ashrafiyya is intimately dovetailed with a pre-existing structure, or the Mihkkiyya madrasa in Cairo. The first-floor unit divides naturally into two areas, one north of the minaret above the staircase and the other west of it. The latter area consists of an L-shaped open-air terrace (sâha) with twenty rooms, disposed roughly as uneven pairs, to the south and five identical rooms plus a washroom (mustandar) to the west. Even if the larger rooms are excluded and only symmetrically repetitive chambers are identified as student cells, the number of resident students which were catered for here can scarcely have been less than twenty. Its sister foundation in Mocca had (according to one account) forty students attended by four lecturers (madarrisûn) plus a jurisconsult (jâkêb), Kurân rectors (hurûd) and, somewhat surprisingly, muezzins. The area north of the minaret comprises another open-air terrace to the west, lavatories with a reservoir, and a remarkably compact cruciform madrasa adjoining the terrace to the east and thus placed directly above the madina, comprising a rectangular hall some 25.7 x 12.1 m. in area. The east side of this takes pride of place among the others since it is the one which looks out on to the Haram. It has in effect been transformed into an open loggia offering spectacular views over the Haram. This architectural form, known as maqÂd or fârma, has a wide distribution in domestic architecture throughout the Near East, and may parenthetically be compared with similar forms in contemporary Renaissance architecture; it underlines yet again the deep roots of the madrasa in domestic prototypes. But this development, for all its domestic flavour, also had religious implications, for the view from this loggia was over one of the holiest sites in the Islamic world. A note of luxury is struck by a huge stained glass window and is echoed through the complex—in the two-tone (abiak) masonry, the polychrome marble flooring of the ieddeh and inner courtyard (a practice frequently encountered in late Mamlûk Catreme madrasas), the veneered wooden ceilings of the ieddeh, the lead sheeting of the roof and in its carpets and lamps, whose beauty, in the words of a contemporary historian, was "unequalled elsewhere". In short, there is ample evidence that the Ashrafiyya was a metropolitan import into the local architecture of Jerusalem.

In the earlier part of this section the discussion focused on literary references to the earliest madrasa. This emphasis was dictated by the lack of surviving structures. It is unlikely that future excavations will substantially illuminate this crucial early period. After all, the written sources indicate clearly enough that the early, pre-Saljûk, madrasas, in keeping with their private and non-official character, were of a domestic nature. Frequently a house became a madrasa without, if it seems, any structural alteration, or served impartially as house and madrasa by turns. It follows that excavated ground plans will not be enough in themselves to prove that a given pre-Saljûk structure functioned as a madrasa. Even in the Saljûk period itself, the two Italian buildings identified by some as madrasas (the ruined structures at Khirûrâd and Ray) have aroused a controversy still not laid to rest. In this situation it seems sensible to accept that the architectural history of the madrasa before 530/1136 (the date of the first reference) is irretrievably lost, no matter how rich the documentation of its character as an institution may be.

Such a conclusion inevitably confers particular evidential value on the earliest considerable group of madrasas to survive, namely the examples in Saljûk Anatolia, where 95 surviving examples permit a more searching and reliable analysis of trends than do 15 Syrian ones. These Anatolian buildings have been quite unjustifiably neglected in the history of the genre; Creswell’s obsession with absolute chronology and his bias towards material from Syria, Palestine and Egypt led him to over-estimate the geographic area in the development of the madrasa, and his views have dominated subsequent discussion. However, the Anatolian madrasas are the best available guide to the nature of the building in Saljûk Iran; thanks to the work of Kurân and Sozû, they are much better known as a group than any others in the Islamic world. Some of them datable before 910/1500 survive, and this figure can be supplemented by a further 58 vanished buildings of the same period recorded in the literary sources. In both categories, incidentally, the numerous Ottoman buildings, which form a separate study, are excluded; the grand total of Anatolian madrasas surviving or recorded in this period is probably about 200. The preponderance of surviving over vanished buildings is highly unusual in the medieval Islamic world and is unlikely to reflect the true state of affairs. But the two sets of figures do complement each other significantly. They confirm what may be deduced from other sources—that building activity was most concentrated in the 9th/13th century, that is, under the Saljûks of Rûm. Forty-nine surviving and 27 vanished madrasas, that is almost half of the entire recorded output of Anatolia in the period 1000-1500, date from this century. The comparable figures for the 8th/12th century, are 22 and 15, comprising about a quarter of the output of the whole. The Karamanids, the principal patrons responsible for new madrasas in this period. In the 9th/15th century the rate of construction declined still more sharply by a further 70%. Even the 6th/12th century saw more construction than this, with nine surviving buildings and a further six so far recorded in the literary sources; but of course the decline of Baylîs madrasas in the 9th/15th century directly mirrors the growth of Ottoman power. Indeed, the earliest Ottoman madrasa to survive, that of Sulaymân Pasha at Iznik, predates 759/1359 and was itself preceded by a now vanished madrasa at Bursa. With the 9th/15th century, Ottoman madrasas began to be erected over much of Anatolia.
slow spread of the madrasa in this area and period. But with the consolidation of Rûm Seljûq power, the movement gathered such momentum that it long outlasted the disintegration of the Seljûq state. Clearly, it had deep roots in the society which it served.

Not surprisingly, therefore, and in contrast to the situation in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and for that matter in the Maghrib, these mediaeval Anatolian madrasas were not confined to a few large cities. The surviving examples alone are distributed among 39 cities, towns and villages throughout the length and breadth of the land, while the literary sources add a further dozen localities. In the fullest sense, therefore, this was a popular movement. Naturally this did not exclude a concentration of madrasas in a few key centres. Konya, as the Seljûq capital, obviously took pride of place, though only seven of its 24 madrasas have survived. Next comes Mardin, the Artuqid capital, where surprisingly enough 11 of the recorded 13 madrasas remain; similarly, Kayseri retains 9 of its 11 recorded madrasas. These are without doubt the three major centres of the time. However, quite a number of towns had between four and six madrasas erected in this period—Sivas, Sivrihisar, Alaplı, Tirc, Aksaray, Erzurum, Diyarbakir and Karaman. Thus there is ample evidence to indicate that the intensive building activity of a few centres was complemented by provision in depth at a good many more. Finally, seven sites are recorded with two or three madrasas apiece. Such a remarkably even spread of facilities throughout the land may best be explained by the interaction of two complementary trends: a centralised building programme and—though probably to a lesser degree—a popular fashion for the madrasa as an institution, or at any rate as a suitable object of modest architectural patronage.

It is in fact these Anatolian buildings which provide the best evidence of the multi-functional nature of the mediaeval madrasa. In so doing, they are a reminder that the form of these buildings is not an infallible guide to their function. Many a building now conventionally termed madrasa/madrasa/medrese and subsumed in the present discussion was actually intended to serve as a medical school, a hospital, an observatory, a mental hospital, an imaret, a tomb, a mausoleum, though the complex of İsmâ'îl Bey at Karaman (836/1433) comprising mosque, hospital, tomb, mausoleum, and madrasa, is the complete model. In the case of Long-An (880/1475) runs it close comprising mosque, hospital, tomb, mausoleum, and madrasa, but the complex of İsmâ'îl Beg at Kastamonu (ca. 850/1445) runs it close comprising mosque, hospital, tomb, mausoleum, and madrasa. Such buildings make most sense in an Ottoman context. Any attempt to characterise the mediaeval Anatolian madrasa must therefore reckon with this very varied background, but it is their paucity that is most striking. Even the most splendid of all domed Anatolian Seljûq madrasas, that built in Konya in 611/1215 by the vizier Djalâl al-Dîn Karatay and bearing his name, has no more than a dozen cells. The most capacious madrasa of the period, on the other hand—the Çifte Mihrâb in Erzurum, which at about 48 m is the largest Anatolian madrasa of the period—still has a mere 19 cells on each of its two stories and therefore lags far behind the larger madrasas of the Maghrib or Irâq. In the 8th/19th century, the capacity of the average Anatolian madrasa declined still further. Seljûq Anatolia shows just as clearly as do Syria, Egypt or Iran the growth of the multi-purpose foundation, and several Anatolian madrasas were built in conjunction with structures serving another purpose altogether. Thus the madrasa at Cay bears the same date (677/1279) as the caravansarai which adjoins it. Presumably as in the case of similar though later joint foundations (those of Amir Mirjân in Bagdad, 736/1336-7 and Şeh Şultan Huseyn in İsfâhân, 1105-1105-1272), the revenues of the commercial establishment were intended to finance the running costs of the madrasa. It was common enough, too, for a madrasa to adjoin a mosque (Zingirîyya madrasa, Diyarbakir, 595/1198; Ḥâdiṯ Umâd madrasa, Kayseri, 649/1250-51) or may not have a portico around the central space—

a place of prayer, an elaborate façade, a mausoleum (or even two, as at the Boyâlîkî madrasa), a minaret, a bath, a fountain or halls for public gatherings. Not surprisingly, the cells are usually tiny, a mere three paces per side. But it is their paucity that is most striking. Even the most splendid of all domed Anatolian Seljûq madrasas, that built in Konya in 611/1215 by the vizier Djalâl al-Dîn Karatay and bearing his name, has no more than a dozen cells. The most capacious madrasa of the period, on the other hand—the Çifte Mihrâb in Erzurum, which at about 48 m is the largest Anatolian madrasa of the period—still has a mere 19 cells on each of its two stories and therefore lags far behind the larger madrasas of the Maghrib or Irâq. In the 8th/19th century, the capacity of the average Anatolian madrasa declined still further. Seljûq Anatolia shows just as clearly as do Syria, Egypt or Iran the growth of the multi-purpose foundation, and several Anatolian madrasas were built in conjunction with structures serving another purpose altogether. Thus the madrasa at Cay bears the same date (677/1279) as the caravansarai which adjoins it. Presumably as in the case of similar though later joint foundations (those of Amir Mirjân in Bagdad, 736/1336-7 and Şeh Şultan Huseyn in İsfâhân, 1105-1105-1272), the revenues of the commercial establishment were intended to finance the running costs of the madrasa. It was common enough, too, for a madrasa to adjoin a mosque (Zingirîyya madrasa, Diyarbakir, 595/1198; Ḥâdiṯ Umâd madrasa, Kayseri, 649/1250-51) or may not have a portico around the central space—

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222x155}Madrasa

The rich quantity of Anatolian material available permits a variety of conclusions. The most important of these is perhaps that no single type of arrangement was dominant. This in turn invites speculation that the evolution of the genre was by no means complete. In some madrasas (Tokat, Karahisar), a whole cluster of rooms of varying shapes and sizes mirror the uncertainties of the architect. In many of these buildings, too, the notional purpose of a madrasa—to house students seeking a theological education as a first step to joining the Islam—obviously comes a poor fast to such other functions as providing
a more rewarding subject than its architecture, therefore deserves separate consideration.

The most convenient explanations—that the form is dictated by function or by climate—will obviously not do. After all it is the domed, not the open, madrasa that is exceptional in Anatolia. Nor can regional preferences be invoked, for the type occurs with variable consistency throughout the country. An important factor in its genesis is clearly to have been that interchangeability of building types so typical of mediaeval Islamic architecture. The association of the madrasa with burial and worship would make it natural for the forms of mausoleum and mosque to be integrated into the structure of the madrasa—as indeed happens—and eventually to exert influence upon its form. Moreover, it can scarcely be coincidence that it is precisely the madrasas of smaller surface area which attest the domed type. If very few students were to be accommodated in the building, the need for a substantial courtyard would diminish. In such a situation, the building would gain extra dignity and monumentality by the placing of a dome over the central space, while the primary function of the courtyard would be retained by means of a skylight and/or a fountain. This ablutions fountain or ẖaḍirvan readily brings to mind the impluvium of the atrium in a Roman house, and thus underlines yet again the domestic origins of the madrasa. The integrating power of a central dome may also have been a relevant factor in the growing popularity of the domed madrasa.

Two further considerations, which are perhaps only at first sight mutually exclusive, may be borne in mind. First, the compact madrasa with large central dome and smaller domed or vaulted areas surrounding it cannot fail to recall the standard type of mid-Byzantine church which was widespread in Anatolia at the time of the Turkish conquest. Nor is this resemblance simply a matter of external silhouette; the rear ẖaḍirvan flanked by dome chambers in the domed madrasas of Konya brings to mind a Byzantine church apse flanked by diaconicon and prophets. Secondly, when these domed madrasas are seen not simply in their contemporary context but against the later background of Ottoman architecture, especially mosques, their emphasis on an integrated multi-domed and -vaulted space may be recognised as prophetic. Indeed, some of these domed madrasas, such as the İnçe Minârellî madrasa in Konya or the Taş madrasa in Akşehir, actually incorporate earlier mosques in their structure. This close link with mosque architecture is incidentally not to be seen in the courtyard madrasas, which in Anatolia at least developed quite separately, but whatever the origins of the idea, its development was fortunately consistent right up to the Ottoman culmination.

Anatolian courtyard madrasas, like those of domed type, do not readily fall into formal sub-categories, although attempts have been made to analyse the buildings on the basis.

Certain generalisations about these buildings may be made. It is clear, for example, that the typical rectangular madrasa kept the façade short in relation to the sides. This had the advantage of concentrating student cells on the long sides and separating them physically from the rooms serving other functions. Most cells had a fireplace and a cupboard, but sanitary facilities were communal and there was usually no provision for meals to be cooked on the premises. Equally characteristic is a tripartite division of the building parallel with the major, that is the longitudinal, axis, as in contemporary caravansaries.

At the far end of that axis, marking the kibla and continuing the major chord first sounded by the portal, is a wide ẖaḍir or dome chamber serving as the mosque and frequently flanked by a subsidiary vaulted or domed room on either side. Evidently some honorary intent lies behind this placing, though it must be conceded that the mosque was sometimes located elsewhere in the madrasa (for example, next to the entrance vestibule at the Çifte Minâre madrasa, Erzurum). When the madrasa form was used for an observatory (Wāziyâliya madrasa, Kütahya, 714/1314), a small opening in each of the lateral dome chambers served for star-gazing. In a true madrasa, these two chambers most likely functioned as classrooms and for the library; smaller rooms flanking the entrance perhaps accommodated the professors. In the 4-ẖaḍir plans the kibla ẖaḍir is typically the broadest and the most richly decorated of all, and it has a similar pre-eminence in two-ẖaḍir madrasas, in which the ẖaḍirs, as in Iranian Saljûq building of that type, are confined to the longitudinal axis. However, the form of the ẖaḍir within these buildings—as distinct from their exteriors—does not follow Iranian precedent, in that its façade comprised the ẖaḍir alone without a framing ẖajâjûn.

The discussion so far has touched on the question of the originality of these Anatolian madrasas, but the dearth of contemporary comparative material from elsewhere forbids any very positive statement on this score. Even so, one may set against the occasional echo of Syrian madrasas or of Iranian buildings, a growing sense of confidence in forging a local style. Imported ideas are rapidly given Anatolian garb, as the fate of Persian elements shows. Minarets become stumper and stockier than in Iran, with tiers of well-articulated balconies; in 4-ẖaḍir plans, the ẖaḍirs are diminished and subordinated to the emphasis on continuous arcades surrounding the courtyard, and a pronounced longitudinal axis—at odds with the centralising function of the 4-ẖaḍir plan—makes itself felt. It should also be pointed out that the first four-ẖaḍir madrasa to survive is in all probability not, as is often thought, the Mustaṣarîyya in Baghûd but the Masûdîyya in Diyarbakir, founded in 590/1193-4. Such a detail symbolises the central importance of mediaeval Anatolia to an understanding of madrasa architecture.

Ottoman madrasas inevitably look somewhat tame when measured against the output of the preceding centuries, but what they lost in unpredictability they amply made up for in symmetry and scale, characteristics hitherto undervalued. Long, uncluttered façades are preferred, and this change is symptomatic of the security which was to replace the luxuriant idiom of Saljûq and Beylik architectural ornament. But it is more than a matter of stylistic preference. The typical Anatolian Saljûq and even Beylik madrasa was a self-contained foundation, even if its raison d'être was as often funerary as educational. Exceptions are not hard to find, but they are distinctly recognisable as such. With the advent of the Ottomans to supreme power, the joint foundation—typically a mosque- or dome-madrasa, but frequently a still larger complex—becomes commonplace, and sometimes several madrasas cluster around a mosque; such an ensemble is conceived as an architectural unity and often executed in a single building campaign.

These changes left their mark on the madrasa. Its function as a place of prayer was now positively subordinated to its role as an educational institution, and this change is swiftly mirrored in its architecture.
The main is domed and by degrees removed, and in its place appears the dominant dome chamber; the Çelebi Mehmed madrasa, Merzifon (817/1414), illustrates an intermediate stage of this process, with its compact, square layout focussed on a central courtyard, ideally adapted to a cruciform Islamic plan; but the facias no longer dominate the arrangement, for behind each of them rises a powerful, foursquare domed musalla.

The closer relationship between mosque and madrasa in this period was to have still more far-reaching results. There was less need to provide ample facilities for prayer, so the musalli or musallâ occupies a smaller proportion of the surface area. Innovations in mosque design are swiftly reflected in the planning of madrasas—for example, in the provision of a mediating cloister, each bay domed, between courtyard and cells. Above all, the madrasa was now readily conceived as a mosque with small proportions reserved. Thus the domed musalli shrinks to a few metres square, although it is symbologically singled out by virtue of its isolation at the far end of a marked corridor. Madrasas were typically large, but not as large as the great congregational mosques to the west. From the rest of the madrasa, as at the madrasa of Bayâzid II at Edirne and, still earlier, the Muradîyya and Yezdî madrasas in Bursa. Instead, the courtyard enclosed by cells on three sides takes pride of place. The resultant U (or reversed U) shape soon became standard in the Ottoman madrasa.

Perhaps the most important change in emphasis in Ottoman madrasas vis-à-vis their predecessors lies in the hugely increased numbers of student cells. The designer had a free hand and did not have to tailor his plan to an awkward and immovable site, so that as a result, perhaps, space is used quite prodigally; the cells are now domed, and often have two windows apiece. The courtyard has not only a prodigiously large open space, but the cells are now domed, and often have two windows apiece. The courtyard has not only a prodigiously large open space, but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of the central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of the central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of the central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of the central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees, possibly in an attempt to minimise the sense of the central pool or fountain but is also planted with trees.

The difficulty, of course, lies in identifying such "hidden" madrasas. Inscriptions might provide the requisite clues; in fact, Sauvaget interpreted the Arslânî ğhâni as a madrasa on the strength of a Kur'ânic inscription in the hûla ifrîd mentioning the ways (ma'dâshî) of reaching God. But this is too fast. Rather would it be justifiable to infer from that inscription that at least the hûla ifrîd of this mosque may have been used for teaching purposes in the Sa'djuk period. Such Iranian mosques as have rooms of various kinds on the first floor might be regarded as prima facie candidates for residential madrasa status, in addition to their primary role as communal places of worship; but unfortunately, published plans are virtually without exception confined to the ground floor and give no hint as to the disposition of the upper level. The lack of formality which characterised mediaeval Islamic teaching methods enabled virtually any mosque to perform the teaching and religious functions of a madrasa; special lecture rooms were not required. This close functional correspondence between mosque and madrasa clearly favoured composite foundations, or at any rate the use of one building for several distinct purposes, and such a concept was of course widespread in other categories of Islamic architecture.

Enough has been said to highlight the difficulties of matching the physical and literary evidence about the early history of the madrasa in the Iranian world. In this area the earliest madrasa identified as such by inscription is the example dated 571/1175-6 at Shâhî Maghdâd in north-western Afghanistan. Ruined as it is, it nevertheless yields much useful information. To begin with, its splendid ornament proclaims it to be a monument of the very first importance, and in size alone, the building is re-
MADRASA

markable for its time, measuring as it does some 44 m. per side. This far exceeds the dimensions of 6th/12th century madrasas further west, but it was to find many subsequent parallels in the Iranian world. Nothing on such an ambitious scale survives from the following two centuries, and the obvious question is why this exceptionally large and expensive building was erected in an area which was always remote. The minaret of al-Qāsim (see qābūd) may provide the necessary clues.

The role of that tower as a beacon of Islam in a context which until recently had been pagan goes far to explain its site, size and epigraphy; and the madrasa of Shāh-i Makhad, with its fifteen inscriptions, may have been intended in similar vein to stamp an Islamic presence on a stubbornly pagan countryside.

Ilkhān madrasas are on an altogether smaller scale, but before they are considered, one building from an area hitherto neglected—Tirik—deserves notice. Already in the late 5th/11th century, Ibn Qudāmah [q.v.] had recorded some thirty madrasas in Baghdad alone, all of them in the eastern sector of the city. All of them, however, were eclipsed by the madrasa of al-Mustansīr. The originality of its design is in itself and subsequently as the exemplar of the genre and its fullest, finest expression. Its endowments (awqāf), too, exceeded those of other madrasas. To a later age, it is the obvious symbol of the rejuvenated late ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and several factors suggest that this symbolism was deliberately intended at the time. The madrasa was built in Baghdad, which for six centuries had been the spiritual and intermittently the political centre of the Islamic world. It proclaimed the essential unity of orthodox Islam. Its patron was the caliph himself, who lent his name to the building.

It was the first madrasa specifically designed to serve each of the four major madhābī, as well as containing facilities for the two fundamental cullinary disciplines taught in a dār al-hadīth and a dār al-kurān. Each madhābī had its own place of worship. Thus the building explicitly claimed universal status. The long band of foundation text inscribed in letters a foot high, that unfolds, in defiance of the site's pre-eminent status. The long band of foundation text, in defiance of the site's pre-eminent status.

The madrasa of Shāfāwī al-Dīn in Yazd, otherwise known as the Zindān-i Iskandār and datable to the 8th/14th century, is of substantially lower quality than the two Isfahān madrasas; indeed, it is constructed of mud bricks. Despite subsequent modifications, enough survives of the original layout to suggest that the inscriptions on two adjoining sides of the courtyard were complemented by another pair opposite. Apart from this, there is little observable regularity in the plan; its rooms are indiscriminately oblong or square, broad or narrow, multi-reeceded or without unbroken walls, and are bundled together with outright carelessness. The Shāfāwī madrasa of ca. 765/1365, also in Yazd—indeed, the literary sources record the names of about a score of 8th/14th century madrasas built in that city—is an incomparably more soigné variation on the same theme. Here the design is tauter and fully integrated, each half a mirror reflection of the other: the portal qābīr announces the major axis, which continues without interruption until it terminates in the square mausoleum which adjoins the madrasa proper but projects well beyond it; and long lateral halls flank the portal minār in a foretaste of Timurid buildings at Ḵāvīz and Gāzūr Gūh in Ḵᵛārezm.

The Timurid period was unquestionably the golden age of the Iranian madrasa. Khurāsān and Transoxiana were the foremost ground for new developments, though competently-designed madrasas were also built in southern Iran, and features from that area are sometimes incorporated into the monuments of the north-east, like the biqābīr [q.v. in Suppl.] at Ḵāvīz. The four-iwan type predominated and was executed on a scale consistently more spacious than had earlier been the norm anywhere in Iran. This ambitious scale often generated comparably ambitious decoration; the finer madrasas of the period yield nothing in the quality of their ornament to contemporary mosques, and occasionally even strike out in new directions, as in the murals with trees, streams and birds in the madrasa of Tūmān Āqīḵ at Khišān (844/1440-1). Such was the prestige acquired by this kind of madrasa that it became the model for nearly all the notable madrasas erected in the Iranian world in subsequent centuries; numerous madrasas in Safawī Isfahān, Shāykhābād Buḵhrā and even Moghal India, illustrate this dictum.

It was in the Timurid period, then, that the consonance between mosque and madrasa became so marked that there is little to distinguish them so far as external and internal façades are concerned. What goes on behind the façades, however, is very different in the two cases. Within the general format of the four-iwan plan, there was ample room for experimentation in the placing of mosques, mausolea, lecture halls and residential accommodation. A side-
effect of the greatly expanded size of these foundations was that room could now be found for a wide range of ancillary units, such as libraries and khana-khābs for example, and for differentiated summer and winter chambers. Sometimes—as at Ukhudwudan, Khārāzmd and in the Ulugh Beg madrasa at Bukhārā—the complex contained a mosque, and often a lecture hall as well. Sometimes both units were mosques (as at Turbat-i Dām) or lecture halls. In other madrasas, such as that of Ulugh Beg at Samarkand, dated 820/-1422, the mosque extended the full length of the yābd side opposite the portal ledān. By contrast, a trio of madrasas in the Magḥībī shrines (Dā Dar, Parzīkūl and Bābā Saī) have the mosques placed in the corners of the courtyard. Indeed, the Dā Dar madrasa even has a second mosque in a corner of the building. There was no general rule governing the siting of the mausoleum in these royal Timūrid madrasas, but the examples of the Gawhar Shāh and Sulṭān Husayn Baykūrā madrasas in Harāt, and that of Fīrūz Shāh at Turbat-i Dām, show that they could be the single dominant feature of the entire complex. Indeed, the fashion of the time firmly favoured the incorporation of mausolea into madrasas, and free-standing mausolea of high quality are exceptional. As a curiosity, the siting of a diminutive madrasa in the entrance complex of the ZiyAratgAfr i^jarai is noteworthy. In smaller madrasas, such as those of Maghībī, the incorporation of mosques and mausolea seriously overbalanced the ensemble and cut down the space available for student cells. But these cases are somewhat unusual, since the architects had to make do with a site which was already heavily built up and therefore had to sacriﬁce symmetry to expediency.

The new emphasis on scale implied almost by deﬁnition a corresponding emphasis on external façades. Minaret are used to mark the corners—e.g. the Ulugh Beg madrasa at Samarkand and numerous later examples such as the Mīr-i Aṛūb madrasa at Bukhārā, 947/1540; and the portal is now apt to be recessed and thus streamlined with the curtain walls of the façade rather than projecting from it. Sensitivity to the setting of the monument made it natural to group such buildings together, notably in the Rūstān at Samarkand (Ulugh Beg, Šīr Dar and Tilla Kari madrasas) or the Labān Hawd complex at Bukhārā.

As in Ottoman times, again, there was a tendency for these very large madrasas, all endowed by royal patrons or high ofﬁcials of state, to cluster together in the major cities. Thus the original plan conceived by Nīgān al-Mulk, whereby madrasas would be built in large numbers but distributed evenly over a wide area, was abandoned in the wake of the Islamic world of today.

In Iran proper, Kūn, Maghībī and Isfahān account for nearly all the significant post-Iṣkandī madrasas, while similar concentrations can be observed in Samarkand, Bukhārā, Harāt and Khiva. The latter city, with its quartet of highly traditional madrasas erected between 1280 and 1300 (Pahlawān Mahmūdī, Allāh Kull Khān, Amīl Khān and Islām Kh画Δja) shows how fossilised the Timūrid manner had become.

A more appropriate envoi to the madrasa, however, is provided by the buildings of Šafavī Iṣṭābān. Several madrasas of medium size were erected there in the course of the 15th/16th century, such as the Madrasa-yi Nāṣīr Kūlī, built in 1456/1458 by the grandmother of Shāh ʿAbbās II and with accommodation for 67 students, the Madrasa-yi ʿAbbāsī ʿAdī, and Kasangārān (1130/1623). But these are only of secondary interest when set beside the two large madrasas, which flank the great dome chamber of the Masjīd-i Shāh, let alone the great Madrasa-yi Mādār-i Shāh (1176-1207/1765-1796). The two madrasas in the Masjīd-i Shāh are longitudinally conceived, and with their miniature garden courtyards make a delightfully bijou impression; and they exploit the available space to the full for student cells. The Madrasa-yi Mādār-i Shāh, sited in an originally idyllic environment fronting the Čahār Bāgh, injects a new dynamism into the traditional four-inūnī layout by means of a large extra dome chamber in each of the diagonals, and the cells, too, are unusual in their trapezoidal form. Indeed, the recess bracket the cell itself. The main prayer chamber here is not easily distinguishable from that of the Masjīd-i Shāh, and the continued intermingling of the two forms in Iran is attested by several joint foundations in Kūstār times.

Although dependence on Andalusia is a constant of Maghībī architecture, little trace of Spanish influence can be detected in the ground plans of the local madrasas. Indeed, since the madrasa movement was primarily an oriental Iranian one which by degrees moved westwards, it would be only logical to assume that in this particular genre of building it was typified the Maghībī that influenced Andalusia. The countervailing physical evidence of the Andalusian madrasa confirms this supposition. This is the structure built by the Nasīrī monarch Yusuf I in 750/1349, in the golden age of the Marīnī madrasa. Though largely demolished in the 18th century, the prayer hall was excavated and restored from 1853 onwards; it has nothing to differentiate it from its Marīnī contemporaries in Morocco. Of the madrasa built by the Almoravī ruler Yaʿlīb al-Maṣūr (580/1184-99) in Spain as elsewhere in his dominions, nothing survives, nor is there any record of further Nasīrī madrasas, so the question of reciprocal inferences between Andalusia and the Maghībī in this genre is not to be regarded as finally settled. Valuable as this literary evidence is, its very paucity is instructive, for it suggests the virtual absence of one of the major Islamic building types in Muslim Spain. Yet that area was unquestionably the foremost of Islamic art west of Egypt. In fact, however, this dearth can easily be explained. By the time that the madrasa had established itself in the eastern Islamic world, the great days of the Cordovan caliphate were long over, and the fate of Muslim Spain sealed. The cities of the north, Toledo, and even Cordova itself, had been lost. With the splendid exception of the Alhambra, signiﬁcantly, Nasīrī monuments which can really be regarded as finally settled, little architecture of note was erected in the Iberian peninsula in the last three centuries of the Muslim presence there.

Although, as already noted, the madrasa genre is ﬁrst recorded in the eastern Islamic world in the late 3rd/9th century, it was not for another 500 years and more that the full weight of ofﬁcial backing had resulted in madrasas being erected in most major towns of the area. Theoretically, the fashion could have spread to the Maghībī around that time. Yet it is doubtful whether the Almoravīs had at their disposal the necessary administrative expertise to launch and execute a programme comparable to that of Nīgān al-Mulk. It seems that the Maghībī in any case produced only a tithe of the buildings erected in Iran during the same period, and in the
context of such limited building, madrasas would obviously have claimed less priority than mosques. Moreover, such an association of the name itself indicates—were noted primarily for building madrasas, not mosques, as their name suggests. Not only is there no mention of their building madrasas; it seems, rather, that it was precisely in these *rabiʿ* that some of the teaching functions later performed by the madrasa were carried out.

The consonance of plan between the two institutions leaps to the eye. Moreover, the early and marked association of the madrasa with the Shafiʿī madhhab, and to an only slightly lesser extent with the Hanafi and Hanbali ones, would perhaps not immediately have struck a chord in the predominantly Mālikī Maghrib. Ironically enough, the first recorded madrasas (in late 3rd/9th century Nešāpur) was in fact Mālikī, but in subsequent centuries that madhhab noticeably lagged behind the others in the number of madrasas allotted to it. It is perhaps relevant that the religious message preached by Ibn Tūnart, the ideological founder of the Almohad dynasty, was disseminated in mosques rather than in special educational institutions. Hostile as he was to the prevailing orthodoxy of his time, it is not surprising that he did not use the madrasa as an instrument for his preaching, since that institution was itself the very emblem of orthodoxy by his time. Finally, one may perhaps adduce the generally conservatism of Maghrīb society as a reason for the late spread of the madrasa movement to this area. Thus the fashion for building madrasas probably reached the Maghrib later—too late, for example—to make an impact on Andalusia. The references to the late 9th/10th century madrasas built by the Almohad ruler al-Mansūr are somewhat unspecific—indeed, the statement of Ibn Saʿdī that there was *no* madrasa in 7th/13th century Spain partially contradicts them—and the first securely dated madrasa in the Maghrib, the Shammāliyya, was built in Tunis by the Ḥāfiz Abū Zakariyyā in 647/1249, and within a decade was followed by the Mālikīyya madrasa built by his widow. Neither has survived, and thus the Saffarīn madrasa in Fāṣīs, founded by the Marinid sultan Abu ʿAlī al-Mulk in 560/1167, is the earliest Maghrīb example to survive. Its location may be seen as prophetic since for some reason the institution of the madrasa took deepest root in Morocco, and specifically in Fāṣīs, where most of the round dozen Maghrīb madrasas predating 1300 are situated. Moreover, the majority of these madrasas are of the Marinid sultans and were erected between 670/1271 and 757/1356. Several Algerian madrasas belong to the same group. This sudden efflorescence of a building type which had hitherto been virtually unknown in the area demands some explanation. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Marinids, unlike their more illustrious predecessors the Almoravids and Almohads, were not swept to power by a wave of religious fervour. Their uncomfortable consciousness of this deficiency may have led them to make restitution of a kind by providing the patronage for religious buildings. Madrasas fitted the bill admirably. They were much less expensive than mosques, a very relevant factor since the Marinid empire was much smaller than that of their predecessors. Marinid mosques would have suffered by comparison with those of the Almohads; Marinid madrasas, being effectively a new genre, were safer from such unwelcome comparisons. Moreover, they underlined the orthodoxy of their patrons and thus provided a counterweight not only to Shīʿīsm and to the Almohad movement but also to the increasingly popular Sufism. Indeed, a crucial epigraphic document indicates that the Marinid sultans were actuated by motives which had much more to do with a community-wide commitment to the eschatological worldviews of those two centuries earlier. The very first surviving madrasa in Morocco, the Saffarīn madrasa in Fāṣīs (670/1271) mentions in its foundation inscription the need to resurrect the forgotten religious sciences, a clear attack on Almohad heterodoxy:

"Praise be to God, Master of the Two Worlds! Who exalts the status of men of learning, Who recompenses with a generous hand those who devote themselves to acts of piety; Who by means of madrasas revives the vanished traces of faith and of religion, using as His instrument those of His good servants whom He has specially singled out for His guidance and ennobled by His solicitude and by His care..." Finally, the desire to make Fāṣīs an intellectual centre—the sultans Abu ʿIjḥās and Abu Ṣāfīn both prided themselves on being men of learning—may help to explain not only the concentration of madrasas in that city through the Marinid period but also the endowment of several madrasas with fine libraries in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Saffarīn, Fāṣīs; Būʿānānīyya, Fāṣīs).

These madrasas all obey a well-defined schema. Their dimensions are smaller than those of any other groups of madrasas elsewhere in the Islamic world, ranging from 35 x 36 m. (115 x 118 ft.) to 14 x 14.5 m. (46 x 47.5 ft.). Perhaps their exclusive use by a single madhhab made larger buildings unnecessary. Around a central courtyard are grouped on the ground floor a mosque, galleries facing each other along the lateral axis and an entrance vestibule which is frequently open onto the courtyard along its entire length. Unlike the universal practice elsewhere in the Islamic world, the courtyard façades of these various halls are not marked by colonnades or fāns, but are fenced off by an unbroken surface of wooden panels. On the first floor, a narrow gallery overlooking the courtyard gives on to the cells in which the students lived; sometimes in the earlier madrasas these cells are also ranged behind the galleries on the ground floor. No madrasa had facilities for all four madhhabs incorporated into their ground plans are known in the Maghrib. One legal school—the Mālikī—maintained a virtually unchallenged dominion over the Maghrib throughout the mediaeval period. Perhaps this exclusiveness, which made it unnecessary for architects to provide separate teaching areas reserved for other madhhabs, was the factor which kept the madrasas of this area small.

This diminutive size gives such buildings an essentially human scale which well expresses the informality of teaching in the mediaeval Islamic world. They are made more even more inward-looking and cloistered by the downward pitch of their roofs as seen from the courtyard. Yet the organisation of space within the building is by turns ingenious and dramatic. On the first floor the needs of circulation and accommodation are admirably deviated; the corridor which encircles the courtyard and gives access both to individual cells and to the corner staircases is kept so narrow that two people can barely squeeze past each other in it. This frees extra space for accommodation. At the same time, it is no mere walkway but has some aesthetic distinction. The openings at regular intervals along its shaded length allow the viewer to catch partial glimpses of a courtyard bathed in sunlight. Most Moroccan madrasas have a central pool with a
fountain. Given the somewhat cramped dimensions of these courtyards, the presence of rippling water sets space into motion to a degree that would not be possible in larger expanses. This introduction of nature into the ordered, man-made world of architecture is typically Islamic. These fountains serve a further, more directly scenic, function too. For anyone within the halls bordering on the courtyard, the view into that courtyard is firmly directed by the act that the only entrance to these halls is a specific arch frames the fountain, which thus becomes the centrepiece of a carefully calculated composition.

Most Moroccan madrasas were produced either under the Ebayids in the 8th/14th century or under the Sa'dian or Filâfî sultans in the 17th/18th century. Since these two periods also saw a much greater production of mosques and mausoleums than other periods, it is unlikely that the building campaigns of the two periods in question themselves constitute evidence that a specific penchant for madrasas can be attributed to the patrons of the time. But the political background outlined above provides the missing explanation. Given the somewhat influential Mâllîî ibn as-Salâh al-Asbâyîî's (d. 1677) teachings in Islamic jurisprudence, and the cross-references to his influential biographical work bi Sarraj as-Sa'dîîrîn, in training the students who taught there (al-Abîdîî al-Imaâmî, al-Imâmî, al-Mahîîî, al-Ismâmî), and occasionally even those who taught there (al-Mîbâhîî bi the name of its first professor, Mâllîî bi al-Abîdîî al-Ismâmî) as the subjects in which the madrasa specialised (thus the Sâbîî ibn as-Salâhîî's madrasa derives its name from the study of the methods of reading the Qur'ân). Like so much religious architecture in Islam, these madrasas are often sited in the midst of bazaars—though there seems to be no connection between the presence of a madrasa in a particular quarter of the bazaar area and its endowment. Thus, while certain trades or crafts might singly or in concert put up the money for a mosque, the foundation of madrasas seems to have been the result of official patronage.

That the teaching function of these madrasas was paramount is suggested by the almost total absence of the patron's tomb in them. One may note as exceptions the case of the 18th century Sulaymâniyya madrasa in Tunmus, founded by one Ali Paşa and containing the tomb of his son Sulaymân and earlier the case of the vizier Ibn Tâfrîgh who was buried in the madrasa he had founded in 758/1356. Both this official had significantly enough spent some time in Egypt, where this practice was widespread.

Such oriental influences, though rare, are of crucial importance. A later Tunisian madrasa, the Mustasîîrîî al-Zaqîîî (854/1451-54) again demonstrates Egyptian influence in the unusual feature of a rectangular bastion or salient placed in the middle of each of the courtyard façades. These projections do duty as portals to significant parts of the building and are thus explicable as interpretations—though in a different idiom—of the iwans in cruciform disposition found in madrasas further east. The lateral lecture halls of the Bu 'Inâmîyya madrasa in Fâs also seem to be a local interpretation of the iwân scheme. Yet another derivation from eastern models may be the use of the madrasa as one element in a larger complex. A typical example of this fashion is the madrasa built in Tlemcen in ca. 754/1354 by Sultan Abû 'Inâmîn in association with the mosque, tomb and sahîîbîî al-Islâmî, or the mosque, tomb and madrasa of Sîdî Idrîîsîî built in Tlemcen by the Zayânîî Abî Hamîîmî. The Sakârikîî madrasa in Fâs (727-31/1327-31) is situated right next to the mosque of the Andalusians; but as if this juxtaposition were not enough, it was by 750/1350 given dependencies significantly larger than itself. These included a now-vanished guest-house, the Dâr Abî Habasîî with 21 rooms, a large abutions hall and—most important of all—another madrasa, that of al-Sâbîîî ibn as-Salâh, which still survives. This latter phenomenon of paired madrasas linked by a passage cannot but recall the Sakârikîî complex in Cairo. Also relevant in this connection was the Kadima madrasa built by Abû Hammûdîî I in Tlemcen in ca. 710/1310 for two pious brothers, it comprised two halls linked by a house attached. Thence, it seems that the principle of separate premises for separate courses was accepted even when there was no question of different madâhîîb being accommodated within a single building. For all their strong local character, then, these Magribîî madrasas attest the strength of eastern Islamic influences in this genre of building.

In many cases, the connection between a mosque and a madrasa is so close that the obvious conclusion to draw is that the mosque served inter alia as the oratory for the madrasa (e.g. the滨h al-Ismâm mosque, Tlemcen, erected in ca. 710/1310 next to the Kadima madrasa). Conversely, the oratory of many a Magribîî madrasa served as the mosque for the quarter where it was built. Accordingly, many of these madrasas have minarets, and one even has a minbar, thereby qualifying it to be a dîmâr. It has even been suggested that the madrasa, by dint of becoming the most typical and widespread structure of the later medieval Magrib, began in its turn to influence the layout of the mosque itself, specifically in its preference for square rather than rectangular courtyards, shallow rather than deep prayer halls and monumental portals on the major axis of the building. Something of the same process has been noted in Mamlûk Egypt, where the cruciform plan developed in the madrasa was subsequently adopted quite widely for mosques.

Although the casual visitor to these Moroccan madrasas is apt to believe, after walking around half a dozen of them, that they follow a standard pattern, such an impression is quickly modified on closer examination. Their layouts suggest that while the architects in question had a firm grasp of the essential constituent elements of a madrasa, they were unable to impose a preconceived solution on the sites allotted to them. These madrasas are located within an extremely cluttered urban setting, and so they commonly betray the various shifts of their designers to make the most of a difficult site. In these circumstances, it would be idle to expect to find a model which was more or less faithfully copied, or even a consistent, rational development of plan in these madrasas. Even so, all the Moroccan buildings of the genre share an emphasis on interior rather than exterior façades is that they focus on a central courtyard; and their decoration is extraordinarily consistent in medium and orna-
mental repertoire alike. In these respects, then, it is justifiable to point to their marked generic similarity, which easily asserts itself over such contingent factors as site and size. Moreover, most of the Moroccan madrasas were erected—as noted above—in less than a century, from 670/1271 to 757/1356, a period which also encompasses the surviving works in Algeria and Spain.

Externally, their most striking characteristic is a negative one: they lack a monumental façade. This is no novelty in Islamic architecture, but it is a feature which recurs so consistently in these buildings that it seems justified to regard it as a deliberate principle. The only exception is itself so consistent that it proves the rule: virtually every madrasa has an elaborate portal, usually a densely carved overhang or hood on brackets, a kind of awning executed in wood. By its marked projection—a feature which recurs so consistently in these buildings—a bend entrance, partly to ensure that the interior height above the bustle of the street, it signals the entrance of the madrasa from a distance. The tortuous alleyways of these Moroccan towns would discourage any more marked emphasis on the façade; there is simply no point of vantage from which a general view of the building could be enjoyed. In addition, one or two madrasas have a porch in front of the main entrance (e.g. the Bū Ḥanāfiyya, Fās, where the vault is crowned by a pyramidal roof). This is more in the nature of the ishārāt of eastern Islamic bazars than a monumental enclosed construction like the porch of mediaeval parish church, where the vault is crowned by a pyramidal roof.

In common with contemporary local domestic architecture, these madrasas nearly always contain a bent entrance, partly to ensure that the interior of the building is sunned from the outside world—a matter of noise as well as proximity. Corridors leading off the entrance passage from left to right respectively give access to the latrine area and a staircase leading to the upper storey (ʿAttārīn and Miḥbāḥiyya madrasas, Fāṣ), though other locations for the latrines do occur. The standard practice is to provide a series of cubicles around a subsidiary entrance to the rear of the building, as indeed did many mosques outside the old city, clustered around the Karawiyyin mosque, and the new foundation of Fāṣ al-Djadld, which at that time (751/1350) had not yet been given a Friday mosque. Thus the minaret of the Bū Ḥanāfiyya could pass on the adhān given in the Karawiyyin mosque which was too far away to be audible in Fāṣ al-Djadld, and the Friday prayer could accordingly begin there at the ordained hour. The foundation inscription of the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa (originally named al-Mutawakkiliyya after one of the titles of its founder) specifically states that the building has the advantage of serving as a qāmūs. This madrasa has many of the appurtenances normally reserved for Friday mosques—a minbar, a māḥṣūra, a mortuary and a Kur'ān school, plus a unique external clock with a set of songs presumably intended to mark the divisions of the daily prayers. It even has a subsidiary entrance to the rear of the building, as well as an unusual division of the main entrance into two sections, one of which is intended for those with bare feet and is accordingly provided with a threshold of running water. The same idea is applied within the building, for a water-channel runs laterally across the façade of the prayer hall and is crossed by a slab of marble at each side. The building is raised above the level of the bazaar and is reached by a staircase provided with benches; but its roots in everyday life are aptly emphasised by the shops which line its main façade. It is precisely in its flexibility and in its multiple functions that the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa approximates most closely not to other madrasas but to the classical type of mediaeval Friday mosque, as much a community centre as a place of worship.

Although the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa is unique in the Maghrib in its comprehensive range of functions, it is typical in that it is a royal foundation. In this particular case the ruler bore not only the expense of building but also financed the provision of water and endowed the salaries of the staff, the board and other expenses of the students and the upkeep of the building by making over to the institution a formable list of properties.

Various methods are employed to emphasise the students, mostly drawn from southern Morocco until recently, were enrolled in studies in the mosque. The ʿAbdurrijal and ʿĀṣifiyin madrasas illustrate the same phenomenon. Similarly, most Tunisian madrasas are found in Tunis itself, where the students could benefit from the teaching offered in the other great Maghribi university-mosque, the Zaytūna. To concentrate the teaching function in a single urban centre in this way obviously made good sense from the economic point of view, and it meant also—in both cases, the centre in question was also the capital city—that the educational activity of mosque and madrasa alike would be directly under the eye of the sovereign. Once again, then, the inherently political nature of the madrasa asserts itself.

In view of the diminutive size of these Maghribi madrasas vis-à-vis equivalent institutions further east in the Islamic world, the emphasis laid on the prayer hall—which functioned concurrently as a lecture hall, as indeed did many mosques outside the regular hours of prayer—is noticeable, and is especially relevant in the context of the preceding remarks. As the Bū Ḥanāfiyya was a prayer hall, those madrasas functioned quite widely as teaching mosques. The case of the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa in Fāṣ, though admittedly exceptional, offers supporting evidence for this theory. It is placed midway between the old city, clustered around the Karawiyyin mosque, and the new foundation of Fāṣ al-Djadld, which at that time (751/1350) had not yet been given a Friday mosque. Thus the minaret of the Bū Ḥanāfiyya could pass on the adhān given in the Karawiyyin mosque which was too far away to be audible in Fāṣ al-Djadld, and the Friday prayer could accordingly begin there at the ordained hour. The foundation inscription of the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa (originally named al-Mutawakkiliyya after one of the titles of its founder) specifically states that the building has the advantage of serving as a qāmūs. This madrasa has many of the appurtenances normally reserved for Friday mosques—a minbar, a māḥṣūra, a mortuary and a Kur'ān school, plus a unique external clock with a set of songs presumably intended to mark the divisions of the daily prayers. It even has a subsidiary entrance to the rear of the building, as well as an unusual division of the main entrance into two sections, one of which is intended for those with bare feet and is accordingly provided with a threshold of running water. The same idea is applied within the building, for a water-channel runs laterally across the façade of the prayer hall and is crossed by a slab of marble at each side. The building is raised above the level of the bazaar and is reached by a staircase provided with benches; but its roots in everyday life are aptly emphasised by the shops which line its main façade. It is precisely in its flexibility and in its multiple functions that the Bū Ḥanāfiyya madrasa approximates most closely not to other madrasas but to the classical type of mediaeval Friday mosque, as much a community centre as a place of worship.
the role of the prayer hall in the Maqribi madrasa. It was the constant concern of the architects to give this hall pride of place in the overall layout, and the majority of them achieved that aim by means of axiality. Sometimes, as in the Šabīrī and Bu'l-İńâniyya madrasa, Fās, the entrance, courtyard and mosque were all disposed on the major chord of the building, and in the former case even the elongated rectangular pool played a spatial role. More often, the exigencies of the site and the predilection for a bent entrance meant that this axial emphasis could assert itself only at the entrance to the courtyard (al-Ubūbdā madrasa, Tiemcen; Miṣbāḥiyya madrasa, Fās). So firmly did this axial arrangement establish itself that it was even maintained when it ran counter to the correct orientation of the prayer chamber, as in the 'Aṭṭārī madrasa, Fās, where in order to mark the qibla accurately, the miḥrāb has to be placed to the right of the entrance instead of opposite it as the internal logic of the layout demands.

The placing of the chambers for students varies quite markedly. In the earlier madrasas, all the living accommodation was confined to the ground floor (Ṣafīrīn madrasa; madrasa of Fās al-Jābdālī). In the following decades, it continued to be standard practice for the more commodious madrasas to provide, in addition to the main accommodation at first-floor level, at least some student accommodation on the ground floor. It is here that the ornate wooden lattice-work screens known as ṣarābiyyas come into their own. Placed between the arcades or other openings of the court, they close off from the public gaze the sections of the madrasa which serve for student accommodation. The bleakness of the latter area is therefore masked by a lavish exterior. Symbolically enough it is only the outer, namely courtyard, face of these ṣarābiyyas that is richly carved; the inner face is plain as perhaps befits the sparse facilities offered to the students. Between these screens and the cells runs a corridor, for all the world like the cloister of some mediaeval western monastery. These screens continue on the upper storeys where their principal function is obviously to decorate the interior façade rather than to serve the student cells. Sometimes the corridors or galleries are located only along the lateral walls of the courtyard (Aṭṭārīn madrasa, Fās; Taza madrasa), but they often extend to three sides, especially in the later examples of the genre, and there is even an isolated case of a madrasa with student cells arranged unevenly but on all four sides of the ground floor (Ṣabīrīn madrasa, Fās). The extra height required for a suitably imposing prayer hall meant that there was frequently no room for student cells above it, and there is even a case of a prayer and assembly hall located on the first floor (Miṣbāḥiyya, Fās).

Ning this likewise more forcibly to the inadequate publication of these buildings than the widely divergent figures given for the number of student cells which they contain. Often enough these statistics are confused with the number of students which the madrasa could accommodate. This figure is in itself wide open to discussion. According to some estimates, a typical cell can hold as many as seven or eight persons in such a room. That many cells were intended to house only a single occupant is clearly indicated by the custom that the student "paid" for his room by buying the key for it from his predecessor. Besides, in many cells the floor space was reserved for living as distinct from sleeping accommodation—a feature which will be discussed in more detail shortly. Within a given madrasa, moreover the size and layout of individual cells will often fluctuate quite markedly. This is especially apt to occur when the madrasa has walls built at acute angles because of the spatial constraints of the site. While windowless cells are known, it was standard practice to provide tiny windows, often with metalwork grilles, opening on to the corridor, the main courtyard, a subsidiary courtyard (especially in post-Maqrīn madrasas), or even—though rarely—on to the street.

The spartan fittings of these cells do suggest that the provision of maximum sleeping space was a priority of the designer. There was no bedding to clutter up valuable space. Students slept under a blanket on a mat. Often projecting shelves below the ceiling function as bunk beds; they are reached by wooden bars mortared diagonally across the corners of the rooms so as to form a simple ladder. Sometimes a small table is provided—the students were, after all, issued with paper, pen and ink. A narrow slot beside the door permitted the daily ration of flat bread to be distributed with maximum speed. Since that ration was fixed at one piece per student, the amount of bread set aside per day for the madrasa provides the necessary clue in calculating the maximum occupancy for which the building was designed. This quantity of bread was made available daily, according to the requirements of the wakf which financed the institution, irrespective of whether the building was fully occupied or not; in practice, therefore, it often happened that at least some students would have extra rations. The largest of the mediaeval madrasas in Morocco is the Miṣbāḥiyya, for which a tally of 117 rooms has been proposed, with 23 on the ground floor and the balance in the upper floor. A two-storey design is commoner, however, and therefore the Aṭṭārīn madrasa, in which Bel counted 34 cells, or the Bu'l-İńâniyya madrasa, whose capacity he has been able to estimate at around 100 students. Between these extremes, large numbers of buildings designed on such an intimate scale, especially when it is remembered that the prayer hall of such a madrasa could serve as the masjidī not only for the students and staff but also for the people of the area. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the students lived a hard life—frequently cold, cramped and underfed.

With the fall of the Marinids, the golden age of the Maqribi madrasa was over. Not only are there comparatively few surviving madrasas of later date, but the majority of them are either attached to mosques or shrines, and dominated by them, or they are intrinsically of very little interest (Rabat, Ceuta, Tangiers and Ksar el Kebir/Algeraquique). Only two deserve closer inspection—the Ben Yûṣuf or Yûsūfiyya madrasa in Marrakesh, dating to 752/1354-5, and the Sharīfī madrasa in Fās, dating to 1085/1670, both royal foundations. Their interest lies in their plans rather than in their decoration or structural techniques, for in these latter respects they are disappointingly derivative. Although the Ben Yûṣuf madrasa is traditionally believed to have a plan based on that of the Marinid madrasa whose site it occupies, it has a degree of
integration and symmetry foreign to its predecessors. Externally, it forms an almost perfect square but for the projecting polygonal mihrab. The internal disposition is admirable in its clarity and economy. Broadly speaking, the arrangement is tripartite, with a large porticoed courtyard—containing a substantial pool instead of the usual fountain—acting as the focus of the design and the student cells relegated to the flanking tracts. The oratory, placed as usual along the main axis, is also divided into three parts, a device already encountered in Marinid madrasas. The arrangement of the cells, however, is novel; for instead of lining a long corridor they are clustered symmetrically in sizes or sevens around a single central courtyard or dayyaras. There are accessible via a cloister-like corridor which encloses the courtyard on three sides and also leads into the patio for ablutions. A similar arrangement is followed on the first floor, so that the madrasa contains about a hundred rooms.

A comparable lucidity of planning informs the Shārīfī madrasa. Here too the polygonal mihrab projects forcibly, breaking the even tenor of the perimeter wall. This wall is stepped in three places but is otherwise straight. Exceptionally, three separate entrances give access to the corridors which debouch into the courtyard. Each of the three lesser courtyard façades is broken by three bays, and the whole elevation rises to an unexpected three stories. Student cells, mostly arranged around somewhat poise dayyaras more like pits than courtyards, occupy three of the four sides on the ground floor; traditionally, students from various parts of the country—the Tafillalt, the Rif and eastern Morocco—congregate around the appropriate dayyara to that each courtyard becomes in some sense a local microcosm. The oratory on the fourth side is similar to that of the Ben Yāsur madrasa. Despite the proximity of the building to the Karawīyīn, the mihrab is seriously out of true, facing as it does the north-east. The high walls, cramped courtyard and blank spaces of the building give it a somewhat oppressive atmosphere. Its history is somewhat involved: an unusual madrasa was erected on the site of a Marinid foundation, the Madrasa al-Labbādīn, which Mawlay al-Raghib had ordered to be demolished because its students had brought women there and given themselves over to debauch. Despite the radial symmetry of its plan, the building fails far below Marinid standards so far as its decoration is concerned. The large capacity of these two later madrasas and their eminently logical layout put them in a category of their own among Moroccan madrasas and make them a worthy coda to a distinguished tradition.

sawah, or rice-fields. Another source of income is fishing and trading. As skilled sailors and shipmasters, the Madurese have developed their own type of vessels (perahu Madura).

Islam is the religion to which the Madurese generally adhere, but as in other Indonesian societies, adat law still exercises its influence. In pre-Islamic times, Madura was divided into two main parts: Western Madura with traditionally close relations to Surabaya, and Eastern Madura with Sumenep as its most important centre. The ruler of Sumenep is said to have played an active role in the transition period between the kingdoms of Majapahit and Madura which was characterised by the turbulences caused by Kubiilay Khan’s military plans. In both East and West Madura the ruling families are said to have had matrimonial relations with the court of Majapahit. Thus the first (legendary) ruler of Sampang, Lembu Peteng, is described as a son of the Majapahit king Bra Vijaya and the famous “princess of Campa” who confessed Islam. One of his grandsons, according to tradition, was the later Sunan Giri, one of the “nine udings” (real songs) who spread Islam in Java. In Sumenep, a certain adipati Kanghuruan, presumably a son of the first Madurian ruler of Demak, Raden Patih (d. 1532) played a role during the second and third quarters of the 16th century. These were probably the first Muslim rulers in Madura. After the final fall of Majapahit in 1527, Sunenep participated in fighting the still “heathen” kingdoms in the eastern corner of Java which were supported by the Bakhinean king of Gelig (Kuningan). The court of Aros Baya (Bengkalan) embraced Islam in 1528, and the crown prince and later ruler, pasembahan Lemah Duwur, tried to keep peaceful relations with Demak. Later he married a daughter of Adi Vijaya, the raden of Pajang (1546-82), and matrimonial relations with the Javanese su丹ans continued to exist after Pajang was succeeded by Mataram (1589). Descendants of (West) Madurese nobility were influential in Mataram, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The relationship between Sunenep and Mataram, however, was less fortunate: after the whole of Madura was conquered by the army of Sultan Agung in 1624, the ruling family of Sunenep was extinguished. A Javanese prince, Angga Dipa (from Jepara?) became governor, residing in Sumenep.

After 1670, the situation in Madura became turbulent again. After the defeat of Mahassar [q.v.] by the Dutch admiral C. Speelman in 1667 and 1669, part of the Makassarese nobility and their soldiers fled to Madura and other areas in North Java to earn their livelihood as pirates. In 1677, the susuhunan of Mataram, Amengku Rat II (1677-1703), took stern measures against his former protegé Truna Jaya and attacked Kediri. Truna Jaya escaped, but finally, at the end of 1679, he was taken prisoner and a few days later killed by the susuhunan.

After 1683, the V.O.C. virtually ruled over East Madura; this was legalised by Mataram in 1705, and in 1743 the V.O.C. extended its suzerainty over the whole island. Having old grudges against Sultan Agung and his house of Mataram, the Madurese were in favour of Mataram’s being divided in 1755. In the “Javanese War” of 1823-30, they sided with pangerang Dipa Negara. This led to a limitation of the local rulers’ power by the Dutch, until in 1885 the island was put under direct Dutch rule. During the revolutionary years after World War II, Madura was part of the republican territory as acknowledged by the Linggajati Agreement in 1947.


[M. H. RASSEK * O. SCHUMANN]}

MADYAN SHU‘AYB, a town of northwestern Arabia. It is located on the eastern shore of the Gulf of ‘Akaba; it is mentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers as lying on the pilgrimage route between the Hijaz and Syria, which there went inland to avoid the mountainous coast of the Gulf.

The name is connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (I.XX Madia, Madian; in Josephus Madainve, Μαδαίνη Κομπέρνοι but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement, and besides, it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament, a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in Kg, xi, 18 where “Ma‘on” may conceivably be read). On the other hand, Josephus (Antiquities, ii, 2, 1) knows Madiane as a town on the Erythraean
Sea, as does Eusebius (Onomast., ed. Lagarde, 170); in Ptolomy (vi, 7, 2) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called Moriana or Medoniana while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name Mediana, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muhammad's time there is only one reference (in Ibn Ishaq) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zayd b. Haritha thither. There are occasional references in the poet Khiyayir (in Ya'qubi), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah's journey to Ayya. According to Ya'qobi also, Madyan was occasionally the residence of the Umayyad princes Abd al-Wahib b. Suhaym, and visits to him by the poet Ibn Harma [24-1] are mentioned. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days journey from Tabuk; it was the second station on the pilgrim's road from Ayya to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the 3rd/9th century al-Yaqubi speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Al-Ishaqhi says it is larger than Tabuk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it.

The town then began to be visited by western travellers with declining trade, and as having various remarkable sites of interest. Al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century al-Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty buildings; the surface pottery is largely Nabataean and Roman, while additions of the 7th/13th century. There are occasional references in the poet Khiyayir (in Ya'qubi), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah's journey to Ayya. According to Ya'qobi also, Madyan was occasionally the residence of the Umayyad princes Abd al-Wahib b. Suhaym, and visits to him by the poet Ibn Harma [24-1] are mentioned. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days journey from Tabuk; it was the second station on the pilgrim's road from Ayya to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the 3rd/9th century al-Yaqubi speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. Al-Ishaqhi says it is larger than Tabuk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then lay in the bed of the Wadi 'l-Abyad (or Wadi T-'Afai, as its name reads), a watercourse by which Moses watered the flocks of 'Abu 'ayb (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it.
a passage from Ibn Hazm’s *Dīwān*-ār, and finally, a list of the Almoravid governors of al-Andalus according to al-Warrāq’s *chronicle* (12-1).

The only indication about the anonymous author comes from the biography of the *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī Shihāb b. Abū al-Ḥassin, where it is said that the latter was alive in 712/1312, the very year in which the compilation was put together. But we have here quite the same problems, namely, that although a good Muslim, he is especially proud to belong to a people whose entitlement to glory be undertaken to proclaim, since many people consider this people as “the most erring people, the most ignorant, the most lacking in good qualities and the farthest from virtuous deeds”.

In order to achieve this aim, he entails retelling all the history of the Berbers since the time, so he says, when they settled in the Maghrib after having fled from Syria in the wake of David’s killing of Goliath, and limits himself to recalling their part in al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿAmir’s expedition against Algiers in 368/978-9, but he nevertheless intends to speak of the times preceding the Islamic conquest, of these chiefs, their rebels, their genealogies and some of their famous men. This programme seems then to have been carried out.

Lévi-Provençal thinks that Ibn Khaldūn probably used this *Kitāb Mafākhīr al-Barbar*, and his opinion is substantially shared by Maya Shatzmiller, who has recently drawn attention to the existence, in the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat, of a ms. (cote K 1275), whose contents she has studied in a note *Une source méconnue de l’histoire des Berbères* (le *Kitāb al-Ansāb* li-Abī Ḥayyān, in Arabic, *xx*; 1983), 7-9. It is quite certain that the fragments published by Lévi-Provençal belong to this ms., so that the problems posed by a compilation of this kind can now be examined with greater sureness. Moreover, Lévi-Provençal has published *Un nouveau rêt de la conquête de l’Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in Arabic, *i* (1954), 17-43, based on a text which appears equally in the ms. in question, and he considered that the *Mafākhīr al-Barbar* could well be attributed “with likelihood to Ibn ʿIyāhī”, but Mme. Shatzmiller comes very near to attributing it to Abu Ḥayyān (854-715/1256-1344) the authorship of the compilation which she describes.

AL-MAFARRUKHĪ, MUHARRRĪR B. SAʿD, author of the local history of Isfahān in Arabic entitled *Risāla Muḥarrar Māṣākān Isfakhān*. The work appears to have been written during the reign of Malik Shāh (465-85/1073-92). Nothing is known about al-Mafarrūkhī’s life, but it is apparent from the wealth of poetry contained in the work and from the frequent use of rhymed prose that he was an *adīb*. He cites his father, Abu ʿI-l-Faqīr Saʿd, as his *idrākh* and quotes several of his poems.

He claims descent (q2) from one Mafarrūk b. Bahšiyāʾ who in turn was descended from Abūshurshābūrā b. Abūghurmanān, whom he describes as completing the building of the walls of Daḵyān, the fortified nucleus of pre-Islamic Isfahān, one hundred and seventy years before Islam. His claims (Asbāb, fol. 50a) that the name al-Mafarrūkī comes not only from that of the original Mafarrūk, but the genealogies of earlier bearers of the *nāma* seem in several instances to go back to Mafarrūk himself (cf. Abu Nuṣaym, *Aḥbāb Isfakhān*, i, 134-5; 2, 142, 272, 325). On his grandmother’s side, al-Mafarrūkī claims descent (25-6) from a poet in the retinue of ʿAdud al-Dawla named Abū Muslim Tāhir b. Muhammad, himself allegedly descended from Abū Muslim the ʿAbbasid revolutionary. A final ancestor cited on his maternal grandmother’s side was related to a one-time governor (99).

Al-Mafarrūkī’s book reflects his education in *adab* and familiarity with court culture. Unlike other local histories of the period, it pays little attention to religion and contains no biographies of *ulama*.

Instead, it contains poetry in praise of Isfahān, descriptions in the area’s points of interest, tales from the pre-Islamic period, and encomiums of Bāyūd and Sālidjākī rulers.

An 8th/14th century Persian translation of the work contains many interpolations that postdate al-Mafarrūkī’s composition. These have been identified by Browne.


**Mafia, the name of a group of islands off the Tanzanian coast in approximately 8° and 40° E. They consist of a main island commonly known as Mafia Island, but by its inhabitants as Chole Shamba (Swah. “Plantation Chole”); a very small island known as Chole or Chole Mjini (Swah. “Town Chole”); Juani; Bwejuu; and Jibondo. The only references in Arabic literature are in Abūmād b. Madiḍ al-Nahlī’s log books, where it is called *Μαναλίγια*, and in the anonymous *History of Kilwa*, where it occurs once as *Μαναλίγια*, four times as *Μανπίγια*, and three times as *Μανφία*. In Portuguese there are four references, one in a now lost *Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa* (“Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa”), where it is generally spelt Monfia, and in other historians and archives. In Swahili, Freeman-Grenville has published a traditional history of the town of Kua, Juani Island, Mafia; a variant version of this by Amur Omar Saidi, a former king, has been published by D. W. I. Pigott, and another version by T. M. Revington. At Kisimani Mafia (Swah. “at the well of Mafia”), H. N. Chittick has excavated the remains of a mosque and other buildings; he has likewise cleared the palace and a number of mosques at Kua, Juani Island.**

No consecutive history can be established for the main island. The founder of Kilwa, Abū al-Husayn b. All, retired to Mafia in his old age, and set up his son Muhammad as ruler in ca. 386/996. He was succeeded by his brother, Bashat, who ruled for four-and-a-half years. The third ruler of Kilwa, Dawūd b. All, also made Mafia his residence, after abdicating at Kilwa in favour of his son. In the reign of Dawūd b. Sulaymān of Kilwa (7 ca. 526-661/1131-70), Mafia is mentioned as a mere appanage of Kilwa. It is not mentioned again until the reign of Sulaymān b. al-Hasan II (ca. 593-630), when it revolted. It was recovered post 1310 by his son, al-Hasan b. Sulaymān II (ca. 1310-33). When the Portuguese took Kilwa in 1505, Mafia passed quietly into their hands. They bartered goods for local produce, cattle, ghee and gum copal. They had a small blockade house, but its site has so far not been identified. In 1553 the islands were pillaged by the King of Pemba, who was forthwith punished by Francisco de Seixas Cabreira. When the Portuguese lost Mombasa to the Omani Arabs in 1698, Mafia again quietly changed hands.
and when, after a brief comeback (1728-9), the *Umahls again expelled the Portuguese from Mombasa, several Portuguese residents in Mafia deemed it wise to become Muslims. Under the *Umahls, Arabs gradually acquired the southern part of the main island, turning it over to coconut plantations, for which its sandy soil is especially favourable.

The excavations carried out by Chittick show that Kisimani Mafia was important from the 6th/7th to 8th/9th centuries, but that it thereafter declined. According to the diary of L.t. (later Admiral) J. B. Eustace, the last inhabitants departed after the disastrous cyclone of 1872. In Kula it has been shown that most of the buildings belong to the 12th/13th century. The site covered some thirty to forty acres, including the palace, and there were at least seven mosques and two cemeteries. It is now totally deserted. There are also late mediaeval Islamic remains on Chole and Jibondo Islands.

In *Umahl times, the islands were ruled from Chole. When the Germans took the islands over when German East Africa was proclaimed in 1885, they built a headquarters there and a street of shops, which still survive. The administrative headquarters were in 1912 transferred, however, to Kilindoni, on the main island, and this is the present seat of government. The greatest number of the inhabitants, in all about 6,000, live in the northern part of the main island. They are almost all Muslims. Some as- pects of their society have been described by A. P. Caplan. Regrettably, there is no description of the state of Islamic learning, albeit clearly there is a class of literati; at other levels witchcraft practices abound.


In mediaeval times, there was no adequate, single term for designating furniture and furnishings; this idea was expressed rather by the term *farak* (meaning not only "that which is spread out" but also, by extension, the more solid domestic objects which filled the role of "furniture" according to western concepts—whence the adjective *mafrashes* "furnished, provided with furnishings" [see *Athar* in Suppl.]) or else by colocations of words such as *fars* and *dla* (lit. carpets, mattresses and utensils), *fars* and *athak* (carpets, mattresses and domestic articles), etc. Carpets, mats and cushions played an important part in domestic interiors, at this time. Complete furnishing ensembles were often put together as units of various cushions, set around low oriental tables which were quite unsuitable for the use of chairs and stools (seats of this kind existed, but had restricted functions; they were rarely used at meal times [see *Athar*]), and by use of cushions there were formed circles (balha, with its *sad* or place of honour, often a seat or a throne, *sarir, lakht*, in palaces) for gatherings of friends, family celebrations, literary discussions, etc. The use of rigid seats and of sofas and couches was more limited, and that of cushions, for sitting upon, more widespread (but this depended on the circumstances and the social setting). People leading a simpler life made do with sitting on very simple cushions or on a carpet or mat, but rarely on the actual earth. However, in the gatherings of high society, the persons farthest from the *sad* received the lowest seats and had to make do with a single cushion (other persons each got two cushions, one on top of the other, or a cushion folded into two—quite a social hierarchy!) or a carpet. Actually to sit on the earth was considered, in such social groups, to be a sign of mourning.

In many households, the carpets and mats were protected by means of a lining, and it was difficult to distinguish the carpets from the mattresses, but better-off households had clearly-distinguishable mattresses which were placed on beds with frames (a rare and expensive piece of furniture). On the carpets [see *nisk* in Suppl.] were placed other domestic articles which served as mattresses, seats and bedding at one and the same time, according to the so-called "oriental" way of life. Mattresses (*bardha*, *gidha*, *fara*, *jardh*, *haqiyaa*, *towat*, *madarooba*, *marita*, *matefa*, *mifraga*, *jarbiha* and *finissa*) were usually placed on the ground. Cushions (*bardha*, *dikeera*, *haqiyaa*, *jama*, *misnaha*, *mahhdada*, *mi'dakha*, *misnadha* or *misnada*, *madawara*, *numrul*, *finissa*, *luka*, *ikribaa* or *isiinde*) were used greatly; they were distinguished by their functions (in domestic interiors, in palaces: *mufarraba*, *marzad*, *martaba*, *mtfrasik* or *fartdba*) and by their shapes (big, small, elongated, round, rectangular, etc.). Often, however, their original function had become changed. Thus *mifhawkad*-properly "pillow", might be used for sitting upon, and *wisdada*, properly a much larger cushion often used for supporting the back, might be used for "pillow"; in the spoken language of mediaeval Egypt, *mifchada* was used for all kinds of cushions and the word *wisdada* had almost disappeared from usage so that, in order to designate a pillow, resort had to be made to a phoneme, *mifhatada* or *'hakada* "pillow (or the back)"; lit. "for the cheek". "Offering" a cushion (to someone who had been invited) was literally "throwing down" (*zarafa*) a cushion, but this verb was also used, by extension, in the meaning of offering someone a chair, stool, etc., and thus symbolises the transition between a purely "oriental" mode of life and the use, in certain circles, of solid furniture.

Sedentary civilization was always proud of its luxurious cushions ([see J. Karabacek, *Susa und Chiraz*, Leipzig 1881, e.g. 71, 81: cushions covered in embrodered tapestry], and sometimes it accused the ancient Arabs of never having had any of them ([Ben Khalid, *Muhadda*, tr. Rosenthal, 1, 347-8 and n. 85]). But this accusation was far from the truth; the Bedouins had their own kinds of cushion [see al-Tha'labi, *Fih al-al-faha*, Beirut 1881, 130-1, and
other sources. The arts of weaving, making tapestries and embroidering couches were widespread amongst Bedouin, country-dwellers and city-dwellers all through the ages. Iconographic evidence of the richness of shapes and functions of mattresses and cushions, as well as the forms and colours of curtains, is given in well-known miniature paintings (e.g. in the series illustrating the works of Dioscorides and al-Harrî). Curtains and hangings had been known amongst the Arabs since pre-Islamic times; their role in Islam sedentary civilisation was even more important, as much for the daily life of the greater part of the various social classes as for the palaces and their modes of behaviour (see Ibn Sîda, al-Muhàqasat, Cairo 1316/1899-9, iv, 75: Fâdîbîsh, K. al-Tâlî, tr. Pellat, Paris 1934, 56 ff.; al-Wâshabî, al-Muwàaqabât, Cairo 1953, 230-1; al-Shabûbî, K. al-Dîyàdîh, Baghdad 1966, 49, 43, 45, 170, 188, 474: al-Kâmi 'l 'Abl al-Zubâyry, al-Dhârîfîr wa-l-Nîhâj, Kuwait 1959, passim; W. H. Worreil, in Art Islam., i (1924), 219-22; M. Canard, in Byzantion, xxii (1951), 365; D. Sourdel, in REI, xxii (1960), 123; E. Ashîor, Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient medéval, Paris 1969, 87, 178, 255). The term mâfrûshât (modern Tâdi mafûsh) still appears today in the labelling and signs of shops which sell curtaining, decorative fabrics, cushions, etc.


(C. CAHEN)

MAGHÂRîBA (A., pl. nomen), denotes the Arabic-speakers of the Muslim West (Maghribî, pl. Maghâribî), as opposed to those of the East (Mashrikî, pi. Mashrikî), known as Mashrikî. This division of Arabic-speakers into Maghâribî and Mashrikî—which is a continuing process, discernible in the contemporary dialects, variously categorised as Oriental and Maghribî—may be traced from its origins. The frontier between the two major groupings—Muslim Spain included, in spite of its special circumstances and its separate destiny—is still located to the east of Tripoli, at Lebela, which accounts for the peculiar situation of Libya, constantly divided between its Maghribî and Oriental ascensions.

The Arabs who settled on a permanent basis in the West rapidly became sufficiently Maghribîised or Hispanised to appear different from their racial compatriots who had remained in the East, as is indicated by a considerable quantity of concordant evidence. From the middle of the 2nd/8th century onwards, the Arab colony which established itself in the province of al-Kayarawân (the Al Ibfîyîyîh) became aware of its specific local identity (see M. Talbiî, al-Maghrib min al-futh sûd mûshûr al-rûh al-awwal min al-karn al-thâni wa-badâjîr al-mushûr bi-kawmiyâtîyal maîshûrûyîh, in no. 4 of Silsilat al-Idrîsîyâ, CERES Tunis 1979, 207-30) in violently opposing, at the time of the great Kâfrûlîb uprising of 122/740, fellow-Muslims who had come from the East to support it, while regarding it, it is true, with all the contempt hitherto reserved for Berbers alone. A similar evolution, with opposition between indigenous Arabs (balâdûyûn) and "foreigners" arriving at a later stage, is also to be observed in Muslim Spain, although the distinction became blurred in the course of time (see E. Lévi-Provençal, Histoire esp., Paris 1950, i, 44-55, 83, 170, 345). In the East, the Maghribî (pl. Maghâribî) in turn created the impression of a poor relation, and this old medieaval reflex is so tenacious that it continues to the present day, with varying nuances and in varying degrees, to colour Mashrik-Maghrib relations at all levels, including that of music. In spite of all the developments that have taken place, the Maghribî still admires the Mashrikî and imports from it, much more than it exports to it, cultural consumer goods such as books, films and records.

We are concerned here with a very ancient phenomenon which deserves analysis and explanation, and to which no overall study has yet been devoted. The following are examples dating back to the first two centuries of Islam: Âbû Muhammad Ibn 'Imân al-Tâdîjî (d. 225/743 or 745), resident in Tunis, cherished a genuine feeling of exile in this "barren corner", that is the Maghribî. (M. Talbiî, L'Emerîdt aglîlîdî, Paris 1966, 43); the Tunisian Ibn Farrîshî, who studied in 'Irik under Abu Hanîfa (d. 255/870), humiliated on account of his Maghribi background, his Maghribi accent, that is the Maghribî (M. Talbiî, in Corn. talbiî, Cairo 1358/1931, ii, 2). This attitude of the Maghribî towards the Mashrikî, the adage that its western part is far the best province of the Maghribî, is an ancient and to a group of Egyptians, because he was too intelligent to remain in the class of the Maghâribî (ibid., 20); etc. The Maghribî was thus visibly subject to an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the Mashrikî, a fact which led Ibn Bassâmî (d. 542/1147) to write indignantly: "The people of our lands are eager to ape the Orientals... to such an extent that if a raven were to croak in those distant horizons, or a fly to buzz in the furthest extremities of Syria or 'Îrâk, they would fall on their knees as if before an idol, and recite all this like words of Scripture" (Dhâkîhîrât, ed. Cairo 1358/1931, i, 11, 2).

This aversion of the Maghribî towards the Mashrikî, for the movement of élites has above all been established as from the West to East. For purposes of demonstration, it may be noted that al-Makkârit (d. 1041/1631) compiled a list of 307 Andalusians who visited the Orient (Naîfâ, ed. Istân 'Abbas, Beirut 1968, ii, 5-702) as against 148 Orientals who made the reverse journey (ibid., iii, 5-149). An even more significant fact is that no great poet of Damascus, of Baghdad or of Cairo, in fact, no poet at all, ever set out on the road to the Maghribî. The niqâh, a journey usually with the combined objectives of pilgrimage, of study and occasionally also of trade, took place, for evident religious cult and cultural reasons, in an eastward direction. The traveller usually returned to his own land endowed with knowledge and prestige.

But it very often happened that a traveller settled permanently in the Orient. Thus Maghribî colonies were formed in the major eastern metropolises which marked the pilgrimage routes, particularly at Alexandria, at Cairo, at Khîs, at Damascus, at Medina and at Mecca. In the absence of a systematic general study, their history is still fragmentarily and imper-
Berber women were highly regarded in the Umayyad and Abbasid courts. Highāma b. 'Abd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) requested some of them from his governor of Ifriqiya (M. Talbi, op. laud., 33); Abū Dīyar al-Manṣūr (345-54/754-73), himself the son of a Berber mother, Salama, married a woman from theiership of Tariq b. Ziyad, Berbers played a decisive role of the Māḥribīs, without ever looking down on the Maghribīs, as they were the mother of Ṣa'īd al-Kayrawān, Umm Mūsa, mother of the future IHa'far al-Mansūr (136-58/754-75). himself the son of governor of Ifrūdya (M. Talbi, op. laud., 42-3). 933-4; M. Talbi, op. laud., 33); Abū Ḥabīb al-Dakhil (138-72/756-88), originating from the Nafza tribe, was the mother of *Abd al-Rabman al-Dakhil (156-98/775-89); Risāla originating from the Nafza tribe, was the mother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil (138-72/756-88), the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain; Katābi was the mother of al-Mu'tadīdī (378-9/989-92); and Kāriḍī was the mother of al-Kāhir (320-3/932-4); M. Talbi, op. laud., 42-3).

In the armies of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, the role of the Maghribīs, without ever looking down on the Maghribīs, was a major asset, which ultimately met with failure, on Constantineople (Abu 'l-'Arab, Tabākīdī, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1913, 22; Ibn Ṭabākīdī, Bayānī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 49). In Baghdad, it was from the time of the reign of al-Mu'tawakkil (232-47/847-61) that the Maghribīs began to play a role in the army and under officers drawn from their own ranks, a considerable role. They received pay equal to that of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, Taṣārīfī, ed. Abu l-Fadl Ibrāhim, Cairo 1968, ix, 155), and, with the latter, they were nominated al-Mu'tazīs (248-54/862-66) as successor to al-Munṣūrī (247-8/865-66); the latter, 256). They abandoned him subsequently, taking an oath of loyalty, again in partnership with the Turks who played the role of a driving force, al-Mu'tazzī (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 287) and participated actively in the civil war which broke out between 351/965 and 352/966 (al-Ṭabarī, ix, 290, 291, 304-39). In 352/966 they took part in the dethronement and assassination of al-Mu'tazzī, who was unable to pay their salaries and those of the Turks, and, from this moment onward, they ceased to occupy the forefront of the stage.

It is not until the time of the Fāṭimids that the Maghribīs are seen making a massive influx into the Orient. The Fāṭimids owed their victory to the Kutāma Berbers [q.v.], and the latter followed them to Cairo and to Damasc, forming the spearhead of their army and of their Inshāfī propagation. Dīwawḥ al-Ṣikḥ, the conqueror of Egypt, gave them positions of authority at all levels of powers. "In all functions, without exception, Dīwawḥ appointed a Maghribī as partner to the official who already held the post", writes al-Maqrīzī (11th/15th, 78). Between 361/972 and 363/974, the Kutāma were the instigators of numerous riots in Cairo. In 365/976 they imposed their chieftain, Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, on the caliph al-Ḥākim (370-89/984-92). In Damascus, the presence of the Maghribīs also led to trouble. The most serious riot, in which they clashed with the indigenous population, broke out in 493/1050. The town and the Great Mosque suffered severe damage.

Numerous representatives of the Maghribī elite were not content with visiting the East; they settled there. Obviously, an exhaustive list cannot be presented here, in view of the present limitations of illustration, the following are among the most eminent: al-Tūrāfī, born in Tortosa in 451/1059 and died ca. 525/1131 in Egypt, where he exercised wide influence as a fāṣīḥ and ascetic; Ibn Dīwawḥ, the celebrated author of a riḥlah, born in Valencia in 540/1145 and died in 612/1217 in Alexandria, where he gathered around him a circle for the study of tradition and of ʿṢafīṣā; Mubīl ʿIl-Dīn, Ibn al-Arābī (580-688/1183-1280 [q.v.]), the most famous and most controversial of the ʿṢafīṣā, born in Murcia and buried in Damasc in the turbe of the distinguished family of the Ibn al-Zākī, who had welcomed him; the historian Ṣa'īd al-Wahāb al-Marrūkṣī, who, born in Marrakes, in 518/1128, took the road to the East in 613/1216 and died there some time after 621/1224, having lived successively in Egypt, Baghdad, the Hijāz and Damasc; Ibn Mārūk (ca. 710-81/1370-90), who, born in Tlemcen, left in 577/1570 for Cairo where he enjoyed high repute and became fāṣīḥ, preacher and teacher; Ibn Khalīdat, who, born in Tunis in 703/1373, settled permanently in Cairo (789-848/1382-1456), without ever relinquishing his Maghribī clothing; al-Mākṣūrī, who, born in Tlemcen in 595/1152, left in 707/1305 for the Orient, where he composed at the request of his students in Damasc his much-praised Nafās al-ḥijā, dying in Cairo in 594/1584.

Among the contemporaries, the following may be noted: Bayram al-Tūnūsī (1820-89), author of the Saʿūfa al-ṭibbī, who settled in Cairo; the amīr Ṣa'īd al-Kādir (1807-83) who, freed and given a pension by the French authorities, in 1853 chose to live in Damasc where he played an appreciable moderating role; 'Abd al-Kāhir al-Wardīghī al-Maghrī (d. 1895), who was one of the most eminent teachers of al-ʿAshārī; and 'Abd al-Kādir al-Dīwānī (1870-1943), a distinguished member of the Arab Academy of Damascus. Finally, it may be recalled that the founder of a religion—that of the Bargāwāṭī [q.v.];—Yūḥān b. Iyyās b. ʿṬārīf (227-71/842-84), sought his inspiration in the Orient (M. Talbi, Histoire, acculturation et nationalismes des Berbères Barghawit, in Actes du premier congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-séfévite, Algiers 1973, 217-33), and that the founder of a school and of a state, Ibn Tūmārī [q.v.], ca. 476/1085-1130), brought together the elements of the doctrine which gave birth to the Almohad movement.

The presence of Maghribīs in the East was not confined exclusively to distinguished individuals. It also comprised populous colonies of merchants, students and various types of émigrés. Information on these colonies is very scanty. Only that of the Barghawita Jews who settled in Cairo between the 11th and 13th centuries is fairly well-known today, through the medium of the Geniza documents, edited by S. D. Goitein (A Mediterranean society, i, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, ii, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1971, iii, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1978; and Letters a Genizah) (ed. F. F. Pernickin 1974). These documents reveal a well-organised and perfectly-structured world, endowed with efficient means of communication and of currency transfer, all of this in the service of important commercial operations covering not only the whole of the Mediterranean basin but extending as far as the Indian Ocean. The recent study by J. C. Garcia has in addition underlined the decisive role played by...
the Maghribi in the restoration and reinforcement of Sunnism in Egypt after the fall of the Fatimid. At Kuna [q.v.] on the pilgrimage route and a day's march to the north of Kufa [q.v.], they settled in large numbers. "The town to a large extent owed its new prosperity to the prestige which it acquired when certain saints persons, most of them Maghribi, settled there, died there and were buried in its cemetery which became a place of pilgrimage in its own right. These ascetics and mystics were distinguished by their Sunnism, and it was through them rather than through the direct influence of circles in Alexandria or Cairo that the Sunni 'counter-reformation spread among the people" (Un centre musulman... Qjas, Cairo 1976, 151). This example is not unique. Louis Pouzet, in a well-documented article (Maghrébins à Damas au VIIIe/VIIIe siècle, in BEO, xxviii [1977], 167-99) stresses how the Maghribi, installed in large numbers in Syria, "were able to profit from circumstances relatively unfavourable towards them (exile and partially enforced emigration, personal difficulties of a doctrinal kind and otherwise, political agitation and upheavals in the very land of their origin) to establish, particularly in the parts of the country lying higher up, a level for some of them, and quite prestigious for the Maghribi colony of Damascans as a whole" (191). In the 19th century, the presence of the Maghribi in Cairo is seen to be more numerous and varied than ever: students at al-Azhar having at their disposal a rūmāb of their own and constituting a pressure-group which could show itself formidable on certain occasions; traders exercising a monopoly over the marketing of certain products such as oil or tarbūj; etc. [A. Raymond, Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle, Damascus 1974, i, 172, 191, 101, ii, 51, 71, 157, 178, 190, 507, 531. Their number is estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 persons, firmly installed in certain quarters such as that of the Ibn Tulūn Mosque. On his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte clashed with them; unable to dislodge them from Cairo, he contemplated utilising them and decided to raise a "Maghribi battalion" constituted of energetic scoundrels, as pitiless as their chief" (A. Raymond, Tunisins et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle, in CT [1959], nos. 267-2, 264-5). This enterprise failed, since the Maghribis were among those who responded most enthusiastically to the call for resistance. The establishment of the French in North Africa gave rise to a vast migratory movement, essentially in three phases: 1882-4, 1890-1908 and 1909-14. In general, Algerians settled in Syria, and Tunisians in Constantinople, in Egypt and in Tripolitania (P. Bardin, Algériens et Tunisins dans l'Empire ottoman de 1848 à 1914, Paris 1976).

Recent history provides further examples of the continuity of the Maghribi presence in the East. The Tunisian nationalist leader, al-Shakhīl al-Tunṣī (1843-1911), visited Egypt in 1868, met the reformist scholar Muhammad 'Abdul, was influenced by him and introduced his ideas in Tunisia (N. A. Zadeh, Origins of nationalism in Tunisia, Beirut 1962, 97 ff.). Later, when the Arab League was created, President Habib Bourguiba, then leader of the Néo-Destour Party, travelled secretly to Cairo in March 1945. With the Moroccan Istiklāl and the PPA (Parti Populaire Algérien) he established there, in 1947, the "Bureau du Maghreb" before returning to Tunis on 8 September 1949.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the body of the article, information may be gleaned from all sources of a historical or geo-

graphical nature, in particular from the Rībās and the Tabākāt. (M. Talibi)

Al-MAGHĀZĪ (also maghāţi 'l-nabī, maghāţī rasūl allāh), a term which, from the time of the work on the subject ascribed to al-Wāridī (d. 209/823), if not earlier, has signified in particular the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet Muhammad in the Medinan period. The first such sortie is reported by al-Wāridī to have involved a party of thirty men led by Ḥamza b. Abd al-Muttaṭīb, which in 1/623 briefly intercepted a Kūshī caravan heading for Mecca from Syria on the coastal route (other accounts differ). The last was an expedition in the direction of Syria by an army of 5,000 men under the command of Uṣāma b. Zayd in 11/632, immediately following the Prophet's death. For al-Wāridī (largely followed by Ibn Sa'd), the compass of the term al-maghāţī appears to have included important ghansūs (such as those of Ubūd, al-Khandāk, al-Hudaybiyya, Khiybar, Mecca, Hūṣayn and Tabūk; Badr is elsewhere styled a ghansūs, but not by al-Wāridī), small-scale suhrās (such as that of Hamza), acts of assassination and other violence, and also Level (exile and partially enforced emigration, personal evacuations; traders exercising a monopoly over the market of certain products such as oil or tarbūj; etc. [A. Raymond, Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle, Damascus 1974, i, 172, 191, 101, ii, 51, 71, 157, 178, 190, 507, 531. Their number is estimated at 15,000 or 20,000 persons, firmly installed in certain quarters such as that of the Ibn Tulūn Mosque. On his arrival in Egypt, Bonaparte clashed with them; unable to dislodge them from Cairo, he contemplated utilising them and decided to raise a "Maghribi battalion" constituted of energetic scoundrels, as pitiless as their chief" (A. Raymond, Tunisins et Maghrébins au Caire au dix-huitième siècle, in CT [1959], nos. 267-2, 264-5). This enterprise failed, since the Maghribis were among those who responded most enthusiastically to the call for resistance. The establishment of the French in North Africa gave rise to a vast migratory movement, essentially in three phases: 1882-4, 1890-1908 and 1909-14. In general, Algerians settled in Syria, and Tunisians in Constantinople, in Egypt and in Tripolitania (P. Bardin, Algériens et Tunisins dans l'Empire ottoman de 1848 à 1914, Paris 1976).
The published papyri shed little light on the general character of early maghāzī works. The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text dated by Grohmann to the early 2nd/8th century, which contains some details about the battle of Badr (Arabic papyri from Ḥiṭeh al-Mīrād, Louvain 1965, 82-4, 105). Kister (Notes on the papyrus text) has pointed out that the last section of the Chicago papyrus (Or. Inst. 17635) dealing with Badr, Dīw Maʿṣūma and the B. al-Nadir, which is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century and attributed by her to Maʿṣūm b. Rāshīd (i, document 5), is textually almost identical with a passage in Abū Nuʿaym al-Dalāʾīl al-mugḥāzī (Hyderabād 1930, 176), in which the events relating to the Prophet’s marriage and the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Būkayr’s recension of Ibn Isbāq) are drawn at least from the period of Allahyarūsī (d. 196/810), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term sīyar in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

The earliest biographies, of Abu Bakr at the Sāqifah bayt al-Saʿd and the meeting at al-ʿAqabah, the conference of Ḥiṭeh al-Mīrād, are accorded the same interest as the account in Or. Inst. 174, which has an almost identical text and is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century. The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text (Hyderabād 1930, 176), in which the events relating to the Prophet’s marriage and the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Būkayr’s recension of Ibn Isbāq) are drawn at least from the period of Allahyarūsī (d. 196/810), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term sīyar in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

It is therefore clear that only the eight-line papyrus text can conceivably be regarded as being from the earliest (i.e. pre-ʿAbbāsid) period, and that it is obviously too truncated to provide any definitive picture of the shape of the maghāzī works which are reported to have existed at that time. Otherwise, we have only citations at one remove or more in later works, and later references to the existence of early maghāzī works. One such report, which has been noted in modern studies, is given by al-Balāqī (d. 279/892), with an insād going back to al-Zuhār, according to which the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, on seeing one of his sons with ḍhīṣār al-magḥāzī, gave orders for it to be burned and enjoined him (instead) to recite the Kūtāb Allāh and know and act according to the sunna (Anonymous Arabic Chronicon, Band XI, 172; Goldziher, Muḥ. St., 1, 206 (Eng. tr. 291-2); Abbott, i, 17). Goldziher, while remaining that there seems to be nothing against admitting the existence of such literature in early times, also comments that "the text of this account unmistakably bears the stamp of those circles who condemned unauthenticated magḥāzī in favour of authentically recommended traditions", and in this connection he goes on to cite the saying attributed to Ibn Hanbal that "three things have no aṣl: ifṣār, the maddāʾiḥ and the magḥāzī" (see also Goldziher, Richtungen, 57).

The purpose of, and the climate of opinion about, the study of al-magḥāzī from the second half of the 9th century onwards are, however, matters requiring further research and only a few brief additional comments can be made here. Ibn Isbāq is reported to have committed his material on al-magḥāzī to writing for the ʿAbbāsid caliph Maʿṣūr, who instructed his son al-Mahdī to study the subject with that compiler (Abbott, i, 89; Watt, The materials used by Ibn Ḥishām, 31); and Hārūn al-Rashīd’s chief kāfī, Abū Yūnus, who had been Ibn Isbāq’s pupil (Abbott, i, 92), is said to have been interested in magḥāzī, ṣifāt and asyāʿān al-arab (Goldziher, Muḥ. St., ii, 207). It is apparent that one practical application of the subject was in the case of those circles who condemned unauthenticated magḥāzī in favour of authentically recommended traditions, and in this connection he goes on to cite the saying attributed to Ibn Hanbal that "three things have no aṣl: ifṣār, the maddāʾiḥ and the magḥāzī" (see also Goldziher, Richtungen, 57).

The earliest relevant document so far known is an eight-line papyrus text dated by Grohmann to the early 2nd/8th century, which contains some details about the battle of Badr (Arabic papyri from Ḥiṭeh al-Mīrād, Louvain 1965, 82-4, 105). Kister (Notes on the papyrus text) has pointed out that the last section of the Chicago papyrus (Or. Inst. 17635) dealing with Badr, Dīw Maʿṣūma and the B. al-Nadir, which is dated by Abbott to the late 2nd/8th century and attributed by her to Maʿṣūm b. Rāshīd (i, document 5), is textually almost identical with a passage in Abū Nuʿaym al-Dalāʾīl al-mugḥāzī (Hyderabād 1930, 176), in which the events relating to the Prophet’s marriage and the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus b. Būkayr’s recension of Ibn Isbāq) are drawn at least from the period of Allahyarūsī (d. 196/810), while the few works dating from the same period which contain the term sīyar in their titles bear no relation to the Prophet (see Hinds for references).

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on maghāzī (for references, see Hinds, Maghāzī and Sirā). This declining interest in maghāzī as such was accompanied by the emergent view that Ibn Isḥāk had drawn material from Jews and Christians (Yāqūt, Udbāli, vi, 401; Ibn Ḥadāj, Tahdhib, ix, 45) and that he and [at least some] other asḥāb al-maghāzī had ḫudūl inclinations (Udbāli, vi, 400). In addition, Ibn Ḥanbal is reported as having said that Ibn Isḥāk's handling of ṣiwāk rendered him unsuitable as an authority that the earliest form [Tahdhib, ix, 43], and the same consideration may have been behind his reported denunciation of al-Wakīlī as haddīḥī Bahā'ī (Tahdhib, ix, 394).

There remains the question of how useful the maghāzī material is for the purpose of historical reconstruction of the early Islamic period. Here it may be remarked first that there are considerable chronological and other discrepancies between the accounts available; these have been discussed most recently by Jones (On the chronology... and Küster (The expedition of Ibn Mā'mūn). In more general terms, however, Watt sees "little ground for doubting the truth of the main events of Ibn Ḥaddīthī" and is of the opinion that "the maghāzī-material (in the special sense of the main outline of events, and omitting all anecdotes) ... is an essential foundation for the biography of Muhammad and his times" (The materials used by Ibn Isḥāq, 28). On the other hand, Sellheim has attempted to discern the main tendencies of Ibn Isḥāq according to "layering" of sources (Quellenuntersuchung), involving an original layer which reflects historical reality, a further layer made up of legendary material about the Prophet, and a top layer reflecting political tendencies of Ibn Isḥāq's own time (Prophet, Cātihat und Geschichtsbericht). Such an approach is not wholly incompatible with Schacht's conclusions that an intrinsic layer "can substantiate the authenticity of a work ascribed to an author of the early 2nd/9th century and that in general the "more perfect the simūd, the later the tradition" (JRAS 1946, 147). From this standpoint, Schacht has examined the short Māṣūm b. ʿUkhṭī text (an edition of the 4th/9th century) published by Sachau and has challenged Sachau's view that the text contains no elements from the ʿAbbāsid period. Schacht has seen the growth in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of traditions ascribed to Māṣūm as typical of the way in which spurious information was put into circulation, and has concluded that "the whole of the standard biography of Māṣūm in the later works is without documentary value, particularly the touching picture, taken seriously by Sachau and Hovezī, of his regular lectures to a circle of pupils in the mosque of Medina. This presupposes the concept of Medina as the home of Islamic learning, a concept which was as yet unknown to Ṣafīyy (d. 204)" (On Māṣūm b. ʿUkḥtī's kitāb al-maghāzī, 299).

More recently, Wansbrough, who also doubts the feasibility of historical reconstruction of the Islamic period up to ca. 200 A.H., has viewed the sirā-maghāzī literature (as he terms it) as an Islamic adaption of Biblical salvation history. In his opinion "the earliest expression of Islamic soteriology consisted in membership of the umma and it is in the sirā-maghāzī literature that the earliest formulation of Muslim identity is contained" (The sectarian milieu, 89), the conceptual motive in this (as in scripture and sunna) being polemic (101). Wansbrough sees a transition from the sirā-maghāzī literature, where ecclesia is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is historically articulated, to the suumah-hadīth literature, where nomos is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is "idealized and hence shorn of its historical dimension" (87); for him, the Ibn Isḥāq-Wakīlī-Bulhārī development from sirā to sunna marked a passage from loosely structured narratio to concise exemplum (77-8). In modification of this view, however, it should be remarked that the signification of sirā was also close to that of exemplum and that the passage was rather from maghāzī to irāzī, with the sirā material being essentially maghāzī material viewed in a new light. It can also be noted that, while the narrowing-down of the scope of the maghāzī to the period and background of the Prophet seems to have been conventional from the 3rd/9th century onwards, it is nonetheless difficult to discern a point at which al-Wakīlī's even narrower definition gained any exclusive currency. It seems rather that the two senses of maghāzī co-existed: in the broader of the senses, the term echoed an earlier scope which had been yet broader (note particularly the title of al-Kalām's work) and seems to have been used in a more or less synonymous with the term sirā as a genre label. But it appears to have been a more technical one, i.e. the maghāzī "proper", as distinct from the mubāthā, for example. The term sirā, while occurring as a genre label more or less synonymous with maghāzī, also came to signify preponderantly the account of the Prophet's life and background as transmitted by Ibn Hishām on the basis of the work of Ibn Isḥāq—the maghāzī which became sirā as exemplum, only to be largely superseded by the suumah-hadīth literature.

Bibliography: For a general survey, see F. Sægø, GAs, i, Leiden 1967, 237-239, 275-302; Sezgin is incorrect when he suggests (309) that Ibn Ḥuṣayn Tāhīṭī ascribed a work of similar material to Wāḥib b. Munabbih (the reference is to maghāzī material from [ʿAbd Allāh b. Wāḥib)—for further critical comments on Sezgin's remarks about Wāḥib b. Munabbih and al-maghāzī, see R. G. Khoury, Wāḥib b. Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23, Wiesbaden 1972, Teil 1, 12; Sezgin is also incorrect in saying (39) that the Frisbt (see 228, 9) attributes a work on al-maghāzī to Hujayr b. Bāṣhrī.

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MAGHILA, a Berber tribe belonging to the
great branch of the Butr and related, if one is to
believe the ancient Berber traditions cited by Ibn
Khalūd, to the tribes of Darīsa, Saṭṭīra, Lamīya,
Madmūta, Sadīna, Māliziya and Mādānīya who lived,
in the early Middle Ages, in eastern Barbary.
It is also apparently in the same region that the
ancient habitat of Maghīzī is to be sought in the
period in question. According to the Berber traditions
cited by various early Arab historians, the Maghīzī,
after coming from Palestine into North Africa,
reached Lūbiya (Libya), from where they made
their way to the Maghībīr, establishing themselves,
before the Arab conquest, in the mountainous
regions of this land, probably in the Ḍībāl Dāhband
and Ḍībāl Dāhband in southeastern Tunisia. Vivien
de Saint-Martin has suggested seeing in the Maghīzī
the Libyan tribe of the Mecāles or Imzāles of Corippus
(6th century A.D.). This hypothesis appears very
probable, despite the opposition of Stepanov Gsell.
Similarly, another hypothesis of Vivien de Saint-
Martin and J. Desanges appears highly likely,
according to which the Mecāles of Corippus and
the Maghīzī of the Arabic sources were none other
than the Makblūnes of Ḥerodotus, a Libyan tribe
who lived, in the 5th century B.C., in south-eastern
Tunisia. It is there, to the south-east of the Shott
el-Dijird, that J. Desanges places the Makblūnes
and the Mecāles. As for the Maghīzī, we lack proof
of Arabic sources on their habitat in eastern Barbary
in the 5th/6th century. However, Ibn Khālūd
raddadhībī enumerates them, in his geographical
work composed ca. 829/840-9, among the Berber
tribes of the east, counting them alongside well-
known eastern tribes such as the Hawrādā, Darīns,
Waragīfdōmā, Māzīta and Nafīsā.

Algeria. The Arab historians and geographers
note the existence of two groups of the Maghīzī in
this country. One of them occupied, in the 8th/9th
century, according to Ibn Khālūd, the countryside
from the mouth of the Chelif on the west as far
as the town of Mazouna on the east. It seems that
formerly the possessions of this group of Maghīzī were
larger and that they extended towards the east as far
as the environs of the town of Tlemçen. Ibn Khālūd
locates, in the 5th/6th century, (at the entrance
of the great desert), the town of Tāmnaghīt, whose
name seems to be strictly linked to that of Maghīzī.
Further to the west, al-BAkīr places, at two days’
journey from Tābert, a castle which also bore the
name of Tāmnaghīt. It is again in the environs of
Taḥart that there is to be found, according to al-
BAkīr, at a distance of five fasāḥs from the sea,
very near Oued el-Khamis, to the north of the town
of Mazouna, a locality called Ka‘a Maghīzī Dalāl,
also doubtlessly named after a section of the Maghīzī
who lived there. On the west side also, the limits of
the territory of the town of Tlemçen exceeded, in the
5th/6th century, those of the 8th/9th century. Indeed,
it is in the territory of the tribe of Maghīzī that the
town of Aslān was situated, which was to be
found immediately to the east of the mouth of the
Tafna, and to the east of the island of Araghīl,
Raschoum on our maps. It is from one of the ports
of the Algerian Maghīzī that there set sail, in 1287/755,
the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain,
Abū al-Raḥmān I b. Mu‘āwiyah, in order to disem-
barsh at al-Manakhab (Ain Mek nickname) in al-Andalus.
In our opinion, this port is none other than Marsa
Maghīzī, an anchorage situated a little to the west
of Tēmsās, which is noted in the geographical
work of al-Bakīr of M. Hinds.

Another Algerian section of the Maghīzī lived,
in the 2nd/3rd-5th/6th centuries, in a region situated
in the province of Tlemçen. Ibn Khālūd says that
the Zanātī tribe of Banū Ifrīn domiciled in this
region, supported by Berbers of the tribe of Maghīzī,
recoiled in 148/765 against the ‘Abīsābīs, “having
chosen as their chief Abū Kurra the Ifrīn, or rather the
Maghīzī”. In another passage of his work, Ibn
Khālūd however puts in doubt Abī Kurra’s
gnong to the Maghīzī. He says only that the
Banū Ifrīn and the Maghīzī lived alongside each
other, the Banū Ifrīn being stronger and more
numerous. According to another passage of Ibn
Khālūd’s work, the Maghīzī protected the Banū
Sufīn and the Banū Sa‘īd, which seems to indicate
that the town of Tlemçen towards the middle of
the 4th/5th century, and al-BAkīr cites an Arabic
poem which speaks of the losses of this tribe in a war
which took place in 338/949-50.

Morocco. In Morocco also, there were, according
to al-BAkīr, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Khālūd and other Arab
mediaeval authors, two branches of the tribe
of Maghīzī, of which the remnants lived in the
8th/9th century dispersed in the triangle formed by the towns of Fas, Meknes and Seffou. One of these branches occupied the region situated to the south-east of Fas, where the medieval Arab geographers placed, halfway between Fas and Meknes, the fortress called Maghilla. Al-Bakri also locates there a district called Maghilla, which, in his period, was under the command of a certain MUS. B. Jaldil. Al-Bakri located this town to the north of present-day Morocco. Another branch of Abd Allah in the town of Fas, Meknes and Salhdna, supported the cause of the Idrisids and opposed the fakih R. al-Maghilla. They were also perhaps the same Maghilla as those who, united with the Awadha and Sadina, supported the cause of the Idrisids from the arrival of Idris I b. Abd Allah in the north of present-day Morocco. Another branch of the Maghilla occupied, in the 9th century, the district of Maghilla which al-Bakri locates to the south of Oued Ouerga, to the north-west of Fas and which has to be distinguished from the district of Maghilla situated to the south-west of the same town.

It may further be added that it is to the tribe of Maghilla that Ibn Abi l-Majdi al-Maghlil belonged, author of a genealogical work devoted to the Berbers and quite frequently cited in the Maghrbi chronicles.


(T. Lewicki)

AL-MAGHILLA, MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-KARIM, reformist of Tlemcen, chiefly famed for his persecution of the Jewish community of Tuwât (Touat) in the Algerian Sahara and for the advice he gave to Sudanic rulers. The general outline of his career is fairly well established, but many details remain obscure. He was born in Tlemcen, ca. 1440, from the stock of Berber stock and studied under 'Abd al-Rahman al-Thal'i (d. 875/1470) and Yahya b. 'Abd al-Turab (d. 875/1472). At an uncertain date he took up residence in Tlemcen, then the principal fortified town (kasi) of the Tuwât oasis, which was closely linked to Tlemcen and to the towns of the Sudanese belt by the ties of commerce.

The prosperity of the Jewish community there and in the neighbouring oasis of Gurara, and the connivance of the Arab chiefs in ignoring the letter of the law in regard to these "protected persons", aroused his ire. He wrote a treatise (R. si ahkam ahad al-dhimma) asserting that the Jews of Tuwât had broken their pact (ahd) with the Muslims, and thus forfeited their protection, by not paying diyas regularly in a state of "abuse and humiliation" (asi ahkam i-l-jahd) and by "rebellng against Islamic laws" (al-tamarrud al-ahkam) through too close an association with their Muslim overlords. He also claimed that the existence of the Tuwût synagogue was contrary to Islamic law and demanded its destruction.

Both he and the kadi of Tamanrasset, 'Abd Allah al-
'Aswam, who opposed his views, sought the support of North African scholars. The majority favoured al-
'Aswam's interpretation, but the support al-Maghilla received from two Tlemcen scholars, the historian al-
-Tanassi and the theologian al-Sanusi (al-Wajshari), al-
-Mu'ayr al-Maghilla, Fas 1395/1879-80, ii, 170-262; tr. in Archives Marocaines, xii (1908), 244-95, who adds his own view which supports theirs, was sufficient to encourage him to rouse a mob to destroy the synagogue. He also offered seven mkhabar of gold for every Jew killed.

Not long after these events, which probably took place shortly before 1490, al-Maghilla left Tuwât, possibly expelled on account of his unwelcome zeal, but this is not clear. It may be at this period that he visited Fas, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his influence with the Wazzid sultan Muhammad al-Shaykh (Ibn 'Asfar, Dauja, 96, is the one source to report this bizarre episode). He then left North Africa for Bilad al-Sudan, stopping first at the important commercial centre of Ta-kikda (Tegida, identified with Azelik in the south-west of the Air massif) to teach and preach, and passing on to Katsina and Kano, then burgeoning city-states. He had contact with the ruler of Kano, Seriki (sudan) Muhammad Runci, as early as 1491-2, when he addressed him a letter on "determining people from forbidden acts" (text in B flora's edn. of Ahkam al-dhimma, misleadingly titled Mi-asib al-arrida [a different work by al-Maghilla], 27-7-7). He evidently resided several years in Kano, for a family there still claims descent from him (and "Shafii" status), and it is no doubt while he was there that he wrote his longer treatise of advice for Muhammad Runci (published under the invented title Taha al-din fi ma ya'dib al-ilmu, Beirut 1931).

The date and duration of his visit to Katsina are not known but before the close of the century he was in Gao advising the Songhay ruler Askia Muhammad b. Abi Bakr after the latter's return from pilgrimage. His replies to that ruler's questions legitimised the Askia's seizure of the goods and chattels of his predecessor, Sunusi 'Ali, and strengthened his claims to sovereignty over a wide area of Muslim territory in the Sudanic belt. On hearing of his son's death in Tuwât at the hand of a group of Jews, al-
-Maghilla called on the Askia to arrest all Tuwâtis in his realm and only the opposition of the kadi of Timbuktu, Muhammad b. 'Umar, prevented pecu-

His known writings total twenty-six items, mainly on topics of fikr and tawhid. He also had an interest in formal logic (maqhb). He exchanged verse polemics with al-Suyuti, who declared his study forbidden, and wrote a treatise called Minas al-Wahhab fi radd al-fikr al-sal al-jahd, which was widely studied in West Africa. The treatises he wrote during his Sudanic tour were known to the 19th century reformers of


(T. Lewicki)
and it is doubtful if al-Maṣṣilsa, consider him an important link in the clam, “regenerators” (mudiaddidi) of the order.

though this chain can be shown to be ahistorical, the Hidjra. They, and all other Kadirls of West Africa whose affations go back through the Kunta sultana, consider him an important link in the chain, though this chain can be shown to be ahistorical, and it is doubtful if al-Magḥil himself had received the word of the order.

The Kunta [q.v.] revere him as one of the four “regenerators” (mudādīdī) of the 10th century of the Hija. They, and all other Kadirls of West Africa whose affations go back through the Kunta sultana, consider him an important link in the chain, though this chain can be shown to be ahistorical, and it is doubtful if al-Magḥil himself had received the word of the order.

Bibliography


MAGHILTIS

MAGHNATIS, Maghiltis, Maghnatîs, Arabic rendering of ḳalvûgûrî (kâlûqir), indicating 1. the magnetite and 2. the compass.

1. THE MAGNETITE AND MAGNETISM

The magnetite [lodestone, magnetic iron ore, Fe₃O₄] is a very widely-spread mineral, well-known since antiquity, and found in huge quantities in individual deposits as well as a finely-allotted constituent of almost all kinds of volcanic rock. The Islamic natural scientists, geographers, cosmographers and encyclopedists transmit much information about its properties. The magnetite is first of all “the stone which attracts iron” (see e.g. al-Ṭabarî, Magḥilî, ed. Van Votten, 1861). Al-Birûnî, Dāmâghîrî, Hârbaštîbî, 155, 212-15, has a circumstantial chapter on it. According to him, Sahâra with amber (hârâbî) is the property of attraction, while he is more satisfactory that the latter for extracting particles of iron from the human body. The name is correctly explained as being Greek, while ara¬mîliha ( UIAlertView or aRuhlrintov) and abarakalî (擂Οο* ^ξε how is given as synonym, although the first, as is well-known, indicates the diam¬ond; for the confusion of the magnet and the diam¬ond in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, see E. von Lippmann, Die magnetischen Stoffe und das Kreuztuch, in: Vierteljahreschrift für Naturforschung und der Technik, i, Berlin 1923 (new impression Wiesbaden 1972), 182, 194, 213 ff. Referring to earlier authors, al-Birûnî records that the blue magnetite—which he did not know himself—was considered to be the best; it was burned by many people and sold as al-bâda’â (haemafite). According to the same author, the black-brown, and further the iron-coloured, were equally appre¬ciated. The richest deposits known to him were those in the Mediterranean Sea carpentered by nails, he concludes that the richest deposits

2. European works. J. J. L. Bârses, Complément de l’histoire des Beni Zeydan, Paris 1897, 58-9; A. Lattrag, A contribution to the biography of Shaikh Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad (‘l-Imar al-Nâṣir), in: J. Afr. Hist., xiv (1937), 381-4; A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, The Arabic literature of Nigeria to 1895: a provisional account, in: BSOAS, xxv (1962), 106-9; Brockelmann, S. III, 363; Hiskett, An Islamic tradition of reform in the Western Sudan from the 16th to the 18th century, in: BSOAS, xxv (1962), 572-97; G. Vajda, Un traité maghrébin “in¬versus judaeus”; “Aṣḥâb al-asrār al-dimshqiyya” (new impression Wiesbaden 1971). 182, 194, 213 ff. Referring to earlier authors, al-Birûnî records that the blue magnetite—which he did not know himself—was considered to be the best; it was burned by many people and sold as al-bâda’â (haemafite). According to the same author, the black-brown, and further the iron-coloured, were equally appre¬ciated. The richest deposits known to him were those of Zihaţar in south-east Anatolia. From the fact, however, that ships in the China Sea were kept together by vegetable fibres, but those in the Mediterranean Sea carpentered with nails, he concludes that the richest deposits of magnetite occur in the submarine mountains of the China sea, since it is exactly there that the nails would be extracted by magnetism and ships would disintegrate. In the mountains of Ǧabulûstân [q.v., in eastern Afghanistan] magnetite is said to occur as solid rock; on their sunlit outer surfaces the power of attraction would be weak, but in the inside strong, as al-Birûnî himself had ascertained by means of collaborators. Other denominations of the lodestone, based
on confusion, are: bâkṯ or ḥādār al-bāltû (i.e. the haematite, which results from converting magnetite or other minerals), ādāmas al-ḥāṣfārī (i.e. the diamond; ḥāṣfārī means "indomitable"), from which ḥāṣfārī can possibly be explained, bâkṯ (see below), karrāmīl (possibly through Romance calomnitis, derived from kalomnitas, but cf. this E. O. von Lippmann, Geschichte der Magnetnadel usw. zur Erfindung des Kompasses [London 1860], in Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, ii/3 [Berlin 1932], esp. 15-26).

The notion that lodestone and iron are connected as the lover and the beloved, was spread very widely; iron is "obedient" to the stone because of a divine power inherent in the latter, and is attracted to it. Edward the Confessor (cf. Ibn Hūrin, Tārikh al-ṣafārī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 239, below); between the two exists a profound inclination: when iron "smells" the magnet, it moves towards it until it clings to it and holds on tight to it, as the lover to the beloved (op. cit., 325; cf. also Râšîl lṭūwān al-Sâfî, i, Beirut 1375/1957, 110 f.). This image was expressed poetically by Ibn Hażm, Tawq al-baḥātūna, ed. Pérot, 8, 20-9, 9, cf. E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, ii, 149-51. In other comparisons, the sexual connexion is formed by the contrast of reaction: the "phlegm" (bālgham) combines with the soul quicker than iron with the magnet (M. Ullmann, Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library, ii, Wiesbaden 1976, 99). This conception is connected with certain theories developed by Dâbrî b. Hayyān in his Kitab al-Rujma: "The strongest factors existing in this world are the delicate spiritual things which cannot be observed with the senses, but only with the intellect, like the stone which attracts iron through an immaterial power that can neither be felt nor seen. It permeates the solidity of brass (jaf) which finds itself between it (i.e. the magnetite) and the iron" (Ar. text in M. Bcrthelot, La Chirurgie au Moyen Age, iii, Paris 1983 [repr. 1967], 144-5; French tr., i, 175). Thus the Arabs were aware that the magnetite is efficacious through other bodies. A few sentences further on it is said: "We found (?) a magnetite which lifted a weight of two dirhams (= 314.5 gr. according to W. Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte, Leiden 1955, 3). We left it alone for a while and then tested it with another piece of iron, which however it did not lift. We thought this to be heavier than the two dirhams which it had lifted earlier. But when we weighed it, it had a weight of less than 80 dirhams, so its power had decreased, although its mass (jîrm) had remained the same." From these observations it was rightly concluded that in course of time the lodestone loses part of its power of attraction. Thus the carrying capacity of the magnet used by "Geber" was quite considerable; for further quantities see by al-Ṭabarî and al-Thābit, cf. E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze, i, 33.

Iron filings, put in a pan which one keeps in one hand while with the other a magnetite is moved backward and forward underneath the pan, follow these movements. Also, when the stone is brought near to a needle, it attaches the latter to itself, and likewise other needles which are strung to the first one, so that finally all of them are joined as it were to a string by an "immaterial power"; in the same way rings can be hung to one another (J. Ruska, Der Steinboth des Aristoteles, Heidelberg 1912, Ar. text 108, Ger. text, 154).

Next to its attractive power, the magnet has also a repelling power: when held over an ant-hill, it drives the ants away. When smeared with the saliva of a fasting man, it loses its attractive power. This power disappears also when the magnet is rubbed with garlic or onions, but when cleansed from garlic and put in the warm blood of a freshly-slaughtered billy-goat, the power returns (al-Kanzî, Ḥâḍidra, 238; al-Dîmâṣqî, Nûkhball al-dahr, ed. Mehren, St. Petersburg 1866, Arabic text 73 f., French tr. 85; Ibn Kûsîbîa, ʿUyûn, i, Cairo 1346/1928, 105; Pseudo-) Magîrîト, Ghâyat al-hâkim, ed. H. Kitzer, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, 399, 15-6, tr. 406). The following observation of Ibn al-Fâkîh (īdâra, vi 5, 134) is also worth noticing: When a knife or sword is rubbed against the rocks of a mountain near Amîdî, they carry iron and attract needle magnets; but they lose their power. The latter itself does not possess attractive power, but when a knife or sword is rubbed against it, it attracts iron. This power is said to be preserved for a very long time, namely a hundred years. As Wiedemann (op. cit., i, 36) remarks, magnetism is preserved in sword and knife because they are made of steel: they are a "permanent" magnet.

The question of the causes of interaction between magnet and iron has apparently also been studied in a more general way. No less a person than al-Râzî wrote an essay entitled Kitâb fahm al-wâqîf li-bâdîd al-maghnâfî, ed. Ibn al-Nâdîm, Fihrist, 301, 145-5. The essay probably examines whether and how the magnet is effective through empty space. Al-Thâbit recognized the chemical relation between iron and magnet from which the effectiveness is deduced. According to him, the attraction is based on reciprocity; deep inside, the lodestone has transformed itself into iron, for both minerals have the same nature which explains the inclination and love to each other "since the beginning of their existence" (Wiedemann, op. cit., i, 34 f.). According to al-Tuchîrî (ṣūr al-Wiedemann, i, 699), the lodestone belongs to the stones which contain spirits.

It was believed that there existed a number of other stones with attractive power, apart from the iron magnet: the gold magnet which attracts gold, and when put in the water of a well, it increases the efficacy of the iron magnet; the silver magnet which is extraordinarily powerful (at a distance of five ells it attracts an ounce of silver); the brass and copper magnet, which, among other things, are used as a remedy against epilepsy; the lead magnet, ugly and evil-smelling; the flesh magnet, so-called because, if put on flesh, it sticks fast to it and, if pulled away, rips off pieces of it; the hair magnet which attracts hair and, if moved over the head, tears it off; finally, the nail magnet, which pulls out fingernails (J. Ruska, op. cit., Ar. text, 109-11, Ger. text 155-9). Other magnets are enumerated by al-Dîmâṣqî (Nûkhball al-dahr, Arabic text 74-7, French text 85-9), who remarks inter alia that gold is the magnet of mercury: when they come together, gold attracts the mercury and mixes with it; when filings of gold, lead, copper, iron and tin are mixed and mercury is then added, the latter goes in search of the gold filings and mixes with them, but not with the other filings because a "magnetic friendship" (katalh maghnâfîs) exists only between mercury and gold. A number of similar magnets are catalogued by al-Kanzî (op.
It is hard to be wondered that, already in early times, all kinds of legends were coupled to the attractive power of the magnet. Al-Djawbari, for instance, relates that in the "monastery of the idols" [lāzīmat el-dīnāt] an iron idol is floating free in space under a cupola. This statue is said to be the work of Vabilius (Apollonius of Tyana), who had constructed a cupola from lodestone in such a way that the magnetic power was acting upon the statue so evenly from above and from the sides that it was floating exactly in the middle of the space. In order to attract and remove them. "Strewn on gaping wounds in pulvurised form, it contracts them."

In medicine, the lodestone does not seem to have been applied widely, although it is found in almost all pharmacopoeias (see D. Goitia, Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnannen in Pharmacien, Chemie and Medizin, 1971). An iron idol is floating free beneath a cupola. It is potent for draining away thick mucus and, if held in the hand, for removing spasms and pains in hand and foot. It is administered to those who have swallowed iron filings or rust in order to attract and remove them. Strewn on gaping wounds in pulvurised form, it contracts them. In cases of gout caused by heat, it allays the suffering if applied after being rubbed with vinegar. He who

wears a lodestone round his neck will have a good memory and does not forget anything. Used in pulvurised form as an eye make-up, it stimulates love relations. It helps a pregnant woman to have an easier confinement; worn in a seal-ring, it brings good luck; etc.
voyages by sea (cf. R. Henning, Verhandl. der Gesellschaft, deutscher Naturforscher etc., 84th Versammlung, 71f [1922], 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south; as Mecca lay to the south of most places, in Syria etc. the kibla [qf.] corresponded almost exactly to the south.

The oldest passage in which the word haaramt perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (calamita) occurs is given by Dozy for the year 230/854 in his Supplement, ii, 337, that found it in al-Bayân al-muṣṣâlīb (Histoire de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne) edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (MSOS, Berlin, xi, 1-2 [1900], 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the 9th century A.D. and that in al-Maṣdūl (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G. Ferndan concluded that the compass was already in use then.

The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the Kitāb al-ḥikdātī of "Avfī, it is in his Lubāh al-abhā (ed. Browne and Mirzā Muhammad Kazwīnī). A captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Ferairān Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a magnetī. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetī as a guide at sea is made by al-Makārī in his Kitāb (fī dārām 1270, i, 240; Cairo 1324, i, 557; Z. f. Phys., xiv [1924], 160).

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640/1242 by a certain Baylak al-ḥikdātī in the Kitāb Kunās at-tuḥādry jī mārfyaf al-ḥāhār. A needle which has been rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw, etc. Sometimes a counterpoise is placed to weigh the arrangement, which is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction; the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the kibla. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning, the very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is, however, not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water.

Al-Zarkhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small, beautifully-painted, wooden fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a nihrāb drawn upon it is also used. Finally, an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper, a needle is placed which turns on a point; the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called bukk al-kibla "vessel, box for the kibla", or bayt al-tib, "house of the needle"; according to Niebuhr, the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day, similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abi’l-Ḵayr al-Ḫassānī in his al-Nuđjum al-gāhīrī (cf. E. Wiedemann in the Z. für Physik, xiii [1923], 173; there is a manuscript in Beirut in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge bridge one was written in 1203 or 1258 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it.

An important passage in an anonymous work "Preparation of the bowl (ḥassa) to ascertain the kibla and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Adler Antiquities of the Greeks, 1871). Here in Syriac the needle points south, the eye to the north (the rubbing [haḥahr of the needle explains the peculiar modern name kibla for the compass).

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e.g. ìs-suasia from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-stand the south is called al-kibla and also al-juhandī (cf. thereon, for example, K. Fey, Die Wiedereinführung des Orts- und Gradens mit Benutzung der Fahrride des Admirals Petri Réts vom Jahr 1526, in MSOS, Berlin xi [1908], 234 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the first part of the Bībī, to section I. above, see J. Klapproth, Lettre à M. A. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole, Paris 1834; E. Wiedemann, Über Geschichte des Kompasses bei den Arabern, in Verhandl. der physikalischen Gesellschaft, ixx (1928), 764-73; xi (1929), 262-6; xxi (1959), 655-7; Z. f. Physik, xii (1925), 13-26; xiii (1923), 240; xvii (1942), 266-8; G. Ferndan, Nasa al-ṭarih al-iṣṭiṣlaḥī (contribution à l'histoire de la boussole), in Publications de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines, Mélanges René Basset, i, 1923, 1-16; W. C. Ernle, Compasses, compassi and Kandils, in JSS. xxi (1924), 109-78.

In the Beiräte, ii, the earlier literature is collected. This is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mullet on the compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schückler (Der Kompass, etc., Hamburg 1909-1915 ff.), which deals with the Boussole in China. (E. Wiedemann)

MAGHNISA, modern Turkish form Manisa, classical Magnesia, a town of western Anatolia, in the ancient province of Lydia, lying to the south of the Gediz river on the northeastern slopes of the Manisa Dağı, which separates it from İzmir or Smyrna (lat. 36° 36' N., long. 27° 27' E.).

In Greek and then Roman times, Magnesia ad Sipylum was a flourishing town, noted amongst other things for the victory won in its vicinity by the Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria in 190 B.C., and continued to flourish under the Byzantines (see Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie, xxvii, 472-3). After the capture of Constantiople by the Latins in 1204, the Byzantine emperor John Dacius retired to Magnesia and held out there till 1255; it was also the seat of a bishopric, which seems to have disappeared however by the 14th century.

Out of the ruins of the Saljūk kingdom of Rum, a Turkmen chief Şāh-Ḵān (d. 1345) established himself in the town in 1313 and made Magnesia the capital of his beylik, one which endured for over three-quarters of a century. Ibn Batūṭa, Ribā, ii, 312-14, tr. Gibb, ii, 447-8, visited what he called Maghāniša during Şāh-Ḵān’s reign, and stayed in a zārīya or hostelry of one of the local fiyān (i.e. of the Aḥsīs [g.v.]); he praises its size and its amenities. The Ulūlāmjādī of Magnesia dates from this period also, and re-uses Byzantine materials.

The Şāh-Ḵān-e ogluhārī (g.v.) continued to hold the town till 749/1350 or the next year, when the Ottoman Beyazid I [qf.] conquered it and gave it to one of his sons. After Timur’s victory at Ankara in 1402/1405, Timur gave Magnesia to his grandson Muḥammad (see Shāraf al-Dīn Allāh Yazdī, Zaftar-nāma, ed. 74.
Calcutta, ii, 466-7), and the town was then briefly restored to the descendant of Šâh-Khan, Khód Şáh Beg; but the latter was deposed and killed by the Ottoman Mehmêmed I in 813/1406.

Under the Ottomans, Manisa, from its nearness to the capital Istanbul, was often governed by the sultan's eldest son and regarded as a stepping-stone to further advancement. After his abdication in 848/1444, Sultan Murad II retired to Manisa, leaving it to combat the Hungarian Crusaders but returning after his victory at Varna later that year (von Hammer, GOR, ii, 351, 357); the remains of his palace and garden are still visible.

Concerning the tax-paying population of the town, we possess figures for 935/1528-1 and again for 938/1535-6. Compared to other Anatolian cities, Manisa during the 10th/16th century experienced only moderate growth: from 6,000-7,000 inhabitants at the first date to 1,995 taxpayers (about 7,000-8,000 inhabitants at the second one). This is all the more noteworthy as Manisa during this period continued frequently to house the courts of Ottoman princes, so that much public construction took place in the town. The Külu'niyye mosque was built in the name of Prince Sháh-i Afsáh, while the Sultánáyye mosque, which possessed shops and taxation rights in Urfa near Izmir, was founded by Khán Sháykhun Suleyman's mother Hâfiz Sultán. As the last Ottoman prince residing in Manisa, Murad III (989) had the Murâdîyye külliyûse or complex constructed by his chief architect Kókú Sinân (984/1580)

In the second half of the 10th/16th century, the area between the Gediz Cay and the Bilyûnq Menber rivers produced grapes and figs for consumption in Istanbul. To assure a regular supply for the Ottoman capital, a large number of official rescripts prohibited both wine-making and the exportation of raisins. Throughout the 10th/16th century, the exportation of cotton was equally forbidden. But for reasons not completely understood, this prohibition was reversed in the 1620s. Export trade in cotton particularly developed in the course of the 10th/16th century, when the area was controlled by a family of ayyûn or notables known as the Karâ 'Othmân Orchardar (see below). The French traveller Pitton de Toumefort, who visited Manisa about 1700, stated that the cotton trade was the only major activity visible in the town (see on this trade, KURN. 2. In the Ottoman empire).

When Ewlyi Celebi visited Manisa in 1683/1673-2, he was much impressed not only by the historical buildings, particularly by the Murâdîye mosque, but also by the opportunities for entertainment. Apparently the coffee houses of Manisa could rival with their more famous counterparts in Aleppo, Cairo and Damascus. Ewlyi also mentions the existence of more than 3,000 shops, aside from two covered markets. But he equally reports that one of the covered markets had been partially converted into a mosque. This observation, if correct, may indicate that business life in Manisa was in fact stagnating.

From the 11th/17th century onward, Manisa was increasingly eclipsed both politically and commercially by İzmir [q.v.]. The latter had been a minor port in the 10th/16th century, containing less than 500 tax-paying inhabitants. But the transit trade in Persian silk lead to İzmir's rapid growth, and Manisa took on the characteristics of a minor regional centre, which specialised in the marketing of agricultural goods. However, a certain amount of textile manufacture survived into the 1890s, and so did the tanning industry, which had already been famous in the 11th/17th century.

In the 11th/17th century, Manisa became the capital of a powerful family of derebey [q.v.], the Kara 'Othmân-Orhun family [q.v.], whose authority stretched from beyond Sârûbîn itself as far as the Sea of Marmara to the north. It was not until 1244/1829 that the central government was able to replace members of the family (whose administration is praised by the English traveller G. T. Keppel, Narrative of a journey across the Balcan... in 1829-30, London 1831, ii, 294-301) by its own nominees.

Late 19th century population figures reflect the relative decline of Manisa, now in the midst of Aydûn, compared with İzmir; Cunet assumed that the former contained 35,000, the latter 200,000 inhabitants, and Samî Bey, Kâmî ne-i-a'lem, Istanbul 1896, estimated Manisa's population at 35,025, of whom 31,000 were Muslims, 1,000 Greeks, 2,000 Armenians, etc. During the Turkish War of Independence, the town suffered heavy destruction, and the first census of the Turkish Republic credits Manisa with only 28,664 inhabitants. By 1950, the late 19th century level of 35,000 had again been reached; by 1975 the town had increased to 78,114 inhabitants.

Bibliography: (In addition to references given in the text): See in the first place, for greater detail, Besikt Darîkî and Çagatay Uluçay, art. Manisa in İA, with extensive bibliography. For Manisa in the Ottoman tax registers, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, Taup taurir, 189, pp. 2 ff. and Ankarâ Taup ve kadeh-i cadd i kâyetli kadime 1153, pp. 2 b ff. On the foundation of Hâfiz Sultán, see Kuyu kadime 9174, pp. 15 b ff. On the prohibition to export grapes, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, Mühimme defterleri 47, p. 147, no. 359 (909/1502), 71, p. 290, no. 560 (1001-2/1592-3). Concerning the 11th/17th century exportation of cotton, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, Müllyedeen mütvedev 0004, passim.

or near the delta of the Pediyas, at Enkomi village. Cyprus [see
never had the energy to restore Maghosha, they
of Maghosha. but at other times appeared terrified
the Mamluks, the ascent of Lusignan Maghosha
development, and the small garrison became the
guarded the fortress loo zealously to allow economic
again use it against them. Although the Ottomans
that the prize would fall to enemies who might
dreamed of using the naval and commercial potential
by official ambivalence; the Porte sometimes
harbour remained a prise worth fighting for, but |
reduced to a third-rate commercial centre. The
The Knights of Malta, as well as English, Dutch,
expedition of eight galleys and nine galleons failed
from 1573 the latter were forbidden to live in the
of lives lost. After the Turkish conquest much Latin
conquered it alter a prolonged and extremely costly
...in Colecction de libros espaMes
... in
account of the bad air and bad water", particularly
because of the nearby lake Constanza (Cobham, 31;
Andaças e viagens... in Colecction de libros espaMes
raros o curiosos, Madrid 1874, viii1, 135). Venetian
rule (1489-1572) did not bring any improvement;
despite efforts to rebuild the town, its population
probably never rose above 6,000 (Hill, iii, 597,
729 a, 578). As Martin von Baumgarten (1568) found,
Magughia was "remarkable for its harbour and
fortifications" but Lefkohia was "famous for its
largeness". The silk merchant of Douai J. le Saige
(1522) was astonished to see such a strong town with
the walls "freshly repaired" and "a grand boulevard";
his found excellent produce along the coast, although
only trade with Venice was permitted (Cobham,
53,57; Persregamento, Norbargae 1594, 139). Picl
Re's mentions a beautiful castle, and inner and outer
harbours at the only large port on the island
(Kitian Bahriye, ed. Y. Seneroçoğlu, Istanbul, ii,
283). Magughia's economic distinction lay in its
harbour: as various travellers noted, Cyprus had no
other. Indeed, few harbours if any in the entire
Levant could provide better protection from the
elements or could give shelter to more vessels. Since
the Mediterranean between the gulfs of Antalya and
Iskenderun was reputedly extremely dangerous,
vessels which otherwise might have followed the
coastline closely, all the way to Rhodes, it was
rather to strike out from Iskenderun, Tripoli or
Alexandria for the south coast of Cyprus, sail round
it, and then sail on to Rhodes. According to Jacques
de Villamont (1589), the capital of the province was
Lefkohia, but "... on account of its fine harbour
and incomparable fortress the Fasha generally lives
at Famagusta for the safety of his person and
galleys" (Cobham, 176; if the pasha did reside there, it
was contrary to regulations). After visits in 1558 and
1599 Gozovens wrote that it "has a remarkable
and most safe harbour... It is fairly spacious and

Excerpta Cypria, 14). An anonymous Englishman
(1544) called the town "a paradise of delight" with
"plantations and gardens irrigated with water
brought into them artificially... It has a parish,
Cathedral, and Metropolitan Church like unto
Amiens. There reside in it merchants of Venice,
Genoa, Catalonia and Saracens from the Seldan's
dominions, dwelling in palaces, which are called
'Loggias', living in the style of counts and barons,
with the houses and courts covered with gold and
silver. All the precious things of the world may be found in
their hands." (Th. Mogabgab, Supplementary excerpts on
Cyprus... ii, 56 f.; Itinerarium sinladum Anglici
Terram Sanctam, in P. G. Golubovich (ed.), Biblioteca
bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente
Francese, iv, Florence 1923, 467-7). Seized by
Genoese trickery in 1373, and held by them for a
century, the town lost much of its local trade.
Then a series of disasters—earthquakes, hurricanes,
and shifting trade routes—left the town
crippled. Nicolai de Martoni (1394) observed:
"The city of Famagusta is large, as large, I reckon,
as the city of Capua, and his fine squares, and houses
very much like those of Capua, but a great part,
almost a third, is uninhabited, and the houses are
destroyed, and this has been done since the date of the
Genoese lordship. The city has finer walls than
I have seen in any town..." (Cobham, 22 ff.;
Rever de l'Orient Latins, iii [1854], 68 ff., 957 f.) Long
before 1435 when Pero D'Oriente visited it, the adminis-
tracy had abandoned Maghohia for Lefkohia or
Nicosia, and most trade and economic activity had
followed thereafter. "This place is depopulated on
account of the bad air and bad water", particularly
because of the nearby lake Constanza (Cobham, 31;
Andaças e viagens... in Colecction de libros espaMes
raros o curiosos, Madrid 1874, viii1, 135). Venetian
rule (1489-1572) did not bring any improvement;
despite efforts to rebuild the town, its population
probably never rose above 6,000 (Hill, iii, 597,
729 a, 578). As Martin von Baumgarten (1568) found,
Magughia was "remarkable for its harbour and
fortifications" but Lefkohia was "famous for its
largeness". The silk merchant of Douai J. le Saige
(1522) was astonished to see such a strong town with
the walls "freshly repaired" and "a grand boulevard";
his found excellent produce along the coast, although
only trade with Venice was permitted (Cobham,
53,57; Persregamento, Norbargae 1594, 139). Picl
Re's mentions a beautiful castle, and inner and outer
harbours at the only large port on the island
(Kitian Bahriye, ed. Y. Seneroçoğlu, Istanbul, ii,
283). Magughia's economic distinction lay in its
harbour: as various travellers noted, Cyprus had no
other. Indeed, few harbours if any in the entire
Levant could provide better protection from the
elements or could give shelter to more vessels. Since
the Mediterranean between the gulfs of Antalya and
Iskenderun was reputedly extremely dangerous,
vessels which otherwise might have followed the
coastline closely, all the way to Rhodes, it was
rather to strike out from Iskenderun, Tripoli or
Alexandria for the south coast of Cyprus, sail round
it, and then sail on to Rhodes. According to Jacques
de Villamont (1589), the capital of the province was
Lefkohia, but "... on account of its fine harbour
and incomparable fortress the Fasha generally lives
at Famagusta for the safety of his person and
galleys" (Cobham, 176; if the pasha did reside there, it
was contrary to regulations). After visits in 1558 and
1599 Gozovens wrote that it "has a remarkable
and most safe harbour... It is fairly spacious and

The Mycenaen town of Alasya was located on
or near the delta of the Pediyas, at Enkomi village.
Its successor, the port of Salamis, only 1/2 miles
to the east, became a great metropolis during the
Roman empire. Restored by Constantius II on a much
smaller scale after the severe earthquakes of 332 and
342, with the new name Constantia, it survived until
Arab Muslim raids of the 7th century led to its trans-
ferral to Ammochostos (Magughia) 6 miles to the
south (Cobham, i, 56 ff.; and D. P. TikoHos, Enkhos:
excavations 1948-1952, Mainz 1969-71; for
Salamis and Constantia, see Hill, i, passim, and
V. Karageorgefios, Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric,
Helleno-
sitic and Roman, London 1969). The town passed
to Guy de Lusignan in 1322. The Genoese occupied
it between 1353 and 1464; the Venetians took the
from the Lusignans in 1489. The Ottomans
conquered it after a prolonged and extremely costly
siege of eleven months in 1572, with tens of thousands
of lives lost. After the Turkish conquest much Latin
property was turned over to the Orthodox; however,
from 1575 the latter were forbidden to live in the
walled town, as in Rhodes. In 1609 a Turkish naval
expedition of eight galleys and nine galleons failed
in a surprise attack upon the town (Hill, iv, 48 f.).
The Knights of Malta, as well as English, Dutch,
Tuscan and Turkish pirates, regularly harassed Levantie
shipping for more than a century after 1572. A
fire in 1640 and plague in 1641 are known, as
well as severe earthquakes in 1557, 1569, and 1735
(Hill, iv, 67 f.). No area was more vulnerable to
malaria, plague, and locusts.
The Ottomans failed to revitalise their great prize
Magughia, but it is obvious that by the last quarter
of the 15th century the town had already been
reduced to a third-rate commercial centre. The
harbour remained a prize worth fighting for, but
the Ottomans were unable to transform it into a
useful naval base. Its growth was further limited
by official ambivalence; the Porte sometimes
dreamed of using the naval and commercial potential
of Magughia, but at other times appeared terrified
that the prize would fall to enemies who might
again use it against them. Although the Ottomans
never had the energy to restore Magghohia, they
guarded the fortress too zealously to allow economic
development, and the small garrison became the
greatest part of the population.
After the fall of Acre or 'Akka [q.v.] (1291) to
the Mamluks, the ascent of Lusignan Magghohia
was meteoric. Little more than its good harbour was noted
by W. von Oldenburg in 1557 (C. D. Cobham,
most of the small population of the town must have been soldiers; some Christians settled in houses with gardens half a mile to the south in a village called Marash (Varoşha). R. Pococke (1728) encountered a settlement of Christians who "are not permitted to dwell within the city". To the west was a large fertile plain inhabited mostly by Muslims because it was relatively "secure from the privateers", while Christians, who were not enslaved by them, lived near the sea. Most of the sparsely inhabited town was destroyed by a severe earthquake in 1755, making both the mosques of S. Sofia and S. George unfit for use so that S. Catherine's church became the principal mosque. The town walls were severely damaged. The Swedish visitor Frederic Hasselquist (1751) estimated the population as 300 inhabitants, "chiefly Turks", who "occupy the miserable ruins..." (Cobham, 254-5; in Pinkerton, ed., op. cit. I, 577-8; Cobham, 307, *Ier Paletastinum, Stockholm 1757, 175 ff.).

Archimandrite Cypriano (published in 1728) described the Ottoman occupation of Maghôsha in some detail: the inhabitants "... remained in their houses, and appeared at the time to be the owners, yet afterwards by the Turks they were made to think many of them, on the pretext that they were tenants; not owners..." when the Greeks of Maghôsha petitioned, the vizier Mehmed Pasja they were permitted "... to live as Greek Christians, on condition that no Christian of the Latin Church should be found among them: for to the Latins he would grant neither church nor house, and those who remained in Cyprus were obliged to frequent the Greek churches, and forbidden to hold property in the island". Greeks were allowed to buy, sell, and inherit houses, fields, and property not already occupied by Turks. In 1815 W. Turner reported: "... of its numerous palaces and churches not one remains entire". It had only a hundred people, including three Greek families. They lived in ruins, in low houses, mostly of mud, and no-one cultivated the countryside. Nearby was a village of Christians living surrounded by gardens (Cobham, 347 ff, 434-5). The estimate of 3,000 Muslims, 5,000 Greeks, and 200 Armenians attributed to the governor Ta'fat Eldeni seems too large (M. Louis Lacroix, *L'Univers, Histoire et description des tous les peuples des de la Grice, Paris 1833, 88). The last Ottoman census reportedly showed 500 Muslims in the walled town and 2,200 Greek Orthodox in the suburbs. At this time, Maghôsha was used as a place of banishment for those under political or religious clouds; hence Naim Kemal [28] and the Bahá'í leader Subb-i Ezel [see BAHÁ'Í ALLAH] spent time there in exile.

According to the census of 1861, Maghôsha with Marash (Varoşha) was the fourth leading town of Cyprus with 2,609 inhabitants, of whom 2,845 were Greek Orthodox (71%), 727 were Muslim (28%), 5 were Roman Catholic, 22 Maronite, 1 Armenian Gregorian and 8 Church of England and Protestant; there were no Jews. There were 666 adult males over 20, one per 3.92 people; of those 184 were Muslim (one per 3.93) and 482 Christian (one per 3.90) (Cypres Gazette, no. 82 [4 April 1881] census, 3 March 1882, 17 June 1882). By 1881 the population had grown 30% to 3,367, but the Muslims had increased only 15% to 835, falling to 25% of the town's population (Cypres Gazette, no. 342, 25 May 1881). By 1900 the population had increased to 3,825, 47% larger than in 1881. The Muslims had grown only 18% to 859, while the Christians had increased 58% to 2,968. Of 1,094 adult males 818 (3.65 per
capital were Greek Orthodox and 833 (3.02 per capita) were Muslims (Cyprus Gasir, no. 597, 26 April 1901; 30 August 1901).


**MAĞHRÂWA**, a major confederation of Berber tribes belonging to the Butr group and forming the most powerful branch of the family of the Zansta.

The ascendency, real or imaginary, of this confederation is traced back to Maghrâwa, who is said to have been, according to the medieval Berber genealogists, the ancestor of the Maghrâwa as such. Following the Arab and Berber sources utilised in the 8th/9th century by Ibn Khalûdîn in his *History of the Berbers*, the "cradle" of the Mağrawa and "the ancient seat of their power" was the territory located on the Chelif in the north-western part of what is now Algeria, probably bounded by the Mediterranean to the north, the mountain of Wanas (Wassabah, currently Ouarsenis) to the south and Tlemcen to the west. Leo Africanus [*π. ρ. Λύγιον χάρακτα Μαγγραυα ή Μαγγραυά* *πεποιησθέν*] says in his *Description of Africa* written in about 1525-6 that the "Magraua (Maghrâwa) mountain" stretched over a distance of some 40 miles (approx. 64 km), "close to the town of Mustuganin" (*Mostaganem*). The Maghrâwa have left a relic of their presence here in the name of Cap Maghraoua situated 104 km to the east of *Mostaganem* and 56 km to the west of *Tânès*. It should be added at this point that, according to Abu 'l-Fida' (*1273-1331*), *Mostaganem* served the Maghrâwa as a port. Leo Africanus extolls the dignity and the courage of the inhabitants of the Magraua mountain, who were probably descendants of the Maghrâwa of mediavel Arab sources. The Maghrâwa lived in this land in a nomadic state, but they also possessed (at least in the 8th/9th centuries) fixed dwellings and fortresses. In the 4th and 5th/6th-11th centuries, the individual segments of this confederation were spread throughout North Africa, from Morocco in the west to Tripolitania in the east.

Little is known of the origins and earliest history of the Maghrâwa. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Fida' (*d. 140/1497*), they arrived in North Africa in ancient times and established themselves "on the frontier of Africa", alongside the Maghribi (i.e. in eastern Algeria), while the region which later, in the Middle Ages, became their homeland, in other words the territory located on the Chelif, constituted in ancient times the domain of "Adidâra, father of Zansta". If Ibn Khalûdîn and his sources are to be believed, there is no doubt that the confederation of the
Maghrawa already existed immediately before the Arab conquest of North Africa, probably in the first half of the 7th century. Alongside two other major Zanata branches (or possibly confederations), these being the Djarawa, the people of the famous Kâbîma, and the Banû Ifran. In all probability, the origins of the Maghrawa could be traced back still further towards the beginning of the Christian era, through linking their name, in accordance with a hypothesis propounded by J. Desanges, with that of the Moors peoples known to Pliny as the Mserubri and to Ptolomy as the Makkhourébi. The latter seems to attribute to the main mass of the Makkhourébi a very large coastal zone situated between the Zæcca and the Grande Kabylie, in the Roman province of Mauritania. In spite of the quite different localisation of the Maghra and the Makkhourébi (the latter tribe mostly occupied territory a little to the east of the cradle of the Maghrawian confederation on the Chélif), the hypothesis of J. Desanges appears wholly acceptable and it seems that the Maghrawa belonged among those exceptional Berber tribes of the Middle Ages whose names are attested in the ancient Greek and Latin texts. It may further be added that another segment of the Makkhourébi is mentioned by Ptolomy among the peoples of Inner Libya (i.e. of southern Barbary). Ptolomy locates it, in fact, on the central reaches of the Draa. It is probably this group of the Maghrawa which entered, in the 4th-5th/7th century, in the neighbourhood of Sidjilmasa and which succeeded in founding a kingdom with this city as its capital. There will be further mention of this kingdom below.

The Maghrawa were related, if Ibn Khaldûn is to be believed, not only to the Banû Ifran and the Djarawa, but also to the large Zanata tribe of the Banû Irmiyân. It seems furthermore that the genealogy of this tribe is linked to that of the Lawati Berber group, in particular the Lawatian tribe of the Sadrâtta. Among the numerous branches and subdivisions of the Maghrawa confederation mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn and other mediaeval Arab authors, the first half of the 13th century and gave his name to the historical dynasty of the Banû Khaldûn. This is traditionally taken to indicate that the Banû Khaldûn were a Zanata branch of the Banî Khaldûn in the region of the Chélif. From the beginning of the 7th century, the Banû Khaldûn and the Berber genealogists quoted by this author, were the Banû Sindjas, the Banû Righa, the Banû Laghwâ and the Banû Warrâ (var. Warraï), although according to Ibrâhim b. 'Abd Allah, the best Zanata genealogist of the 8th/9th century (a native of the Maghrawa town of Timāghat, situated in the region of the Chélif), these four tribes formed part of another branch of the Zanata family. According to other Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldûn, there were yet more tribes belonging to the confederation of the Maghrawa. These were the Banû Zandjâd (Zandjâj), the Banû Wariyân (or Wariyân), the Banû Zadldik (or Zadâik), the Banû Izmaraîn (also Izmaraîn or Izmarti), the Banû Sâ’îd and the Banû Ilît (var. Ilant). It is interesting however, to note that Ibn Hawâsî included, in his list of Berber tribes compiled after 976-7 A.D., the Banû Sindjân (Sindjas), the Banû Zandjâ and the Banû Wariyân among the Zanata tribes unrelated to the Maghrawa. There are also certain Berber genealogists quoted by Ibn Khaldûn who mention the Banû Sindjân (Sindjas) and the Banû Wariyân without indicating their membership of the Maghrawa confederation.

According to Ibn Khaldûn, the Franks (in this case, Romans) had imposed the Christian religion on the Maghrawa, likewise on the Djarawa and the Banû Ifran. Later, probably towards the end of the 7th or 8th century, the Banû Ifran became converted without difficulty to Islam. They were governed in this period by an ancient and powerful dynasty, later known as Banû Kharzâr and owing its name to Kharzâr b. Hâfâs b. Sûlûb b. Wanzâmâr (Wâzmâr) b. Maghrawa. Ibn Khaldûn gives us a list, in his History of the Berbers, otherwise very incomplete, of the princes of this family which ruled the Maghrawa in the central Maghrib, at Fas, at Sidjilmasa and in Tripolitania. Another even less complete list of the amirs whose genealogies date back to Kharzâr b. Hâfâs is provided by Abd al-Zayyâq Yahyâ b. Khaldûn in his history of the Banû 'Abî al-Wad. According to these lists, Sûlûb b. Wanzâmâr was the contemporary and client of the caliph 'Uthmân (644-56). In fact, he was apparently taken prisoner in one of the battles that took place between the Arabs and the Berbers at the time of the first Arab invasion of North Africa (26/647-8). Sent to 'Uthmân and pardoned by the caliph, he became a Muslim, and on returning to his country he was proclaimed chief of his tribe (according to a passage in Ibn Khaldûn's History of the Berbers, he had previously been chief of the Maghrawa and of other Zanata peoples). If this tradition is correct, the Banû Wanzâmâr must have been a Maghrawian family which lived, around the middle of the 7th century A.D., in eastern Barbary, bordering on the Hilîkiya, in the land which would have been, as stated by Ibn 'Abî al-Darrî, the original cradle of the Maghrawa in ancient times.

After the death of Sûlûb who survived, in all probability, into the second half of the 7th century, the government of the Maghrawa passed to his son Hâfâs, who is considered by Berber tradition as one of the greatest princes to rule over the Maghrawa. He also became, following this tradition, the chief of other Zanata tribes. The tribes in question were probably the remnants of the great Zanata confederations of the Djarawa and the Banû Zandjâd, formerly ruled by Khabit b. Khâlid. The Banû Kharzâr, also Zanata and Maghrawa relatives of the central Maghrib. The power of the Maghrawa also increased during the reign of Kharzâr, son of Hâfâs. He lived in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and gave his name to the historical dynasty of the Banû Kharzâr. A tradition quoted by Ibn Khaldûn states that this powerful prince took advantage of the Khargîrite revolt of Maysara [i.e. in the Farthest Maghrib (in 122/739-40) and of the weakening of the Umayyad Arab governors of Kayrawân which resulted from it, to extend his authority over all the Zanata nomads of the central Maghrib, with the exception of the powerful tribe of the Banû Ifran, master of the regions of eastern Barbary. The text makes no mention of Maghrawa involvement in the Khargîrite movement. However, this would not seem impossible, in view of the fact that a little later a member of the Maghrawa, Nahdî b. 'Asim al-Zanâtî (or Nahdî b. 'Asim al-Maghrawi) was appointed governor (probably of a segment of the Maghrawa) by 'Abî al-Wâhâb b. 'Abî al-Rabûn b. Rustum, Ibîdî imâm of Tâhâr (168/785-85, 843), and that in the Kitâb al-Siyar of al-Shamâlî (10th/16th century) and in a list of Zanâtî Ibîdî Shaykhî, compiled in eastern Barbary in the 19th/20th centuries, there are found numerous Maghrawa individuals belonging to the Ibîdî sect. Kharzâr b. Hâfâs died after the fall of the Umayyads of the East (132/750), leaving control of the confederation...
of the Maghrāwa to his son Muhammad b. Khazar. The last-named made war against the Banū Hran, from whom he captured, in about 172/786-9, the town of Tiemcen. It was during the reign of this prince that there took place the foundation of the kingdom of the ʿIrāḍids in the Maghrib al-ʿĀsā by ʿIdrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [q.v.] with the support of the powerful Berber tribes of Avara, Sadhla and Maghāla (172/786-9). In 173 or 174/789-91, Idrīs invaded the central Maghrib and occupied the submission of the Maghāra, whose amīr surrendered to him the territory of the Chelif and the town of Tiemcen; the latter later became the capital of another ʿIrāḍid principality. Muhammad b. Khazar also assisted ʿIdrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh to snatch from the ʿAbbasids all the provinces of the central Maghrib. Later, in 175/792-3, he found him pledging loyalty to Idrīs II. As for the Maghāra, in this period they continued in possession of the plains of the central Maghrib, as well as the open country round Tiemcen, which they shared with the Banū Hran. Throughout the 3rd/9th century they remained vassals of the ʿIrāḍid state. It was probably also in this period that the dynasty of the Banū Khazar founded Madīnat Banī Khazar, “the city of the Banu Khazar b. Hafs who was ancestor, as stated above, of the mediaeval Banū Khazar” in an arid plain of the central Maghrib. We find in this period the exact position of the city, which is mentioned by Ibn Hammad in his biography of ʿAbū Yazīd Muhajjad b. Kaydād, “the man on the donkey”. This Khāridīite chief sought refuge there after his defeat in the year 335/946-7.

This situation continued unchanged until the formation of the Fāṭimid empire. When the Mahdi ʿUbayd Allāh sent to the Maghrib, in 308/919-20, an army which took possession of the ʿIrāḍid dominions and compelled the ʿIrāḍid princes to recognise his authority, the Berber tribes of the central Maghrib, led by the Maghāra and other Zanātā tribes, rose in revolt against this sovereign. The rebels were commanded by the Maghāra prince Muhammad b. Khazar, one of the grandsons of that Muhammad b. Khazar b. Hafs who was amīr of the Maghāra towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. Ten years later, in 309/921-2, the Mahdi ʿUbayd Allāh sent an army against him which was however routed by the Maghāra. The following year, ʿUbayd Allāh dispatched against Muhammad b. Khazar a fresh army commanded by his son Abu ʿl-Kāsīm. At the approach of this army, the Maghāra of the central Maghrib (or the majority of the tribes of this confederation) led by Muhammad b. Khazar fled into the desert, having traversed the Moulouya. They took refuge in the territory of Sigilijana, thus in the region where Poteney had located, in the 2nd century A.D., the homeland of a group of the Makkhūrebī, ancestors, as stated above, of the mediaeval Maghāra. Some time later, Muhammad b. Khazar returned at the head of the Maghāra tribes to the central Maghrib, towards the former homeland of these tribes in the region of the Chelif. On this occasion, Muhammad b. Khazar took possession of the territory of the Chelif and of Ténès, expelled the supporters of the Fāṭimid from the Zāh and captured the town of Oran, where he installed, as governor, his son al-Khayr. He also conquered other sites in the central Maghrib, and subjected the whole of this land to the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph of Spain. However, this success did not last long. In 315 or 316/927-9, the Fāṭimid army commanded by Abu ʿl-Kāsīm, son of ʿUbayd Allāh, set out to pacify the central Maghrib. This army routed the Maghāra and forced them again to flee into the desert. But in 333/945-6, Muhammad b. Khazar, who had regained his position as the most powerful chieftain of the central Maghrib, attacked the western provinces of the Fāṭimid empire for the second time. He benefited in fact from the revolt of the Zanātā tribes of the central Maghrib and of Ifrīya, who professed the doctrines of the Khāridīite sect of the Nukhār (Nakhrār), and rebelled against the Fāṭimid. The insurgents were commanded by the famous Zanātā chieftain, the Nukhrārī imām ʿAbū Yazīd [q.v.]. It seems that at least some of the Maghāra, who were predominantly Sunnī, acted in collusion with Abu ʿl-Farāh and that Muḥammad b. Khazar, brother of this Muḥammad, was a loyal supporter of the Nukhrārī chieftain. Muḥammad b. Khazar was taken prisoner, in 340/951-2, by the Fāṭimid sovereignty Iṣtimul al-Mansūr and suffered the death penalty. Another of the brothers of amīr Muḥammad b. Khazar, Fuṭūḥ, embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids. However, the Maghāra who occupied the territory of Chelif collaborated at this time with the army sent to the central Maghrib by the Fāṭimids to conquer Spain ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Mānrī. In 333/945-6 two Maghāra expeditions took place against the Fāṭimid provinces of the central Maghrib. These expeditions were commanded by the amīr Muḥammad b. Khazar, brother of al-Khayr, son of Muhammad b. Khazar, and by his two sons al-Khayr and Hamza. They were directed primarily against the Fāṭimid garrisons of Biskra and of Tāhārī (Tirant). Also participating in the second expedition was the Umayyad army commanded by the Berber general Ḥānīb b. Yāṣā. These two expeditions had a successful outcome for the Maghāra and their allies, the Fāṭimid province of Ifrīya, in fact, Biskra and Tāhārī were captured by Muḥammad b. Khazar, by his son al-Khayr and by their allies (ca. 333/945-6). However, soon after these victories and the success of Abū Yazīd (whose army even succeeded in conquering Ifrīya, the nucleus of the Fāṭimid empire), the military forces of this empire regrouped under the command of Iṣtimul al-Mansūr and routed the Berber warlords of Abū Yazīd in a battle near Māndara (Bordj Magra), then turned against the Maghāra. Muhammad b. Khazar surrendered to al-Mansūr in 335/946-7. According to one source, he subsequently broke faith with the Fāṭimidids and was only in 340/953-4 that he returned to the Fāṭimid camp and abandoned for ever the cause of the Umayyads. His position towards the latter dynasty was again equivocal in 347/958, at the time of the expedition of the Fāṭimid general Ḥāwar who set out for the central Maghrib with the object of pacifying this land, but ultimately, intimidated, he took part in this expedition. After this he paid a visit to the caliph al-Muʾtazz at Kāyrāwān, where he died in 350/961-2, aged more than a hundred years. According to another source, Muḥammad b. Khazar embraced the cause of the Fāṭimids soon after 340/953-4 and remained loyal to this dynasty until his death. As for al-Khayr, son of Muḥammad b. Khazar and chief of the land of Laghouat, he did not share the pro-Fāṭimid policy of his father and remained a loyal supporter of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III of Cordova, except for a certain period ca. 334/945-6, during which he recognised the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. In fact, in 340/953-4 he sent his son Fuṭūḥ to Spain, to the court of the Umayyad caliph. Finally, it was accompanied on this journey by the skaykh of Tāhārī and of Oran, supporters of the Umayyads. Subsequently, this delegation returned to Africa.

After the death of amīr Muḥammad b. Khazar,
the supreme command of the Maghrawa passed to Muhammad b. al-Khayr, grandson of this amir and son of al-Khayr. Even during the lifetime of his grandfather, Muhammad b. al-Khayr had forged links with the court of Cordova, obtaining from the caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III, in the year 349/959-60, the governorship of Fas. However, he requested from this caliph, in the same year as his appointment, permission to embark on a holy war in Spain. Having received this permission, he set out for Spain, leaving his cousin Ahmad b. Bakr at Tangier which remained, as stated above, under the domination of the Umayyads. From there they made contact with the caliph al-Hakam II. It was thus that a section of the tribes which had formed the ancient confederation of the Maghrawa left their homeland in the central Maghrib, not to return until about a century later, after their expulsion from Morocco by the Almoravids. Among the Maghrawa amirs tracing their origin from the princely family of the Banu Khazar, there were two who received from their relatives Biskra who set out to seek new territories in the Maghrib al-Aksa after their war with Bulukkln b. Ziri. Ibn Khaldun mentions, besides Muhammad b. al-Khayr, the close kinsmen of the latter, these being Ziri b. Khazr, Ziri b. Atiyya, Mukhali b. Atiyya (brother of the last-named), Kharun b. Muhammad and Fulfal b. Sa'd. They are all encountered, in 356/965-6, in the entourage of the general Dja'far b. All b. Hamdun, who was appointed by al-Hakam II governor of the Maghrib on behalf of Cordova. As for Bulukkln b. Ziri, he received from al-Mu'izz in 356/972, the mandate to govern Ifriqiya and the Maghrib as dependencies of the Fatimid caliph of Egypt.

Thus, after 357/967, the history of the majority of the Maghrawa that had previously constituted the confederation of the Maghrawa was closely linked with the country that is now Morocco, where the various princes of the Banu Khazr family established three states, those of Fas, of Sidjiilmas and of Aghmat. We shall begin with the history of these dominions, subsequently considering other segments of the Maghrawa who remained, after 361/971, in the central Maghrib and in Ifriqiya, or those who returned, after the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids, to central and eastern Barbary.

A. Morocco. 1. Fas. Bulukkln b. Ziri was not content with the expulsion of the Maghrawa and their Banu Khazar allies from the central Maghrib, from Tuba, from Biskra, from TAhart, etc., but pursued them, with great success, towards the interior of present-day Morocco. He finally caught up with them near Sidjiilmas and defeated them in battle. The amir al-Khayr b. Muhammad fell into the hands of the Fatisms and was put to death. After this battle, Bulukkln b. Ziri retraced his steps and returned to central Morocco where he carried out a massacre among the Zanata tribes. Al-Khayr b. Muhammad left a son named Muhammad b. al-Khayr, whom a group of Moroccan Maghrawa entrusted with the command. Besides him, the sources mention two other powerful and influential amirs who enjoyed, in this period, considerable authority among the Maghrawa. These were two kinsmen of Muhammad b. al-Khayr b. Muhammad, namely Ziri and Mukhid, sons of Atiyya b. 'Abd Allâh b. Khazar. These three amirs led the Maghrawa after 971. It seems that some years later, the Maghrawa of the Maghrib al-Aksa divided into two groups, a northern and a southern, both obedient to the Umayyads of Cordova. The sources provide a list of the Maghrawa princes belonging to the first of these groups who were to be found, in 356/965-6, in the entourage of Dja'far b. All b. Hamdun, "Umayyad governor of the Maghrib al-Aksa. This list includes Muhammad b. al-Khayr b. Muhammad, whose name is followed by those of Bakar b. Suyyin b. Nâs, Mukhid b. Atiyya, Kharun b. Muhammad and Fulfal b. Sa'd. The southern group of the Moroccan Maghrawa were commanded by another prince of the Banu Khazar family, Kharun b. Fulfal b. Khazar. This prince set out in 356/972-7 to conquer Sidjiilmas, a town gov-
ered by the amirs of the Muknása family of the Banu Mudár. After the seizure of Siqilmása, Khâdir received from the hâdîb of Cordova, al-Mansûr Ibn Abi 'Amir, the mandate to govern this town which remained in his family, as will be noted below, until the arrival of the Almoravids.

Muhammad b. al-Khayr b. Muhammad seems to have still been the head of the Banu Khazâr family in 356/969-80, when Bulûkîn b. Zîrî b. Manîd undertook a new expedition to the borders of the Maghrib al-'Ash. This prince fled to Spain, where he requested the support of the hâdîb al-Mansûr who governed Spain on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Hishâm (356-978-979). The latter responded to his appeals and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under the command of Dja'fâr b. 'Abî b. Hamdân. The Andalusian army, which included Maghrawâ and Ifran contingents, advanced to a position near Ceuta; Bulûkîn b. Zîrî declined to give battle and withdrew to take possession of the remainder of Morocco. Later, in 372/983-4, Muhammad b. al-Khayr is mentioned at the head of a list of Maghrawâ amîrs who rallied, according to Ibn Khâdir, around the flag of Abu 'l-Hakam 'Amîr b. 'Abî 'Allâh b. Abî 'Amir, Umayyad governor of the Maghrib. However, it is not true, but his cousin Mukâtí b. 'Atîyya and the latter's brother Zîrî b. 'Atîyya who are noted on this occasion as being among the Berber princes most loyal to the Umayyad cause. It seems that Muhammad b. al-Khayr b. Muhammad lost the leadership of the northern group of the Maghrawa in 372/983-4 or shortly after this date, to Mukâtí b. 'Atîyya. After the death of the last-named in 378/992-3, it was his brother Zîrî b. 'Atîyya who was proclaimed leader of the northern group of the Moroccan Maghrawa. This amîr had in addition been appointed (by the Umayyad hâdîb Ibn Abî 'Amir) king of the Maghrib al-'Ashî before this date, in 377/987-8. Zîrî b. 'Atîyya founded a kingdom in the north of this country and made the town of Fās the capital of this dominion, which remained in the possession of his successors until the arrival of the Almoravids. He settled the Maghrawa (of the northern group) in the outskirts of the town. It should also be remembered that the family of Zîrî b. 'Atîyya descended from 'Abî 'Amir, who was the brother of the powerful Maghrawa amîr Muhammad b. Khâdir, king of the central Maghrib who, as stated above, was a supporter of the Fâtimîds and died at Kâfrâwân in 356/969-70.

Some years after his appointment as sovereign of the Maghrib, Zîrî b. 'Atîyya went to war against the Sanhâdja (acting on the orders of the hâdîb al-Mansûr) and substantially increased the size of his eastern provinces. In 382/993 he travelled to Cordova at the invitation of al-Mansûr. It seems that the reign of Zîrî b. 'Atîyya was a period of some instability, with this prince and his Ifranid rival Yâdû b. Ya'llâ changing places on the throne of Fâs according to the vicissitudes of war. In fact, on his return to Fâs from Cordova, Zîrî saw his place taken by Ya'llâ and it was only at the cost of a murderous struggle that he recovered his throne. Because Zîrî constantly had in mind the reconquest of the territory of Chellâ, Zîrî took advantage of the restoration of the ancient Zanâta and Maghrawa kingdom of the Banû Khazar in the central Maghrib, he found the location of Fâs too remote for the capital of the future state. Therefore he decided to construct a new capital for himself and for the principal chiefsmen of the confederation of the Maghrawa. In 382/993 he founded the city of Wâdjdja (Oujda) on the borders of Morocco and present-day Algeria and installed himself there, accompanied by his court and his household troops. In the same period, he decided to reject the authority of Cordova, and ultimately the relations between him and al-Mansûr Ibn Abi 'Amir were broken. Al-Mansûr sent an expedition against him commanded by the freedman Wâdjdja; an encounter took place on the banks of Wâdjdja Râdâr and the Andalusian army was defeated. Al-Mansûr then organised another expedition and appointed as commander his own son 'Abî al-Malik al-Munafar. This time, Zîrî was defeated on two occasions in 387/997. He tried to take refuge in Fâs, but the residents denied him access to his capital, which 'Abî al-Malik entered shortly after. Zîrî was compelled to withdraw by way of the Sahara, after which he attempted to found a state in the central Maghrib, in the territory belonging to the kingdom of the Zîrî Eddâb b. al-Mansûr b. Bulûkîn. Thus in 388/998 he mounted an invasion of this part of the Maghrib. After the victory of the Sanhâdja army commanded by Hamâmâ b. Bulûkîn, Zîrî b. 'Atîyya took possession of Tâhart, Chellâ, Têdès and al-Maflâ. It is interesting to note that in these towns he ordered that prayers be offered for the Umayyad caliph Hishâm and his couple al-Mansûr and Hamâmâ; the latter set on his way to the town of Agulî, capital of the Sanhâdja, but he died in 391/1000-1, before taking this town.

On the death of Zîrî b. 'Atîyya, the Maghrawa of northern Morocco proclaimed his son al-Mu'izz chief of this branch of the confederation. This prince, who did not share his father's hostile attitude in regard to the hâdîb Ibn Abî 'Amir, had already, in 390/999-900, been established by the latter at Fâs in the role of Umayyad governor. Subsequently, the son of the hâdîb 'Abî al-Malik al-Munafar, who became after the death of al-Mansûr his successor at the court of Cordova, appointed al-Mu'izz, in 393/1002-3, to govern Fâs and the Maghrib al-Aksа. In 396/1006, al-Mu'izz received from Cordova letters of investiture for Fâs and for the whole of the Maghrib al-Aksà with the exception of the land of Siqilmása, the preserve of the Maghrawa dynasty of the Banû Khazâr who were, like the amîrs of Fâs, subject to the Umayyads of Spain. Al-Mu'izz died in 417/1025 or, according to another source, in 420/1029; during his reign, the kingdom of Fâs enjoyed a period of peace. His successor was his paternal cousin Hamâma b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Atîyya who had been appointed governor of Fâs by al-Mu'izz in 416/1025, before the death of this amîr. Hamâma was able to consolidate his power in regard to Spain. However, in 424/1030, a war broke out between this amîr and the rival dynasty of the Banû Ibran, who possessed a kingdom with its capital at Shalla (Sâhî) on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The Ifranid prince Abu 'l-Kamâl Tamâm b. Zîrî marched against Fâs and captured this town. Hamâma retreated towards the east and reached the towns of Wâdjdja and Têdès in the eastern part of the kingdom of Fâs, where he stayed for five years. Having mustered powerful contingents, he advanced on Fâs in 425/1037-8. Abu 'l-Kamâl was forced to withdraw from Fâs and return to Shalla. Later, in 430/1038-9, Hamâma continued the anti-Ibrân policy of his predecessors by attacking the Hamâmâ b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Abî al-Malik, who came to meet him and secretly paid large sums of money to the Zanâta troops of Hamâma. The latter, becoming aware of this and fearing the defection of his troops, returned to Fâs, having declared his submission to the Hammûdid. He died in 431/1039-40 or 433/1041-2.
After his death, power passed to his son Dīnās. Having suppressed a revolt by one of his cousins, this prince subsequently devoted all his efforts to the embellishment of Fās, which was now becoming a large commercial city. He died in 452/1062, leaving the throne to his son al-Futūb. But the rights of al-Futūb were contested by his brother ʿAbdīs. The latter took control of part of the capital, while al-Futūb established himself in the other part. The two brothers engaged in a war which lasted three years, at the end of which ʿAbdīs was killed and al-Futūb was able to reign effectively in Fās. However, his was not a long reign. In fact, he was driven from Fās by a council of the Banū Khazrān b. Muhammad b. Muḥammad. After his departure, the Maghārawa chose one of his kinsmen to succeed him, Muʿānnasār (or Muʿānsār) b. Ḥanūmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿīzī b. ʿĀṭīyya. He was proclaimed chief in 453/1063 and was soon obliged to wage war against the Almoravids, who were beginning to invade Morocco. Defeated by them in a major battle the same year, he took refuge with the Berber tribe of Ṣādiq, leaving Fās to fall into the hands of the warriors of ʿUṣūf b. Tāḥfīn. But some time later he returned, depositing the lieutenant installed by ʿUṣūf b. Tāḥfīn and regaining control of his capital. At the same time, Al-Muʿīzī, head of the Almoravid army, attacked Fās; in 450/1062-3, Muʿānsār attempted a sortie, but he did not return from the battlefield. The people of Fās then proclaimed as prince his son ʿAmārīn. But the capital was taken by ʿUṣūf b. Tāḥfīn two years later (462/1069-70), and the new sovereign was put to death by the Almoravid king, who also ordered the slaughter of more than three thousand Maghārawa, Banū Ṣafir, Ṣanāʾīa and Mīknāsā living in Fās. Those who escaped the massacre took refuge in Tiemen. Another group in Maghārawa from Fās fled to al-Dānnān, a town situated in northern Morocco, on the frontier of the land of Gḥomāra. But the Almoravid king laid siege to the place in 465/1072-3 for according to another source, in 471/1078-9. He captured the town and crushed the Maghārawa. Ab-Bakr mentions, in 1058, yet another group of northern Maghārawa living near the highway leading from Ṣeuta to Tétouan, on the fringe of territory belonging to the Berber tribe of the Mājjaksa. There they possessed a market which they called Sūk Banū Maǧrāwat (“Market of the Banū Maǧrāwat”). It is not known whether this group survived the conquest of Fās and al-Dānnān by the Almoravids. However, it is by no means impossible that this small tribe should have succeeded in crossing the Mouloga and returning to the Chaff, the ancient cradle of the Maghārawa.

3. Siǧīlmašā. At the instigation of the ḍāḥib of Córdova Ibn Abī ʿAmīr, a Maghārawa chief named Khazzūn b. Pūtūl b. Khazar embarked in 366/976-7 on the conquest of Siǧīlmašā, which for two centuries had been governed by amirs of the Mīknāsā family of the Banū Mūḏarr [q.v.]. This chief, who was one of the most influential members of the princely family of the Banū Khazar, proclaimed in Siǧīlmašā the sovereignty of the Umayyads of Spain and sent to Córdova the head of the last prince of the Mūḏarrīd dynasty. After this, Khazzūn received from al-Muṣṭaf the governorship of Siǧīlmašā which he retained until his death. He was then replaced by his son Wānūdīn. The latter endeavored to defend himself against the invasion by the Algerian San-ḥāqa of the Maǧrīb al-ʾAṣṣā. For a certain period of time he was thrown into disgrace by al-Muṣṭaf, whose son and minister al-Muẓaffar gave the government of Siǧīlmašā to Wānūdīn b. Ysālī, but later, in 369/982, his authority was confirmed by the Umayyads. At the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, he declared himself independent, conquered the region of Darʿa (Darʿa in our maps) and in 407/166-7, took possession of Ṣafrū (Sefrou), which was one of the dependencies of Fās, and of the valley of the Wāḍī Malūyaa (Mouloga). Al-Muẓaffar b. Ysālī, sovereign of Fās and master of Ṣafrū (and perhaps also of the region of the Mouloga), under attack from Wānūdīn who conquered a large portion of his dominion, attempted not only to recapture these provinces but also to deprive Wānūdīn of his capital. This chief, however, soon managed to undertake an expedition with a powerful army, but was beaten by the troops of Siǧīlmašā and led back to Fās only the remnants of his force. His son and successor Mansūr was defeated, stripped of his dominions and killed by the Almoravids, who put to the sword all the Maghārawa who had taken refuge in the region (443/1053-4). Ten years later (in 453/1063), the sons of Wānūdīn and the remnants of the Maǧrāwa residing at Ṣafrū were dispersed in their turn. Finally, in 460/1070-1, the Almoravids seized by force the settlements of the region of the Mouloga. In this way, the domain of the Banū Khazar family of Siǧīlmašā was completely destroyed.

4. ʿĀṣhīdī. Another segment of the ancient confederation of the Maǧrāwa which entered Morocco ca. 971 founded a small kingdom at Agmāṭ on the plain of Marrākūṣī near the foothills of the High Atlas, in the period when the last princes of the family of Zīrī b. ʿĀṭīyya were the rulers of Fās. Nothing is known of the history of the Maǧrāwān dynasty which reigned at Agmāṭ, but it seems to have been just another branch of the great Maǧrāwa princely family of the Banū Khazar. The last of the Maǧrāwa amirs of Agmāṭ, named Lākūṭ, (Lākūṭ, Lāgūṭ) b. Ysālī b. ʿAšī, was killed by the Almoravids in 451/1060. He was apparently married to the wise and beautiful Zaynab bint Isbāfī of the Almoravid family Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar. The latter subsequently, in 456/1062, handed over Zaynab to his kinsman ʿUṣūf b. Tāḥfīn.

5. al-Sūs. After the arrival of the Maǧrāwa in the Maǧrīb al-ʾAṣṣā in ca. 971, an amīr of the family of the Banū Khazar, named Mākūṭī and, according to Ibn Hawkal, the brother of the amīr Abū Aḥālī Mākūṭī b. Khazar, set out, probably at the head of a group of Maǧrāwa, towards the south where he occupied territories in the province of al-Sūs. According to the list of Berber tribes compiled by the geographer Ibn Hawkal, he was present in this area in the period following 366/976-7. This prince is completely unknown to us. He may in fact be none other than Mākūṭī b. ʿĀṭīyya, brother of Ẓirī (sovereign of Fās), mentioned ca. 365/975-6 and residing, in this period, in the north of Morocco, as stated above.

Despite the crushing defeat inflicted on the kingdom of Fās, of Siǧīlmašā, of Agmāṭ and of al-Dānnān, the Almoravids did not succeed in exterminating all the branches of the Maǧrāwa in Morocco. In fact, the remnants of this confederation stayed in this country where they are mentioned again, in the 8th/14th century, by Ibn Ḥakīdīn. Among these remnants mention should be drawn to the Banū Warāʾ, a substantial branch of the Maǧrāwa. In this period, families belonging to this tribe were widely dispersed in Morocco, particularly in the environs of Fās and in the Sūs. According to Ibn
Khalidun, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, the Marinid sultan Yusuf b. Ya'qub deputed to the territory of Chellif the chiefs and almost all the families of the Banu Warrā who resided in the region of Tās. Another Maghrāwī branch, the Banū Sindjas, also occupied in the 8th/14th century numerous places in Morocco.

B. Algeria. Tlemcen. According to Ibn Khalidun, the Maghrāwī sovereignty of Fās, al-Mu'izz b. Zirī, seized from the Sanhāja, i.e. from the Zirid king Baddīs b. al-Mu'azzam (358-909/958-1016), the town and province of Tlemcen, where he established as governor his kinsman Yāsif, son of the amīr Muhammad b. al-Khayr, who had previously (until ca. 375/985-6) headed the confederation of the Maghrāwī in the Magrib al-Asqā. Yāsif served Mu'izz b. Zirī faithfully and passed on to his descendants the government of Tlemcen and of all the surrounding country.

His successors lived in peace with the Sanhajja dynasty, masters of the central Magrib, which enabled them to consolidate their authority at Tlemcen, which became an independent state. This situation continued until the arrival in the central Magrib of the Hilālī tribes of Zughba and Aḥlībādi. In ca. 446/1034-5 the invaders turned their weapons against the Zanita tribes of the area and captured from them all the open country. The Hammādīs, who found themselves in this period, after many truces, in a state of war with the amīr Bakhṣī, a descendant of Ya'qub b. Muhammad b. al-Khayr, obtained the support of the Zughba. The war between Bakhṣī and the Zanita on the one hand and the Hammādīs and the Zughba on the other, lasted a long time. Bakhṣī put at the head of his army a vizier named Abū Su'da who belonged to the Zanita tribe of the Banū Iyāra. This general rallied beneath his flag all the Zanita tribes of the central Magrib, headed by the Maghrāwa and the Bānū Iyāra. The sources mention numerous battles which took place between the Hammādīs (and their allies, the Zughba and the Aḥlībādi) and the army of Bakhṣī. In one of these conflicts, Abū Su'da lost his life (450/1058-9). After the death of Bakhṣī, at a date unknown, the throne passed to his son Yūsuf b. Ya'qub, who found himself in this period, after many battles, only remnants of the Maghrāwī in the territory of Chelīf. He established himself among this people and was greeted with honour by the Banū Warsīfān, the Bānū Warrā, the Bānū Sa'id and other Maghrāwī tribes. These tribes, ever loyal to the family of the Banū Khazar, the ancient kings of the territory of Chelīf and of the central Magrib, were all eager to recognise in his person the rights of this dynasty. Yūsuf b. Ya'qub, descended from the Banū Khazar, the ancient princely family of the Banū Warrā, was known in the territory of Chelīf by the name of Banū Khazar and of Banū al-Mu'īz. In this war, which ended with the decisive defeat of the Maghrāwī and the Zanita, the Maghrāwī and Zanita chiefs were decimated. Among these chiefs, mention should be made of Abu 'l-Futtaḥ b. Habbās (or Hamnish), amīr of the Banū Sindjas and ruler of Lamdiya (Medea).

The history of the Maghrāwa of the region of Chelīf under the domination of the Almoravids is entirely unknown. They seem however to have suffered greatly at the hands of the Lāmīta. In fact, when 'Abd al-Samād, a Maghrāwa amīr who belonged to the Banū Khazar family and traced his origin from the Banū Khazar, a descendant of Ya'qūb b. Ya'qūb, the brother of 'Abd al-Ḳaḥṣar, arrived in the territory of Chelīf, he found there only remnants of the Maghrāwī. He established himself among this people and was greeted with honour by the Banū Warsīfān, the Banū Warrā and other Maghrāwī tribes. These tribes, ever loyal to the family of the Banū Khazar, the ancient kings of the territory of Chelīf and of the central Magrib, were all eager to recognise in his person the rights of this dynasty. 'Abd al-Samād allied himself through marriages to their leading families and left numerous children, who were known in the territory of Chelīf by the name of Banū Khazar and of Banū al-Mu'īz. In this period to the authority of the Hammādīs, and the Banū Sindjas, who had their own amīr, possessed the region of Medea, known as Lamdiya in the Arabic sources.

After the collapse of the dominions of Fās, of Sidjīnīs and of Asāfīmīs brought about by the Almoravids, a Maghrāwa prince named Mu'ansār b. Ḥammād, who claimed descent from Zirī b. Ya'qūb, fled from Yūsuf b. Tāḥṣīn at the head of a group of Maghrāwī and entered the territory of Chelīf, subject at this time to the Hamādī king al-Nāṣir (434/1043-61). It seems that the Maghrāwī tribes of this region recognised his authority, with the exception of the Banū Warsīfān who were unwilling to accept him and who remained loyal to the Hammādīs, governor based at Mīyāna. Mu'ansār b. Ḥammād attacked them and killed a number of their sheykhās (chieftains.) He also slew the Hammādī governor of Mīyāna. Al-Nāṣir was unable to come to the aid of the Banū Warsīfān on account of his struggles with the Hilīlī Arabs. So the Banū Warsīfān marched alone against Mu'ansār, killed him in battle and sent his head to al-Nāṣir. This battle seems to have been only one episode in a long war between the Maghrāwī invaders of Morocco, who were joined by numerous Maghrāwī and Zanita tribes, and the Hammādīs which took place ca. 460-70/1067-78.

The history of the Banū Sindjas and of other Maghrāwī tribes residing in the central Magrib in the 5th/11th century was closely connected with the political and military history of the empire of the Almohads, who became masters of the central Magrib in 547/1154 after a war against a coalition of Zanita tribes. Also members of this coalition were the Maghrāwī, in particular the tribe of the Banū Warsīfān (in ca. 539/1145). One of the descendants of 'Abd al-Samād, a certain Abū Nāṣr who was renowned for his piety, received from the Almohads, who treated him with great respect, the government of part of the territory of Chelīf and the command of the Maghrāwa in this region.
Such were the origins of a new Maghrawa state in the central Maghrib. The real founder of this state was Mandil b. 'Abd al-Rashid, grandson of Abu Násir who lived at around the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. This prince conquered the neighbouring territories, including the region of Wånsahdr and the town of Landiya (Medea) along with the places dependent on them. The dynasty which he founded is known in the medieval Arabic sources as Awlid Mandil (q.v.). As for Mandil b. 'Abd al-Rashid himself, he took the field against Ibn Chânûya, but lost the battle and died in 622/1225, prisoner of this chief.

The successors of Mandil took possession of Miliana, of Téns, of Chercel, of Mitfija and a large part of the region of Wånsahdr, founding a quite substantial kingdom, much of which was subsequently taken from them by their neighbours, in particular by the Banu 'Atiya, chiefs of the Zanâta tribe of Tûfîn which inhabited the region of the high Chellih. In ca. 670-727, the Maghrawa of Chellih recognized the sovereignty of the dynasty of the Banû 'Abd al-Wâd of Tiemen. However, two centuries later the Banû 'Abd al-Wâd of Tiemen ('Abd al-Wâdids) were expelled from the land of the Maghrawa and compelled them to cede to him the town of Téns. Thus began the wars between the 'Abd al-Wâdids and the Maghrawa amirs which lasted a hundred years. One of the most important episodes of these wars was the expedition of the sultan of Tiemen Abu Zayyân (703-704/1303-4), who subdued the towns of this region. Nevertheless, the Maghrawa continued to be the formidable enemies of the Banû 'Abd al-Wâd. In fact, in 714-314-5, the Shaykh of the Maghrawa tribe of the Banû Bû Sa'îd raised, in the valley of Chellih, the standard of revolt against Abu Hammûr who had become sultan of Tiemen after the death of Abu Zayyân. However, he was forced to take flight. Living at about the same time was the amir Râghid b. Muljam, a renowned Maghrawa warrior who, after the conquest of his land by the Banû 'Abd al-Wâd, offered his services to the princes of Bougic. In 703-704, he reached the territory of Mitfija (Mitfija), where another celebrated Maghrawa warrior named Munîf b. Thâbit came to join him with his partisans. But the latter, decisively defeated, took refuge with his entire family in Spain, where he remained until the end of his life.

Later, at around the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Maghrawa of Chellih became once more a tribe of some importance. They were at this time subjects or allies of the sultans of Tiemen, but they sought at every opportunity to rid themselves of this dependence. In this period, their principal centre was the town of Tûnfrâs or Tûnfrâs. In ca. 750-754, a prince of the Awlad Mandil dynasty named 'All b. Râghid (possibly the son of the renowned Maghrawa amir Râghid b. Muhammad mentioned above), took possession of the territory of Chellih and subjugated Miliana, Téns, Chercel and Chermak. He ravaged the village of Médiâa. But the revival of the state of the Maghrawa did not last long. In fact they were attacked, in 751 or 752/1350-1, by the sultan Abu Thâbit of Tiemen, who subjugated the Maghrawa of Chellih and captured Madina, Brechik, Chercel, Miliana and Medea. The Maghrawa warriors took refuge in the fortress of Aïrân which dominated the towns of Téns.

In ca. 774/1370, after the death of 'Abî b. Râghid, the Maghrawa of Chellih proclaimed as chief his son Hamza, who was the last prince of the Maghrawa state of Chellih. His reign was of short duration. In 774/1372, the sultan of Tiemen sent powerful forces to subdue the Maghrawa. The latter were defeated, and the 'Abî al-Wâdids took control of the town of Tinfrâs (Tûnfrâs) situated in the centre of their territory. Téns and Miliana also surrendered to the sultan of Tiemen. In the wake of this defeat, the Maghrawa of Chellih lost all their power and, to avoid the prospect of slavery, they emigrated from the region in large numbers. In 775/1372, the majority of this people took refuge in the district of Mitfija. However, it is quite possible that some of the Maghrawa of Chellih remained in their ancient homeland and that the noble and valiant inhabitants of the Maghrawa remained in their ancient homelands and that the noble and valiant inhabitants of the "Maghrawa Mountain" located near the village or mountains of Zab and Montagnac who are spoken of in 1525 by Looe Alexandre belonging to the various segments of the Maghrawa.

3. Zâb and its environs. It has been observed above how the Maghrawa princes of the Banû Khazâr dynasty took advantage of the 'Alîid revolt of Maysar to subdue the Maghrawa. They then took advantage of the Almûjad governors of Kaysrân to extend their authority over all the nomadic Zanâta of the central Maghrib, of which Zâb formed a part. So it was that from this period onwards, different Berber tribes and clans belonging to the confederation of the Maghrawa began moving into this region. In 359/970-80 the powerful Maghrawa prince Muhammâd b. Khazâr appeared in Zâb, from which he energetically expelled the supporters of the Fatimids. In 373/983-4, a Maghrawa amir claiming descent from the family of the Banû Khazâr and named Sa'd b. Khazrân b. Fâjîd, descended from the Banû Khazar, took control of the towns of the region of Zâb. After the death of this amir in 381 or 382 (991-2), it was his son Fûlîîb b. Sa'd b. Khazrân who succeeded him in this role. In 389/999 this amir rebelled against the Zâbi prince Bâdis b. al-Manqûs (380-406/996-1016), but after defeat at the hands of the Sanhâjids, he took refuge in the mountains and subsequently, in 391/1002-3, made his way through the desert to Tripoli.

Among other Maghrawa individuals who were active in Zâb and the surrounding region mention should be made of three chiefs of the Banû Warzâmâr (Wazza'mar), a leading family of the Maghrawa, these being al-Manqûs al-Warzâmârî and his two sons 'Abî Allah and Masûd, who made war on Hamûnâb b. Bulûkûkî (405-406/1013-14), probably in the vicinity of the town of Tubnà in the region of Zâb. After the death of this amir in 381 or 382 (991-2), it was his son Fûlîîb b. Sa'd b. Khazrân who succeeded him in this role. In 389/999 this amir rebelled against the Zâbi prince Bâdis b. al-Manqûs (380-406/996-1016), but after defeat at the hands of the Sanhâjids, he took refuge in the mountains and subsequently, in 391/1002-3, made his way through the desert to Tripoli.

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its name to a prince belonging to the family of the Banū Kharaz, possibly the ancient Maghrība king Muhammad b. Kharaz who reigned in the central Maghrib in the first half and around the middle of the 10th century. To the west of Bantiyus, al-Dakrīr notes the presence of the Maghrība in an expanse of desert three or four stages long, on the road leading from Oraa to the land of Kasfiyya (Bilād al-Djarīd). Maghrība are also to be found in this period to the south of Biskra. In fact, it is worth mentioning that within this area there were two others: Oued Boureg and Owed-Oualal on our maps, situated to the south of Biskra and probably inhabited by Berber Ibadī elements, was besieged in 450/1058-9 by the Maghrība chief named Abū Zamīkh al-Kharazī, clearly a member of the princely family of the Banū Kharazī. Later, in ca. 468/1075-6, the Maghrība, the Ghumart and other nomadic Zanāta tribes of the Zāb region allied themselves with the Hilālī Arab tribes and sacked the towns of the Zāb. The leader of these brigands was the Maghrība chief al-Munṣār b. Kaṣṣārīna, master of the Zanāta of Tripoli (of whom further mention will be made below), who made his base at Waghātnāt. The inhabitants of Zāb complained to the Hammadīd prince al-Nasir, who had his seat at al-Mansūr, for whom 'Arūs b. Sindāl, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nasir. It may be added that among the Maghrība tribes which inhabited Zāb and the neighbouring regions there were also the Banū Zandikī, the Rīgha and the Laghouatī. The first of these tribes occupied the territory currently known as the Ouled Nâil and the land extending as far as Djebel Amour and the mountain of Rīghīd. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Singas resided, before the arrival of the Hilālī Arabs, in the jūrā of al-Mansūr at the head of an army. Al-Mansūr entered Waghātnāt and destroyed the town. Some time later, al-Munsīrī, for whom 'Arūs b. Sindi, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nāṣir.

It seems that the Maghrība established themselves in the Nafrawa in a quite ancient period. In any case, at which date the Almohads existed until 554-555. It may be added that among the Maghrība tribes which inhabited Zāb and the neighbouring regions there were also the Banū Zandikī, the Rīgha and the Laghouatī. The first of these tribes occupied the territory currently known as the Ouled Nâil and the land extending as far as Djebel Amour and the mountain of Rīghīd. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Singas resided, before the arrival of the Hilālī Arabs, in the jūrā of al-Mansūr at the head of an army. Al-Mansūr entered Waghātnāt and destroyed the town. Some time later, al-Munsīrī, for whom 'Arūs b. Sindi, chief of Biskra, had laid a trap, was killed by the latter and his head sent to al-Nāṣir.

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78-831. Muhammad b. Isbāb was an 'Abdī, as were the majority of the inhabitants of the district of Naṣrāwa. Princes descended from the Banū Khazār were still ruling the Naṣrāwa at the time of the Zirīd al-Muẓīz b. Bāḍīs (406/3, 1010/62).

It may be added that the Maghārawa chief Wārūr b. Sa‘īd, descended from the Banū Khaḍrī family, an offshoot of the Banū Khazār, was appointed governor of Naṣrāwa by the Zirīd prince Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr (400/1009-10). After him, his brother Khaḍūrān obtained from Bāḍīs the government of Naṣrāwa (401/1010-11).

The Maghārawa and the Zanātā also resided, in the second half of the 10th-11th century, throughout the region of Kasiliyya. Ibn Khaldūn refers, in fact, to a raid of Hilāli Arab against these Berber groups. Probably those involved were the same Maghārawa who took part in a coalition of the Hilāli Arab tribes of Kiyāb, of Zaghva and of Sulayman which campaigned, in 457/1064-5, against the Hamaddīd sovereign al-Māsīr.

Among the Maghārawa tribes inhabiting I特斯拉iya, mention should also be made of the Banū Sinjūlāt, who distinguished themselves by the part that they played in the war of the Zanātā against the Zirīd and Hamaddīd Sāḥibādīya. In 514/1120-1 they blockaded Gafsa and ravaged the surrounding area. They also appeared in the Blād al-Djarād, where they were attacked by Muḥammad b. Abī ‘l-ʿArab, general of the Zirīd sovereignty.‘Abd b. Yāḥyā (509-15/1116-21). The Zirīd army expelled them from the Djarād and destroyed their power.

D. Tripolitania. An offshoot of the Maghārawa led by ʿamīr descended from the family of the Banū Khaḍrī, al-Muḥammad b. al-Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. al-Muṭarrīf, of Khazrān, established an independent government at Tripoli. The history of this state, which existed for almost a century and a half (391-542/1000-1145), is little known in spite of the information provided by Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Sīdārī, al-Tifānī and other Arab authors. Nevertheless, some facts are available, in particular concerning the first century of the dominance of the Banū Khaḍrī.

It has been observed above that Fulfū b. Sa‘īd b. Khaḍrī, a Maghārawa ʿamīr descended from the family of the Banū Khaḍrī, was, like his father Sa‘īd b. Khaḍrī, a supporter of the Zirīd, lieutenants of which he was, in the person of Warrū b. Sa‘īd, the governor of the town of Tūnīs in the Zābīr on behalf of this Sāḥibādīya dynasty. In 390/1000-1 Fulfū b. Sa‘īd rebelled against the Zirīd prince Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr. Defeated by Bāḍīs, he took refuge in the Sahara and subsequently marched on Tripoli, a province dependent on the Zīrīd. He took control of this land in 391/1000-1. Becoming master of the town and province of Tripoli, Fulfū b. Sa‘īd was constrained to fight a prolonged war against Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr, and requiring military support he first of all recognized the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Hākim whose aid was, however, ineffectual.

Therefore, he decided to approach the Unayyād of Spain, and in 395/1005-6 he sent a mission to the court of Cordova, whose sovereignty had always been, since the time of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III (320-50/932-61), allies and protectors of the Maghārawa and their kings, the Banū Khaḍrī. However, this approach led to no result, as Fulfū b. Sa‘īd died in 400/1009-10, before the return of his ambassadors from Cordova.

After the death of Fulfū, the Maghārawa and the other Zanātā tribes proclaimed as ʿamīr his brother Wārūr b. Sa‘īd. This chief was obliged, first of all, to recognize the authority of the Zīrīd Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr, who marched on Tripoli and occupied the town, forcing the Zanātā and Maghārawa warriors to flee. Wārūr b. Sa‘īd was granted a general amnesty and appointment as governor of Naṣrāwa (400/1009-10). But in 401/1010-11 he once more repudiated the authority of Bāḍīs and inaugurated a lengthy war, during which the Zīrīd sovereignty over the Zanātā and Maghārawa of Tripoli was limited. However, they were unable to take control of the town of Tripoli which remained in the hands of Muhammad b. al-Hasan, the governor appointed by Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr. Ultimately, in 404 or 405/1013-14, Wārūr b. Sa‘īd again offered his submission to the Zīrīd.

After the death of Wārūr b. Sa‘īd, the territory of Tripoli was divided into two parties, one supporting the succession of Khalīfa, son of Wārūr, and the other rallying round Khaḍūrān b. Sa‘īd, the latter's brother. It was Khalīfa who emerged victorious over his rival, having taken possession of the city. Khalīfa b. Sa‘īd made his way to Egypt, to the court of the Fāṭimid caliph, where the two sons Sa‘īd and al-Muntaṣir spent their youth. In this manner, Khalīfa b. Wārūr established his authority over all the Maghārawa and Zanātā of Tripolitania. This chief pledged loyalty to Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr, but after the death of this sovereign and the accession of his son al-Muṭīz (400-454/1010-1106), he rebelled against the new Zīrīd sovereign. The Zīrīd governor of Naṣrāwa, Abd al-Ilḥām b. al-Hākim, ceded the town to Khalīfa, who thus restored the domination of the Banū Khaḍrī. Subsequently, in 417/1026, Khalīfa b. Wārūr made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāhir b. al-Hākim (414-97/1025-36) and obtained from him confirmation as governor of Tripoli. The same year, Khalīfa also sent a lavish gift to al-Muṭīz b. Bāḍīs. It is probable that Khalīfa died during the reign of al-Zāhir.

It was apparently in the lifetime of Khalīfa b. Wārūr that Sa‘īd b. Khalīfa and his brother al-Muntaṣir, sons of Khalīfa b. Sa‘īd, returned from Cairo and established themselves in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. At one point, it is not known when or how, Sa‘īd b. Khazrān succeeded in taking control of the town of Tripoli, but he was killed in 429/1037-8. After him, his kinsman Khalīfa b. Khalīfa seized Tripoli. But his residence in the town lasted only a year, until December 1038, when he was forced to leave Tripoli in secret to escape from al-Muntaṣir b. Khaḍūrān, who arrived at the head of a Zanātā army to secure the accession of his brother Sa‘īd b. Khazrān. This chief, proclaimed ʿamīr of the Maghārawa and Zanātā of Tripolitania, governed the town and province of Tripoli for a very long period. It was during his reign, between the years 430 and 440/1040-50, that a lengthy war took place between the Zanātā and Maghārawa of Tripoli on the one side and the Zīrīd Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr on the other; the latter attacked them at the head of a Sāḥibādīya army. The Maghārawa and Zanātā routed the first Sāḥibādīya expedition, and repulsed the second, but were defeated by the third and were compelled to conclude a peace treaty with al-Muṭīz. According to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muntaṣir again recognized the authority of al-Muṭīz b. Bāḍīs in 443/1052-7, during the invasion of the Banū Ḥāfil. In fact, he came to the aid of Bāḍīs at the head of a thousand Zanātā horsemen.
but was beaten by the Hiiil?ans and fled along with the entire Zirid army. Despite the occupation of the plains of Tripoli by the Hiiil?an Arab tribes, the capital of the province remained in the hands of al-Muntasir, who was still in residence there in ca. 468/1075-6. It was at about this date that he decided to lead the Arab tribes of the Banu 'Adl in an assault on the central Maghrib, which was at this time under the influence of the Zirid dynasty of the Banu Hammud. The forces of al-Muntasir occupied the towns of al-Masila and Asghir, and also the regions of Zab and Righ. Al-Muntasir established his headquarters in the small town of Waghlina, to which reference has been made above; in addition, he remained master of Tripoli. It has also been mentioned above that he was treacherously killed by the chief of Biskra, who recognised the authority of the Banu Hammud.

After his death, another member of the Banu Kha?run family, whose name is not mentioned in the sources, took control of Tripoli. The subsequent history of Tripoli under this dynasty is not known. It is known, however, that the last amir claiming descent from the Banu Kha?run was expelled from the town of Tripoli by King Roger II of Sicily, who claimed the title of amir after his death, another member of the Banu Kha?run family, whose name is not mentioned in the sources, took control of Tripoli. The subsequent history of Tripoli under this dynasty is not known.

As for the Maghrawa of Tripolitania, they subsequently took refuge in the Djabal Nafusa. They were still present in this area in the 8th/14th century, to which reference has been made above; in addition, they remained master of Tripoli. It has also been mentioned above that he was treacherously killed by the chief of Biskra, who recognised the authority of the Banu Hammud.

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1183


[T. Lewicki]

I. GEOGRAPHY.

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary; it corresponds to the Magrib al-Aṣṣā from the Arab geographers [see al-MAGHRIB]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 500,000 and 550,000 km². On the north it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic and on the south by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa, it is chiefly oriented to the west. It is, on one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary; it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are also in many places elongated along the line of the Atlas. The Rif is the continuation from the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar of the Bastion Cordiller [see Rif]. The Atlas [sou.] chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented west-north-east, linked by the volcanic massif of Sirwa (3,300 m.) to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rif, from which it is separated by the corridor of Taza. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the Anti-Atlas constitute the great surface of the high plateaux of Algeria; those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded; others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the Middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Tensift to that of the Muluya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebou, the corridor of Taza, the plain of the lower Moulouya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Hawz of Marrakush) and disappears in the heart of the Middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country; the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer (Tangier: 23°-24°; Agadir: 14°-22°); only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest. In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations and even the daily ones increase the farther one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the west and south-west winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from north to south (Tanger: 32 inches; Casablanca: 26 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from west to east. The mountain masses always form an exception. They condense the moisture in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the
summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rif. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Zaāâ‘ir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Ma‘mūra). The thuya and the arganier [see ARGAN] are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, alms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādis. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rainfall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfà) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of western Morocco and practically the whole of eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the hamadas [q.e.], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādis (wetels) are here more numerous; their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in three different directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the north (Loukos and Sebou), those of the centre (Bū Ragrag and Umm al-Rabī‘), and those of the south (Tensift and Sous). The Rif maintains the districts of the Gharb; the Sebou, those of the Middle Atlas, the Zarhūn, and the southern slope of the Rif. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course [see AL-MARĀDIYYÀ]. The Bū Ragrag and the Umm al-Rabī‘ run for a part of their course through the central plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta". The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensift, to the north of the High Atlas, the Wāḍī Sās to the south, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādh of northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wāḍī Gīr, Wāḍī Zīz, Wāḍī Dar‘a) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Dar‘a [q.e.] alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course. As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid foods. The Monouya (Maliwiyya) alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbary are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more or less marked of the districts of the Strait of Gibraltar and regions less rugged in character which to the south-east and the west form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādis, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed by the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rif, therefore, must seem to be a world very little susceptible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political and economic penetration of the suzerains as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the people of the Rif find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration an addition to their resources. They are not nomads but inhabitable villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Qshfāwā (Chechaouen) and Wazzān (Ouezzane), religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla. Towards the south-east, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Moullouya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salān, Garet) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the west the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the north to the south between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Kaṣr al-Rabī‘i [q.e.] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache [see the articles SABTA, TANZILA and AL-SARĀTH].

The valley of the Sebou. The valley of the Sebou lies between the Rif, the Middle Atlas, the Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebou links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innawan, the valley of which leads
to the pass of Taza, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain masses there (Zarhûn, Zâlâgî, mountains of Gerwân) offer no insuperable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sâ’tis and Makûnt are contrasted with the lower plains of the Sjârdà and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebou. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebou and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains; fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains; the morgias, temporary marshes produced by the Sebou in its lower course, are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebou a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. All types of habitation are found here, as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of huts in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlay Idris I, the sacred city of Morocco, Sebrou on the borders of the plain of Sâ’tis and the high limestone plateau, lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of silks. Fès and Makûnt are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebou has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history correspond very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebou, the country of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It includes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian peneplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Haoua. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador [see al-Suwâwra]. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukklàa, Shâwîyya) to a width of 30 miles. To the rains and the contact of the ocean, the plateaux are well suited as the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity. The ûfs or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bi Râkrag to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukklàa has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, al-Djakîldà, Azamînyûr, Safi, Mogador [al-Magîhrîb], benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exploitation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebou opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000-3,300 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Za‘âdîr and Zayân, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Râhîmûn. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Uman Râbî’ overcome the west side the low-lying coastlands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently to the seacoast, on the eastern side the plain of Tadla. This is a depression, over 20 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tadla and the Hawz of Marràkîs, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djiblât in the north and the hills of the Shîyâmûn in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north, the rains and streams support forests and the local inhabitants, especially Marrikusb have been enabled to rise to a considerable degree of prosperity. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation is difficult. The Tadla is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Hawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation [see Kântî] has transformed the country round Marràkîs into a vast palmyra grove and resulted in a particularly dense population. Comparatively large towns (Antîmûn, Dammât [s.e.] and Tameshûbût) and especially Marràkîs, have been enabled to rise and prosper. A mere division between this prosperous Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebou, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayân, the Za‘âdîr, the Zemrâm, over whom the authority of the makhîrsen has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fès and Marràkîs. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the country, and since the region is peculiarly suited to the general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebou and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sous and the Dar’s. Moister and colder, the
Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebou, G.Pe, Umm Rabli, Wadî 'l-Ahib), from the High Atlas the Tazaouit and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (i.e.) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, the valleys where the moisture results from the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Hâba, Shiyûdòna) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wadis or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berber in the Middle Atlas, Shbih in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions of these tribes have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular, their political organisation was most rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a guanîn in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the central power; the authority of the mekhsen (gov.) over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas, they have for long retained an almost complete independence.

Easter North Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the central Maghrib, of which it has the distinctive characteristics. In it, as in Ouarâ, we have a têl zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Moulouya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of gars, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the chotts (see Ksar). Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Moulouya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Beni Snassèn which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awïld Maqûr, on the coast, of the Tifrit, of the Angâd which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character; only the western part of the plain of the Angâd with a fertile and well-watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure pasture. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary. Oujea (see Wadda), which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a „march“ for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fès have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the northwestern corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region (see Sâhara). Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for the growth of palms (namândas), but in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow. The Darâ, Ziz and Ghr are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pastureage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of the Tafilalt (gov.). The richness—only relative it is true—of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (hamândas) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants who lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Sous, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sâs contains numerous villages and even towns (Agadir, Tinmit, Tarudan); the oases have a settled population in the ksar. Those of Tafilalt, Tamargut, Bô Dûib and Figg carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tafilalt where considerable groups of Arab ghurâf (see giurâf) have long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tafilalt, the people of this region have frequently escaped Shari' authority.

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II. HISTORY.

Morocco before Islam. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [g.v.]

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the 12th century A.D. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the 5th century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated “Periphus” established on the Atlantic coast seven coloniae of which one was at the mouth of the Sebou. Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tanger), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania of Marcus, extending along both banks of the Moulouya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the “Province of Africa” directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A.D. The region to the east of the Moulouya formed part of Caesarea Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Moulouya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was re-organised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Dû Ragra, and in the interior to the massif of the Zañhalû. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rif, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 43 A.D. advanced as far as the Wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber inroads, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of 10,000 men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle: Sala, Zarhûn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis [see Maâlîâv dâbîl], the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis, raised to the rank of coloniae, and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain, to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome’s influence on Morocco was superficial and has left but little trace.

Without any real firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the Donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the 5th century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A.D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the 6th century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghurân [g.v.] on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghâwâta [g.v.] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebou, the Mûknûs, in the central district, the Mâsmdâ [g.v.], on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebou to the Sûs; the Hâskhûn between the Sûs and the Darâ a; the Lâsât and Lamûns [g.v.] on the left bank of the Darâ a. Those Berbers were all of Šânâja descent, some professed Christianity or Judaism, but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islam.

The Introduction of Islam. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Magribi at the end of
The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had converted Islam, the Berbers adopted the Kharaj doctrine of the east, teachings which also appealed to their egalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebou in 122/742 and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rif; in the west, the Barghawata recognised the authority of a certain Safi, founder of a rival religion to Islam, who had composed a Koran, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrisid dynasty [g.v.] were to play this part. Idris I and his successor Idris II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemcen. Ardent champions of Islam, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islam is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors, equally vigilant defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their Alid origin, they fought the Kharajis with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idris I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idris II, the patron saint of the city of Fas [g.v.]. The building of this city was to play this part. Idris I and his successors undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Yusuf b. Najar [g.e.], who had just completed the conquest of Ifriqiya and took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the local people. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islam and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 222/740 on the call of the porter Maysam [e.c.].

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to one another to last long united. The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the 9th/13th century the Almohad empire broke up. Ifrikiya and the central Maghrib recovered their independence; local dynasties set up in Tunis (Hafsids) and Tlemcen ('Abd al-Wâdîde). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'tamin, who were replaced by the Malfiids [q.v.].

The Marinids. Berbers of Zanûta stock, driven by the Hilfî Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Moulouya, the Banû Marâfî had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, and the Marinids of the dynasty began to decline. By repeated razzias they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco. After the death of the caliph al-Sâ'id, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abû Yahyâ (641-56/1243-58) seized Fâs, Meknès, Rabat and Sijilmâsâ. The capture of Marrákush (568/1170) by Abû Yusuf, successor of Yahyâ, marked the final triumph of the Marinids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Marinids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia. In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the Hafsids and the Wâdî. They were successful when Tlemcen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sultan Abû 'l-Hasan (748/1347). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure. At the end of barely a year, Abû 'l-Hasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrikya, the Hafsids returned to Tunis and the 'Abd al-Wâdîde to Tlemcen, while the sultan's own son Abû 'l-Mâlik rose against him in Morocco. Attaining to power, Abû 'l-Mâlik renewed his father's efforts. He re-occupied Tlemcen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (921/1516). The Hafsids and 'Abd al-Wâdîde recovered their kingdoms almost once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion. The extremes Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Marinid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Marinids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers. Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islam in the Maghrib. The cult of Murâd and of the sultans, which in the 9th/14th and particularly the 10th/15th century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day. No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts. The Hispanic-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Marinid period. The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Karaîwîyn at Fâs attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world. Fâs, which the Marinids, abandoning Marrákush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and madrasas. It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Marinid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sultan was an occasion for outbreaks. The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either among the Arabs or the Berbers. Powerless in the interior, the sultans were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada. Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Marinid period in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 850/1445, after the assassination of the sultan by an Idrlsid sharîf. The Banû Wattâs, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 873/1470, had themselves a wretched existence. Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fâs and Marrákush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rif, the Qü abrasive and in the Darâs and Sás. The sultans were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islam. Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their subjection to the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib. In 818/1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 860/1455 al-Ḳar al-Sâghir, in 875/1470 Tangier. They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Asta and Ansâ (Casablanca) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast. In the early years of the 16th century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agadir) and Mazagan and took by force of arms Saffi [see Sâfî] and Azâmûr [q.v.]. Holding all places of importance except Larache [see al-Ḳaraksh] they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shâwîya, âbâs, Dijâlîa), reduced the local people to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrákush. Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their donars burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also. The latter completed the reconquista by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil. The conquest of Al-Qâdisiyya al-Kabîr (1507) marked the beginning of the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemcen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment. This renaissance of Islam in the 9th/13th and 16th centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrïsid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Sufi teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods [see Tariqâ] in which the adepts of these doctrines were organised. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The ascendency
which the religious leaders exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their siiyayn, made them independent of the sultan. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfill their office of defenders of Islam owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not avert a check to the political decline until the time when the Sa'dian ghuzz took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Sharifian dynasties. a. The Sa'dians [q.v.]. The Sa'dian ghuzz benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the 8th/14th century and settling in the valley of the Wadi Der'a, while another branch of the family settled at Tafillalt (Hasanl or 'Alid ghuzz), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally relied on for support in the south. They were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese. To the same period also belongs the organisation of the Marhizan siiyayn, led by Muhammad al-Mahdh. The disintegration of the dynasty died in 1070/1660. assassinated by the Sa'dians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Mansur broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, 'Ali, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire. Laarache was occupied by the Spaniards, Fas cast off Sharifian authority.

b. The Hasanl ghuzz. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Hasanl ghuzz. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in the Tafillalt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawlay al-Kashid (1076-1082/1664-73) was more successful. He took Fas, disposed of Qaylan, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the ghuzz, destroyed the ashayn of Dila', reconquered Marrakush, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the Sharifian empire. Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the Sharifian families. They heaped favours on the ghuzz of Fas, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawlay al-Rashid was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ismail (1082-1139/1672-1727). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrakush and the Sis with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the ghuzzan formed by the Shraiga and Udaya, he added a body of black slaves, the 'Abid al-Bagharti (Bwakher), the property of the sultan; their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effective troops in this corps by the end of the reign numbered 150,000.
The real masters of the situation were the *AbId also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under MawlAy Morocco remained a poor country and did not open of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties central power was mainly due to a lack of financial rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the emergence much weakened from it. Inheriting the energy and pleased. One of them, MawlAy 'Abd Allah, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and the authority of the Sharifs wars. The remedy, however, was not much better importances whom gradually diminished with the failure, and the lower course of the Moulouya continued to be the boundary of the Sharkiilan empire. In spite of his lack of success here, MawlAy Ismā'īl is nevertheless the great figure of the Hasanani dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultans have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign, who squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknès, the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the local peasantry and by slaves.

On the death of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the *Abīl al-Buγhārī, who made and unmade sultans as they pleased. One of them, Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the *Abīl, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the Sharifs emerged much weakened from it. Mawlāy Muhammad (1179-1230/1767-92) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismā'īl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Mazagan in 1183/1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by building the town of Mogador (see AL-TUWĀRA) in 1764. Heavy taxes however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlāy Yazzīd (1206-1219) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlāy Sulaymān (1208-30/1794-1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the Middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultan much misgiving; he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Marinids and Sa'dians and even in the early days of the Hasani Sharifs. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultans had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlāy Sulaymān and had no more success than he in overcoming them. For half-a-century the domestic history of Morocco was nothing but a succession of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rif, Tafilelt, Figgī, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the makhzan. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fās and Marrakush, forcing the sultans when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlāy al-Hasan (1290-1341/1873-94) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlāy Ismā'īl. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was constantly in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down hashash. He re-established order in the region of Oujda, forced the people of the Sus to recognise his ūfīdī, reduced to obedience the Za'a'īr and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the makhzan territory by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuwāt. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again. Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical, in that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of difference to the European powers. It increased the prosperity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the Moroccans had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the "presidio" of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the Sharifs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. *Abd al-Kādir [etc.] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the makhzan. This hostile attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1859-60. The Sharkiilan army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the makhzan to come fairly well out of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth, the relations between France and Morocco remained peaceful, although the impotence of the Moroccan government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the Ben 'Usdan.
affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of
the sultan, the territorial integrity and the economic
freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the
Morocco question. The two international bodies
which it decided to set up, the police for the ports
and the state bank, both capable of being of great
service, could not take the place of the general re¬
forms necessary for the salvation of the empire.
Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Euro¬
peans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the
frontiers increased in number. Not being able to
obtain satisfaction from this subject, the French
Government ordered the occupation of Oujda and Casablanca in 1907. The country was then pacified around these two centres and order
restored in eastern Morocco and in the Shaliya
to the great benefit of the natives themselves. The
Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons inter¬
vened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla
and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied
Salw& and a number of strategic points.
During this period, war broke out between 'Abd
al-'Aziz and his brother Mawlyy al-Hafiz,
proclaimed sultan at Marrakusk and then at Fas.
Supported by the anti-French party, the pre¬
ident of the Council was victorious. All the states of
France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised
to respect the agreement of Algeciras, the inter¬
national treaties and all the engagements entered
into by his predecessors. France and Spain an¬
ounced their intention of not prolonging their
occupation of Shariah territory. The Franco-
Moroccan agreements of 4 March, 1912 and the
Hispano-Moroccan one of 19 November of the same
year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as
soon as the mahkam should have a force sufficient
to guarantee the security of life and property and
peace with its frontiers. This settlement seemed
all the more desirable as there had been accidental
friction between France and Germany which had
only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the
most serious being the affaire of the deserters from
Casablanca in September 1908. A disquieting state
of tension remained between these two powers,
although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction
to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of
8 February, 1909, her willingness not to impede the
agricultural rights of the nationals. The Spanish
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although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction
to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of
8 February, 1909, her willingness not to impede the
economic freedom nor hinder the development of
German interests.
The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the denouement. The sultan's rule was
more effective than that of his predecessors; the
infections of the Moroccon agents in the spring of
1917 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber
tribes in the region of Fars. Besieged in his capital and
on the point of succumbing, the sultan ap¬
pealed to the French. They decided to send an
expeditionary force to the help of the sultan, but
ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the
independence of the sultan and any occupation of
new territory. Vigorously commanded by General
Monter, the military operations had the desired
effect. Fars was relieved on 21 May, and after
certain police operations necessary to secure the
peace of the district, the expeditionary force re¬
turned to the Casablanca. While the danger was thus
baffled from the interior, unexpected complica¬
tions resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the
case to take possession of the sphere of influ¬
ence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904,
established herself in Larache and al-Kasr. Germany
feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compen¬
sation in her turn and in July 1911 sent a warship to

campaign (1859) and the Wadi Gir expedition (1870).
Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction
from the attacks directed against her garrisons,
decided also to resort to arms. The campaign of
1859-60, ended by the victory of O'Donnell,
revealed the military weakness of Morocco. The treaty of Tetuwan (1860) granted to Spain, along
with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an
indemnity of 100,000,000 reals. To pay this debt,
the Sharifian government had to raise a loan in
London on the security of the Moroccan custom¬
houses and to accept the control of European com¬
misjoners. For the first time, foreigners intervened
in the domestic administration of the empire. The
breach thus made was continually enlarged. The
exercise of the right of protection, the erection
of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pre¬
text for diplomatic negotiations and for the exten¬
sion of international control. European ambitions
were not dissimulated. In order to protect itself
against them, the mahkam tried to play one off
against the other and confined itself to granting, as
it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), con¬
cessions of an insignificant nature. Mawlyy al-Hasan excelled as this difficult game and the sultan
Bâ Hamâd [q.v. in Suppl.], who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of 'Abd al-Atlas, Mawlyy
al-Hasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for
influence. England wanted to maintain her economic
preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her
Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to
the Saharan oases occupied in 1901-2; Spain ap¬
pealed to her "historic rights"; Germany lastly
was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire
openings for her commerce and emigrants.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The impossibilities of Sultan 'Abd
al-'Aziz precipitated the crisis. The whims of the sovereign and his inordinate desire for
European innovations displeased the stricter Mus¬
lins. The modifications in the fiscal policy made
by the tarîth [q.v.] disturbed the people already
taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out every¬
where. A pretender, the râbiid Bû Hamîra [q.v.], rose in the region of Taza and routed an army sent against
him. It was in vain that France by the agreements
of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the
activities of the mahkam against the rebels and
to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the
failure of this effort, France decided to arrange
France and England to settle the Moroccan
question and prevent the dismemberment of the
empire. In return for recognition of the protectorate
de facto exercised by England in Egypt and the
granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in
northern Morocco, these two powers recognised
the right of France to act as her interests best
demanded. France hastened to propose to the
sultan a plan for reforming the Moroccan administra¬
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tion. The intervention of Germany prevented its
realisation. On 19 August, 1903, the Emperor William
II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech
posed as the defender of the independence of the
sovereign and his immoderate desire for
Agadir. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of 4 November 1911 put an end to the dispute. Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the protectorate of Spain in the north of the country. The French were forced to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, they entered the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fes. The resistance of the posts stationed along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checkered in the autumn, the Rifian advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1916 thanks to the combined action of French and Spanish. The reduction of the last pockets of resistance in the mountains and the southern regions was completed in 1919.

The administrative reorganisation kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery was retained but submitted to a control which guaranteed the local population against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the mahkhan. Technical services were created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life.

Thus, within the space of some 40 years, Morocco, which was still a mediaeval country, became a modern kingdom equipped with a quite extensive highway network, electrified railways and deep water ports. The remarkable results achieved in all sectors were facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Approximately 350,000 Europeans in the French zone and about 100,000 in the Spanish zone participated actively in the economic life of the country and contributed in particular to the prosperity of agriculture, while the towns enjoyed rapid development.

At the same time that the pacification of the country was completed, young people educated in metropolitan universities as well as in the modern establishments founded in Morocco itself, began to agitate; the Berber dahir (see ABOU'DEA, 51) of 16 May 1912 gave the signal for opposition to French policy and desire for independence. During the Spanish Civil War, Moroccan troops served under the victorious General Franco; as a result, the inhabitants of the northern zone were able to benefit from a more liberal régime. Subsequent events during the Second World War, and in particular the defeat and occupation of France in 1940, had no very serious immediate effect, although they induced the nationalists to pursue their activities with greater vigour, not without encouragement from the Allies; in other respects, the increasingly overt manifestation of national sentiment in the Arabic-speaking countries brought latent aspirations to overt manifestation of national sentiment in the French zone, and the coming of age of the independent reform party in the open. 1944 saw the establishment of the Istiklal party, to which the sultan Muhammad V, who had occupied the throne since 1927, showed himself far from hostile; on 10 April 1947, he made a speech at Tangier which disturbed the French authorities. The nomination of General Juin as Resident-General and the reforms immediately effected failed to restore stability; in 1953 France decided to depose the sultan, sending him to exile in Madagascar and replacing him with the Prince Sidi Abdel Aziz. The resistance of the posts stationed along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checkered in the autumn, the Rifian advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1916 thanks to the combined action of French and Spanish. The reduction of the last pockets of resistance in the mountains and the southern regions was completed in 1919.

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French and Spanish officials, before appealing to new allies for support. The "Army of liberation" was absorbed into the Forces Armées Royales (FAR), and the French and Spanish troops withdrew in 1961, while the American airbases were evacuated.

One of the first concerns of the sultan (who took the title of king in 1957) was to appoint a consultative Assembly, supervised in 1960 by a constitutional Council charged with preparing a Constitution; the latter, which instituted a parliamentary monarchy, was approved by referendum on 7 December 1960 (see overleaf, viii). During the same period, the Parti Démocratique de la Indépendance (PDI), recently founded, became quite active, but in 1959 a number of its members, together with some independents, joined the Union Nationale des Forces Populaires (UNFP), closely linked to the Union Marocaine du Travail (UMT) and the product of a schism within the Istiqlal provoked by the syndicalist Mehti Ben Barka.

The first Moroccan government, led by a non-political colonel, was composed of members of the Istiqlal and the PDI, but after November 1959 the latter withdrew and a democratically elected Istiqlal cabinet appointed. In 1960, the king took upon himself the functions of prime minister, with the assistance of his son, prince Mawlay Hassan, who was to succeed him after his death in the following year. In the legislative elections held in 1962 after the promulgation of the Constitution, the Istiqlal and the PDI, now in opposition, obtained respectively 41 and 28 seats, as many between them as the number gained by the Front pour la Défense des Institutions Constitutionnelles (FIDC) which had recently been established. On 16 July of the same year, several leaders of the UNFP were arrested for "serious infringement of the law" and for being the founders of a "subversive movement". The charges of conspiracy laid against some hundred individuals were not pressed, but since the two parties boycotted the next elections, the Government won a decisive majority in the regional councils and Chamber of Deputies.

Also in 1962, an armed conflict broke out between Morocco and Algeria on account of a frontier post which the latter had seized. Between 1962 and 1967, relations with France were compromised by the abduction and disappearance in Paris of the leader of the UNFP, Mehti Ben Barka. These events led the French authorities to institute proceedings against Moroccan secret agents and specifically against the Minister of the Interior, General Oufkir, who was sentenced in his absence. The name of this officer was mentioned again in connection with two unsuccessful attempts on the King's life, one of which had been detailed to escort it; one person was killed and two wounded, but the pilot of the Boeing succeeded in landing his plane at the airport of Rabat-Salé, where renewed strafing caused a further 8 deaths and injured 50. The officer responsible for the attack ejected from his fighter, but was arrested and implicated General Oufkir, who met his death the following night.

The failure of these successive attempts on his life only enhanced the prestige of the Sovereign, who was nevertheless confronted by a new danger. In fact, after the independence granted by Spain to Rio de Oro, a section of the population of the Western Sahara refused to withdraw from territory claimed by Morocco and formed the Polisario Front. Since then, from its bases in Algeria, this organisation has continually harassed Moroccan troops immobilised in the south, behind a "wall" which they have been obliged to construct to defend themselves from attacks by an enemy equipped by various nations with the most modern arms and equipment. The expenses incurred as a result of this interminable and violent war have been a considerable burden on the finances of Morocco, whose economy is also suffering as a result of the world-wide economic crisis.


passed the 20 millions mark (20,419,555), of whom 57.3% were rural dwellers. This population is very unevenly distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Jbala in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: Ghorb, Shawiya, Tadla, Dukkala and ‘Abda. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two-fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, Jbala, Rif, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia. As to the Sahara zone, outside the belts of oases in the W’dt Gfr, the W’dt Ziz and the W’dt Dar’a (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited.

8. Elements of the population. The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, no attempt has been made to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Jbala, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the Hilis and the Beni Znazen; in the centre the Znaga (Sanhadja) and the Braber (Barib), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the Shih (see Shilluh) who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sfez. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Jbala, arabised Berbers, to the north-west of Fas, and the Haratin (plur. of the Arabic haratân [g. u.]), who form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Up to the 7th or 8th century, the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler ‘Abd al-Mu’min [q.v.] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilili Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Irlkia; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Marinid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin. These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups: the Beni Hilili and the Magli [g. m.]. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Moulaya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Beni Hilili occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. Jews. There were formerly about 200,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There were...
also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also formed the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Dubdi and Damne. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were judaized Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the 16th century. The former call themselves *Djawis* (Palaestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrant Jews, who, after they had settled in the towns of the coast and rapidly became Europeanized. Since independence, large numbers of them have emigrated, mainly to Israel.

1. Miscellaneous elements. The blacks, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, both in the country, and finally we may note that frequently the towns have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. Social and Economic Life

a. Country. The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Ghrib, in the north, the Rhamma and the Shyadma, and in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless, Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled, thatched, pitched or a flat roof. In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *muawda*. In the Saharan oases, the population occupies a walled area of *hayr* (e.g., *hayr* from the class *hayr*); these conglomérations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called *dour* (*muawda*) in the plains, and *ajdar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling. The country is divided into nomadic and settled; this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers; there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however tribes scattered between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Moulouya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Beni Gil, between Berguerat and Figg; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ayit Seddrat, the Ayit Djaflbi, the Iden-an-Bilal, the Ayit-Mribet; lastly to the south of the Dar’s (Dra) delta we have the Black Chami and the Awadh Dilm. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Ghrib, in the north, the Rhamma and the Shyadma, and in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

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the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Asila), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfa, Azemmûr, Agadir. In the interior, al-’Askar al-Kabîr, Taza, Tarudant. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. Nakor and Bâdis on the Mediterranean. To the south of Massanag, the two Ghomâr and Tanmâhali to the south of Marrakesh and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakîrî, al-Idrîsî and Leo Africanus.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or kasba (pop. kasba) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the mellâk or Jewish quarter [see mallaçî]. All around spreads the town proper or m'dina with its great mosque, markets and baysarya (g. e.). It is surrounded by a rampart (sur) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into quarters (baoua) with streets (sâmâa), alleys (darb) and squares (sirt).

V. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who no longer form more than 70% of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two. Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruits. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (chuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the oases of the south, the population cultivates date-palms and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of Sus show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). The Sûs no longer export the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Sâvîânis.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (sâb) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the sâb that the peasant sells his produce and the products of carpet-weaving and embroidery brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in siloes (masjmuâ [g.m.]); in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified store-houses, which belong to the community and are called agadir [g. e.].

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a gild (kendi) is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the fondus (Ar. fonda) which correspond to the khan and matkala of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called nabba. The monopolies of exporting (séba) corn and hides established by the sultan in the last century have been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate, see the works by Massigmon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the Bibliography. The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fes in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devoted themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (goldsmiths, embroiderers), played an important part as brokers. The citizens of Fes, who had a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of the Sûs like to settle in the towns as grocers (bakkâl) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war, a large number of them have migrated to France as artisans and labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. Political Organisation.

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultan: whence the distinction between the territory subject to the government (bilkâl al-mâhzen) and the territory unsubdued (bilkâl al-siba). As a rule, the makûzen territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign [see maghzen].

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (kahila). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a cosederation in the strict sense of the word; in this case, as a rule, in the north, the Hîha, the Dukkâla, the Shâwiyya in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (rubî, khams, fâdhâ) which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultan’s sway are governed by a bêkaî appointed by the makhsan. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a shaykh for each section under whom are the makhdûms of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between makhsan, shaykh (vulg. bid) and makhzen tribes, see MAKHIZAN.

In the towns not subject to the makhsan, political activity was confined to the djamaâs (g. n.), i.e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The djamaâs (jamea) dealt with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administered justice following local custom (Arabic urj, Berber isiñf). It elected a shaykh (Berber anmâı) who was only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the djamaâs of the tribe, there were djamaâs of the sections and sub-sections but their powers were limited.

In the towns, the makhsan was represented by a governor whose official title was bêkaî, but in certain large towns he was often called bêkaî. The title of ‘îmâm was the same as that of the jamaâ of Fas, a governor of the Ouda. The bêkaî of the town, generally speaking, had the same powers as the bêkaî of the tribe and acted as judge in case of any violation of the law. He had an assistant or khâibî. Alongside of him, the makhîsî supervised the corporations, fixed their average prices and looked after public morals.

The bêkaî had under his orders the makhdûms of the quarters and his police (makhânsiyâ) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the
to each town may also be mentioned the mudā' in or inspector of endowments (hubūsā), the trustee of vacant inheritances (mabīl al-ghuraba, popularly bāš-mābārī = abu 'l-mawārī), the collector of local taxes and market-dues (amīn-al-mustafa'd). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs were collected by officials called umanā (ṣg. amīn).

Justice [see MAMAKA. 5. i] is administered by the khālid or by the kādi, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official religion on cases are drawn up by the hubūs. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master-masons, agriculturists, veterinary surgeons (marūdā zu-nādar: urbā b-turke, jālīkh, bāyārī).

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they were either managed directly by the mahzās (crown-lands) or they could be allotted to zīgh-tribes in return for the military service for which they could be liable; others of these lands might be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (ma'ars or tawfīqā).

The hubūs lands are urban or rural. In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, waṣīlah and gūz (class. Ar. ḍīṣṣā). In the country, the hubūs lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe; they are called common lands (bādi al-jamā').

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (mulāk) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (mulkisyya).

The old Muslim imposts (ṣahīl and uṣūr) have been merged into a single tax, the lātrih [p.v.]. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (maṣα', unpopular with the people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (ṣariha). In addition to these, the main taxes, there was the kādūs or present offered to the sultan on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The ġīṣā or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the nāṣīrā or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. RELIGIOUS LIFE

a. The Berbers before Islam. For lack of documents, it is difficult to get an accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco before their conversion to Islam, and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islam in Morocco, see below.

b. Conversion to Islam. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of 'Ukba b. Nāfi' ca. 50/570 and that of Māsā b. Nusayr in 92/711, could result only in a very partial and superficial Islamisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country. Islam, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on several different occasions, if mai believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to counteract the authority of the caliphs of Bagdad by adopting the most orthodox doctrine of the Khāridjīs [p.v.; see also šūrā'yā]. The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islam, with their own prophets and Khurāns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maysara [p.v.], which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawātā [p.v.] recognised as their prophet one of their number, Sālih b. Tarīl, who gave them a religion and a Khurān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the 12th/13th century. This Barghawāta movement was the most lasting; we also note that which was created by Hā-Mīn (d. 915/928-29 [p.v.]) among the Chādirā, near Tetouan.

In spite of these reactions, Islam, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawātā and put an end to the rule of the anthropomorphist (mudjassimān) Almoravids, that we can date the complete unification of Islam in Morocco. Till then, Islam had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islam at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmārt [p.v.], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads or "preachers of ta'bi'id" [p.v.].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of shī'ism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [p.v.] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islam. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islam rapidly acquired features of its own. Islam, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the
Before the Marinids, Islam had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted; it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islam to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (madrasas); the first of these (Madrassa al-Saffahia) was founded in 697/1280 by the sultan Abu Yusuf at Fès, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary.

The immediate successors of the Marinids, the Banū Wattas, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idris II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders of the aristocracy. When the cult of Idris was established, his descendants—more or less authentic—claimed the title of sharif and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrisid sharifs was soon reinforced by that of other sharifs descended from 'Ali through al-Hasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of sharifs in Morocco, the Idrisids and the 'Alids. To the latter belong the two Sharifian dynasties, the Sayyids and the Filis, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the influence of the sharifs on the destinies of the country, even by more or less mystic mania [tahdid, khadij], sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (mujaddid, khalif); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior saint, however, between Fès and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Kūr'ānic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited large numbers of schoolmasters who practice their calling in the plains (see SHARIF). It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance which they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo); the importance of these colonies had even induced the sultan 'Abd al-Aslāz to appoint a Moroccan consul, amīn al-Maghrib, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islam ('id al-Adha and 'id al-Fitr), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (maslīd, class. maslīd, g.n.) and that of 'Ashūrā (10th Muharram). The maslīd, established in Morocco by the Marinids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islam a special character, nor was its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or extollation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adherents, religious brotherhoods. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common: that their founder has become a famous saint (mū'īl).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islam, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the sayyid whose tomb is marked by a wābba (g.n.) (chapel surrounded by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (bawṭ) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways. Some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (barka), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (mujaddid, g.n.); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (jihād, ribāt), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified—hence his name of murābī (pop. marābī)—French and English
But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *marabout* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *qiyam* in their lifetime. *Marabout* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco: *sawfi*, *sasyid*, *sidi*. But it is not the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *banska* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlay* prefixed, the others the title *sidi*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lilla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated—modest though they are (makhmam, *Mawla*)—was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdad, *Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani* (q.v.), popularly called al-Jilali, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous *Mawlay Idriss*, founder and patron saint of Fas. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned: *Mawlay 'Abd al-Salam Ibn Masihab*, patron of the *Jbile*; *Mawlay Abu Salham*, in the Ghizar; *Mawlay Abu T-Ehitha* al-Khammar (Mawlay Bishshah), in the north of Fas; *Sidi Muhammad b. 'Isa*, patron of Meknes and founder of the brotherhood of the *Tawla*; *Mawlay Abu Shu'ayb* (Besh'ib), at Azemmour; *Mawlay Abu Ya' zuza* (Edza'aza), in the Tadla; *Sidi Abu T-Abbas* al-Sayyid (Sidi Bel-'Abbas), born at Cotta, patron of the *Sidi Bel-Abbés* who, for the most have been or will be the subjects of articles, and others less famous, are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with in the article *Makhmam*.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is not confined to Musims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims reverence their tombs: e.g. those of the Rabbi 'Amir in Ashan, near Wassan and of Rabbi Ben Zakkai at Saïf. On the other hand, the great number of Jews of Morocco show a special reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*kemr*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *kemr* of *Mawlay Idriss* in Fas and that of *Mawlay 'Abd al-Salam* B. Masihab in the mountains of the north-west. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes; more than that, they are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islam in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *sorfia*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *shari`i* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies who in turn distribute the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *sorfia*. The *sorfia* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *faskh* and the tenants are called *fashah*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*kudif*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *sorfia* may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important: the great Moroccan *sorfia* are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islam in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *sorfia*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *shari`i* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies who in turn distribute the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *sorfia*. The *sorfia* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *faskh* and the tenants are called *fashah*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*kudif*) from pious private individuals.

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It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawly Ya'kib in Morocco, who always has a kubba beside thermal springs, whose curative virtues are recognised.

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islam may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary. The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna, but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox.

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices. Many of them are strangely like agrarian rites, especially practised by the lower classes of society, and are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islam, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them: they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islam into Morocco.

 Speakers; he retains this figure in the 1954 edn. (250).

while the towns and lowlands are more and more mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. Essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk of the Banu Hilal and of the Sularm (6th/12th centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco Muslim conquest, then in the 6th/12th at the coming of the Banu Hilal and the Sulaym. Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Ya'qub al-Mansur, Arabic scenes to which went to begin almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns, Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrisi (Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, text 79, ir. 90) already notes that in the 6th/12th century the Berber tribes of the southern highlands of Fas (Banu Ysid, Pandalawa, Bahlil, Zargara, Magassa, Shaiyat and Saliqun) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabisation of the mountainous country of the Jbala (plur. of jbel, 'highlander') while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbala, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a sorden of towns: Nakdr, Bades, Tighzas, Tetsouan, Ceuta, al-Kar al-Saghir, Tanger, Azilal, al-Karg al-Kubir, Aqsa, Agjen, Banu Tawudh, Wallil, Fas, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region; besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco: the roads from Fas to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bades, to Nakdr and to Ghasa; it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbala should be the first region of Morocco to be arabicised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1. the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Kur'anic culture; 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the 4th/10th century among the Jbala of Idrisi qatira who, driven from Fas by Mughlami and Abyd, 'Aliya al-Milka, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3. the tribes of the Jbala furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalusia; 4. lastly, the rebellions and civil wars which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the 'rising of the suburb' at Cordova (in 927/818) down to the 10th/16th century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbala either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (resettlement of T tetouan, foundation of Shafishawan) bringing there, along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority.

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished:

a. Urban dialects; b. highland dialects; c. Bedouin dialects; and we may add: d. the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, al-Diracta, Safi and al-Suwara (and to a certain degree Meknes and Marrakech) the
people of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fás, Rabat-Sale, Tetouan, Taza, al-Kasr al-Kabir; Tangier, Wazzán and Shâshâwân also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects. Meknès and Marrakesh have been influenced by the Bedouin elements introduced by the maghrebi groups into the dialects of these two old capitals. It is interesting to note the ease of Azemmûr where the old town (Azemmûr al-Haçar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in more recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawliy Abî Êhu<ayb (al-Bû Shâshâb), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdentals of the classical language, the affective pronunciation (t) of ât, the frequent attenuation of kâf to hamza. In Fás, b, m, k, g and dâf assimilate the lam of the article and are treated as "sun letters"; the simple dâf is pronounced like the French j (= Persian j), but when it is geminated, it gives jî in Fás and dî in Tangier. The râ is often pronounced very close to the French uvular r.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fás, we may note the contraction kebbâ "she has written it" for kirîbî + û, and the use of an invariant relative di representing the old dialectal dâl. Tangier and Tetouan have a proposition m. "to" which is used before nouns (a-dâ-dâr "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns. To translate "of", Marrakesh uses t; the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: agkâ because", belï "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefa of the present indicative: ka- in the north, car- in the south. Fás uses one almost as much as the other.

b. Highland dialects. These are at least as well known as those of the towns. In 1920 G. S. Coli published notes on that of the Taï and the Brênes in the north of Taza; in 1922, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha; since then, Coli had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Htemar (near Tetouan), of the Mestasa (near Bidis) and of the Qhâzâwa (near Shâshâwân).

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects. The tribes which use them belong to two political clans probably originally of different racial origin: the Ghumâra, the old inhabitants, and the Sânghârâ, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries; but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects:

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shâshâwân and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumâra; s. the southern dialects, from Wazzán to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes: first, the Sânghârâ tribes of the valley of the Wargha: Sânghârâ of the Central Wargha, Sânghârâ of the Sun and of the Shade, of Môbâb and of Gheddo; secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanâta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza: Mârâsa, Brânès, Taâl, Mâdrâwa and Meknâsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanâta and Sânghârâ peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest; the Sânghârâ of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumâra. We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group.

The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabisation of the Ghumâra and that of the Sânghârâ-Zanâta; 2. the non-identity of the Berber subsrata.

To the two main groups: Ghumâra and Sânghârâ-Zanâta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south: the highlanders of the region of Sefrû to the south of Fás (Ihâfîl, Bâi Yâghna etc.), and the Ghîyâta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fás-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the 6th/7th century we know from al-Ibîl.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterized by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives. We find the interdentals th and dh which do not represent the classical interdentals; thâtha and dâtha have given in these dialects t and ð respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated; but after a vowel we have th and dh bânt "daughter", plur. bûnt; after a vowel also kâf is pronounced as a spirant like the ð of modern Greek. The representative of the group of the classical language is usually ð, sometimes hardened to ð, but among the Ghumâra we have dh (= emphatic dâl). The sound ð is fairly common. The short vowels are commoner than in the towns; many of the short vowels i and u of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects îrî rîrî and a few irî rîrî.

As to morphology, the fam. personal suffixes -a (< -â) and pl. âm (< -âm) are characteristic; they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. -w, -o (< -wu). Among the northern Jbala we find the use of a suffix -â marking the plural. It seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in -dâm: shâbrâyn "two months", yiddâh "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is d. The classical construct state (îdâfà) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases; linguistically replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition d "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing. Almost everywhere the preludes of the 2nd pers. com. and of the 3rd pers. fem. of the imperfect are -a- (not â-); dhokh "he wrote, the writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type mešjâfî: mešjâfî "sold", mešjûdə "filled up". Finally, we may note a few
traces of a passive of the form ḫāl-yafālī: Ḫālī "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word fā "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Bedouin group. It is the townspeople who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects are used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts, added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands, suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbala still seem coarse and quaint. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguistic finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym (cf. W. Marçais, Teses about the Tabrouna, i, preface, p. XXVIII).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Bedouin group are the following:—

loss of the classical interdentals;

pronunciation of Ḫāf as h or kama (and not g as among the Bedouins);

tendency to the syllabic grouping R² * R^1 when R^3 is not a laryngal nor a sonant;

rarity of the construct state;

suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in -u, -e (and not -āb, as among the Bedouins);

relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with dāl: dād-dār dāl-l, "my house";

diminutives of R² * R^1 * R^2 or R² * R^1 * R^3 becomes R² * R^1 * iyām, "little dog";

diminutives of adjectives of the types R² * R^1 * R^2 (< class.: ʾafal) and R² * R^1 * R^2 becomes R² * R^1 * b√, "a little red"; b√, "a little large";

plural of the adjectives R² * R^1 * R^3 (< class.: ʾafal) becomes R² * R^1 * R^3, ʾtābāl, "black" (plur.);

reduction of the finals of the words in the plural, adjectives used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts, added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands, suffice to explain why the dialects of the Jbala still seem coarse and quaint. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguistic finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaym (cf. W. Marçais, Teses about the Tabrouna, i, preface, p. XXVIII).

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is -āb. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is -yāb, "the (little) place", lewfiดาว, "the entail".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms: ṣālīnh, "he writes", plur. ṣālīnbn; ṣāleṭir, "Moroccan", ṣāleṭir, "musket", ṣāleṭir, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is -āb. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is -yāb, "the (little) place", lewfiดาว, "the entail". It does not seem that the Bedouin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: ḥa-yābīn, from the verb ḥāl "to try"; ṣāʾ-yaḥm, from the verb ṣāʾ "to forget".

We may also note the use of a preposition ʾāb, "to", ʾāb-āb, "he told us".

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Bedouin dialects: ʾāb-ʾāb, "to wish", ṣawā, "yesterday", ṣafākah, ṣafākh, "now", from the classical ṣafā-khilāfāk, d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish; many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former called forasīrīs (Span. "foreigners"); according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic (see JUDIO-ARABIC AND JUDIO-BERBER).
Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another. Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Arabic, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known. The results of the examination are very meagre: the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesimal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic; only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the Jbila country.

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Bedouin dialects and are still found in Berber. A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly, Berber has the scheme tu—t which forms nouns indicating trades (ta-hamni-y, "trade of a mason") and names of abstract qualities (ta-brimti-y, "roguey"); it is however curious to note that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance; it is used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indisputable traces of Berber influence; plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g. ha in Kaddar "Kaddar's brother", with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, -in.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Bedouin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools); they have often remained in Arabic the Berber prefix a-, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also; alongside of the singular in a-, we usually have a Berber plural in a- in. In Tanjier the naye of the mosque is called a-blad; at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form: a-bihf, "the sultan's boat" and a-tay, "tea".

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the makhzen: a-ulq, "a wall of cloth surrounding the sultan's camp"; a-bqal, "a pasture reserved for the sultan's animals"; a-ülq, "lash to punish the guilty"; mawwe, "syndic (našīfe) of the Shārsīs".

The Bedouin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects; their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains. Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed from them a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Bedouins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of bāf as f. The Bedouin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture; but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of "European" borrowings. The song of the vocabulary of a higher culture and relates to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body. There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin. All these "European" loans are naturally found in large numbers in Northern Morocco, which has been more subject to Mediterranean influences, through refugees from Spain, which have been left as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Bedouin dialects have escaped these influences (cf. Simonet, Dictionnaire arabesque y latines usadas entre los Mosarabes, Madrid 1888; Schuchardt, Die romanisirehen Lehnworte in Berberischen, Vienna 1918; G. S. Colin, Etymologies magribines, in Hesp/rts viii, 1927). It is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib in spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Bedouin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature: the forms sing. a—, plur. a—a, in the first persons of the imperfect.

Now this fact is attested in the 6th/7th century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hiliâb influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese; it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables; this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the Documents intdits d'histoire almoravide that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic (use of bāf, "in order that", mata, "of", first persons of the aorist in a— (a-f), but we have to wait till D. de Torres to find two phrases transcribed (cf. French tr. Paris 1636, 241, 323, 339). Mouette, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a Dictionnaire arabe-esquisque in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf. Relation de la Captivité Par 1683, 350-60). The first grammatical notes were collected by Hést (cf. Efterretninger ... 1779, ch. 8, p. 202-210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (op. cit., 128-33). It is to Fr. de Dombay that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects; the dialect which he deals with is that of
Tangier: (Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae, Vienna 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies: for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his Textes arabo de Tangiers, 207-25; for later works, see the bibliography in Textes arabes de Rabat by L. Brunot and the Bibliographes marocaines given periodically in Hespéris.

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The only texts in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Sa'dian dynasty; the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldûn gives at the end of his Muhadditha among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (Mawlid al-Nabî) and collected in numerous collections existing in manuscript. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Hî'ârin, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetuan. All these early poems belonging to the first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Khânâm (6th/12th century) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called nasîl [lit.], which had this in common with the muraqshah [lit.], that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based on the quantity of the syllables, but it differed from the muraqshah in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse and by the use of a special language called nathîm [see mawlid].

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fits), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epicranes and proverbs; see S. Bismar, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat, in Hespéris 1928 (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered:

a. Classical Arabic, the official language, is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation except on the radio and television. But, thanks to these two methods of communication and to the fact that religious studies which are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fas) and also among the Jbâla (Kur'ânic studies and especially kîndî'â), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels as a result of the process of elongation, e.g. classical dâdîr, plur. dâdîr, "decree of the sultan," borrowed by the popular dialect in the form dâdir, whence a dialect plural dâdir. Several Kur'ânic expressions or phrases of enosics hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: biham [lit. "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", wa-ham [lit. "perhaps"]

b. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 9th/10th century and especially in the 11th/12th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetuan and Rabat-Sâle. Moncté, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remarks is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of those emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islamic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

c. In the palace of the sultan, many black servants of both sexes still spoke Sudanese dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco.

No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consists simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables. One should not, finally, omit to mention that the use of Spanish and, above all, French, which spread during the protectorate, remains as widely spread— if not more so—since independence, and is not without an appreciable effect of dialect formation.

(G. S. Celet)

VIII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

More especially since the end of the Middle Ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 7th/12th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islamic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholarly works which has produced in various branches of "îmâs, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islam the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 19th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim East, has hardly interested the West.
The characteristic feature of this culture, which is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanged. In this country, where tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that, until recent times, this Moroccan fakih, whether he were magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharifian government, possessed the same stock of knowledge as a fakih of the periods of the Marinids or Sa'dians. The same instruction had been given him and by the same methods. He received first of all an elementary education in the Karim school (see Kuttab). He learned the Qur'an by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (zâdil), and the fa'il al-din, which he studied, was governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-words" (ummalât), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the Mushāqūdi altâmirîn of Ibn ʿAbî and the Adîjarumâyyîn). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (shahrb) or glosses (bağhyâns) on works (main) of established reputation and exclusively Islamic in character. The whole trend of his studies was toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result was that in most cases in Morocco men of learning were almost entirely jurists and that they differentiated between purely Islamic sciences (ʿulûm) and profane learning (funûn), with some contempt for the latter. One understands also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Qur'an and the Sunna, theology, law and usul.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fâs and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the Karawâns (Dâr al-Karawiyîn [r.s]) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrâkûsh, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribi character. The whole trend of his studies was toward Morocco. But it is from the Marinid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fâs as an intellectual centre dates: it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the 8th/14th century. Not only did the Marinid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or madrasas around the Dâr al-Karawiyîn and mosques of New Fâs, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it still jealously claims to-day. In the Marinid period, madrasas were also multiplied outside Fâs: Meknès, Salé and Marrâkûsh had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the madrasas, there was the activity of the zâwiyas, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and Sharism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to establish themselves in Morocco in the 10th/16th century. The zâwiyas, religious centres, headquarters of the djâbûd, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fâs could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the zâwiyas, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous. E.g. the Zawiyat al-Dînî (q.v. in Suppl.) in the Middle Atlas, the Zawiyat of Tamart in the land of Dârâ and the Zawiyat of Wazzân (q.v.) in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or sharifs, who taught in the motherhouse of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islamic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim West adopted the Mâlikite rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of ʿilm in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were down to the 7th/13th century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The East did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the islamisation and arabisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrâs b. Ismâ'îl, of whom much that is recorded is legendary, the famous reformer Ibn Tûmârt (q.v.), creator of the Almohad movement and author of several risâlas or 'akhsâs on his teaching; the ùdâr ʿIyâd (476-544/1081-1149 [q.v.]), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the Kûfî al-Shîrûdî and the Maghribi al-wasâl with a collection of biographies of learned Mâlikîs, entitled al-Madârîsh.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for hîrûd: Ibn Barî (8th/14th century); Ibn Fâhâshîh (9th/15th century); the scholar of Meknès Ibn Ghusîl (d. 919/1513); 'Abd al-Rahîm b. al-Khâlî (d. 1086/1673); 'Abd al-Rahîm b. Idris Mandjûr (d. 1175/1766); Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Salâm al-Fâsî (d. 1214/1809); Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sârâqî (d. 1086/1676-7); Sûkkây al-Šâsîn (d. 936/1529); Ridwân al-Dînârî (d. 991/1582); Muhammad b. Kasim al-Šâsîr (d. 1012/1604-5); Idris al-Ifrîkî (d. 1228/1815); for jûk: Abu ʿIbān al-Shâchâyîrî, commentator of the Madârîsh; al-Šâzîlî (q.v.) and Ahmad Zârîk (9th/15th century) commentators of the Risâla of Ibn Abî Zayd al-Karawânsî; al-Wânsîrî (d. 925/1518); Mandîrî (d. 993/1585) [q.v.]; Ibn ʿAbî (d. 1040/1630); Mayârîa (d. 1072/1661); Ibn Maškûrî (d. 807/1404-5); Ibn Zakî (d. 892/1486) [q.v. in Suppl.]. Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann or in Bencheneb's work on the individuals mentioned in the Ighubar of 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Fâsî. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.
claim any great originality and purely literary
figures are rare. Poetry, as a rule—when it is not
didactic (urfij) is religious or mystic. At the
courts, there were always a few literary men
maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists,
often very extravagantly, of their patrons. For
most of the courts, especially from the 8th/14th century, that we find the few historians who
have given us original chronicles or compilations.

Their works, planned on a singularly curious con-
ception of history, have nevertheless the merit
of giving us the only detailed information about the
political history of the country in the period of the
author or immediately preceding it. Those
which date from the Middle Ages are, however, much
the best. The kind of work not only did not im-
prove later, but became simply dry chronicles, in
which events are related in a brief and colourless
fashion.

The early historians of Morocco—besides the
Berber genealogists about whom we do not
know very much—are contemporaries of the Almo-
zdavid dynasty. A little later, the Almoravids find
a person in the company of the Ma'had Ibn Tumart, al-Baydhaq (q.v.), to whom we owe a
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scholar of Marrakush, to whom we owe a
history of North Africa and Spain, the Baydhaq
al-mughribi, that of Ibn: Abu Zafar, author of a
didactic (urdujusa) dictionary of the celebrities of the
country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those
which date from the Middle Ages are, however, much
the best. The kind of work not only did not im-
prove later, but became simply dry chronicles, in
which events are related in a brief and colourless
fashion.
and educated there, he migrated to Khartoum, near Kassala, in the service of his spiritual director, the Maghribi master, Baba Isak. In 770/1367, Baba Isak died, and Ahmad set out on an extended pilgrimage, visiting Arabia, Iraq, and Iran before returning to Dihli, where he lived the rest of his life. The work of this governmental change that the Banu 'I-Maghribi family experienced in the course of two succeeding centuries (the 14th and 15th centuries) the influential functions of kafir, kdtib or intendant (munabbir) at several princely courts throughout the Middle East, in Baghdad, Aleppo, Cairo, Mawil, and other places are mentioned in the work of his life, the grandfather al-Husayn b. 'All was to succeed by his two sons, while real power of government was entrusted to his Nubiau slave qabir. When the last remnants of the ransom had been handed over, the Byzantine authorities gave permission for him to return to his home country. However, soon after his arrival in Aleppo— or, according to some other sources, even before his return—Ahmad was killed by the Byzantine authorities, who had been requested to release a number of Muslim prisoners of war. Also comprised in this act of redemption (fiid) was the deliverance of a second security, a very valuable piece of armour studded with jewels, a hadassa of Sayf al-Dawla himself. This affair of the fiid occurred in 354/965 and is an indication of the importance attached to al-Husayn b. 'Ali as a political personality.

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could boast of some successes in their intrigues, of the Sword and Pen), the Christian MansGr b. 'Abdun. Although initially the Banu *-Magljribi were to change again, this 'Abdun. Although initially the Banu 'l-Magliribl came to be entrusted with a position of influence while his son Abu *-Kasim al-Maglribi (see 4- below) 1 possibly as a consequence of the sudden death of al-Hakira in 386/996. It is perhaps in this period of Abu 'l-Hasan's life that the Syrian poet Abu 'l-ALSAI al-Ma'asrī [g.v.] addressed to him a hasīda, part of which has survived till our time. In this fragment (Shurā b Saht al-sand, Cairo 1947, ili, 158-96, rhyme bismirr) the poet explicitly mentions the Persian descent of his mansūdh, together with other praiseworthy qualities, e.g. his description of Abu 'l-Hasan as one who, instead of silver, only wishes to grant gold to his favourites—at the same time scattering pearls of material origin, accompanying his much more excellent pearls of spiritual wisdom. Notwithstanding the wisdom ascribed to him, Abu 'l-Hasan failed to realise his political aims in Syria, and was recalled to Egypt. There he appears to have escaped the immediate effect of the Fātimid caliph's wrath, possibly as a consequence of the sudden death of al- Fāzīz and the accession to the throne of his successor al-Hākim [g.v.] in 386/996. Once more in Egypt, Abu 'l-Hasan again succeeded in securing for himself a position of some importance, while his son Abu 'l-Kasim al-Maghirī (see 4, below) came to be entrusted with a position of influence in the Diwān al-Sanadīd. Soon, however, the fortunes of the Banu 'l-Maghirī were to change again, this time because of their increasing involvement in a number of intrigues, which culminated in the execution en bloc of the members of the Banu 'l-Maghirī, the representative of the fourth generation of this family (for details about the intrigues, see Ibn al-Kalānī, Dīwā'ī al-Fārīd Dimashqī, 61-2). 4 Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Hasan b. 'All, "al- wāzir al-Maghirī", also called by another surname "al-Kāmil Abu 'l-Waṣāṣatānī", was born in Abu 'l-Hadīja b. Maydān. Maydān, al-Adīm, Bugāya, fol. 14a-b, whose information should be preferred to al-Makrīzī, Ḳāhiī, ii, 158, where instead of Aleppo, Egypt is mentioned as his original home. Having escaped from the massacre in Egypt, Abu 'l-Kāsim at first sought refuge with the Banu 'l-Djarribh (see 394.2.Kāmil), leaders of a clan of Bedouins who exercised some political influence in Palestine more or less independent of al-Hākim's authority. At his request, the chief of this clan, Ḳaṣān b. al-Muṣarriq b. Daḡfar, granted him protection or idār (q.v.), upon which the grateful fugitive composed and recited a fairly long Ḳaṭla, which can be found in Ibn al-Kalānī, Dīwā'ī, 92-3. Once in Palestine, Abu 'l-Kāsim approached the Bedouins against the Fātimid caliph, against whom he evidently felt an unquenchable thirst for revenge. At first, his policy proved successful, for even a quite important town like Rāma, which was under Egyptian jurisdiction, had to undergo a siege and subsequent invasion, looting and massacre—all this, as it appears, at the instigation and advice of Abu 'l-Kāsim. Not yet satisfied, he also planned and executed the erection of a counter-imamate to that of the Fātimids. A Meeqaṭa gaft, al-Hānim, son of Qaṭṭār, who could from his family pedigree claim a descent at least as authentic as that of the Fātimids, Aftīd, was, claimed for himself, asṣīr al-muṣarriq, the honorific title al-Raḥib b. Bīlāh, all this accompanied by the approval and acclamations of Abu 'l-Kāsim and his Djarribid protectors. This rebellion was financed by gold and silver taken from the Kaṭha, melted down, and coined into dinār and dirāms, known as "Kaṭbiyya" ones. However well-planned, the action of Abu 'l-Kāsim failed to achieve any result; the counter-imamate proved unstable on account of the readiness of its Bedouin supporters to accept extensive bribes from al-Hākim. Just in time, Abu 'l-Kāsim was able to leave his former allies and to escape to Irāk and ʿAbbāsīd jurisdiction. In connection with Abu 'l-Kāsim's stay in Irāk, we find in Ibn al-ʻAdīm, Bugāya, fol. 15b, a rather curious report about the suspicion fastened on him by reason of his name "al-Maghirī". The ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Kādir b. Bīlāh wrongly assumed from this pro-Fātimid inclination, the Egyptians being indicated in the east by the term Magharīth. From Wāsit, where Abu 'l-Kāsim had to remain as long as this suspicion circulated, he sent to al-Kādir a ṭuṣkā, in which the original meaning of the name "al-Maghirī" was duly explained, as derived from the Diwān al-Maghirī, a Baghdādī governmental department. Thus having purged his name and political intentions, he was allowed to reside at Baghdād, and was able to begin a completely new career of statesmanship at different princely courts in the Muslim East. After his stay in Baghdād, he is reported to have held several offices, at first in Mawṣil under the ʿUsayyīd prince Kūra Ḵabīb al-Malekī, then at Mayyāfārīgī under the Marwānī prince Naṣr al-Dawla b. Aḥmad. Thereafter, having returned via
Mawil, he held for a short while the office of wazir in Baghdad in the caliph's service. But because of his involvement in pro-Ali riots in Kufa, he incurred al-Kādi's displeasure, and had to retrace his steps, again seeking refuge at the court of his former protector the Marwânid Nâṣr al-Dâwla.

Finally, at Mayyâshârîn, he died in 468/1027, but before his death his ever-scheming mind had already planned that his mortal remains should be carried 10 Mashhad Allûr Kâfû, without unduly attracting the attention of his opponents, for burial near the holy shrine. To this end, he is reported to have sent letters containing the request that the body of a beloved female slave of his might pass in coffin through the intervening territories; only after the funeral were the real nature of the coffin's contents known.

From among the wazir's works, the following may be mentioned here:

(1) A compilation (known only in manuscript) of Ibn al-Sîkit's work, Isâhî al-masokhî.

(2) al-'Anas bi-lim al-asâd (also in ms.), containing many names for Arab tribes, which by their mutual resemblance or their unusual construction might easily cause misunderstanding or confusion.


(4) Kitâb fi l-tasîina, ed. Sâmî al-Dâhâmîn, Damascus 1498, is a short manual for an unmaned ruler, giving him advice how to attain the ideal form of government. In doing this he should at first understand how to organise his own way of living; and secondly how to behave towards the higher classes of society in his empire, and which qualifications are to be required in order for his subjects to perform certain functions in the ruler's service, for example the ones of chancellor (kitâb), chamberlain (hâdîq [q.s.]), tax-collector-in-chief, etc. Thirdly, the ruler should know how to restrain the masses, in view of their inclination to revolt. In conclusion, the author quotes an injunction given by Abû Bakr to Yazid b. Abî Sufyân, when the latter was sent with an army to Syria (cf. Ibn al-Azhîr, sub numa 13 H., where a variant text is given). Although the author of the Kitâb fi l-tasîina never discloses the identity of the prince to whom the work was dedicated, it may be surmised that the Marwânid ruler of Mayyâshârîn, Nâṣr al-Dâwla Ahmad, who on several occasions had shown himself to be a loyal advisor to Abu al-Kâstim b. Abî Sufyân, is meant.

Contemporary judgments upon the wazîr are known to us from two sources. A negative appreciation is found in the work of 'Ali b. Masûr b. Tâlib Dawkhâla 'Ibn al-Kâdî' who, for a long time, until shortly before 409/1010, had been a tutor employed for the education of the sons of the Banu 'I-maghrîbî. Abu 'I-Kâstîm had been one of his pupils, but after the massacre of the family, "'Ali b. Masûr detached himself from it and composed this hûzîd [q.s.] full of abuse and strong criticism against Abu 'I-Kâstim. In this poem, he accuses the wazîr of inter alia having been the indirect instigator of his family's ruin through his own intrigues (see for details, Yebוצר, Usâbâh, v. 424-7)."

Later on, Abu 'I-'Alî al-Ma'ârî Fitzgerald appears to have criticised this hûzîd poem. At any rate, 'Ali b. Masûr felt himself obliged to remove the unfavourable impression made, and this among other things (see also al-Ma'ârî) was the aim of a letter which he addressed to al-Ma'ârî. This letter and al-Ma'ârî's reaction to it are now available in the annotated edition of 'Abâb 'Abd al-Rahmânîn, Risâlât al-Ghâfîfân wa-al-ma'âhid (Risâlât Ibn al-Kâstim mibâhid jahânîm) (Cairo 1963 and later editions). Al-Ma'ârî's answer to Ibn al-Kâstim's criticism of the wazîr is found in the Risâlât al-Ghâfîfân, and is characterised by an inclination to gloss over any possible false steps made by the wazîr. In particular, Abu 'I-Kâstim's intrigues in Egypt are ascribed to his youthful ambition and lack of experience, and their terrible result as being the ultimate effect of crushing Fate (R. al-Ghâfîfân, 5.4).

Finally, a dirge (masârîya) composed by the poet, not only due to the occurrence of the wazîr's death has survived, having been included in the poet's second collection the Lusum mai la yâsdâm (ed. 'Abd Zâd, Cairo 1872-5, ii, 434; ed. Bombay 1386/1967, 3-46). In one verse of this poem, the poet seems to acknowledge that a certain measure of criticism against the wazîr's way of life could be justified, cf. 1. 7: "If the two angels who accompanied you did write down some small sin, how many an excellent characteristic contrasting this can be found, always wiping it out!" Elsewhere in the same poem, the Ma'ârî makes mention of the wazîr's precious library which survived its owner. Two centuries later, we find Ibn Shaddâd (d. 685/1285 [q.s.]) reports its continued existence in his topographical work al-'Adâb al-khâfi'râ fi al-dinar ummâr, al-Shām wa l-Dârâ (apud Kitâb fi l-tasîina, 390), with the following words: "In Mayyâshârîn there was extant this library which up till the present time is known as "al-Maghrîbî's Library"."

leadership of the lived autonomous Kurdish Republic under the...

...of 79/695 to 83/702. Arabs had settled in this district by the 3rd/9th century the taxes of Mah al-Basra were reckoned at a maximum of 4,800,000 dirhams. In 326/939-50 Mah al-Basra was assigned as a mint to al-Mutawakkil; he endowed al-Mutawakkil with the sons of 'Idris b. 'Uzayr al-Dinhar, who owned the town of Abi al-Muslin, lived in Mah al-Asra. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries Mah al-Asra is described as a fertile, lush, well-watered district producing dhurra, saffron, and fruit, with the best black clay for seal impressions, buildings of clay and two mosques.

...of al-Kufa and Nihawand to Mah al-Basra...
areas. Mahābād's streets were paved, city water and fighting improved, an irrigation project began near the city and a modern road connecting Mahābād with Rīdī'īyya and Sanandaj was completed.

In 1974 a truce between Mullā Muṣṭaṭa Barzānī and the 'Irāqī government ended in renewed fighting. This time the Kurds received strong backing from Iran, and Mahābād became the unofficial rest area behind the front. Its streets were filled with Harzāni's Peng Me'a fighters driving captured 'Irāqī vehicles, and the bazaar resounded to stories of free-spending Kurdish fighters. As the fighting intensified, Kurdish non-combatants from 'Irāq increasingly sought refuge in camps in the Mahābād area.

The 1975 Algiers Agreement put a sudden end to the Kurdish war, and over 100,000 new refugees fled to join the 30-40,000 already in Iran (about 28,000 of these were in the area around Mahābād). Mullā Muṣṭāfa, his family and many of his tribesmen settled near Mahābād. By the end of 1975, most of the refugees had returned to 'Irāq and the remainder (about 30,000) had been forced to leave the Kurdish areas of the Trans-Iranian area. For the merchants and farmers the country was abandoned, and Mahābād was moved to Tehran, and eventually went to the United States where he died in 1975.

Calm returned to Mahābād until the beginning of the Iranian revolution in 1978. Initially, the city united to seek the ousting of the Shah. This unity, however, was quickly followed by strife between Kürds demanding greater autonomy and revolutionary guards supporting Khomaini (Khūnayni). The most bitter fighting occurred in Sanandaj, but Mahābād again became the seat of the nationalist Kurdish movement. The city was captured by government forces in 1979, but was returned to Kurdish control as part of a negotiated truce. The area remained chaotic with various groups manoeuvring for power, including the sons of Mullā Muṣṭāfa, Ḥādī and Maṣṣūd, and the 1980 Iranian 'Irāqī war was added to the complexities as some Iranian troops were moved out to join the fighting in the south.

(W. Eagleton and R. Neumann)

MAHĀBĀT KHĀN, military leader in Mughal India. Zamāna Beg (later known as Mahābāt Khān) was the son of Ḥaṣṣayyur Beg Kābulī, a Rāṣṭhāni Sayyid, who migrated from Shaṭrūţ to Kābul during the reign of Akbar and settled there. Zamāna Beg entered the service of Akbar's son Salīm as an aṭābār (cavalry trooper) and rose to the rank of 500. After Diḥāṅgīr's accession (October 1605) he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and given the title of Mahābāt Khān, becoming a trusted confidante of that Emperor. He led a rather unsuccessful campaign against Mīndwār (1608), but rose nevertheless to the rank of 4,000/5,000 by 1610. In 1615 he was awarded dā Ḃāṣṭa sīḥ rank and was posted to the Deccan. Apparently unable to get on with Shāh Diḥāṅ, he was transferred and made governor of Kābul. When Shāh Diḥāṅ rebelled in 1622, Mahābāt Khān was called upon by Diḥāṅgīr and the Empress Nūr Diḥāṅ to command the imperial troops. He was awarded the highest possible rank for a noble, viz. 7,000/8,000. He pursued Shāh Diḥāṅ to the Deccan, with a force under the titular command of Prince Pārvīz, and then marched across the empire to eastern India in order to expel Shāh Diḥāṅ from that region. He then returned with Pārvīz to the Deccan. Although his enhanced power and prestige aroused much jealousy at the court, he was now appointed to Benga. Provoked by certain demands for accounts and by the humiliation of his son-in-law, he suddenly carried out a coup (March 1626), capturing the person of Empire Diḥāṅgīr, who now appointed him wāzzī. His power, however, came to an end within three months. He fled and was on the run when Diḥāṅgīr died (1627).

Mahābāt Khān in the meantime made his peace with Shāh Diḥāṅ, who after his accession (January 1628) appointed Mahābāt Khān governor of Aḏīrār and then in the same year sent him to the Deccan as vicere. In 1629 he was appointed governor of Diḥīlī, and in 1632 again vicere of the Deccan. Mahābāt Khān won a signal success when he captured Daulatābād in 1633, but lost much prestige when he failed before Pārentā last year, being censured and recalled. He died in 1646 and was buried in Diḥīlī at the Kadamāgīr of Shāh Mardān.

Mahābāt Khān considered himself an opponent of both the dominant Iranī and Tūrānī factions in the Mughal nobility; his troops consisted in a large part of Rāsidūtpats. Though lacking a religious education, he was said to be skilled in astrology and astronomy, and to have embraced Shīːmī in his old age. His eldest son Amān Allāh Ḥusaynī (Ḵān Zamīn) was also his trusted confidante; his son, Lahrāsp, rose to occupy high office under both Shāh Diḥāṅ and Awrangzīb, enjoying the title of Mahābāt Khān II.


(M. Atar Alī)

MAHALL (Ar. lit. "place of aligning, settling, abode"), in the context of Islamic India, widely used in the sense of "palace pavilion" or "hall", and more particularly of private apartments in the palace, the mahāl-sād—hence also a queen or consort. It seems not to have achieved the same currency in Iran. Here it appears as equivalent to Hindī mandir, mandar or manda, sometimes reclaiming these in areas under strong Muslim influence such as Rajāstān. Much palace terminology is Persian, though specialised Hindī terms like ḡaṭār for a hall with three adjacent bays or doors, and ḡhātra or for one with twelve (3 each side) are applied to Muslim buildings, the latter figuratively as "summer house". Consideration of their architectural development entails a review of the palace layout in which they were set.

1. Diḥīlī Sultanate. Though none of the Mamlūk palaces have survived, Ibn Baṭṭūta [9.] has left a description of the Kūḥ-i Lāl [1] in Kīfāt Rāy Pīlīrā (see nts.) as used by Sultan Pīlīlāl al-Dīn Kāhilī (689-91/1290-91), comprising two great audience courtyards (māshirār) in sequence, with a closed building at the rear. In the first was an immense vestibule (dākhāz), and both were overlooked by a double range of (900+20) tall columns of large blocks of white granite in the sultan set to watch games (Rīāl, iii, 271). He writes of Muhammad b. Tughūk's new palace (see ca. 1335-41), the Dār Sārā at Diḥāṅ-gān-pān, in similar terms, noting the platforms (or cells ? 1333-41), the Dar Sarfl at a Jahan-panih, in

-i, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta
Ustân, with painted timber columns supporting a finely-carved roof. Each gate had provision for musikans to signal the arrival of dignitaries, and the third was controlled by clerks who registered entry (ibid., ii, 217-21). Its use of magâvar for both courts and the hall is ambiguous, but he later shows that the audience was covered by a great tent (bârga for P. bârga) at festivals; at the Khâkkh-La'î both courts could be covered by canopies (payâyân; ibid., iii, 232, 233, 273). These successively more private areas, with formal guard posts in the first court, were to be essential features of Mughal palaces two centuries later, as were raised pavilions and tentage. Of Ghiyât al-Dîn Tughluk’s palace at Tughluâkâbâd we learn that its tiles (bîrmda) were gilded so as to shine in the sun (ibid., iii, 214). Reference to the hall flanking his tomb shows that masonry could be extensive, with sculpted chakhâkhâ sâves above the lintels, sturdy piers, and cross-bracket capitals reproducing earlier Hindu ones in timber. Firuz Shâh’s description shows pictures and portraits to have decorated walls and doors. The remains of the palace of Firuz Shâh (525-54/1513-88) in his Mâtât (see Dîhil, and J. A. Page’s account, in Memoir ASI, iii, Delhi 1937) confirm the description by Shams-i Sirâtî Aftâf (Ta’rikh-i Firuz-shâhî, lium iv, madekadda 4). The Mabâll-i Shâhâ-i Gîlân was used for receiving dignitaries, the Mabâll-i Châdîji-yi Câbn for court officials, and the Mabâll-i Bârî-î Amm for public audience. The sitting of this fort along the Dîmann [g.v.] allowed the private apartments and the tâmâna to benefit from the cooler microclimate, the reflection and the view over the water. Its character can be inferred from the severe, utilitarian style typical of the reign, as seen at the Kâbîr-i Kâhás [see Dîhil, 2] with plain, battered towers flanking colonnades of double squared piers, vaulted cells, multiple brackets, and a roof line relieved by pyramidal hooded roofs on projecting dîharâkh balconies, or an occasional dome. It was whitewashed for royal visits, presumably on stucco, and decorated with garden scenes (ibid., iv, 5, and v, 2). The royal establishment extended to 36 bâhâkhane handling its material needs.

The publication followed an international convention, for an axial recession of courts was used both in the Mongol palace at Khân Bâllik (Peking) and in the dominant Muslim models at Baghdât (1425-72) and Sâmârâ (ca. 211/82-85) [g.v.]. The latter had conspicuous âtâkah and culminated in a domed throne chamber, both notably absent in Hindustân, where they were replaced by trebled columned halls derived from a long local tradition, through hypostyle palaces such as Cîlîa (8th-century A.D., ASI, xxi [1885], 9 ff. and pl. v.) or the open verandah of the Kâtâbâ Mabâll at Ranoz (ca. 1000 A.D., ASI, li [1872], 303 ff.), which already show the characteristic squared columns, cross-bracket capitals, lattices (dîhil), merlons, and the eaves pent designed to shade the interior and throw off monsoon water. Muslim buildings were to combine these elements with the use of arches and vaults (the first cross vault is found at Tughluâkâbâd) and articulate such halls into an ensemble. The elimination of the dîhil as audience hall, perhaps under Firuz Shâh, facilitated the integration, though it was still used in camp. The mahâll as a setting for elaborate court ceremony (Ibn Ba’tüfîa, iii, 212-42) was distinct at this time from the khâkkh, a less formal pavilion, and the sârây, or villa of a mâtât or shâhâkî.

ii. Dâkhân. At Bîdâr [g.v.] the palace buildings enclosed in the south of the Fort represent the in-

fusion of a largely Tughluâkîd inheritance with direct Iranian influence in a gamut of formal structures that later evoked parallels in the North. Some of the Bahmanî [g.v.] buildings are now disguised by Barîî Shâhî [g.v.] secretions, but most are attributed to Ahmad Shâh Wâl (839/1439 for nine years). They are of stone, faced with stucco and tilework, with finely carved jambs and archivolts of hornblende; traces of timber columns show they were once painted and gilded, on square hornblende bases. The ruined court identified as the Diwân-i Amm (Hall of Public Audience) is nearly square, the southern three-quarters paved for privileged access, with entry from east and west, and a hall placed centrally to the south seven bays wide by three deep, the middle bay being wider; this has a range of private rooms along the rear, and access to raised dîharâkh facing the yard, probably for ministerial interview, at each end. The court was colonnaded, with an octagonal pool, fountains, and cascade; the upper storey of the hall opened through rhythmically spaced arches filled with terracotta dîhil work. Tilework on the dôdôs was mainly blue, with polychrome floral designs of Timûrid character, as at Gâzur Gâh (828/1425) on square units (see Kâtâbâ) (cf. G. Yazdani, Bîdâr, Oxford 1947, 62-6 and pl. xxxii-xxx). An intermediate court, or pîrdâkh, immediately to the north, with a multi-domed annexe, leads west into a third, inscribed as the Kaâfî-i Sulân, perhaps a hall of private audience, now known as the Taqîtâb Mabâll after the turquoise throne really housed in the public hall (ibid., 6, and 66-77, pls. xxxi-xxxii). Here too a loggia faced north across the yard above long steps, only three bays wide by two deep, but with wider spans at 5.01 m/16′. The broad central bay led to a magnificient octagonal royal hall, once domed 30.30 m/100′ above the floor, on the caliphal model. Painted in vermilion and gold, it had Hindu niches, and fine tiling, some in relief, and a little in mosaic, framed by the massive arches. A varied but symmetrical complex of rooms around the court includes a mûftid [g.v.] opening through three bays on the west and another octagonal pavilion of it behind an elaborate pîrdâkh. The royal hall opens westward to a private court with a tank, alcoves, a tîhîna hall (bedroom?) and an elaborate hâmâmî [g.v.] on two levels. Most of the spaces are linked axially, and long rooms are flanked by service spaces or contrasting, smaller rooms; the surfaces are carefully articulated with recesses.

An east-west axis links these to another series of courtyards, the main halls invariably facing northwards. The largest, the La’î Bâgh, runs north and south, with baths to the north, the Dîmani Mâqâîdî along the west, and the three storries of the Tarkegh Mabâll in the south, notable for panels of carved stucco (ibid., 57-9, pls. xix-xl) and multiple niches. In the Gagan Mabâll, two courts are set side-by-side, and the halls are partially em-
bodded in the masonry of the ramparts, with ranges of plastered vaults (ibid., 50-2, pl. xxii). In a cluster of small but exquisite rooms rebuilt by All Barîî (949-87/1542-79) as the Rangîn Mabâll, a loggia of three bays by two is prolonged by two enclosed bays at each end, and the roof is still upheld by squared timber pillars with tiered capitals in Hindu style, and deep brackets with pendant Hindu bosses at each step, but with arabesques carved on the sides and an early cusped arch where they meet. On the central axis, an arch of black stone inlaid with mother-of-pearl leads through a square
The walls of its T-shaped mass are emphasised by the use of long flights of steps to enhance the massing. A local and successful element is the pavilions ranged in between, and their symmetry about a central entry. Water is tanked at three levels, twice in square pools with graciously curved stepped verges. More typically Muslim are the extensive use of pointed arches; the central one spanning the full width of the istbâra, 90'9"/18.5 m, provides a dramatic setting for the king in state, while at the ends, the same height, effectively limit the composition. The GonBadh in Assi, NIS xxvii [1916], pl. xviii-xix, Ibrahim I's Sînî Shah Bârsa (sic) is by contrast serious, but superbly accomplished. The Ku''k Mahall at Fatehâbâd near Canderi, identified as the seven-storied palace built ca. 849/1445 by Mahmud, has comparable transverse arches spanning two hall galleries which cross at right angles, dividing the square plan into four equal halls that open onto the galleries through three tiers of arcades, rather than the outside: a device for procuring shade and cooler air.

The Ku''k Mahall (sic) in the palace of Cihil Sutun built at Djuwârî (ibid., pl. lxix-x). This in turn was developed in Mahârâ (op. cit., pl. xxxvii [1916], pi. xvi-xvii). 4

The Gagan Maballat Bîsâpur (post-889/i484), the Sîd Manzil, in steps on a platform 122 m down a causeway between two lakes, presents beautiful sites. The Dji'ahaz Mahall, extending 70-3. A similar but larger hall, "Gada Scab's Shop", attributed to Sikandar Lodî at Sikandra (945) to 1495) and in its proportions, and an evident delight in building. Arches appear in a secondary role, as infilling in the bârdarîs, while the spandrils were once fretted. Open bâ‘adars of 16 cm and 24 inches and a hemispherical dome over each bay also rely on systems of lintels. At Câmpânpur (op. cit., 1910-n), Mahmûd built another palace of seven stories (post-889/i484), the Sît Manzil, in steps on the edge of a cliff; only the lower level remains.

v. The emergence of other forms may be glimpsed in the palace of Chîl Sutun built at Djuwârî (ibid. for illustration) by Firuz Shah's governor, where the square building surrounded by a verandah rises to a terrace carrying a large châna whose massive vault has gently curving hips. A bârdarî attributed to Sikandar Lodî at Sikandra (ibid.) may form the basis of the tomb of Marmam al-Zamânî [d. 1949/1632]: square in plan, it is ventilated by four corridors crossing at right angles to form nine blocks of rooms, with a central entrance on each face, and a flat roof over cross vaults, domes, and barrel vaults.

vi. Mughal. Buildings from Humâyûn's reign...
MAHALL

(937-47/1330-40) are described by K̲h̲ān Bahā' al-Dīn (K̲h̲ān-i Humāyūnī, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940, Bibl. Ind. no. 200, 62-3, 68, 78) as a series of innovations, mostly incorporating astrological symbolism and a preoccupation with polygonal forms no doubt related to the Timūrid tradition. A portable timber palace in three stories, the K̲h̲ān-i Rauwān, used at Āgra and Gwalīyar in 940/1533, was hexagonal and well equipped with various different colour each side. He constructed a palace inside the Lodi fort at Āgra (q.v.) and a Daulāt-Khānā-yi Tīlūn on the bank of the Dīnāmūr, built around a central octagonal reception hall with a sunken tank, flooded at will, and a central platform (cf. Gulbādan Bāgh, *The history of Humāyūn*, ed. and tr. A. Beveridge, London 1902, text 314, tr. 118-24).

A smaller octagon adjoined the north, with alcoves, and the Dīnāmūr the west, facing the khībā (q.v.), with a garden to the east. Above these were further three rooms (badīh-khānā) the Khānā-yi Daulāt containing the ninetenth Cingūrī panoply, the Akbar- nal I, and the Pīhāgāt, a pavilion and private audience hall. There was also a forecourt, pāhāgāt, where a throne could be set. Remarkably, internal stairs assumed no architectural importance until the end of the 18th century.

The one remaining building from the citadel of Purānā Kīlā, (see DHI. 2) begun by Humāyūn but finished by Shēr Shāh, is perhaps in the same tradition, as a two-storeyed octagon of sandstone crowned by a kiosk, about 18 m tall, the Shēr Mandāla. The space inside rises as one volume, painted with coloured designs, punctuated by a gallery. It was used as a library and observatory.

A smaller octagon in line with this building may be found in Bābur's comment (915/1528) on the Palace of Mān Singh (1480-1516) at Gwalīyar (q.v.) Fort, that it was wonderful, but "solidly subdivided and without regularity" compared to Timūrid models (Bābar-nāma, ed. A. Beveridge, London and Leiden 1905, 340 ff.). Such over-compactness and lack of axial development were to be corrected.

*vi. Akbar (932-1014/1516-1605 q.v.)* initiated a prolific programme of palace building when he was twenty-two. The camp, in which the court spent much time (see MANT) can be taken as an idealised palace plan, to be modified according to the site, but not achieved in solid form until the reign of Shah Jahān.

As described by Abu 'l-Fadl (Al'i Akbar, 1, 482, 16-18), the royal precinct was a rectangle accessible from the eastern end, where a great forecourt, flanked by stables and a records office (dāfār-khānā), led up to a rectangle roped off for the court of public audience (dāfār-khānā-yi ẓāmnā); beyond this was a private audience hall (dāfār-khānā-yi khaṣṣ) within its own enclosed court, and then another court (maqām) where the Emperor received his closest courtiers in the evening. Still further east, beyond a small guard court, lay the women's quarters (hāṣbān-i ṣabāb) with private dwellings, a hall, and a two-storied wooden oratory from which he received the august visitors. The main road then lay on one axis, with a drum house (nakṣar-khānā) facing on the approach. Both camp and palace were set for a strict routine of ceremony and administration observed daily (see Ẓīn, I, nos. 72-4; Ibn Hāsan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, Oxford 1936, 65 ff.; Sir J. Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935, 19-21).

Akbar's first palace at Āgra (q.v.), the hunting lodge at Nagar ācyn near Kāhramāl, was started in 1564. From 972/1564-5 to 980/1572-3 Āgra Fort was rebuilt as Akbarbad, in red sandstone in place of the crumbling Lodi brickwork; the massive ashlar was to characterise future Mughal work (see Bayzūnī, ii, 4). In this case, the optimum position along the eastern parapet overlooking the Dīnāmūr and the main approach from the Dihīf Gate in the west allowed the favoured axis, modified by extension of more than 500 buildings of masonry, after the beautiful designs of Bengālī and Gitjarat (17th tr. ii, by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1891, 185), and in 1569 Pelsaert confirms that it was built over like a city with streets and shops, princely buildings and residences, with māhalls for the ladies (ed. W. H. Moreland and P. Geyi as *Jahangir's India*, repub. Delhi 1972, 24) leaving little room.

This aesthetic eclecticism, consistent with the policy of sulh-i khalq ("universal toleration") must have profited from an influx of craftsmen from both regions, then disrupted, and from Gwalīyar, reappear in 985/1578. The synthesis is evident in the two buildings, known as the Dīnāmūr Mahāl and the Akbarī Mahāl (such names have since disappeared) remaining from Akbar's private apartments, which seem to have extended to the Mughānsu Barī corner in a symmetrical group. Pelsaert (loc. cit.) mentions the mahāl of the Queen Mother, three others, and a Bangālī Mahāl, with which one of these may be identified; if so, it was built before 977/1569 (see R. Freude Tucker, in *ASIAR* [1907-8], 82, but cf. Sir J. Marshall in *ASIAR* [1902-3], 62, and Nur Bāghā in *ASIAR* [1902-3], 169-71).

The trabeated "Akbarī Mahāl" ran in two stories round a square courtyard with flat roofs; a hall was set at the centre of three sides with an axial entry on the west, the roof having a small pavilion, uniquely of marble. This closed format is repeated in the "Dīnāmūr Mahāl" where many features of scale, construction and decoration show derivation from Gwalīyar, though the vigorous Hindu style is blended with Islamic arches on the upper floor, and lightened by tāhirs and latticed balustrades; the interior is remarkable for dramatic brackets supporting the ceiling. The buildings east of this court are in a markedly more Iranian style, dominated by four-centred arches and alcoves, with slender columns to the portico; this elegance, and that of the entrance façade, resembles work of the early 1560s at Dihī (the formal grouping of iwanās around a waterside terrace was reiterated at Māndī around the Nīl-kanh shrine dated 985/1574-5). On the Shāh Burdī was a small pavilion, uniquely of marble.

Work on the Fort at Lāhāw (q.v.), in burnt brick, is recorded in 972/1566, and Akbar's hall of public audience (daulāt-khānā-yi ẓāmnā) was in use by 986/1577, with an open rectangular courtyard of 114 bays, as confirmed in a plan of the Sikhs period. Its raised dīhābāhā, from which the King held audience, survives as a projection from a former pavilion (computed in the plan of R. Froude Tucker in *ASIAR* [1907-8], 82, as "Shāh Burdī-nāma") in the Royal Library, Windsor, set in Āgra, showing a very similar arrangement; see B. Gray (ed.), *The arts of India*, Oxford 1951, fig. 127). The courtyard subsequently built by Dīnāmūr immediately north of this, probably for private audience, completed this axial scheme up to the river Rāwī; the private apartments were to extend from there westward.

The most extensive palace remaining from Akbar's
The purpose of several buildings is uncertain, and expanded in a pavilion of five bays broken forward.

Nearby, the oldest royal building, the Rang records office courtyard to the south (Rizvi and dikardkhd-yi darshtut in the rear overlooking the axis muhdi catwalks: an embodiment of the central roof strutted as at Agra. The “Dlw&n-i radjah in front. The garden, centred on a square tank with fountains, introduces another element of the classical palace plan. This court was probably the private audience hall, then known as the shahjahan in the fort founded in 978/1570-3, only a bârdar, the “Zanana Palace”, has survived. A peristyle of double columns surrounds a central hall, and the terraced roof is set off by latticed kiosks.

At Allahâbâd [q.v.], in the fort founded in 971/1563-4 initiates a pastiche resumed in the main buildings; its stonework is carved in imitation of a framed hut with cabled angle shafts, perhaps as used in camp. The Dîwân-khâna-yi 91 Ammi, placed at the north of the ridge has a trabeate colonade of 11 bays with a domed ceiling. The roof is a decorative wheel, and the royal râghukîh is expanded in a pavilion of five bays broken forward into the court on a podium, with a hipped roof and roof(dfut. Its surprisingly modest scale is typical of the whole palace, where imaginative massing and exquisite carving achieve delight rather than grandeur. The organisation of the remainder of the palace, now weakened by the absence of the courtyard walls, must have been informal, with frequent lack of symmetry, overlapping masses, and half-closed spaces, and an intextness on individual buildings which suggest that the architects as well as the craftsmen worked in a Hindu tradition (cf. Kunthâ Râhâ’s palace at Citâvari, taken in 979/1568).

This court of unusual character may be symmetrical, and its fanciful names are best used for reference alone. The “Ankh MifawlI” is a pavilion form. A low podium carries a rectangular hall, perhaps contemporary (cf. Agra). The “Dlw&n-khâna-yi Amri, placed at the north of the fort, is based on a square tank with fountains, introduces another element of the classical palace plan. This court was probably the private audience hall, then known as the shahjahan in the fort founded in 978/1571, and it seems that most of the work, all in red sandstone, was finished within a year. The trabeation allowed the prefabricated panelled technique essential to such rapid erection, and the stone was, as claimed, “wrought with the ease of turning wood” in traditional Indian techniques apparently derived from Bayân not far away (fieldwork by M. Shokoohy, 1981). The site on a ridge running northeast and southwest requires a layout in a series of steps to the south, culminating in a great mosque at the western (i.e. ibid.) end near the house, Khâfakh, and madris of Shaikh Saifîn Chishtî. Nearby, the oldest royal building, the Rang Malhu (976/1568-9) is traditional in its introverted courtyard plan, with colonnades in two storeys, but the fusion of Islamic and Hindu detail is experimental.

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at a Láhawr. The latter was approached from the Dihill Gate down the Míná Bázár with its rows of shops and square láhár sābā, and entered from the north on the cross axis by the Akbari Darwāzā. The Āmar Singh Gate to the south was primarily for access to the private apartments, like the Hāthī Pōl at Láhawr.

Shāhidjahān adjusted this layout. In his first year (1037/1628), he had ordered halls of forty columns (Máil satsan) at Āgra, Láhawr and Būrhānpūr (q.v.) to protect his nobles at public audience instead of the tents used previously. As that at Būrhānpūr is ruined, and that at Láhawr only roughly reconstructed, the hall (twān) at Āgra, renamed the Dawlāt-khánā-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿAmm, is the remaining prototype for his court buildings, which thenceforward follow its format as an arched, hypostyle loggia, rectangular in plan and set on a podium, with a flat roof, Chālidja, and Chaṭris at the corners. The work, in red sandstone dressed with polished marble stucco, and with details picked out in gold, is strikingly different from its forerunners. It retains such features as doubled peripheral columns, quadrupled at the corners, and doudecagonal shahs-e-khán, large piers; these are flanked by the first of the genre (internal work above the dado is Sikh work). The royal bed-chamber (khāṣṣ wādān) lay behind a range of shallow rooms facing the Būrdj (Fīḍqāddī-nūma, i, 223-5).

Eastward of this group, along the river front, are three further courts: one opening to the entrance yard, Dōwāt-i dāvūrī and the Hāthī Pōl, one marked Khilwat-khánā on the Sikh map (not Khilwat as cited by Vogel) which may have been harem quarters, with baths, a small mosque, and a small marble bāngāl on the parapet dated 1055/1645, and one with ranges grouped around a dār bāgh including the Chōfī Bāngāl believed to be one of the buildings for Kālbāgī and Khilwat-khánā (see viii. above) ordered in 1043/1634 (Ammātī Sālī, cited by Nur Baksh, op. cit., 1902, 223-4). Dāshānhīr’s court ends the row, thus reversing the Āgra plan. At Adjmār, the five white marble pavilions along the margin of the Āna Sāgar lake (1047/1632) show the idea of the waterside terrace at its most perfect, as the climax of the Dawlāt Bāgh; the new style is at its most precise, though the column groupings recall Fathpur Sīkri. The prominent Hindu brackets are found too in the black marble pavilion carried out by Zafar Khān at Shālamār (formerly Fadż-baksh) in Kashmir in 1039/1630 (see Bustān).

The Lāl Kītā at Dihill (q.v. for plan and details), being founded de novo in 1048/1638, allowed free development of a riverside palace within the walled format of a rectangle set along the Djamnā to the east. The main approach axis from the Láhawr Gates in the west passes through a long, vaulted bazaar street with an open octagonal court, of Iranian pattern, to a great square guard court, with a tank at its centre and a nawāt-bāghāna over a triple gate at the far side. This led to the still larger courtyard, a rectangle set athwart this axis, and surrounded by arcades (Fudās) of separate cells for the umāma, serving the Dawlāt-bāgh-yi Khāṣṣ u ʿAmm opposite. Neither court is extant. The north and south sides of the guard court received the transverse axis of an open arcade, with a canal, running from the southern Dihill Gate. Beyond the audience hall, the main axis ended in a third court in front of the Imtiyāz Mahāll (Rang Mahāll) on a riverside terrace, the first of a line of harem buildings extending south along the cross axis of the Nahr-i Bihāsh canal, once fronting garden courts that
provided privacy and accommodation. To the north, however, a group of administrative buildings was inserted on the terrace, offset to the left of the main axis, behind their own courts, an arrangement probably intended to combine the advantages of the microclimate with easier access for the emperor to both halls.

The new building types are elaborated. The public audience hall in red sandstone, once plastered, still has the nominal forty columns, but the detail is more florid; a raised ḡabarāb recess under a round arch has a (later?) lawīlla of marble advanced forwards. The Ḥimyār Māhāl has three aisles of intersecting cusped arches on cruciform piers; the canal runs down the centre between vaulted rooms at the corners, which form visual stops. In the Shāh Māhāl (now Dīvān-i Khān), also pierced, the canal is marked by the insertion of narrower and lower bays in the end elevations of the hall and its matching persistyle; the peacock throne was once housed here. The Khān Māhāl (dated 1578-80), comprising private apartments (Khān-bāgh) linked to the Muḥammān Būrjī, faces each of these with a corresponding elevation. The later Mughal style is represented in the Shāh Būrjī pavilion, with baluster columns, depressed arches, and an upward arch of the bābālī over the centre bay (see plan in Rostot, op. cit, pl. 60).

Further elaboration of these elements can be seen in the Rāgpūt work at Amārūb under the direct influence of Agra and Dīhlī, and in the Dīsīt palaces of Dīg (ca. 1725) near Bāharatpūr. The transition to the frivolities of later Mughal palaces is marked by the Kudsiyya Bāgh at Dīhlī, built for the mother of Āḥmad Shīh (1616-7/1748-54), of which fragments remain (cf. a print by T. Daniell, Oriental scenery, London 1795, i, 3). It was built rapidly from brick and plaster, with applied stucco ornament; the river elevation is in two storeys of arched, blind below, and with balustraded openings on to her apartments above. Octagonal towers at each corner are fully latticed above, with oriel set on lotus calyces, and the façade by balustered openings on to a metathesis of bangāl caves; these and other features form the vocabulary of subsequent domestic architecture at Lakhnāw (s.v.). The tradition was to continue with greater vigour in the gradual accretions of Rāgpūt palaces, and in Sīhī buildings, until the present century.

Bibliography: For general works see [note]. For the best specific works is still O. Rethemer, Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser, Berlin 1943, with excellent illustrations; these are supplemented by E. La Roche, Indische Baukunst, Munich 1943, Bd. v-vi. For Dīhlī Sultanate work, see Yamamoto, M. Arand, B. Winterhausen, architectural remains of the Dīhlī Sultanate period. Tokyo 1967, 3 vols. (Japanese), and for Tughlakābād excavations, see ASIAR (1923-4), 141, (1925-6), 199, (1926-7), 243. See also J. A. Fage, A memoir on the Koda Firoz Shah, Delhi, in Memoir ASI, iii, Delhi 1937. For Sarkhādī, see J. Burgess, Muḥammādan architecture of Aḥmāndābād, in ASI, NIS, xiv (= ASI Western India, vii), London 1900, i, 46-51. For other regional buildings, see individual entries, such as Kīdān, Māndū etc. The great survey of Fatehpūr Sikrī published by E. W. Smith as The Moghul architecture of Fatehpūr Sikrī, 4 vols., in ASI, NIS, xvii, Allahabad 1894-7, and his articles in J. Ind. Art, vi and vii, are now supplemented by S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Hlyn, Fatehpūr Sikrī, Bombay 1975 (re-examina-


MAHALL (a.), a noun of place from the verb halla, which means notably "to unite (a kaot, luggage, etc."); and by extension, "to make a halt", whence the meaning of "a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time)". This term constitutes the first element of names of towns or villages: in Egypt, where a hundred places were designated by an expression formed from Mahalla followed by an adjective or a proper noun; al-Mahalla al-Kubra ("the great city of al-Mahalla al-Kubra") appears quite early, since it was attested under the name of Pirahmān, war commander. This change in the meaning may be due to the changes in the territories within the empire, and to the need for a more compact expression. The term "mahalla" is also used to designate a movable camp, especially in Turkish (mahall, a metathesis of malldh, a place of assembly, of Persian and Urdu). Dozy (s.v. Mahalla), and by extension, "to make a halt", whence the meaning of "a place where one makes a halt, where one settles (for a longer or shorter time)". This term constitutes the first element of names of towns or villages: in Egypt, where a hundred places were designated by an expression formed from Mahalla followed by an adjective or a proper noun; al-Mahalla al-Kubra ("the great city of al-Mahalla al-Kubra") appears quite early, since it was attested under the name of Pirahmān, war commander. This change in the meaning may be due to the changes in the territories within the empire, and to the need for a more compact expression.
Fig. 1. Mándú, "Dhâhâz Mahâll" from southeast. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 2. Adâm, Dâwlat Bâqî Pavilion on Ana Sâgar Lake. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 3. Ágra Fort, Dâwlat-khâna-yi Kha$$ u Šâmm, "Dîwân-i Šâmm" from southwest. (Photo P. A. Andrews)
Fig. 4. Agra Fort, Ārāmgāh, "Khāṣ Mahāll" over Angūrī Bagh from west. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 5. Agra Fort, "Djahāngīrī Mahāll", exterior, land front. (Photo P. A. Andrews)

Fig. 6. Agra Fort, "Djahāngīrī Mahāll", interior, south hall. (Photo P. A. Andrews)
generally received with marks of honour by the subject tribes who, moreover, hated to see it strike camp, for it was they who had to provision the troops on campaign.

The mahalla constituted an instrument of government. It performed in effect a triple function: to consolidate the authority of the sovereign over the provinces, to ensure the levying of taxes and to suppress rebellions or the insubordination of local chiefs. In the ordinary way, it performed a simple route march, but the collection of taxes sometimes proved difficult and necessitated more than a simple demonstration of force; when the launching of a mahalla had been provoked by the agitation of a tribe, it was settled on its territory, from which it put pressure on the population; finally, when serious troubles broke out, real war operations had to be mounted against the rebels, as for example in 1864 (see Kh. Chater, Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIXe siècle: la Mahalla de Zarrouk au Sahel (1864), Tunis 1978).

In Morocco, the mahallas performed almost the same functions as in Tunisia, with this difference, however, that a good part of the territory totally escaped the authority of the sultan, who was furthermore constrained in organizing one since, from Fez or Meknès, he used to make his way to his southern capital, Marrakesh, via Rabat. In a general fashion, the Moroccan mahalla comprised elements of the three corps of the regular army (see DAVY), to which were added some contingents designated by the name of barha (baraka) and supplied by tribes subject to the sultan. The latter formed the vanguard (or the rearguard where an attack on the rear was repulsed) and explored the terrain, spreading out over a wide area; then came the regular troops charged with protecting the sovereign (who rode under a parasol) and his entourage, who preceded the standards and musicians.

At its resting place the camp contained in its centre the tents of the Sultan, his wives and eunuchs, surrounded by a linen screen, which, in Tunisia, bore the Berber name afnag (transcribed as afnag [arj] [p.9]). Outside this enclosure were placed the ministers, secretaries, musicians, around whom the troops formed a square; within this apparatus, wandering merchants established a market, where all kinds of articles and foodstuffs were to be found, for provisioning was not ensured by regular supervision; it was the tribes who had to supply what was called the mūna (muna), i.e. the provisioning, and it was not uncommon for this to be insufficient, in spite of the sacrifices of the populations subject to this obligation, which often reduced them to misery. Nevertheless, some of them preferred to remain dissonant, at the risk of possibly seeing a mahalla settle on their territory and help itself to their flocks and cereal resources without pity.

Most of the Europeans who visited Morocco before the Protectorate had occasion to describe a mahalla, in particular the one mounted to suppress the rebellion of BO Qura [p.9], but the richest source with reference to this is the work of Dr. L. Arnaud, Au temps des "Mahallas", IHEM, Notes et Documents, fasc. no. xii, Cadablanca 1932.

**Bibliography:** given in the text. (Ch. Pellat)

**Al-Mahalla Al-Kubra** or Mahalla Kasr is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Tańa. It lies on the Turf-al Mi'āb canal, a branch of the Bahr Shābīn. In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with Mahalla (see these listed in Muhammad Ramzl, al-Kūmāt al-jishārsī fi 'ilābīd al-Misriyya, Cairo 1953-68, i, 404-9), the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maspero and Wiet identify it with the Copetic Tishier (Amdlin, La geographie de l'Egypte a l'époque copte, Paris 1893, 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Mahalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Copetic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Shāhīn on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Mahalla or al-Mahalla al-Kabīra is al-Muqaddasī (55, 194, 196, 200); he tells us that it was a town of al-Rūf built in two parts, one called Sandāf (or Sandaf), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Mahalla Māfīrūn (Khit al-Mahalla wa 'l-mamatīk Brit. Libr., mi. 1416, Description de L'Afrique, 158, calls the town simply al-Mahalla and knows a coastal city called after it. Yākūt's statements are confirmed, for he speaks of two places of that name, Dakhāl and of another Mahalla Shāhīyūn (iv, 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Mahallā Shāhīyūn in Yākūt—which he also calls Mahalla al-Kabīra—forms one town with Sandaf and on the other hand he says that Mahalla Dakhāl between al-Kāhira and Dīnāyūt is the largest of the Mahallas that he knows (cf. also Abu 'l-Fida', ii, 160), while the geographer al-Dimīshkī (234) knows Mahalla Dakhāl as the capital of the kūff of Dakhālū; Ibn Dūrūn (v, 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vizierate" (al-witīzara al-tashārī). Under the Mamlūk sultan Barquš's administrative organization at the end of the 14th/15th century, al-Mahalla al-Kubrā became the centre of the wilaya of the town under an amir tahlikāna (900 H. Hahn, Ägypten nach den mamlūkischen Lehensregistern. 11. Das Delft, Wiesbaden 1982, 311, 519).

The name Mahalla Shāhīyūn is again found in al-Makrīzī (ed. Wiet, iii, 297); it is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the 4th/10th century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although All Pasha Mubārāk quotes some events that took place there, from al-Makrīzī and al-Dabari. In Egypt in the 19th century, the town had to give way to Tańa, which became the capital of the munīf of al-Qāhirat, while al-Mahalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; All Mubārāk estimates its inhabitants at 50,000, while the 1914 Baedeker gives it only 35,500. It is present at a centre of the cotton trade; raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bore the name al-Mahalli, the most celebrated is Djallāl al-Dīn al-Mahalli [p.9], who was born here.

**Bibliography:** Maspero and Wiet, Mamlūkuw fawwar surin laה la geographie de l'Egypte, Cairo 1910, 104 and the bibliography there given; All Pasha Mubārāk, al-Kitāb al-ṣiddīt, xv, Bulāq 1350, 1825; Ramsf, op. cit., ii, 2, 19, 25. (J. H. Kramer*)

**Makallati, Ḡārā Khan, Bāyyid Ḡurban All Shāh, last of the Niṣārī Ismā'īlī imāms**
to reside in Iran and the first of them to bear the title of Aghā (less commonly but more correctly, Aghā Khan). Born in 1229/1814 in the village of Rahat near Maballati in central Iran, he succeeded to the imamate in 1233/1817 when his father, Sāhib Khān Allāh, was murdered in Yazd. Faith 'All Shah, the kādjar ruler, amply compensated the young imām. His lands at Maballati were extended by royal decree, he was given a daughter of Faith 'All Shah in marriage, and he was made governor of Kūn, despite his extreme youth. With this appointment came the title Aghā Khan, subsequently used as a hereditary title by the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī imāms.

Aghā Khan Maballati led an apparently loyal and tranquil existence until the death of Faith 'All Shah in 1230/1814, and the favour with which the court regarded him was confirmed when the new ruler, Muhammad Shah, appointed him governor of Kirmān. But when, in 1254/1836, an attempt was made to replace Maballati with Piruz Mirzā, a Kādjar prince, he forcibly resisted his dismissal and embarked on a career of rebellion that ended with his fleeing to India by way of Afghanistan. Despite initial success, Aghā Khan Maballati was soon obliged to withdraw to the citadel at Bām, where he surrendered after a siege lasting fourteen months. There followed eight months of captivity in Kirmān and a period of retreat at the shrine of Shah 'Abd al-'Azm before he was able to plead for mercy at the court. He was pardoned on condition that he retire to Maballāt. This he did, but in the space of two years he gathered there an army of Ismā‘īlīs and non-Ismā‘īl mercenaries that enabled him to resume his rebellion. Claiming that he wished to go to Bandar 'Abbas in order to embark for the Hijāz, Aghā Khan Maballāt left Maballāt in Kādrāb 1256/September 1840, striking out with his force south-east across the desert to Yazd and Kirmān. Again he won a number of preliminary engagements, but in 1258/1842 he was decisively worsted in a large battle outside Kirmān and soon after he crossed into Afghanistan.

Aghā Khan Maballātī’s motives for rebelling against the Iranian central government are unclear. They may have been connected in part with rivalries surrounding the Nīnmatallāh Shīr order. Despite the paradox involved in an Isra‘īlī going to the court to displace Zayn al-Abī asking for his pardon and safe return to Iran, Agha Khan Maballati took up residence in Bombay, where he acquired extensive properties and began to accumulate a vast fortune. In this undertaking he was significantly aided by a ruling, handed down by the Bombay High Court in 1850, that placed all the community property of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlīs in the name of their imām and under his absolute control. Maballati died in April 1863, and was buried in a lavish shrine at Hasanabad in the Mazandaran area of Bombay. He was succeeded by the eldest of his four sons, Agha 'All Shah, Agha Khan II.


MABALLI is the commonly used Ottoman administrative paragraph for a ward or quarter of a town. As listed in the Ottoman registers (see DAIKARTI-‘KHAN), the maballes are of various kinds. Characteristically, the Ottoman maballe consisted of a religious community grouped around its mosque (or church or synagogue) and headed by its religious chief. In addition to its place of worship, the maballe normally had its own market, school and water fountain, these normally being supported by pious endowments. In many provincial towns, the maballe also had its own outer wall with a limited number of controlled points of access. Often the maballe had its own militia and some form of internal police. At times government central authority, rivalries and even armed clashes between maballes were not uncommon. The strong sense of corporate identity of the maballe is also indicated in a number of other ways, as for example in processions and ceremonies, with music, torches and flags. These were frequently linked with the Sāhib brotherhood (see TANESA) with which the inhabitants of the maballe were associated.

Often the maballe bear ethnic or denominational names, e.g. of Kurds, Turks, Mozajis, Christians, Jews; where Christians and Jews are numerous, they may
be subdivided by communities, e.g. Orthodox, Copts, Armenians, or, in the case of Spanish Jews, by their cities or provinces of origin. While many quarters are inhabited by homogeneous ethnic, religious, or, sometimes, occupational groups, this is not always so, and the registers list many quarters in which different elements live side-by-side. The quarters inhabited by Sunni Muslims are normally designated by some topographical name, often that of the main mosque of the quarter. The listing of the adult male inhabitants of the quarter often begins with the Imam and other religious functionaries, and ends with an indication of the numbers of religious and other tax-exempt (e.g. blind, mad or maimed) persons. In many dealings with authority, the Imam of the mosque, or his equivalent, was the representative head of the mahalla. In some documents, the mahalla appears to be headed by a Shaykh, responsible to and appointed by the Ottoman authorities, possibly on the recommendation of the inhabitants of the quarter. In 1242/1826 a new system was introduced, with the election of a mukhtar (q.v.) as headman for urban districts as well as villages.  

**Bibliography:** The most detailed biography of al-Mahalla is in Suyuti's *Humn al-muhadara*, i, 232, borrowed by ibn al-Nidm, Shakhbî, vii, 303-4; see also Sakhawî, Dârî, ii, 39-41; ibn al-Kâdi, Durrat al-sâjîl, i, 269; M. Ben Cheneb, *Thâna*, § 190; *'Abd Muhammad, al-Fârîd at-tâddâd*, xv, 21; Brockelmann, index. (Ch. Pellat)

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**MAHMAD AL-HÂDJÎ** [see also *Dîlî*], in Suppl.)

**MAHARI OR MAKARI** [see koytoko].

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1. Theological debates (musnâdarî), where the Mu'meess were pre-eminent, not only in their combat with other sects and religions, but also in their internal discourse, commented on by the Sophists and by Greek philosophers in general. They made use of dialectic as a very efficacious instrument of analysis, a means of distinguishing absolute truth from relative truths.  
2. Secular debates (mu'mâdarî, mu'âdarî) on a broad range of subjects coming to the fore in a new civilisation loaded with contrasting elements, particularly the conflict between the Shu'âbîs and the believers in the supremacy of the Arabs, among whom al-Dâhî (see Gérès, *op. lâd.*) is a distinguished example. The antagonists were numerous. Some of them exploited every opportunity for debate, even on trivial questions, a fact which led al-Dâhî (K. al-Baywânî, i, 11-25, vii, 7-8) to
describe them as ʻasāb al-bhāṣīmāt, declaring that he had no involvement with them.

This state of affairs inevitably had the effect of throwing doubt on the real worth of every idea and every concept, especially in a milieu where rationalism and Greek influence were the dominating forces. This fact was to influence ideas and literature, both in form and in content, most of all among the rationalists and in the case of Al-Dībājī especially.

In his writings, this author shows an expert knowledge of the milieu, in all its aspects and contradictory tendencies. The characteristics of the milieu become associated with ideas borrowed from Greek philosophy, and it is these which must have led Al-Dībājī to the concept which enable him to reply both to dualists and to determinist Muslims and which was to be one of the fundamentals of his doctrine: the relativity of good and evil in this world and the necessity of their co-existence for the optimum benefit (al-ziyāh) of creation and especially for intelligent life.

The desire to illustrate and popularise his relativist conception of good and evil induces him to prepare, on the basis of the controversies of his time, a fairly long literary text where there is discussion of the merits and faults of the cock and the dog (mūṭažila al-dīth wa-māṣīlah, wa-māṣīlah al-khalīf al-masāwīn). This is presented to the reader in the form of a debate between two highly distinguished Mūṭaẓīlīs. One of them (al-Naṣṣām [q.v.]) favours and defends the cock (sāḥib al-dīth), while the other (Maḥṣūd [q.v.]) favours and defends the dog (sāḥib al-khalīf); both are vehemently criticised by a certain accuser (ṣawāqī) who also censures the two animals and enumerates their vices.

It is not difficult to prove that this innovative debate is the invention of Al-Dībājī himself, seeking out the merits and faults of the cock and the dog and simultaneously prompting the replies made to the accuser (see Gérès, op. cit., 34). He offers this controversy to the reader in a very amusing and attractive literary form. He is the first to present the opportunity of reading, in a book of adab, a text of reasonable length commenting on the māṣīlah and the mawṣūl of the subject under discussion. Al-Dībājī does not confine himself to talking of the cock and the dog: he exposes the merits and faults of many other objects known in his time, such as the pig, the monkey, the eunuch and fire (Haṣa-wān, iv, 30, 1, 160-77, iv, 35, v, 5; Gérès, 445-534).

With the aid of these examples he aims to convince his readers that everything is relative and all is important, and each creation has its place. It is in this sense that the K. al-Hayāmīn is to be understood, as it deals with various despicable elements of creation, the wisdom that they contain and their importance for the optimum state of the world. Similarly, in his book and his letters he deals with different social groups, stressing the important and indispensable role that each plays and concluding that each social group has its place (Haṣa-wān, i, 43-4, 204-10; Al-Maṣāwīn wa l-maṣāwīn, in Rasdī al-Dībājī, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 117; cf. Gérès, 44-54). This realisation comes to be applied in the Dībājīan ethical, which in its principles is reminiscent of the Aristotelian ethical (see Gérès, 54-7).

The composition of literary texts containing praise and censure of the same object is therefore not, in the case of Al-Dībājī, a worthless and insignificant game which seeks only to prove the verbal abilities of a skilful advocate. However, this will not be understood without a detailed study of the corpus of Al-Dībājī's work, especially the K. al-Ḥayāmīn, the readers of which seem to have been attracted or shocked and even scandalised by the form and content of these texts. Al-Dībājī immediately acquired a renown which finds expression as much in the very violent attacks of certain later writers ( Ibn ʿUtayba, Taḥwīl maṣūlahi al-ḥadīth, Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 73) as in the imitation of his method, although his imitators failed to understand the philosophical and theological significance implicit in the form and content of his work.

According to the periods in which works adopting the characteristic structure of certain writings of Al-Dībājī were composed, the content and the form vary subject to the influence of the contemporary milieu and accentuated by dominant trends.

One of these writers who seems to be the most attracted by the Dībājīan method is Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Bayhākī (3rd-4th/9th-10th century), author of a sizable book of adab entitled Al-Maṣāwīn wa l-maṣāwīn (ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902; ed. Abu ʿAfra Ibrahim, Cairo 1941). Al-Bayhākī is unknown to the ancient Arab biographers, all that can be added to the material contained in the article Al-Bayhākī in EDP, is that he was a moderate Shīʿī (Zaydi) and that he ascended the social scale to the point where he was a muqaddim or companion of kings. Ibn al-Rūmī, who allows him this distinction, composed numerous satires (hidjāf) against him (see Gérès, 74-9; Ibn al-Rūmī, Dustūn, ed. M. Sh. Salim, Beirut n.d., ii, 28-9, ed. M. Kaylān, Cairo 1942, 204-6, poem no. 233; R. Guest, Life and works of Ibn Er-Rūmī, London 1944, 29, 133; S. Boustaïa, Ibn al-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre, Beirut 1967, index).

The subjects discussed in the K. al-Maṣāwīn wa l-maṣāwīn and the ideas it reveals are virtually identical to those of Ibn ʿUtayba in the "Uyuṣ al-ḥadīth, with the exception of the politico-religious tendencies which are to be perceived in the first part (see Gérès, 50-3). The factor which makes this book unique and different from other works of
adab is the precise method with which the writer deals with his subjects and his technique of revealing to the reader his own feelings towards them (ībīd., 79-89). Each chapter (ḥāl) is divided into two opposing sections: mahāsin of . . . māsadwi of . . . The contrast concerns either one single object possessing both merits and faults (e.g. mahāsin al-jabr/māsadwi al-ğibr: poverty; see the K. al-Mahāsin wa l-Masūdāv, 99-107, 170-8, 207-30, 304-73, 386-92, 464-9, 595-609, 609-12, 619-22; cf. Gērēs, 87-90, 9), or, as is more common, two objects of which one is positive, praiseworthy and full of merit, the other negative, reprehensible and full of fault (mahāsin al-ruṣul/ māsadwi al-ghādir, Mahāsin al-Mulk/ māsadwi al-masālih; see K. al-Mahāsin wa l-Masūdāv, 1225). This opposition of the two sections is a function of the anonymous terms mahāsin and māsadwi and of the subjects under discussion, which gives the impression that this is an example of the Diḥbīzian procedure of praising and censuring every thing.

This false interpretation of the mahāsin/māsadwi contrast is not new. It appears in as early a work as the pseudo-Dījāhz’s al-Mahāsin wa l-adḍād (ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1898, German tr. O. Rescher, II. Über guten und schlechten Seiten der Dinge, Stuttgart 1922, i. Das K. al-Mahāsin wa l-Masūdāv, Constantinople 1928). The Arabic text has been reprinted in Cairo in 1924, 1925-7, and in Beirut in 1969. This author, who seems to have been well-acquainted with Dījāhz, is the first to imitate al-Bayhakī, going so far as to reproduce a substantial part of his work. In fact, the first part of al-Mahāsin wa l-adḍād is found in al-Bayhakī’s work, but in a more complete, exact and correct form (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. ix-x, xiv; cf. Gērēs, 102-10, 112-15). The anonymous author reproduces none of the chapters dealing with politico-religious subjects which reflect the tendencies of al-Bayhakī. The modifications which he introduces into the plagiarised chapters and passages show that he has not properly understood the method followed by this author and that he has been seduced by the Diḥbīzian procedure of bestowing praise and censuring.

Significantly, he has substituted for māsadwi the term ḍiddāhu (its opposite). Thus for him the opposition is: mahāsin of . . . ḍiddāhu. This means that he systematically contrasts the sub-chapters mahāsin of . . . with their opposites, without allowing the reader to deduce whether he will find under the title ḍiddāhu censure of the same subject praised under the heading mahāsin (good/bad sides of the subject) or a subject antithetical to that which has been praised (praise of the good and of the proper/censure of the bad and of the improper). Thus in the example mahāsin al-wujūd/ ḍiddāhu (70-6), it is difficult to decide whether it is praise of the existence of something or censure of its non-existence, of “praise of fidelity” or of “praise of fidelity/censure of infidelity”; a confusion which arises from the ambiguity of the pronoun hu in ḍiddāhu. Furthermore, there is the fact that the book is attributed to al-Dījāhz, with the object of creating in the reader the impression that he is confronted by the Diḥbīzian method, consisting of praising and censuring every notion, and that there is nothing here but a simple literary game. This, it seems, is the anonymous author’s conception of this method.

This is why care should be taken to avoid attributing to him the same intentions and the same motives as those of al-Bayhakī. The things that interest him, besides the method of contrasting, are entertaining subjects and literary texts. The desire to distract and to entertain is even more evident in...
the second part of his book, which is borrowed not from al-Bayhakī but from other sources (see introd. by van Vloten, pp. xiii-xiv; Géries, 116-18). Here, with the exception of the last two chapters which deal with Persian feasts and with gifts, the subject most prominently discussed is that of women: women famous for various reasons, their beauty, examples of romantic intrigues, their fidelity and their infidelity, their wiles and their relationships with men, etc.

Nevertheless, the author applies the contrasting method in only five of the twenty-one subjects tackled in this part of the book, and he confines himself, in the others, to presenting the mahāsin (which here signifies the fine examples or beauties) of the subjects under discussion.

Curiously, he uses the method of contrasting in three cases to present that which to him appears good and praiseworthy in opposition to that which seems evil and culpable: fidelity/infidelity of women, reasonable jealousy/excessive jealousy, copulation/impotence. Furthermore, he uses the terms mahāsin/maṣāfī to reveal, in the title, his judgments and feelings regarding the subjects in question. He does the same in the two other cases, whose titles give the impression that he is conforming to the method which consists of attacking and defending every notion: mahāsin/maṣāfī makh al-nisāʾ (intrigues of women) and mahāsin/maṣāfī l-dabib (scurrilous approach of a man seeking to seduce a woman: 263-72, 148-50). In the first case, intrigues performed for a reputable purpose are commended with the term mahāsin (good intrigues), and those of which the objective is vicious and reprehensible are deplored (wicked intrigues). It is not impossible that the author intended, in this way, to expose the ambivalent attitude of adab and of the Muslim ethic towards intrigue. However, the terms mahāsin/maṣāfī cannot here be translated by praise and blame. In the second case, a short tale of a success (l-dabib is classed under the heading of mahāsin; on the other hand, attempts which end in failure are classified as maṣāfī). Thus favourable/critical judgment depends on the result of the adventure and not on the conduct itself; in other words, there is no place here for praise and censure of the dabib.

These two connotations of opposition characterise the majority of the chapters of al-Bayhakī. Thus the anonymous author has brought no innovation to the contrasting method itself; he has however varied the range of themes tackled, placing the accent on amusing, piquant and even erotic subjects, which brings his book closer to the genre of al-Djahīz, whose overall title is also that of the majority of its chapters, and the fact that it bears the name of al-Djahīz, serve to reinforce the impression that one is faced with the method of praising and censuring every notion, and this element has enhanced the renown acquired by it within this genre.

This reputation seems to have been very widespread in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, as is expressed through the attribution to al-Djahīz of a letter (ed. Pellat, in Machriq [1958] 70-8; cf. Géries, 120-5) bearing the title FI dhāmm al-ṣulām wa-maṣāfī ("Censure and praise of the sciences"). Its author systematically applies the original Djahīzian method; one by one he censures and praises various sciences and professions with the aid of phrases of wajz (description and evaluation) in rhymed prose which he has drawn from books of adab, including those of al-Djahīz. Analysis of the letter shows that this author is seduced by the effects of style and form involved in the method and not by its philosophical and theological connotations, an attitude thoroughly typical of his age.

The same pre-occupation comes to light soon after in the work of one of the most prolific of 5th/11th century authors, al-Thaḥlīlī. Living in a period where Arab culture was shaped by rhymed prose and by systematic pursuit of form and virtuosity, and in a milieu whose sole concern was with the invention of harmonious forms and formulas for the expression of every thought, he found that the Djahīzian method was the best formula for supplying the needs of the kāfīb (scribe and functionary) and the adīth ("gentleman") of his age in their professional lives and in their encounters: stereotyped expressions finely-composed in prose and poetry, bearing on the main subjects of adab and expressing the two contrary views which people might take towards them or, more accurately, which adab had already taken towards them.

To this effect, al-Thaḥlīlī, in his two identical books al-Thaḥlīlī, there is thus only one used here), tackles each of the eighty subjects that are discussed in a chapter divided into two: madāh . . . ḥafrān . . . (in the first part he offers elegant quotations in praise of the subject, and in the second he gives those which censure it (for example: madāh/ḥafrān al-adīth; reason; of al-Ghang, fortune, etc., 160-8; cf. Géries, 122, 126-39).

This fundamental pre-occupation of the author excludes the anecdotes and lengthy narrations which characterise al-Bayhakī’s book and that of pseudo-Djahīz. For al-Thaḥlīlī, passing praise and censure on every subject is a proof of virtuosity and the witness to a great talent (hašāqa), as well as evidence of a profound knowledge of the Arabic literary heritage (18). It is for this reason that he compiles several books following this method, in which he repeats himself, to such an extent that in two of them he even reproduces the same themes and the same quotations, while giving to each of them a different title. Furthermore, he dedicates them to two different persons, adding, in the introduction to each, the pretense that in this book he has invented material that is original and totally unprecedented (21; cf. Géries, 132-5).

In addition, he reproduces a large proportion of the materials presented in these books in a third which he entitles al-Tashāf wa-l-taḥbīb (ms. İstanbul, Raghīb Pasha 1473, Fāyūd ʿAllāh 2133, edition of the text in preparation), and in which the opposition is presented in a new form: he praises that which is generally regarded as bad and passes censure on that which is generally regarded as good, apparently seeking, once again, to present a book which may appear new and unique in its genre.

In these three books of al-Thaḥlīlī, there is nothing to confirm the view that the author was acquainted with the work of al-Bayhakī or of pseudo-Djahīz. On the other hand, it is the direct or indirect influence of the Djahīzian corpus that seems to be acting upon him, compelling him to follow the method which involves praising and censuring every notion (see Géries, 158-61).
The almost-immaculate coat of these beautiful, desert-dwelling addax antelopes is applied to rock crystal (brillat), with its first set of tusk-like horns and female are hardly distinguishable, but they do differ slightly in height and in horn thickness; mahāt and the other names are used without gender distinction, as are the poetical descriptions of them like ʿaynā, (pl. ʿīn) "with big, black eyes" and ḫawwāl, "with a flat muzzle". The desert folk are very acute in their observations, and they use a more precise vocabulary to describe the animals at different stages of their development.

The calf at birth is baḥaṣi or barṭḥaṣ, but if it is completely white, maʿrī is used. As it grows and up to the time of its weaning (Ṣuđam), it is called faṣrā, faṣrāh and faṣrāh. A male (bull) calf has the name ṣ-src-ḥrah frah, and the adult male ṣ-ḥrāh; in the rutting season, its restless and skittish manner is aptly described as ṣādī ḫīlī "lively" and ṣaḥīr ṭawwār, "pawing the ground". The old bull, ḵ ḡab, is often found living alone.

The oryx. In the semi-desert areas of Africa, Syria and Arabia, several species of oryx are found. Even some of the rare white oryx (Oryx algazali algazali) have survived on the northern edges of the Sahara, where it is called waḥāb in Chad, waḥāb-ṣūrīgīyya (pl. ʿāy) in Mauretania (in the Egyptian Sudan, it is called ābū ʿārāb, and in Tūmāhāl of AlAggar, tammāsīt-ṣūrīgīyya, pl. tammānī, ṣārīmī, ṣūrīmī, and pl. ×ī̂ mítīmu). The last specimen in Tunisia was killed south of Douz in 1966, but in ancient times it was said to be common in southern Morocco, the high Algerian plains and southern Tunisia. From murals in ancient Egyptian tombs, there is evidence that it was domesticated under the Pharaohs and used as a draught animal. Fliny says ... oryxum appellati Aegyptii, which, considering how Latin was pronounced then, suggests that the name should be compared with Moorish ʿirīgīyya.

In the Middle Ages, the animal was known in the Sahara by the name of lamī, and its skin was used to make the famous shields [see LAM]. Now that the oryx has completely disappeared from the Sahara, this has been caused in fairly recent times by the increasing number and better quality of firearms in the area, and also by the ploughing-up of the desert by incessant motorised traffic. The oryx is, after all, a big, heavy creature, short-winded and not very fierce; it used to be that a good mehari camel was all that was needed to catch it quickly. Saharan travellers in the last century found great herds of oryx which they, said, could be numbered in hundreds, but that now seems an age ago.

There are two other species in Africa, with darker coats and also black stripes, the oryx gazella in the south-west and oryx leucoryx (possibly derived from baydār, "white") oryx which includes the oryx beisa beisa of Abyssinia, o.b. galareum of Mozambique, o.b. amniemtis and o.b. callosis in the southeast and Kilimanjaro. None of these brightly-marked antelopes are, however, found in Arabic-speaking countries. There has always been a distinct species in Arabia, the oryx leucoryx (formerly beatiris) known as the sabre-horned or Arabian oryx, which is found as far as the borders of Syria and ʿIrāq, and which was the first species to be called al-maḥāt by the Arabs. Their tapering black horns are ringed, and curve back majestically like those of their African cousins. They are usually more than a metre long and are perfectly parallel, so that when...
seen from the side the animal seems to have just one horn. That is why the oryx was thought, wrongly, to have connections with the unicorn, but that mythical animal is in fact to be connected with the rhinoceros [see KARKADDAN].

Probably no other desert wild animal, except the onager (binbars al-wa'ahah), has been described more than the sabre-horned antelope by the pre-Islamic poets and their later imitators. The animal was not used as a principal theme in their kasidah, but as a background image of the hard desert life and the difficulties in it that the poet would have experienced himself. There are long descriptions of hunting for the oryx and of its death (fardah), which, incidentally, show how abundant it must have been. The poet, wishing to emphasize the high moral qualities of the huntsman, by a literary device transfers these qualities to the brave, hunted animal. The scene itself is conventional, but it reflects an idyllic picture of violent hunting in all its details. Sometimes the poet mounts a horse, and then the oryx is soon caught, after a terrifying chase in which as often as not three salukis participate, and is brought down at the point of a lance. Experiences of the horse like this are common in oryx poems. Zuhayr b. Abi Sulma, 'Alkama al-Fabi and a number of others described such events in their tragedy hunt. On other occasions, he will mount a she-camel, and then the story of the chase ends differently, for the oryx becomes the symbol of this matchless she-camel and it triumphs over all its adversaries by its speed and endurance; it will stop only to rip open a dog or two with its terrifying horns. Such poems are accordingly panegyrics, and al-Dhahib has carefully discussed this mechanical literary device in archaic poetry in his Hayawan, ii, 20, where he says, "when the poem is a lamentation or exhortation, it is usual for poets to let the dogs kill the oryx, but in panegyrics, where the camel is said to be an oryx with certain special qualities, it is the dogs that are killed. That is not to say that such events are poetic fabrications, for oryx bulls have often killed or injured dogs, but it usually happens that the hunted animal is the victim in the end, the dogs emerge safe and well and their master has found his quarry."

A more romantic picture is sometimes drawn to show the effect of the four seasons of the life of the oryx, each with its own particular difficulties, struggles and hardships. Such pictures represent the challenges the pre-Islamic Bedouin faced in their daily life, whether they were real or not. The bull, for example, is shown as wandering far in search of a mate and as confronting many rivals in tests of behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to his environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it in Nat. Hist., x, 47); moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is well adapted to its environment. The main distinction between the addax and the oryx is the absence of any brownish-red markings on the neck and breast. Other distinguishing marks are its brown forehead, its white tear-pit, its reddish nose and its noticeably long horns (qaqas, qaqat). These are straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral; they are fully annulated. Both antelopes enjoy the same habitat and display the same behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to its environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it in Nat. Hist., x, 47); moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is a great help when it comes to long, sustained journeys across the dunes.

In the Yemen during the Himyaritic period, the ibex (capra ibex) and the oryx were game animals which were hunted in accordance with ancient cultic rites. Archaeologists have excavated many bas-reliefs on which they are depicted (see in the Hist. the important works here of M. Höfler, R. B. Sergeant and J. Ryckmans). Before the dawn of Islam, in the north-erly regions of the peninsula the oryx had a special position as a sacrificial beast (sifruh) in the ritual, idolatrous offerings performed by the Arabs in the month of general truce, Rabia; the oryx was included with domestic cattle in the list of raghbiysiat (Hayawan, vi, 517).

There were still about a thousand oryx in Arabia in 1950, but nine years later only about a hundred were left, in the remote regions of the "Empty Quarter" (al-Rouh al-halifat) to the north-west of Aden. Seventy of these were destroyed by motorised safaris with automatic weapons in 1960-1. Faced with such a serious situation, the World Wild Life Fund organised a rescue mission under Major L. R. Grimwood in 1962 and three animals were captured. To these were added one offered by the Kuwaiti ruler and four from King Ibn Sa'ud. These eight survivors formed the nucleus of a breed set up in a desert park, but apart from these animals, the white oryx, locally the wadiyaha or abi rula, can be considered an extinct species in Arabia and the Near East. Some of the animals have introduced as a substitute in some areas the oryx-gazelle, which is native to Africa.

2. The addax. In North Africa, mahat also denotes the addax (Addax nasomaculatus), a cousin of the oryx. This animal is extremely rare, and is found in a narrow strip of land in the Sahara, from Mauretania to the western edge of the Nile. At the beginning of this century, it could also be found in Palestine and Arabia, and it is recorded in ancient Syria and Mesopotamia. The main distinction between the addax and the oryx is the absence of any brownish-red markings on the neck and breast. Other distinguishing marks are its brown forehead, its white tear-pit, its reddish nose and its noticeably long horns (qaqas, qaqat). These are straight with a slight backward slope and a two-and-a-half turn spiral; they are fully annulated. Both antelopes enjoy the same habitat and display the same behaviour, but the addax seems generally better adapted to its environment than the oryx. It is more resistant to thirst for, like the camel, it carries a special sac containing an aqueous, slightly acidulous liquid in its belly, and this has been the salvation of many a waterless hunter (Pliny refers to it in Nat. Hist., x, 47); moreover, its wide, spongy hoof is a great help when it comes to long, sustained journeys across the dunes.

Two vernacular Arab names for the animal are in use, mahat and qar al-wa'ahah, and perhaps echoes of an earlier African term, taken into Latin by Pliny as addax, are to be found in its Sudanese and Upper Egyptian names 'akhabis, bi 'akbas, bi 'adad; the origin and meaning of these names is still uncertain. The Touareg call it amellzialamelliat, pl. imellziałimellłat (from the verb "to be white"), and thus draw attention to the whiteness of its coat. They regard the addax as a choice game animal, and hunt it as soon as the herds mass together in the spring. Observers in the last century said that there could be as many as 300 animals in such gatherings (see O. Nachtigal, Sahara und Sudan, Berlin.
1870-89, i, 551). Ibn Battûta, travelling five centuries earlier in the spring of 753/1352 from Tâsârah to ḳâṭârah (Wâlatâ), was amazed at the abundance of the herds and by their evident fearlessness of man. He noted that the people of the region hunted the addax with dogs and shot them down with arrows. He added that they were very fond of the stomach liquid, and that they used to slice their thumb from their victims. For his own part, he did not find the meat enjoyable, saying that it was dry and tasteless (Rûmûn, ii, 190). Because it was relatively slow-footed, it was easy to capture, and the antelope offered the hunter not just venison as his prize but also leather and the stomach liquid. This liquid was said to possess many virtues, and it commanded a high price in the markets in large centres as far away as Tunis. There was also the attraction of extracting bexors [see nâlân] known locally as bid el-makhlûk ‘antelope’s eggs’, from the viscerœ. These biliary secretions occur very frequently in the digestive systems of ruminants, and the preparation was greatly valued in the medieval pharmacopoeia for its supposed qualities as an antidote and a aphrodisiac. Jewish pharmacists and druggists of the cities of the Maghrîb went about collecting them eagerly from the nomads and then sold them speculatively to sultans and persons of high rank. The addax skin was, by contrast, much less valuable than that of the oryx; it was used only for shoe making and saddlery. Of course, the trick was not unknown of substituting addax-leather for oryx-leather for making the famous impenetrable shields mentioned above.

Before firearms and motor-cars arrived, the addax was pursued with dogs, and it was also caught in traps (the spiked-wheel trap and the crossbow trap). The Tibbu of Tenere would encircle a herd and then sell them speculatively to sultans and persons of high rank. The addax skin was, by contrast, much less valuable than that of the oryx; it was used only for shoe making and saddlery. Of course, the trick was not unknown of substituting addax-leather for oryx-leather for making the famous impenetrable shields mentioned above.

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just because of man's insatiable, thoughtless greed.

In astrology, the star al-Farkad (= Phercar) "the cryx call", is γ Ursae minoris; this star and the associated β Ursae minoris together form al-far-kadayn (= Elfaradin) "the two calves", the "guardians" of the North Pole.


(M. Vire)

**MAHÔB B. AL-RAHIL AL-'ABDĪ, ABU SUPYAN, Ibnîdī theologian and historian, originally from the Arabic tribe of the Banā' Ābd al-Kays, who lived in the 2nd/9th century and who is cited in the *Kitab Tabakht al-mashdiyih* of al-Dardî (d. 670/1272 [q.v.]) amongst the scholars of the fourth *tabâqa* or class. His family came originally from *Ihrīk* [his grandfather al-Mâlî al-'Abdī was one of the close friends of the head of the *Bidâ* community in *Busra*, the famous Ābd al-'Ubayda Muslims b. Ābd Karîma al-Tamîmi [see al-Ibrâîıyî], and he first lived in *Urān*. Then he settled in *Busra*, where he became a pupil of Ābd al-'Ubayda. After the death of al-Râbi' b. Habîb al-Busran, head of the *Bidâ* community in *Busra* after Ābd al-'Ubayda, spiritual supremacy in the *Bidâ* world passed to Ābd Suyūtî Mahbûb b. al-Rahîl. In effect, he acted as arbiter over the schism of Khilāf al-ālîn in the *Maghrib* [see al-Γalâ'/asyv] during the reign of the Kustamînīnīn Imam *Abd al-Wahhâb b. 'Abd al-Râhîm b. Rustam, and wrote a *risâla* (or *kâf*) to the *Bidâ* chief *Abd Allâh b. Vâhîy al-Kindi, called *Tâlî* al-Hâkh (d. 129/747), who set up in South Africa the first *Ibrâî* imâmate and who occupied *Mecca* and *Medina*. Mahbûb b. al-Rahîl became especially known as a historian, and it is to him that we owe the greater part of the traditions about the oldest *Ibrâî* shâ'âbīs. His historical work, mentioned in al-Bârâdî's catalogue (9th/15th century) under the title of Kitâb Ābd Sujûn, served as al-Dârîjî's basis for the putting-together of the first four classes of his *K. Tabâkh al-mashdiyih*, where he is cited several times.


**MAHÂDâWS, a sectarian group in Indian Islam, the followers of Sayyid Muhammad Mahdî (827/1421-1450) of *Djâwânpur* [q.v.], near *Bheers*, who declared that he was the promised Mahdî [q.v.] and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Ahmadâbâd [q.v.] and other parts of Gugjârat. He was compelled to leave India, however, and died at *Pârîh* in what is now western Afghanistan, where he was buried. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time, they were allowed to profess their faith without official harassment; but in the reign of *Muzaffar II, Sultan of Gugjârat* (917/1511-26) they were persecuted, and many of them put to death. The Mughal prince *Arângzîb* [q.v.] also moved against them when in 1055/1645 he became governor of Ahmadâbâd. In consequence of these persecutions, most Mahdâwis began to practise the *tahiyya* [q.v.] and other parts of the orthodox Muslims. Their exact number, therefore, remains today uncertain. They are found in small groups in some parts of Gugjârat, in *Bombay*, in the *Deccan*, in Uttar Pradesh and also in *Sind*, where they are known as *Zikris* [see *Zikri*s in *Suppl.*]. They believe that Sayyid Muhammad was the last Imam, the promised Mahdî, and in consequence of his having come they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals, and are often lax in observing the certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals, and are often lax in observing the

*T. Lewiski*

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rule before the end of the world. The present article will trace the history of this belief and will deal with the political history of Mahdist movements only in so far as relevant (for the Sudanese movement, see AL-

**MAHDIYYA**

Origin and early development during the Umayyad age. The term mahdi as such does not occur in the Qur'an; but the name is clearly derived from the Arabic root ـلاـ which commonly used in it in the meaning of divine guidance. As an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term was employed from the beginning of Islam (references gathered by Goldziher, *Variaungen*, 257). Hassan b. Thabit thus described it in the Prophet's hadith to Abirr b. Abraham. Sulayman b. 'Abdul-referred to as al-Husayn, after his martyrdom, as "Mahdi son of the Mahdi," and al-Farazdaq called al-Wahl in a panegyric the sixth of six caliphs of 'Abd Shams from 'Uthman who were khdw mahdiyyin (Dīwān al-Farazdaq, ed. al-Sūfī, Cairo 1936, 88). During the Second Civil War, after the death of Mu'awiya, the term came first to be used for an expected ruler who would restore Islam to its original perfection. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr claimed the caliphate as such a restorer. Though he does not seem to have been given the epithet al-Mahdi, his career substantially shaped the later image of the expected Mahdi. In Kūfā, al-Hartūnī (d. 99/716) and Mu'ādh b. 'Amr (d. 544) and of his son al-Walid II as a Mahdi (khdw), the Mahdi thus applied it to the Prophet, and Djarir to Sulayman b. Surad referred to al-l-Qusayn, but he refused to engage himself in the Mahdiyya. As an honorific epithet without messianic significance, the term was facilitated by the fact that 'Umar II was descended through his mother from 'Umar I who, together with his son 'Abd Allāh, enjoyed the highest religious authority among conservative Medinan scholars. Statements attributed to 'Umar I and 'Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar were circulated to the effect that the former had predicted the advent of a descendant of his who would fill the earth with justice. These statements reflect an earlier expectation that a descendant of ʿUmar I through male lineage would become the restorer of justice, but they were now applied to the Umayyads (Ibn Sa'd, v, 243). Sa'id b. al-Musayyib (d. 93 or 94/712-13) was alleged to have identified ʿUmar II as the Mahdi, while the latter was still in Medina but before his reign. A particular effort was made to counter Kifān claims that the Mahdi would be an Alid. Thus Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah was reported in Medina to have said that if there was to be a Mahdi he would belong to the ʿAbd Shams. Muḥammad b. l-Bākīr, the imām of the Imāmites, was quoted as stating during the caliphate of ʿUmar II: "The Prophet belongs to us, and the Mahdi belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Shams. We do not know him to be anyone but ʿUmar b. Abd al-Azīz" (Ibn Sa'd, v, 245).

In Mecca, on the other hand, ʿUmar b. Kaysan (d. 106/724-5), a respected muḥaddith traditionist residing in the Yemen, was quoted expressing himself more reservedly that ʿUmar II was rightly guided but not the Mahdi (khdw). Statements attributed to ʿUmar II of the type "khdw khdw" were made to counter ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbda b. Abī Maʿābad Nafīlī (d. 104/722-3), a particular effort was made to counter Kifān claims that the Mahdi would be an Alid. Thus Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah was reported in Medina to have said that if there was to be a Mahdi he would belong to the ʿAbd Shams. Muḥammad b. l-Bākīr, the imām of the Imāmites, was quoted as stating during the caliphate of ʿUmar II: "The Prophet belongs to us, and the Mahdi belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Shams. We do not know him to be anyone but ʿUmar b. Abd al-Azīz" (Ibn Sa'd, v, 245).

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II. His contemporary and rival in the religious leadership in Basra, Muhammad b. Sira (d. 110/728) maintained that there would be a Mahdi of the Muslim community (faisum) and that he, after descending from heaven, would pray behind him. He further affirmed that the Mahdi would be more excellent than Abu Bakr and `Umar and would equal a prophet in rank. According to another report, he held that the Kafari was identical with the Mahdi. Khatada (d. 117 or 118/735-6), prominent disciple of al-Hasan, spread the following hadith of the Prophet: "There will arise a difference after the death of a caliph, and a man of the people of Medina will go forth fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him rise in revolt against his will, and they will pledge allegiance to him between the run and the mahdi. An expedition will be sent against him from Syria but will be swallowed up (yukfasaf bi-hith) in the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see this, the righteous (abdil) of Syria and the groups of horsemen (sadib) of `Irak will come to him and swear allegiance to him. Thereafter a man of Kuraish will arise whose maternal uncles are of Kalb. He will send an expedition against them but they will defeat them. This will be the expedition of Kalb, and disappointment will be for those who will not witness the booty of Kalb. He will then divide the wealth and act among them according to the sunna of their Prophet. Islam will become firmly established (yuhi bi-ghayrahi). He will remain seven (var. nine) years and then die, and the Muslims will pray over him." This hadith, whose first part is patterned upon the revolt of `Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, may conceivably go back to `Abd Allah b. al-Harith b. Nawfal b. al-Harith b. `Abd al-Muttalib, who appears in its isnad and claimed to have heard it from Umme Salama, widow of the Prophet. `Abd Allah b. al-Harith, called "Babba", was chosen by the people of Basra as their governor in 646/684 after the death of the caliph Yazid and the flight of his governor Ubayy Allah b. Ziyad. But he held aloof from all the violent events in Basra at this time (cf. Ch. Pellat, Le milieu basrien et la formation du Hadith, Paris 1953, 268-9): hence it is in fact unlikely that he was responsible for this hadith, which aimed at stirring up support for the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr. There is also a variant of it, including the addition of the Sufyanite, whose "maternal uncles were of Kalb" and who would send an army of Kalb against Ibn al-Zubayr, reflects the expectations at the time which were not fulfilled by history. The element of the swallowing up of a swarming army, based on Kur'anic warnings (aknd ad-dild), was incorporated from slightly earlier hadith spread by `Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr himself and by two prominent supporters of his, `Abd Allah b. Safwan and al-Harith b. `Abd Rab' al-Mahzumah, as war propaganda during the campaign of Yazid's army against Medina and Mecca (see Muslim, Suhk, K. al-fitan, bab al-khab). Though it does not mention the Mahdi, the hadith of Khatada was later generally taken to refer to him, while his Syrian rival became the prototype of the Sufyanite [gu], the traditional opponent of the Mahdi. Much of later tradition about the career of the Mahdi and of this Sufyanite is an elaboration of the various elements of this hadith.

In the late Umayyad age, Matar b. `Abd Allah b. `Abd al-Muttalib (d. 125/742), a Khurarsanid resident in Basra and senior disciple of Khatada, rejected the view that `Umar II was the Mahdi, stating that the Mahdi would do something `Umar II had not done: be would refuse to accept money returned to the treasury by someone who, after requesting it, found that he had no need of it. Matar also transmitted traditions attributed to Ka'b al-Ajahbari to the effect that the Mahdi was named so because he would be guided (yyahd) to find copies of the original text of the Torah and the Gospel concealed in Antioch. The same Ka'b tradition seems to have been known also in Kufa at this time, where "Abd Allah b. Bishr al-Khahifani is reported to have transmitted it in the following form: "The Mahdi will send (an army) to fight the Rumi, will be given the knowledge (fahd) of ten, and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (fahd al-sakina) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus, and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."
The following hadith was circulated in late Umayyad Basra on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khuladi: "The Prophet said: There will be in my community the Mahdi, if for a short time, seven (years), otherwise nine. My community will then enjoy prosperity as they have never enjoyed. The earth will bring forth its fruit for them and will not hoard anything away from them. Money will at that time be in heaps, and whenever a man will get up and say 'O Mahdi, give me', he will say 'Take'." This hadith, which identifies the Mahdi with the generous ruler predicted earlier, was spread, with variants, by Zayd al-`Amri but may in substance go back to his authority, the Basran Abu 'l-Siddiq al-Najdi (d. 128/746-7). Another variant of it was transmitted by Suhaym b. `Abd al-Salami, a Basran contemporary of Zayd al-`Amri. Of late Umayyad Basran origin is also the topos that the Mahdi would have an aquiline nose and a bald forehead (ahm Kiid). Kufan tradition insisted that the Mahdi would be one of the Ahi al-Bayt of the Prophet or a descendant of `Ali. `Asim b. Bahdala (d. 127 or 128/744-5), the famous Kufan Qur'ani reader, disseminated the following hadith with a Kufan isnad going back to `Abd Allah b. Mas'ud: "The Prophet said: The world will not pass until a man of my family (ahi bayt) will rule the Arabs whose name will coincide with my name (yussal tamuk sum)." The claim that this hadith was originally transmitted by the Prophet was no doubt made in the time of al-Mughira's rebellion in favour of Mu`awiyah b. al-Husayniyya, who is reported, when addressed as the Mahdi, to have referred to his privilege of bearing the name and hansiya of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd, v. 68). The hadith of `Asim thus probably goes back to `Asim's authority, Zurr b. `Abdlay, who was known for his pro-`Ali sentiment. By the time of the revolt of Zayd b. `Ali in Kufa in 129/748, the thesis of the identity of names was evidently already well-established there, since his supporters did not try to identify him with the Mahdi but with the Mansur (al-Tabar, i, 1676), a messianic figure originating in Yemenite beliefs. In Kufa it was also spread the following hadith related by `Alahim son of Muhammad b. al-Husayniyya, under authority of his father on the authority of `Ali: "The Prophet said, 'The Mahdi will be from us, the Ahi al-Bayt. God will give him success in a single night (yuhi bi-ghayrahi)." The descent of the Mahdi from the Prophet was also affirmed in the hadith: "The Messenger of God said, 'Even if only a single day of the earth were left, God would send a man from us who will fill it with justice as it had been filled with oppression." Though the hadith was widely spread
Among the traditionists only by the Kufan Fitr b. Khalifa (d. 153/770), it may well go back to the Companion Abu 'l-Tufayl 'Amir b. Waqih (d. eq. 100/718-19), known for his support of 'Ali and his Shi'a sympathies, who claimed to have heard it from 'Ali. The theme of the generous ruler was taken up in Kufa by Atyiya b. Sa'd b. Dunada al-Kaysi (d. 111/730 or 127/744-5), considered a Shi'a, who passed it on to the author of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri: 'The Prophet said, 'A man will come forth from my family after an interval of time (finda 'nhad' min al-saman) and the appearance of civil wars (jisa) whose lib erality will be in throwing about (hatsayu) [money]. He will be called al-Saffah (= the generous')."

The early 'Abbasid age until the time of the canonical collections of hadith. The 'Abbasid revolutionary movement aroused and was supported by messianic expectations and the hope for a restorer of religion and justice from among the Ali b. abi. The first 'Abbasid caliph gav himself the Kufan messianic name al-Saffah in his inaugural sermon in Kufa with an open ca mi ml. He was addressed as the Mahdi of the Hashimis by the poet: Sadi (Algani, iv. 93). The second 'Abbasid caliph, Abi Dja'far, was also called the Mahdi by his court poet, Abi Dullama. During his reign, the 'Abbasid claim to the Mahdi ship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Hasanid Muhammad b. 'Abdi Allah, who, having long been announced by the propaganda of his supporters as the expected Mahdi, appeared in Medina in accordance with the hadith predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Mansur and gave his son and crown prince Muhammad the same name. Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, a companion, related the following story: He was asked, 'Is the Mahdi of the Hashimis?' He answered: 'Yes.' He was then addressed as the Mahdi of the Hashimis by the poet: Sadi (Algani, iv. 93). The second 'Abbasid caliph, Abi Dja'far, was also called the Mahdi by his court poet, Abi Dullama. During his reign, the 'Abbasid claim to the Mahdi ship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Hasanid Muhammad b. 'Abdi Allah, who, having long been announced by the propaganda of his supporters as the expected Mahdi, appeared in Medina in accordance with the hadith predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Mansur and gave his son and crown prince Muhammad the same name. Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, a companion, related the following story: He was asked, 'Is the Mahdi of the Hashimis?' He answered: 'Yes.' He was then addressed as the Mahdi of the Hashimis by the poet: Sadi (Algani, iv. 93). The second 'Abbasid caliph, Abi Dja'far, was also called the Mahdi by his court poet, Abi Dullama. During his reign, the 'Abbasid claim to the Mahdi ship faced a severe challenge in the rising of the Hasanid Muhammad b. 'Abdi Allah, who, having long been announced by the propaganda of his supporters as the expected Mahdi, appeared in Medina in accordance with the hadith predictions. After the suppression of his revolt, the caliph adopted the messianic name al-Mansur and gave his son and crown prince Muhammad the same name. Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, a companion, related the following story: He was asked, 'Is the Mahdi of the Hashimis?' He answered: 'Yes.' He was then addressed as the Mahdi of the Hashimis by the poet: Sadi (Algani, iv. 93).
will come forth a man who will be called by the name of your Prophet. He will resemble him in character but will not resemble him in shape. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice”.

The Mahdi was, however, identified as a descendant of al-Husayn in a tradition attributed to ‘Abd Allah b. Amr b. al-‘As and spread at this time by ‘Abd Allah b. Lahfa (d. 155/772) in Egypt: “A man of the offspring of al-Husayn will come forth from the second rising, after the Abbásid revolt, in Kufa, his defeats at the hands of Sufyān, and for Rayy to prepare the way for the Mahdi. The descendant of al-Husayn in a tradition attributed to ‘Abd Allah is reflected in predictions, hadith opposition into a tradition of the Prophet, providing a solid basis for the popular belief in the Mahdi.

Later developments. Traditions about the Mahdi were gathered also in the post-classical collections of hadith like those of al-Tabarānī, al-Ḥakim al-Naysabūrī, and al-Bayḥakī. The eschatological rôle of the Mahdi became generally more pronounced. The view that the Mahdi would rule the Muslim community at the time of the descent of Jesus was commonly accepted doctrine now that he was identified with the leader of the prayer of the Muslims mentioned anonymously in earlier traditions. A new dimension in the career of the Mahdi appeared in the K. al-Tadrijina of Abū ’Abd Allah al-‘Uṣaybā‘ī (d. 671/1272) who quoted some traditions according to which he would first appear in Medina, then preach in the mosque of Seville, receive the oaths of allegiance from the Muslims mentioned anonymously in earlier traditions. Ibn Khaldun, however, describes the view that the Mahdi would rule the Muslim community and that Jesus would pray behind him. Some of the acts which, according to earlier traditions, Jesus was to perform after his descent were now ascribed to the Mahdi, who would also aid him in the killing of the Darjālī (g.v.). The Mahdi was more and more associated, too, with the great Muslim conquests predicted in malākūm traditions for the final time of the world, especially those of Constantinople and Rome (Rūmiyya), and was described as the ruler of the whole world. These tendencies are apparent in the traditions quoted by Abū Na‘wā‘yn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 438/1045), who composed at least three different collections of hadith on the Mahdi.

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Despite the rapid spread of traditions about the coming of the Mahdi, opposition to the belief in him as expressed earlier by al-Ḥasan al-Bāṣrī did not entirely disappear among the hadith scholars. The Yemenite Muhammad b. Khalid al-Janadī claded this hadith about Medina, which he considered as containing a hadith about the Mahdi, the Prophet, providing it with an isnad through al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to the Companion Anas, Matters will only grow in hardship, the world will only increase in backward movement, and the people in greed. The Hour will rise only on the worst of people. There will be no Mahdi but ‘Isā b. Maryam’. The hadith was given added prestige by the fact that al-Shafi‘ī (d. 204/820) transmitted it from al-Janadī. Included by Ibn Mādhūn in his Sunna, it was later interpreted by supporters of the belief in the Mahdi as meaning that no-one spoke in the cradle (maḥdī) except Jesus or that the Mahdi would rule only in accordance with the instructions of Jesus since only the latter, as a prophet, was infaillible (maṣṭūm). Many hadith experts, among them al-Nasā‘ī, and Ibn Kayyim al-Jawziyya, rejected it as inauthentic. Lingering doubts concerning the Mahdi may partly account for the absence of any traditions about him in the Sahihs of al-Bukhari and Muslim. The Mahdi traditions contained in the canonical Sunni hadith collections of Al-Dawūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mādhūn, and al-Nasā‘ī as well as the Mustadrīk of Ibn Hanbal were, however, numerous enough to provide a solid basis for the popular belief in the Mahdi.

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The Mahdi or hidden caliph would appear in Mecca. He further reports that this mahdi was a descendant of Ali and would appear in the Maghrib. He predicted the advent of the Mahdi at the fortress (ribat) of Massa and travelled there in the hope of meeting him and pleading allegiance to him. At the beginning of the 18th century, a man pretending to be the Mahdi had gained some support there, but had been killed by the chiefs of the Ma'sudids. Belief that the Mahdi would arise in Morocco remained widespread until modern times.

Eastern and Egyptian tradition largely ignored this development. Treatises dealing specifically with the Mahdi, assembling large numbers of traditions from the earlier collections, were produced by late traditionalists like 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar ibn al-Hasan. Al-Taftazani (d. 990/1580) argued in his commentary on the Mahdi that he would be a descendant of the Umayyads and would emerge in the Maghrib. Similar beliefs arose around the 11th century, with others identifying the Mahdi with a second caliph, 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Barazanji, who was identified as the Mahdi but failed to appear. The pattern was already set in regard to Abu Jannal, who was identified as the Mahdi and considered all Muslims to be his followers. This development was already set in regard to Abu Jannal, who was identified as the Mahdi and considered all Muslims to be his followers.

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Eastern and Egyptian tradition largely ignored this development. Treatises dealing specifically with the Mahdi, assembling large numbers of traditions from the earlier collections, were produced by late traditionalists like 'Umar ibn al-Hasan and 'Umar ibn al-Haytami. Al-Taftazani (d. 990/1580) argued in his commentary on the Mahdi that he would be a descendant of the Umayyads and would emerge in the Maghrib. Similar beliefs arose around the 11th century, with others identifying the Mahdi with a second caliph, 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Barazanji, who was identified as the Mahdi but failed to appear. The pattern was already set in regard to Abu Jannal, who was identified as the Mahdi and considered all Muslims to be his followers. This development was already set in regard to Abu Jannal, who was identified as the Mahdi and considered all Muslims to be his followers.

A Sufi doctrine on the Mahdi had been expounded by Ibn al-Arabi. He described the expected Mahdi, a descendant of the Seal of the Saints (az-Zakir) as the one who would appear in Mecca. He further reported that this mahdi was a descendant of Ali and would appear in the Maghrib. He predicted the advent of the Mahdi at the fortress (ribat) of Massa and travelled there in the hope of meeting him and pleading allegiance to him. At the beginning of the 18th century, a man pretending to be the Mahdi had gained some support there, but had been killed by the chiefs of the Ma'sudids. Belief that the Mahdi would arise in Morocco remained widespread until modern times.
Doctrine on the ghayba of the Mahdi was greatly developed after the death of the seventh Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim (183/799) among the Wafqīs [q.v.], who considered himself the last Imam and expected his return as the Mahdi. While most of them believed that he had not died and was alive hiding, others held that he had died and would rise from death. They relied on statements attributed to Imām Dīja’far to the effect that the Mahdi was called the Kā’īm because he would rise (yakṣūn) after having died. A book on the ghayba was written by one of the founders of the Wafqī in Kūfah, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abī Hanza al-Ṣaḥḥāl. Other books on the ghayba are known to have been written by the Kūfīs Wafqīs ‘Abī ‘Abbās b. Dīja’far (d. 210/824), ‘Abī al-Ma’mūn al-Arāḍī, ‘Abī al-Ḥasan al-Tātīrī (d. 261/876-7), and al-Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. ʿAllī b. Ṣama’ā (d. 263/876-7). A Wafqī was perhaps also ‘Abdallāh b. Sallūh al-ʿAmārī (Kūfah, first half of the 3rd/9th century), author of a K. al-Ghayba. Books on the ghayba were, however, in the same period also composed by some Imām scholars who believed in the continuation of the imamate after Mūsā, like al-Abābā al-Qāshirī (d. 219 or 220/834-5) and the Kūfī Fathī b. al-Ḥasan b. Fadhālī.

The doctrine of the ghayba was thus well-documented by traditions of the Imāms before the occulation of the Twelfth Imām whom the majority of the Imāmiyya came to consider as the Mahdi after the death of the eleventh, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abī al-‘Askārī, in 260/874. Such earlier traditions could now be used and adapted to support the doctrine of the Mahdi’ship of the Twelfth Imām. Of Wafqī origin was, for instance, the tradition that the Mahdi, Muhammad al-Bāṣkhr, and transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abī Hanza and now applied to the Twelfth Imām: “In the Lord’s Order (tābi‘ khāṭīb al-amn) there will be a precedent (ṣu‘ma) from Moses, a precedent from Jesus, a precedent from Joseph, and a precedent from Muhammad. As for the precedent from Moses, he will be afraid and watchful (ḥṣīf yataṣāfkbū); as for Jesus, it will be said about him what was said about Jesus; as for Joseph, imprisonment and concealment (al-sīḌīn wa-l-ghayba); as for Muhammad, his rising with the sword, following his conduct and explaining his traditions...” The tradition clearly refers to the imprisonment of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and to the falsification of the masūd. He had been killed by his enemies. Also of Wafqī origin were traditions attributed to Imām Dīja’far about the two occultations (ghaybatān) of the Mahdi like the following: “The Master of this Order will have two occultations. One will be longer so that it will even be said, ‘He has died’; and some will say, ‘He has been killed’. No one but a few of his followers will remain loyal to him. None of his sons nor anyone else will have knowledge of his place except the client in charge of his affairs”. The two absences referred to the two arrests of Imām Mūsā who had been briefly imprisoned under the caliph al-Mahdī before his final imprisonment by Hārūn al-Rashīd from which he did not return. Such traditions were now interpreted as referring to the Lasser and the Greater ghayba [q.v.] of the Twelfth Imām. Dīya’r Shīfī’s doctrine on the Mahdi and his occulations was based on traditions attributed to the Imāms, was authoritative elaborated by Muhammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nuṣairī (middle of the 4th/10th century) in his K. al-Ghayba, by Ibn Bābūyā (d. 381/992) in his Ismā‘īl al-dīn, and by Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in his K. al-Ghayba.

Imāmi traditions about the career of the Mahdi after his advent largely reflect Sunnī traditions. He will be the lord of the sword and rule the world. Jesus will pray behind him after his descent from heaven. This did not raise a theological problem as in Sunnīsm, since the Mahdi, like all other Imams, according to prevailing Imāmi doctrine, exerts all prophetic attributes. The Mahdi’s rule is thus described in various ways. Specifically Shi‘ism is the expectation that the Mahdi will force all Muslims to accept the Shī‘ī belief. Imam Dīja’far is quoted as stating: “When the Kā’īm of us rises, he will offer the faith to every opponent (i.e. of ‘All, nīṣāb). Either he will enter in it truly, or he will cut his neck or force him to pay the ḥizyāt as the non-Muslims (aḥl al-ḥumma) pay it now. He will gird himself with a travel bag and expel them from the towns to the countryside (sa‘ādūt)”. The Kā’īm will also enforce the law as laid down by the Imāms, and accordingly prevent Muslims from repudiating their wives except by the fikhr al-sunnah. The Mahdi thus was expected to restore the ghayba of Islam integrally, and this has always been orthodox Imāmi doctrine. More radical doctrine was propagated by the Karāmīs [see KĀRAMĪ], who held that the Mahdi would abrogate the ghayba and bring a new message. According to al-Nawbahjī (Fī ṭabār al-ṣa‘īda, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 62), they interpreted a statement ascribed to Imām Dīja’far, “If our Kā’īm were to rise you would learn the Kū‘ān anew”, in that sense. Similar ideas appear to be expressed in another statement ascribed to Imam Dīja’far, “When our Kā’īm rises, he will bring a different order than what was before (dja‘far bishu‘am ghayri ‘Nadhi kā‘īm)”. Countering Sunnī criticism, Imāmi apologists endeavored to prove that the description of the Mahdi contained in Sunnī hadīthas applied to the Twelfth Imām and that the longevity of the Mahdi implied in the doctrine of the ghayba was not unreasonable in view of revealed data about Khūḍar, Jesus, and the Dajjal, and secular reports about long-lived men (muṣālimmārūs). Such apologetics gained considerable momentum in the middle of the 7th/13th century when several Sunnī scholars supported the Imāmi belief that the Twelfth Imām was the Expected Mahdi. In 648/1250-1 the Syrian Shī‘ī traditionist Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Gandī al-Kawālijī, later (658/1260) murdered in Damascus for cooperation with the Moscoil conquerors, and the Syrian traditionist K. al-Bayyān al-bidā‘ah fi ākūb ‘alā mā‘mad al-sunnah, in which he proved the Mahdi’ship of the Twelfth Imām relying solely on Sunnī traditions. In 659/1261 Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā al-Ṣa‘īdī (d. 716/1316) wrote his Taflīh kā‘īm al-wa‘ūd bi-dīya’r bī–ghayba ‘al-ṣa‘īda assembling reports from Sunnī sources about the virtues of ‘All and his descendants, especially the Twelfth Imām. In 667/1270 the Imāmi al-Kawālijī, screen master of the Twelve Imāms and answered Sunnī objections to the belief that the Twelfth Imām was the Mahdi. The Sibī‘ Ibn al-Dajwīzī, shortly before his death in 654/1256 in Damascus, wrote his Taflīh kā‘īm al-wa‘ūd bi-dīya’r bī–ghayba ‘al-ṣa‘īda assembling reports from Sunnī sources about the virtues of ‘All and his descendants, especially the Twelfth Imām, and at the end affirmed that the Twelfth Imām was the Lord of the Time, the Expected Kā’īm and Mahdi. In support, he quoted the following hadīth, terming it well-known (maṣāḥib), “The Messenger of God said, ‘At the end of time, a man of my descendants will come forth whose name is like my name and whose kūnay is like my kūnay. He will fill the earth with justice as it was filled with injustice. That is the Mahdi’”. He thus avoided one of the major Sunnī objections.
to the Mahdi's expected reappearance.

Muhammad b. al-Kassem, viz. that the hadith of 'Asim in its expanded form stipulated the identity of the father's name of the Mahdi with that of the prophet's father. Al-Ganjâl, on the other hand, quoted the testimony of al-Abûrî that this stipulation had been added to the hadith by the Kufan transmitter Zaidî (d. 160/677-8).

A problem arose also about the Sunni hadith, related by Ibn Hanbal and others, "The Prophet said, 'A community will not perish among whom I am the first, Jesus is the last, and the Mahdi is in the middle (fi wasatihik)'." This implied that Jesus would remain after the Mahdi and there would be no Imam before the end of the world, as against a cardinal Islamic dogma. Al-Ganjâl therefore interpreted the hadith as meaning that Jesus should be the last caller (kadî) inviting mankind to accept Islam but would not survive the Mahdi.

Testimony in support of the Mahdihip of the Twelfth Imam by Sunni authors, as also of later ones like the Malikî scholar Ibn al-Sabâbîn al-Isfâ'îfî al-Makî (d. 855/1452), a Maghrîbi resident in Mecca, and, more recently, the Hanafi Nahwîbîdî Shaykh Sulaymân b. Ibrahim al-Kundâzî al-Balqî (d. 1294/1877 in Istanbul), was regularly noted by Imamî apologist. The works of al-Ganjâl and Kamâl al-Dîn ibn Tahtâ were extensively quoted already by Ahmad b. 'Askâr ibn al-Ibrîhîm (d. 692/1293) in his Kitab al-qumma fi mafrifat *1-6. This view against the clear evidence of the traditions met the Mahdihip of the Twelfth Imam, which in turn won positive comment from Sunni sources. Further support for the Mahdihip of the Twelfth Imam came from Shi'î circles. Already Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqî (d. 458/1066) had noted that some Shi'î gnostics (aša'irî min abî bâli) agreed with the Imamî doctrine about the identity of the Mahdi and his gnostics. The Persian Kitâb al-durar al-din Ibrahim al-Hamâmî (late 7th/13th century) supported Imamî doctrine on the Mahdi in his Farâ'id al-simayn.

The Egyptian Sûfî al-Shârîn, while generally showing no sympathy for Shi'ism, affirmed in his al-va'lidî wa 'l-ja'fudî (written in 958/1551) that the Mahdi was a son of Imam al-Hussayn ibn Muhammad. Imam al-Tâbînî (491-511/1099-1120), who claimed to be the Expected Mahdi, his death was denied by his family and followers, known as the Husaynîyya, and his successors did not claim the title of Imam in expectation of his return. The sect of the Husaynîyya, opposed by the majority of the Zaydis, survived until the 8th/14th century. It is characteristic for the insignificance of Mahdi expectations among the Zaydis that the Sayyid Hamâmî (7th/13th century), representing Zaydi orthodoxy, could recognize al-Husayn b. al-Kasem as the Mahdi, who had appeared at the time predicted by the Prophet, while ensuring those of his supporters who raised his rank above that of the Zaydi Imam before him and refused to recognize him as the Mahdi (see W. Madelung, Der Imam al-Qasim ibn al-Husayn, Berlin 1965, 198-201).


On the death of al-Mansūr, on the Pilgrimage of 158/1 October 775, al-Mahdī, who was already in Baghdad, succeeded to the throne without opposition. Al-Mahdī's policies were in many ways a continuation of his father's, and like al-Mansūr he continued to rely on the Kūrāsānī army and members of the 'Abbasid family as the main supporters of the regime. He seems to have emphasised more strongly than his two predecessors the religious nature of his office and the role of the caliph as the champion of Islam. His regnal title of al-Mahdī, a title previously adopted by 'Alī and by 'Abbasids, was an indication of this. He also showed his concern for religion by the enlargement of mosques, at Mecca and Basra and the Askūs in Jerusalem, by improving the water supply on the Pilgrimage route from 'Irāq to the Hijāz and by organising expeditions against the Byzantines. The concern for the ḥadīth and the dhīḥād was part of a policy to establish the caliph as leader of the Muslim community as a whole. He also sought to maintain the purity of the religion by vigorous suppression of the šiddāt, dualist or gnostic heretics, some of whom were executed. He attempted to heal the rift which had developed in the family of the Prophet between the 'Abbasids and the 'Alids and which had led to the rebellion of Muhammad "the Pure Soul" in 145/762. He invited members of the 'Abbasid family to court and granted them pensions, as well as trying to reconcile their traditional supporters among the people of Medina by recruiting a guard of Ansārī and by the distribution of largesse. In the main, this policy seems to have been successful and there were no large-scale 'Alīd disturbances during the reign.

Al-Mahdī's main adviser in his relations with the 'Alīd was the marāṣī Yākūb b. Dāwūd, who had made contacts with members of the family in prison and who in 160/777 placed his services at the disposal of the caliph. Yākūb succeeded in reconciling with the caliph some prominent 'Alīd dissidents, and in doing so acquired enormous power, supervising almost the entire administration and most government appointments. He failed, however, to win over the most active and militant 'Alīd, 'Īsā b. Zayd, who continued in hiding as a focus for opposition and this failure, coupled with resentment felt by many others at court against his influence, led to his fall and imprisonment in 166/782-3.

The power attained by Yākūb points to the general increase in power of the bureaucracy and the secretaries (khitābī, sing. khīṭābī [q.v.]) during the reign of al-Mahdī. Until this time, the khīṭatī had acted as individual secretaries to rulers but now, under the leadership of the Barmakīs (see al-Barmākī) family, they came to form an important pressure group at court. From 161/777-8, Yākūb b. Khālid al-Barmakī became tutor and adviser to the young prince Hārūn, later the caliph al-Mahdī, thus becoming one of the most influential figures at court. The rise of the khīṭatī at this time provoked a reaction among the leaders of the Kūrāsānī army, who felt that their position was being threatened, and the caliph was warned that he was in danger of losing the support of his army by his great-uncle 'Abd al-Samād b. 'All. The tension between the bureaucrats and the military which originated at this time was to be a continuing feature of 'Abbasid politics.

Al-Mahdī's reign was in the main a period of peace and prosperity. There were disturbances in Kūrāsān, notably the prolonged rebellion of al-Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, between about 159/775-6 and 163/780,
which was only suppressed by considerable military effort. Elsewhere, Muslim armies expanded the influence of the caliphate; on the eastern frontiers of Khorasan, Farghana [g.r.] was attacked, and al-Ya'qubī gives a somewhat fanciful list of eastern monarchs who are said to have acknowledged the caliph's authority, including the Kings of Tibet and China. There was also a joint anti-carthaginian expedition against the unbelievers in Sind. As usual, however, the main military effort was concentrated on the Byzantine front. In 632/179-80 the Byzantines destroyed the Muslim outpost of al-Rahmah [g.r.], and the caliph responded by sending his son Hārūn on two expeditions in 635/178 and 636/179, which raided the empire without making any lasting territorial gains.

Al-Mahdī designated as his heirs two of his sons by his favourite wife al-Khayzur &n, Musa, who took the title of al-Maḥdī, and Hārūn, who took the title of al-Rasjid. Both these were given responsibility in their father's lifetime, Musa in Bagdad, where he developed close links with the Khurāsān soldiery, and Hārūn in Syria and the Byzantine frontier regions. The arrangement was that Musa should succeed and be followed by his brother Hārūn, but there were indications that the caliph, persuaded by al-Khayzur &n, was about to change these dispositions at the time of his death. Nothing had been done, however, when he died on 22 Muharram 106/4 August 785 at Masābaḥīn, probably as the result of a hunting accident.


AL-MAHDI [See IRN TOMB; AL-MARDĪYA]

AL-MAHDI, MUHAMMAD B. HISHĀM B. 'ĀBD AL-DIYĀRĪ B. 'ĀBD AL-RAHMĀN AL-NAṢIR, ABū E-WALID, ELEVENTH UMAYYAD CALIPH OF SPAIN. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad [g.r.], and again in Sulaymān b. Hakam al-Mustā'īs [g.r.] place in the period of general rebellion which at the end of the 9th/10th century immediately preceded the establishment throughout Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the Mulāk al-Tamīnī [g.r.].

The third of the 'Amīrid ḥādisīs, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Mansūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, to get himself designated heir-apparent. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne; they arranged that one of their number, Muhammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Diyyār, a great-grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Naṣir, who had many followers among the nobles of Cordova, should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchol was to lead in person against the Christians of Géliea, to raise the standard of rebellion. On 15 Dūlāmād 399/17 February 1909, Muhammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova, where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the 'Amīrid town of al-Madina al-Zāhira [g.r.]. All the treasure accumulated there, including a vast sum in money, was seized and brought to the new caliph who, to destroy 'Amīrid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great ḥādisī of al-Muṣtāfa, had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muhammad b. Hishām, who had adopted the honorary ḥādisī of al-Mahdī, took steps to meet the counter-attack expected from 'Abd al-Rahmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madina al-Zāhira, the ḥādisī, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Calatrava (Kal'at Rabī' [g.r.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops, who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Dūlāmād 399/7 March 1909. His body was encased in Cordova.

Muhammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chief of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaymān b. al-Naṣir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rahim, and had siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaymān b. al-Hakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho García and his Castilian subjects. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Mu'ta'īd whom he had himself deposed and then given out as dead, but this was in vain. On 16 Rabī' I 400/2 November 1009 the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaymān, received the oath of allegiance to Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Mustā'īn bīlāh.

In the following month, al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo, where he was received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Christians (Umaydī) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400/May-June 1910. The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaymān al-Mustā'īn returned to besiege this city. At al-Mahdī, betrayed by his retainers, was slain during the siege
in the palace in Cordova by some 9Amirid slaves on 8 Dhu 'l-Hijja 400/25 July 1013. His first reign had lasted nine months, the second last two.


MAHDI 'ALI KHÂN, the most outstanding vizier of the later Nawâibs of Awadh.

He started his career from the early reign of Nawâib Sa'd al-Dîn Khân (1798-1814) as a thâkkâ-dàr (an officer of one of the revenue districts) of Bâhla Mu'âsmâddî and then of Fâyâbâbî. His administration made the Bâhla under its control exceedingly prosperous. He himself became fabulously rich and was made a minister. Early in the reign of Sa'd al-Dîn Khân's successor Ghâzî al-Dîn Hayyâr (1815-27), Mahdi 'All lost his position because of his resentments at the interference of the Awadh Resident Colonel Baillie with the Awadh administration. Much of his property was seized and he was imprisoned. After his release from prison, he moved to the British territory at Fathpur in 1824 and began to live in a grand style. After the death of Ghâzî al-Dîn Hayyâr in October 1827, his son Nasr al-Dîn Hayyâr appointed Mahdi 'All as his mîdîr (chief minister). The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck was highly impressed by Mahdi 'All's administrative abilities and supported his schemes. Mahdi 'All reduced the salaries of undeserving favourites of the court, slashed the stipend of the ladies of the palace and even curtailed the stipend of the ladies of the palace and even curtailed the expenses of the King. After four years of strong rule, Mahdi 'All had to face a threat from the ruler of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Mas'ud Yâsuf. In 1830-31 he was behaving arrogantly towards the Queen Mother and was appointed in his place. The reforms introduced by Mahdi 'All were speedily reversed and the prosperity of the kingdom declined. Mahdi 'All retired to Farrukhâbâd and died in obscurity.

Abd Allah b. al-Hasan al-Dawurdl, with
from his mule which had been frightened by a bird,
when thrown 'l-Hakk Yahya. After the death of the
Imam, was the son and second successor of al-Hadid bi-

In 646/1248 Ahmad proclaimed himself imam in the fortress of Thula, north-west of San'a, with the support of the Banu Hamza Zaydi, his father's family, and with the possible connivance of the Rasulids. The rise of the Rasulid ied-holder of San'a, the sultan's nephew, Asad al-Din Muhammad b. al-Hasan, whose loyalty to his family was at best only lukewarm.

Abd Allah Ahmad b. Yahya as imam. 'Abd Allah al-Dawurdl thereupon had 'All, the son of al-Nasir, proclaimed imam, and al-Mahdi Ahmad and those supporting him left for Bayt Baws where they were immediately besieged by the rival imams, w. 'All. For the remainder of that year and until 794/1392 the two claimants to the Zaydi imamate fought for supremacy. Al-Mahdi Ahmad was caught in Mabar, south of San'a, by forces of his rival, 'All, and languished in prison until 801/1399, a period of over seven years. In that year he was freed with the help of his jailers. He lived on, however, until 840/1437, when he died near Hajiya of the plague. Ironically, enough, his erstwhile rival the Imam 'Ali died in San'a of the plague in the same year.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtada as Imam was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand, he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and systematic; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book al-Makk fi al-Imam al-Mahdi, on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopedia, al-Babur al-tahdhib (Berlin ms. 4901) in which he wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, for it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, for its parts for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of al-Ash'ari or al-Shahrastani.

About 80 years after al-Mahdi Ahmad b. Yahya, from 922/1516 onwards, the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Kuth al-Din al-Maliki, al-Barb al-yumani fi l-Fath al-Uthmani, in S. de Sacy, in Notices et extraits, iv, 417-504, and A. Rutgers, Historia Jemenii sub Hanao Pascua, Leiden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Mansur bi'llAh al-Kasim b. Muhammad, a descendant of the Al-Hadid in the seventeenth generation, was able in 934/1528 to restore the present Imamate in San'a (see A. S. Tritton, The rise of the Imams of Sana, Oxford 1925). Of his sons, Muhammad al-Mu'ayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign, but still more after his death in 1054/1644, when his successor Isma'il, another son of al-Kasim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Kasim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the Imam

2. al-Mahdi li-Din Allâh Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-Kasim. His father was not Imám, but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 108/1675 Ahmad appeared in the hills of Wusay, in 1015/1604 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Isma'il, he set out with another cousin against San'a. At first he came to terms with the Imam, but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at Thula and again in the Dhijal Wusay. In 1076/1665 he won Hadramawt for Isma'il, to which the Zaydi had been permitted by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087/1675

The choice of Ibn al-Murtada as Imam was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand, he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and systematic; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his warders, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book al-Makka fi al-Imam al-Mahdi, on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopedia, al-Babur al-tahdhib (Berlin ms. 4901) in which he wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, for it is a rich and well-arranged compilation, which deserves attention, for its parts for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of al-Ash'ari or al-Shahrastani.
on the death of Imam al-Mahdi, he himself assumed the imamate, a nephew, al-Kasim b. Muhammad al-Mu'tayyad, proclaimed himself imam and was recognized particularly in the remote territory in the south towards Tihama. A Zayyid assembly of leading Sharifs and 'ulama' met, at which Ahmad was with some difficulty recognized as the legitimate imam. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other amirs remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Ahmad b. al-Husayn died soon afterwards in 1021/1612 in al-Qhirka near Shibam, which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Hasan Pasha, possibly from a bullet wound, sustained in action against a recalcitrant tribe. A notable feature of his comparatively uneventful imamate was his banishment of the Jews from San'a, the raising of their synagogue and the building of the Djalà mosque on its site (1050-1/1640-1). After the short and weak reign of his son Mu'tawakkil Muhammad (to 1067/1656), family feuds broke out again. Among the later imams of this 'Alid dynasty another Ahmad b. al-Husayn (al-Kaddab, to 1191/1779) again bore the official title of al-Mahdi ibn 'Abd Allah. 


AL-MAHDI 'UBAYD ALLAH, the first "manifested" (fiqah) Imam 'Imam and the first caliph of the Fatimid dynasty in Ifriqiya; while the historicity of this fact is conclusively established, there is doubt as to the Fatimid origin of 'Ubayd Allah and subsequently as to the authenticity of his imamate in the Imamite line. It would be pointless however, before giving an account of his activity as a sovereign, to digress upon the thorny subject of the nassat of the first Fatimid monarch, to which the author of the present article has, moreover, elsewhere devoted substantial consideration (see Dibii). This study will be confined therefore to exposing the essential features as a means of bringing to light the political and social conditions in which the Imamite da'wah developed in the Orient even before the imamate fell to 'Ubayd Allah, then in the Magrib, on the eve of the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate.

The question is whether 'Ubayd Allah—'Abd Allah according to the Imamites, who reject the diminutive form of his name on which Sunni and Kharijite authors agree—possessed an Imamite ancestry through a family relationship with 'Ubayd Allah, the seventh hidden Imam, or whether he was quite simply the great-grandson of the da'i Maymun al-Kaddab [see 'Abd Allah b. Maymun]. The documentation currently available is insufficient to provide a conclusive answer. It may nevertheless be asserted definitively that it was the seventh Imam, 'Abd Allah, who first laid the foundations of the Imamite movement, then his son Muhammad b. Isma'il who elaborated the doctrine and organised the preaching (da'wah) with the valuable assistance of the da'i Maymun al-Kaddab. It could be concluded that this da'wah in favour of the 'Alid descendants of the Husaynid branch was thus initiated in the period of secrecy (zahr), that is, at the beginning of the second half of the 2nd/9th century, and continued until the end of the 3rd/10th century, to be concluded finally with the "manifestation" (zahir) of the Imam al-Mahdi.

No sure light can be thrown upon the order of events in the succession in which the imamate was transmitted during this long period of secrecy and how the imamate effectively passed from the line of Isma'il to that of the family of al-Kaddab, because of the variety of contradictory and impasioned opinions which our Sunni and Kharijite sources have reproduced with the obvious zeal of their authors. Among the Imami authors themselves, profound disagreements have survived, depending on whether the sources consulted are works of doctrine intended for public consumption (zahir) or esoteric texts reserved for the initiates (dibii).

However, whether al-Mahdi be an authentic 'Alid or a descendant of al-Kaddab, it is appropriate to stress the importance of his role in the considerable development of the da'wah at the moment that he was obliged to make it public, beginning from his home in Salamiyya and promulgating it across Persia, Lower Mesopotamia, Syria, Bahrann, Yemen, Egypt and even the distant Magrib.

Nourished by the political and social unrest fomented among the Nabataeans, Aramaeans and Zandj masses in the East, Copts in Egypt and Berbers in Ifriqiya; strengthened, at the time of the decline of the 'Abbasid empire, as a result of the spectacular development of the Karmatian or Carmathian movement which enticed the same revolutionary ideal of political reform and egalitarian justice; perfectly organized and covering the various "constitutions" of the Islamic world (hidjari), the Imamite preaching ultimately entered, just at the time that al-Mahdi acceded to the imamate in 282/896, a decisive phase, that of its Magribi diversion.

Two decisive events influenced this movement of the da'wah in the direction of the Magrib: the Karmatian dissidence in the East and the successes of the apostleship of the da'i 'Abu 'Abd Allah in Lesser Kabylia in the West. As for the schism between the Karmatian movement and the centre of the da'wah, it took place at the same time that the imamate fell to al-Mahdi, whose authority the new Karmatian chief, Zikrauwa, refused to recognize. It was thus to fend off the formidable threat posed to Salamiyya that al-Mahdi resigned himself to fleeing this town and setting out towards the far Magrib at about the end of summer 290/902.

In fact, the apostleship undertaken on behalf of the Imam by the da'i 'Abu 'Abd Allah in this country, among the Kutama Berbers of Lesser Kabylia,
developed into an open insurrection against the Umayyad kingdom of the Aghlabids. Al-Mahdi made his way to Sidi-Mahaa, in the furthest Maghrib, there to await the final victory of Abu 'Abd Allah and his Kutama partisans. His stay in this town was to last for months. It is said that Abu 'Abd Allah, having conquered on his behalf the kingdom of the Aghlabids, arrived there only to present him with power and to escort him to Ifriqiya, where he took possession of the throne at Rakka'da on Thursday 20 Rabii' II 297/6 January 910.

On his accession, the first Fatimid sovereign was 36 or 37 years old, having been born at Askar in 259 or 260/873 or 874. Islamic and Sunni authors agree in attributing to him qualities of tenacity and prudent wisdom which proved to be of great benefit to him in the course of various vicissitudes between the time of his flight from Sahl al-Mihriyya and his triumphal entry into Rakka'da.

Al-Mahdi was officially proclaimed caliph on the day following his arrival, Friday 21 Rabii' II 297/7 January 910. The edicts of enthronement and proclamation emphasised the restoration of the umama in the line of descent of the Prophet and of his heir (waqt), through his daughter Fatiha, and the recovery of the caliphate usurped by the Unayyads and the 'Abbāsids.

Immediately upon his enthronement, al-Mahdi took in hand the responsibilities of state, letting it be known that he intended to exercise personally the power gained on his behalf by Abu 'Abd Allah. He thus eclipsed the prestige of the latter, his brother Abu l-Abbas and certain Kutama chieftains who, offended, were not slow to foment a conspiracy against him. But, assisted in his role as sovereign by Arab dignitaries who rallied to his cause, having earlier served the Aghlabid amirs, al-Mahdi did not hesitate to rid himself of the dā'at Abu 'Abd Allah, who was executed along with his brothers and their Kutama accomplices.

With the same determination, al-Mahdi set about consolidating his authority through energetic suppression of the internal agitation provoked by the elimination of Abu 'Abd Allah. He quelled in rapid succession an attempted insurrection at al-Kā здоровья, a riot at al-Kayrawan, a rebellion in Tripoli, a revolt by the clan of the Maawātī in the land of the Kutama and an uprising in Sicily. Having thus pacified his territories, taken firm control of his Arab and Berber subjects and contained the threat of Kutātī tribes (especially the Zanata hostile to his regime, he rapidly set about establishing on the foundations of the former Aghlabid kingdom a stable and powerful state which he was careful to endow, at an early stage, with a new capital, al-Mahdiyya (p.4). Built as a fortress, this coastal site was designed to ensure the security of the sovereign and to serve as an instrument for his policy of prestige and hegemony. For, in order to bring to a successful conclusion his twofold function of Imām and caliph, the first Fatimid monarch was obliged at once to conduct outside his frontiers a tireless campaign on three fronts simultaneously: against his two Muslim rivals, the western Maghrib, and the Christian enemy, the Emperor of Byzantium, in Sicily and Calabria.

In view of the fact that the proclamation of the Fatimid caliphate imposed on him the obligation to overthrow both the Unayyads and 'Abbāsids "usurpers", al-Mahdi no doubt at first contemplated invading Muslim Spain, where the power of his Cor-
of twenty galleys, the Fatimid officer Mas'ud b. Ghilib al-Walid took possession of the fortress of St. Agatha and made prisoners of its inhabitants.

Two years later, the chamberlain Dja'far b. 'Ubayd, known as 'Surfih', led the third raid, with Palermo as his starting-point. He captured Bruntalia and Orta and returned to al-Mahdiyya with vast riches. The resounding success of this campaign had the effect of inducing Byzantium to conclude a treaty. But the annual tribute agreed for Calabria was slow to reach al-Mahdiyya, and hostilities resumed in 315/927. Continuing until 328/930 under the command of the slave Sahir, the Fatimid incursions proceeded victoriously against Tarento, Salerno, Naples and Termoli. Eventually the tribute was paid, hostilities were suspended and the treaty remained in force until the death of al-Mahdi. Preoccupied by Bulgarian imperialism, Byzantium allowed the Fatimid sovereign to subjugate Apulia and Calabria and to reinforce the supremacy of Islam in Sicily.

Al-Mahdi died in al-Mahdiyya on 15 Rabii I 329/2 March 934. On the eve of his death, he could congratulate himself on having successfully performed his double task as Imam and as first Fatimid caliph. Under his aged, the da'wa emerged from its secular period of "secrecy" (tair), and flowered rapidly in the East and in the Maghrib. He had the skill and energy to conduct moderate but firm policies within his provinces, and to wage tireless war to expand his power. The diwan, Muhammad b. Saba', 

Thus, under his rule, the Fatimid empire embarked successfully on the first phase of its long history.


(F. DACHRAOU)

**MAHDIDS,** a dynasty of Zabid in the Yemen claiming descent from the pre-Islamic Tubabids of Yemen.

1. History. The family took its name from the father of its first leader, 'All b. Mahdi, who died in 354/965. 'All was brought up with a strong traditional Islamic education by his father in Tihama. Though much given to quiet meditation, 'All also acquired a reputation for eloquence. He travelled from all corners of the Islamic world. The famous historian-poet, 'Umara, is our earliest source for the Mahdids period. He tells us that he was much attracted by 'All's early teachings and visited him personally every month (Kay, Yemen, 92). During the period 351-6/1156-57, 'All preached openly in Tihama. So sympathetic to his words was the Nabiisid queen in Zabid, 'Ala'um, that he and his followers were exempted from the da'wa normally payable on land. In 358/1165, 'All felt called to attack the Mahdids town of al-Kadr, north of Zabid, but he and his supporters were driven off. They fled to the mountains where they remained until 354/1165. In that year 'Alam, the Nabidid queen in Zabid, against the advice of her adviser, allowed 'All and his supporters to return to Zabid. 'Alam died in 354/1165, an event which signalled the opening of a long, ruthless and extremely cruel campaign conducted by the Mahdids against Zabid and the surrounding area of Tihama from the mountains above. The town stood firm against appalling acts of terror. 'All was compelled in 359/1165 to journey to the court of the Zaruy'id rulers in Dhiba, Muhammad b. Saba'. 'Umara too was present at the meeting and tells us that 'All left empty-handed. The Zaruy'id refused to assist him against Zabid (Kay, Yemen, 94-5). 'All began to intrigue among the Nabidid amirs and in 351/1165 he engineered the murder of Suruf al-Farih, a key figure in the declining Nabidid house. Despite the brave resistance of its inhabitants, Zabid finally fell to 'All b. Mahdi in 354/1165. The latter had just only established himself in the town, however, when he died.

The events which followed the death of 'All are difficult to unravel and our sources differ in their accounts. He was succeeded either by two sons jointly, Mahdi b. 'All and Abd al-Nabl b. 'All, or by the former only. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Mahdids consolidated former Nabidid territory in Tihama, made peace with the Zaruy'id based in Aden and al-Dunlula, and raided other areas in the south, notably Labji and al-Djanad. Mahdi died in 359/1165. Abd al-Nabl assumed full control for the Mahdids house, and the plundering and looting began under his father, 'All, continued with renewed vigour. Not only the southern areas of Labdji and Abyan were attacked, but also raids were made north in Tihama into the territory of the Sulaymads. In such a raid Wuhd b. 'Ubayd, the sulaymad leader, was killed in 360/1165, an act which may well have helped to bring about the Ayyubid conquest of the Yemen nine years later by Tair Shih b. Ayyub, the brother of Saladin (Smith, Ayyubids and early Rasulids, ii, 32-3, 41-2, 46). Abd al-Nabl's thirst for territorial gain continued. Ta'izz and Ibb fell in 361/1165 and he moved on to besiege Aden in the same year. The siege dragged on until 368/1172, when the Zaruy'id ruler of Aden, Hatim b. 'All, arrived in San'a' to beg for assistance to raise the siege from a fellow Imam, the ruler of San'a', the Ayyubids, Abd al-Nabl b. Hatim of Hamdah. The latter agreed to help, and with strong tribal support, the Zaruyid-Hamdan alliance put the Mahdids to flight in 369/1173, thus releasing Aden.

Abd al-Nabl and his battered forces retired to Zabid. Soon afterwards Tair-Shih arrived in northern Tihama with his Ayyubid forces from Egypt. Joining up with the Sulaymids, who were eager to avenge the Mahdids killing of their leader, the Ayyubids swept southwards through Tihama, taking Zabid and arresting Abd al-Nabl and his brother Ahmad. Both were executed by strangulation by the Ayyubids in 371/1176, after what appears to have been a Mahdids attempt to regain control of Zabid.

2. Religious doctrines. 'Umara's account of Mahdids doctrine is perhaps an oversympathetic view which inevitably led to the charge that he was a Kharidji and thus punishable by death. Capital punishment was also prescribed for all those who opposed his teachings, as well as for wine drinking, singing and unlawful sexual intercourse.

Property was held in common and a communal pool of horses, military equipment etc. was maintained. All other sources took a less charitable view of 'Abd
al-Nabi’s political-religious leanings. He is painted as a man of great evil, plundering and looting in a mad attempt to spread the word. Rather than punish wine-drinkers, he was himself a drunkard, they paint him, and a womaniser into the bargain. Certainly, the Khādirī labeled stuck and 'Abd al-Nabi is depicted in Yemeni and non-Yemeni sources alike as a fanatic whose removal from power in the Yemen was of sufficient importance to Saladin in Egypt to bring about the Ayyūbīd conquest under his brother, Tūrūn-Shāh, in 568/1173. The causes of the Ayyūbīd conquest were of course numerous and complex (cf. Smith, op. cit., ii, 31-49), but it is not beyond the realms of possibility that the presence of this “evil Khādirī” in the Yemen did add weight to the argument in favour of bringing the Yemen under Ayyūbīd control.

Bibliography: The earliest source of Mahdī activities is ‘Umāra’s Tarīkh, found in H. C. Kay, Yaman, its early medieval history, London 1882, with English translation: a whole section of chapter 3 of the present writer’s The Ayyūbīds and early Rastīlīds in the Yemen, GMS, XXVI, London 1978, 50-62, with full references, is devoted to the Banū Mahdī, and the references to them in a section on the reasons for the Ayyūbīd conquest of the Yemen is given in the text above; other important sources, mainly still in ms. form, for the Mahdī period are as follows: al-Dānaḏīl, al-Sulṭān ‘al-walāa’ wa ‘l-μūd, Chester Beatty ms. 3110, i and ii; al-Khaṣrāḏī, al-Khāfiyya wa ‘l-Nā’m, Leiden ms. 609, and al-Mād al-Dalīl, British Library ms. Or. 4561; Ismā‘īl b. al-‘Abbās, al-Qābulat al-asl, Rylands ms. 253; ibn al-Dāyba’, Kurrat al-‘ayn fi asbāb al-Yaman al-maymūn, now published in 2 vols., ed. Māḥmud b. ‘Alī al-Akwa, Cairo 1977; the late Zaydi chronicle of Yabīy b. al-Hayṣayn, ‘Uṣūl as-samā‘īl, etc., ed. S. A. F. Ashour, Cairo 1968, 2 vols., is occasionally of value; the principal non-Yemeni sources which mention the removal of ‘Abd al-Nabi as being a cause of the Ayyūbīd conquest of the Yemen are Abū Shāma, Rauṣanayyin, I, 557; ibn al-Mu‘āwī, al-‘Iṣbaq, I, 238; ibn Khulīlī, tr. de Siana, 284, iv, 304; Makrīzī, Kātib, ii, 37. (G. R. SMITH.)

AL-MAḤDIYYA, formerly called al-MA‘MūRA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wādī Saḥū (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Chaḥr and 20 miles to the north-east of Salé (Salé), it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port has been created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wādī Saḥū and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Ma’mūra, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Ma’mūra at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Ma’mūra re-enters history when at the end of the 10th/11th century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who, under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1620 had occupied the port of Larache (al-‘Arāqiq), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Ma’mūra in Rabī‘ 1022/August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Sa’dīd Mawlay Zaydān. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Ma’mūra was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the “volunteers of the faith” (maḍākhīdāt), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-‘Ayyāṣī of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1650 and 1647. In 1628, the ‘Alawī sultan Mawlūd Ismā‘īl laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Maḥdiyya; the name of al-Ma’mūra only survived as that of the great forest of cork oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Saḥū.

It may be noted that, for a few years at an earlier date, the name al-Maḥdiyya had been born in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad caliph ‘Abd al-Mu’tāmin on the site of the future Rībāt al-Fath (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wādī Bu-Regreg). Al-Maḥdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1917.

Fairly important remains survive at al-Maḥdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the time when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (kaša) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates; one, very massive and with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the 11th/12th century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the sea. Inside are the ruins of the Muslim governor’s palace of the 18th century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Saḥū for a length of 200 m.
and a breadth of about 40 m. might still be seen
buildings consisting of a series of square chambers
completely isolated from one another and each pro-
tected by a double wall. These were probably gran-
aries, which need not be earlier than the end of the
11th/12th century, and are not, as has been
suggested, of the Phoenician period.

Bibliography: The Arabic historians of recent
times (Zayyānī, Kādirī, Nāṣrī Saḥwī, etc.),
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l'histoire du Maroc, indices, sub El-Mamora;
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villes avant la conquête, Paris 1926, 208-79; R.
Montagne, Note sur la kasbah de Mahdiyya, in
Hespéris, i (1923), 93-7.

(E. LEVY-PROVENCAL)

Al-Mahdiyya, a town in Tunisia which
owes its name to its founder 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdī
(297-325/909-34 Lf 17); situated on the coast 200 km.
to the south of Tunis, it is the regional capital of
a province of which the population, 218,000
inhabitants at the time of the 1975 census, is estimated
to have reached 247,000. The population of the town,
numbering 12,000 inhabitants in 1905, has grown
steadily to 14,937 (1946 census), 18,494 (1956) and
21,288 (1966).

Foundation.
The creation of al-Mahdiyya by the Fatimids
responded to a need which had already made itself
felt since the end of the previous epoch, that of the
Aghlabids. The last years of this dynasty had in
distinctly left Kairouan (al-Kayrawān) for Tunis. When
prospecting along the coast beyond Tunis, which did
not attract his choice, in the search for the site
to be selected for the creation of his new capital,
the Isāmī Shī'ī Mahdī followed the same motiva-
tions, with the additional concern of security. A
post eventum prediction has him prophesying the in-
surrection of Abū Yūsuf al-Nukkārī (q.v.), the violent
thrust of which was broken only by the ramparts
of al-Mahdiyya, and thus gives a hagiographical
explanation of its foundation. In fact, besides
considerations of prestige and the constant concern
of founders of dynasties throughout Muslim history
to mark the new order through the creation of a new
capital, the preocupations of the Mahdī were more
immediate: to build defences, at a good distance and
in a secure place, against an eventual assault by
Sunnis implacably hostile to the Shi‘īs, a storm
whose epicentre could be nowhere other than
Kairouan. The Kādirī menace was at that time
less predictable.
The chosen site offered ideal security safeguards
for a dynasty possessing a powerful navy, this
being inherited from the Aghlabids. Built on a
spur projecting some 1,400 m. into the sea, and
approached by a road narrow as a shoal-ace
(al-Muqaddāsī, Aḥsan al-apāsīn, partial ed.-tr.
Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 17), the town was impregnable
from the land, which explains the choice of
'Ubayd Allah who, after the failure of his at-
tempted invasions of Egypt, was obliged to secure
his bases, for an indefinite duration, in Ifrījīya.
Numerous written and archæological sources
indicate that ancient settlements, Punic and Roman,
preceded the Fatimid occupation of the region. Arabic
texts preserve the memory of Dju'mma, usually
identified with the ancient Gummi. But there is
nothing to suggest that the peninsula itself had
been "occupied by an urban settlement before the
4th/5th century" (A. Lézine, Mahdīa, Paris 1965,
17). 'Ubayd Allah thus chose to build, in 300/912-13
(1bn Qāhirī, Bayān, ed. Colin et Lévy-Provencal,
Leiden 1948, i, 169), on a virgin site and, the work
completed, he inaugurated his new capital on 8 Shu-
wa 325/February 287 (1bn 'Ishāqī, Bayān, i, 184; al-Kādirī al-Nūṣfīn, Iṣḥāqī, ed. W. al-Kādirī,
Bordeaux 1970, 375, ed. F. Dachrouti, Tunis 1975,
372-8).

A city of refuge, al-Mahdiyya was surrounded
by a defensive wall of unusual thickness (5.30 m.),
which followed the coast and of which a long section
to the north is still recognizable. A rampart 175 m.
in length barred the entrance to the isthmus, and
was preceded, at a distance of 40 m., by an outer
wall. Access to the town was gained by means of
an iron gate decorated with bronze lions, leading
through a domed vestibule 35 m. long by 5.70 m.
broad. Only this vestibule, known as al-Salāfī al-
Kādirī, is still today entirely upright. The new
capital comprised a palace for the Mahdī and another
for his son and successor al-Kādirī, administrative
buildings; subterranean storehouses for cereals,
 wells, cisterns, and one mosque which, eroded by the
sea and disfigured by extraneous constructions, fell
into ruin; recently—in the 1960s—it has been
completely restored to its original state under the
direction of A. Lézine. The town was also equipped
with an arsenal end, on the southern side, a fort-
tified and sheltered inland port, a port which, although
not necessarily a reconstructed ancient installation,
as might be supposed, was probably designed on the
model of a Carthaginian harbour.

History.
A royal town and a citadel, al-Mahdiyya was never
heavily populated, being limited by its narrow
intra-mural space. The bulk of the population
resided in the suburb of Zawīla, which was also
the commercial sector. Al-Fārā'im (322-34/934-48)
encircled this suburb with a ditch. In 332/943 there
broke out the revolt of the Nukkārī Mahdī Abū
Yūsuf, nicknamed the "Man on the Donkey." The
latter, having stormed Kairouan, laid siege to al-
Mahdiyya (Jumādā 3, 333—Saḥāf 334/January-
October 945), its ramparts saving the Fatimids
from a defeat which seemed certain. After the final
suppression of the revolt, Isāmī al-Manṣūrī (334/11
April 945-53) nevertheless abandoned the town, which
thus lost its capital status, and moved, towards
the end of Saḥāf 337/September 948, to his new
residence of al-Mansūrīya, built in the outskirts of
Kairouan "on the very site of his victory over the
Man on the Donkey." (F. Dachrouti, Le califat
futūḥi m al-Maghreb, Tunis 1981, 217).

Al-Mahdiyya regained its role as capital, for the
last time, as a result of the Hilian invasion which
forced the Zirids al-Mu'izz b. Badīs to take refuge
there (31 Shu'āb 34/25 October 1057). It became,
from this time onward, a capital under threat,
and danger also came from the sea. In 480/1087
"Pisans and Genoans conquered Mahdia and Zawila,
which they pillaged and burned" (H. R. Idrīs,
Zirīds, Paris 1962, i, 188). In 549/1153, the town
was attacked, unsuccessfully, by the Nūrusīs.
In 559/1153, it was subjected to a sea and land assault
by the Jannūsids. Finally, with the treaty of
559/1150-1, the Nūrusīs of Sicily imposed harsh
conditions on the town, a prelude to its seizure by
Roger II (2 Safar 543/26 June 1148), which marked
the end of the Zirid dynasty.

Blockaded, from 22 Radjīb 354/30 July 1159,
by sea and land by the fleet and army of ‘Abd al-Mu’tamin b. Ali, the Normans were forced to capitulate to Mu‘arram 555/21 January 1160, and al-Mahdiyya was ruled by an Emir-Hajib, Abd al-Karim al-Raghibi al-Khami—of the tribe of ‘Abd al-Mu’tamin—affiliated with himself with the Banu al-Dhahabiya, declared himself independent at the beginning of the caliphate of al-Nasir (555-610/1199-1243), and took the title of ‘Ali. In 622/1225, the town was recaptured, along with the whole of Ifriqiya, by the caliph, who restored its fortifications.

Under the reign of the Hafsid, during the years 658 and 668/1260 and 1287, numerous towns in the Sahel, including al-Mahdiyya, were sacked by the Admiral Roger of Lauria, acting on behalf of the Aragonese. Then, from 718 to 723 (1318-23), Abu Darra, a son of Ibn al-Libyani, ruled the town as an independent possession. In 792/1388-9, al-Mahdiyya was recaptured from the hands of a certain Ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, who had taken possession of it, and in ca. 796/1390 its fortifications were again restored by the Hafsid minister Ibn Tafralji. In 1590, between 20 July and 20 September, it was sacked by a Genoese army and was occupied by the Genoese, conducted by the Genoese with support from French and English knights. The town resisted, but was obliged to pay tribute to have the siege raised.

At the end of the reign of the Hafsids, the town was the object of bitter contention between the Turks and the Spanish. The latter besieged it in 1599, then established a garrison there in 1539 after the capture of Tunis by Charles V. But Dragut took possession of it the following year. Temporarily driven from the town, he returned and remained in control until 8 September 1530, on which date the admiral Andrea Doria captured the place on behalf of Charles V, who destroyed the town’s defences in 1534 before abandoning it.

In 1651 there was an outbreak of plague in the city, and in 1740 it was deserted by its population. A population severely punished by Ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir for its loyalty to his uncle. In 1838, the Christian population of the city was judged sufficiently important to justify the creation of a parish. In 1876, an outbreak of cholera claimed many victims. In spite of its cautious stance during the uprising of 1864, incited by the doubling of the mepta tax, "Mahdia, a city without defences, was pillaged on 29 April by the neighbouring villagers." (J. Gaulle, "Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie" (1862-1881), Paris 1959, 228), and was ruined, as was the whole of the Sahel, by the combined effects of the expedition of Zarukh and the ruined, as was the whole of the Sahel, by the combined effects of the expedition of Zarukh and the

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AL-MAHDIYYA, a movement in the Egyptian Sudan, launched in 1882 by Muhammad Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allah (Muhammad al-Mahdi) for the reform of Islam. It had from the outset a political and revolutionary character, being directed against the Turco-Egyptian régime (al-Turkîyya), which it overthrew, establishing a territorial state. Under the Mahdi’s successor, the Khalifa ‘Abd Allah (see ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Ta‘quni, and Kallab, iv), this developed essentially into a traditional Islamic monarchy until its existence was

period, a little further to the north-west, there is the first mention of the village of Hibba. Then from the 16th century onward, the character of the town was changed completely as a result of the ethnic element introduced by Turkish garrisons, with the additional influx, after 1609, of Moors driven out of Spain. Today, 65% of the urban population of al-Mahdiyya is composed of descendants of Kouloughlis (see Kouloughlis), representing, in this respect, the highest proportion in Tunisia, with perceptible effects on names and customs.

The two principal riches of al-Mahdiyya consist of olive-growing and fisheries. The cotton plantations, mentioned in the 18th and 19th centuries (Lucette Valensi, Fellahs tunisiens ..., Lille 1973, 219), have today disappeared. Industries associated with olive-growing and fisheries—the sardine industry in particular—have on the contrary undergone large-scale expansion, and activities such as oil-extraction, refining, soap manufacture and the canning of food, etc., are flourishing.

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terminated by the Anglo-Egyptian re-conquest (1898-9).

1. Mahdist Antecedents. Only one previous mahdist claimant seems to have originated in the Nilotic Sudan before the Turkiyya, a 17th-century Saff ascetic, Hamad al-Abnaâ' al-As Wad al-Turâbi. His claim was rejected by the Fungi (q.v.) king of Sinnâr, Badî I. He is represented as clashing with the tax-gatherers of Badî III (cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 174-93). The immediate antecedents of the Sudanese Mahdiyya are to be found in a mood of eschatological expectation, which appears first in Egypt in the late 16th and 17th centuries, reflecting the popular consciousness that traditional Islamic society was threatened both by infidels from without and despoits within. Mahdist expectations were thus attached to 'Uqâdî Ghazi Hassan Pasha (q.v.) during his expedition against the Smithu of Ibrahim Bey (q.v.) and Murad Bey (Diabarî, *Aṣâṣib*, ii, 114), while an inscription against the French in 1799 was headed by a mahdist claimant of Maghrûbi origin (*Aṣâṣbih*, ii, 58). A revolt in Upper Egypt against Muhammad 'Ali Pasha in 1823-3 was led by another mahdist claimant ('Ali Mubârak, *al-Khatîb al-āṣâsîdâ, xiv, 76). A manifesto against the Sudanese Mahdi mentions a predecessor in Khartoum (*al-Khurjûn* [q.v.]). Ibrâhîm al-Sudânî, of whom nothing further is known (*Shu'ayr, Ta'yîr al-Sudân*, iii, 379), the name suggests a person of southern Sudanese origin. The Sudanese Mahdiyya was thus the latest and most successful of a cluster of mahdist movements which, while formally presenting themselves in religious terms, had markedly social and political aims.

2. The revolutionary situation in the Egyptian Sudan. During the sixty years preceding the outbreak of the Mahdiyya, profound changes had affected the traditional society and Islam of the Nilotic Sudan, culminating in a revolutionary situation. Muhammad 'Ali Pasha's conquests (1820-1) ended the independence of numerous sedentary and nomadic groups. His establishment of a centralized and autocratic administrative system with its unaccustomed fiscal burdens (undoubtedly aggravated by corruption and extortion) had a traumatic effect. Moreover, the demands of modernisation in Egypt meant that the officials in the Sudan were rarely of high quality or integrity. One group whose political and social status declined under the Turkiyya was that of the indigenous men of religion (sing. *faki* < *fakî*), who during the previous three centuries had fulfilled a range of functions as teachers of the Qur'ân and *şâfi*, Sufi leaders, arbitrators, and intercessors with the rulers. The establishment of an orthodox hierarchy of *'ulamâ*, serving in government mosques, and integrated into the judicial system, created a rival group of religious leaders. Although individual members of the old *faki* families took advantage of the greater opportunities to study at Al-Ahhar and enter the official hierarchy, there remained a fundamental incompatibility between the *fakîs* and the government-supported *'ulamâ*, whom the Mahdi was to designate *'ulamâ* al-*âsir*. Developments in the two decades preceding the Mahdiyya heightened the tension between the Turkiyya and the inhabitants of the Egyptian Sudan. The vigorous autocracy of Khedive Isma'îl (1869-79) (q.v.), the power of government felt once more after the comparative laxity which had begun in Muhammad 'Ali Pasha's last years and continued under his successors. The former sultanate of Dâr Fûr (q.v.) was annexed in 1874. Since the middle of the century, traders seeking ivory and slaves had thrust into unexplored regions far up the White Nile and the Bayr al-Ghazâl (q.v.), outside the Muslim and arabised northern Sudan, and completely beyond the control of the Turco-Egyptian officials. The slave-trade that was fed from these regions was a scandal to Europe. To bring the south and west under his administration, and thereby to suppress the slave-trade, was a principal aim of the khedive. The implementation of this policy would in any event have antagonised vested interests, particularly the diaspora of northern Sudanese, the Dânâkîl and Diîlâfîyîn (q.v.), who were involved in the slave-trade, and who ranged from petty dealers (*gâlûtab*) to merchant-princes such as al-Zubayr Râhma Maşîr, the master of the western Bayr al-Ghazâl and the conqueror of Dâr Fûr. The situation was rendered more critical by the khedive's recruitment of Europeans and Americans to carry out his plans; this employment of Christians in high office shocked the conservative piety of the Sudanese. Chief among these expatriates was the British officer Charles George Gordon (cf. Bernard M. Allen, *Gordon and the Sudan*, London 1921), who as governor of the Equatorial province (1873-5) and governor-general of the Sudan (1877-9) played a leading part in the attempts to establish khedivial administration in the south and to suppress the slave-trade. With their inadequate resources, Gordon and his colleagues attained only limited success. The deposition of Isma'îl (June 1879) was followed by Gordon's withdrawal, and the comparative feebility of their successors in Cairo and Khartoum facilitated the drift towards insurrection in the Sudanese provinces.

3. The early career of Muhammad al-Mahdi (1844-81). Muhammad Ahmad b. 'Abd Allâh was born in 1844 in the province of Dongolâ (q.v.). His father was a boat-builder, and when Muhammad Ahmad was a child the family moved to Karâfîf on the Nile, a few miles north of Khartoum, where there was an adequate supply of timber. After their father's death, Muhammad Ahmad's brothers followed his trade, but he himself underwent a traditional religious education within the Egyptian Sudan. He early showed a propensity towards asceticism and *şûfîs* and, in 1861, he attached himself to Shaykh Muhammad Sharîf Nûr al-Dî'im, the grandson of the founder of the Sammâniyya *tarika* in the Sudan. When his brothers moved for timber to Abâ Island in the White Nile, he accompanied them, and from 1870 made his headquarters there. His pious reputation gained him many followers, a development which was the probable cause of a breach with Shaykh Muhammad Sharîf, in consequence of which Muhammad Ahmad attached himself to a rival leader of the Sammâniyya, Shaykh al-Kurâşî wad al-Zayn (d. 1878). In 1882 he was joined by the man who was to become his most intimate disciple and his successor as head of the Mahdiite sect, 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad (q.v.), who came from the Ta'âsbûsh Bâbbâr (q.v.), cattie-Arabs of Dâr Fûr. A mahdist expectation was abroad in the Egyptian Sudan, and was shared by Muhammad Ahmad himself. There was evidence of it in Kordofan (Kurdufan) (q.v.), which he visited about his time. 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad had, some years previously, saluted al-Zubayr Râhma as *mahdi* —a role which the conqueror of Dâr Fûr declined. It is probable that 'Abd Allâh played a decisive part in the spiritual crisis of which the outcome was Muhammad Ahmad's claim to be the Expected
Mahdi. This was first secretly communicated to his disciples at Aba (March 1881), and then to other adherents during a second visit to Kordofan. The public announcement ( zawir) of the Mahdi took place on 29 June 1881. Letters were sent to various notables urging them to rally to him, and he announced his divine mission in a telegram to the governor-general.

While the Mahdiyya had in its origins many characteristics of a movement of social and political protest, these aspects were submerged in the founder's primary aim: the reform of Islam, encompassing both the cult and the society. Like previous reformers, notably Ibn `Abd al-Wahhab [q.v.], he envisaged the restoration of the primitive Islamic umma governed by the Qur'an and the Sunna. Unlike Ibn `Abd al-Wahhab, however, Muhammad Ahmad was deeply impressed by the emotional and imaginative quality of Shi‘ism. He saw his movement not merely as the revival of Islam, but as the recapitulation of the life and order of the primitive umma: a divinely ordained correspondence between Umar and Khadiji. He presented himself as appointed to the supreme succession (al-khilafa al-kubrd) as Successor of the Apostle of God (Khilafat Rasul Allah), while his leading disciples were the successors of the Rightly-guided Caliphs. Three of these were appointed soon after the Manifestation.

`Abd Allah b. Muhammad’s status was recognised in his title of Khilafat al-Siddiqi, i.e. the successor of Abu Bakr. An early follower, `Ali b. Muhammad HilU (`Ali had HilU), was appointed the successor of `Umar (Khilafat al-Farid), and the Mahdi’s young son-in-law, Muhammad Sharif b. Hamid, was his successor (Khilafat al-Mahdi). The appointment of successor of `Uthman was offered to the Mahdi, whose cooperation Muhammad Ahmad was anxious to obtain, but the offer, made in May 1883, was ignored. By another parallelism with the Prophet, the Mahdi styled his followers Ansar.

The official ʿadam endeavoured to confute the mahdiist claims of Muhammad Ahmad by stating the orthodox Sunni doctrine of the mahdi and demonstrating Muhammad Ahmad’s failure to conform to the criteria laid down in Ḥadith. He defended his position by reasserting his divine election, conveyed by the Prophet. At the same time, he emphasised where possible points of conformity with Ḥadith. Thus he adapted his name to Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allah, emphasising his descent from the Prophet, and changed the name of his renderers from Kordofan to Diīb al-Kadīr to Massa.

1. The Mahdi’s hizb and ghīṣḥ (1881–2). The authorities at first underestimated the Mahdi’s challenge, but when a small military expedition sent to arrest him was routed (August 1881), the matter was taken seriously. The Mahdi and his Ansar meanwhile made a withdrawal (the hizb) to Diīb al-Kadīr in the Nuba Mountains. The remoteness of this place rendered military operations by the government difficult (two expeditions were defeated in December 1881 and May 1882), while it formed an appropriate base for attacks on government positions in Kordofan. From southern Kordofan and Darfur the Mahdi could draw on a vast reserve of Bakkara tribesmen, whose propensity to raiding found a sanctified outlet in this warfare. Since the Mahdi regarded only those who accepted his mission as true Muslims, such fighting was designated ghīṣḥ [q.v.]. The government troops were, however, capable of prolonged resistance in fortified positions, and an attempt to storm the provincial capital El Obeid (al-Ubayyid) on 8 September 1882 was a failure. Henceforward the Mahdi relied upon siege-tactics, and the tribal forces were supplemented with a corps known as the ghiṣḥiya, largely recruited from captured government troops of southern Sudanese origin. They were provided with firearms, which the Mahdi was anxious to keep out of the hands of the undisabled tribal warriors.

The surrender of El Obeid (19 January 1883) gave the Mahdi an administrative centre, and Kordofan formed the nucleus of a territorial Mahdist state. In the meantime, khedivial control had been further weakened by the British occupation of Egypt (September 1882) and the reluctance of the British government to undertake commitments in the Sudan. An Egyptian expeditionary force was, however, organised with Col. William Hicks, a retired Indian Army officer, as chief of staff. Advancing through difficult country from the White Nile into Kordofan, it was annihilated by the Ansar at Shaykh Sir (5 November 1883). The Mahdi was now the master of the west. Darfur and Bahry al-Ghazal were surrendered by their European governors in December 1883 and April 1884 respectively. Meanwhile, Ummân Dikna (Osman Digna), from a mercantile family of Suakin (Sawakin) had been sent [May 1883] to raise the Bedja [q.v.] of the Red Sea hills, a mission in which he was largely successful through the support of an influential family, Shaykh al-Tahir al-Madridh, so that by the end of February 1884, only Suakin itself remained in Egyptian hands.

Khartoum and the riverain areas to the north were now threatened. At this juncture, Gordon was sent out by the British government, primarily to report on the military situation, but he was also appointed (at his own request) governor-general by the Khedive. Arriving at Khartoum (February 1884), he produced a succession of plans for the future of the Sudan while the Ansar closed in on the city. Ummân Dikna’s successes closed the route from the Red Sea to the Nile, while the fall of Berber [q.v.] to an army of Ansar (May 1884) cut the river line to Egypt. Military pressure on Khartoum itself was increasing, and between April and October 1884 the Mahdi brought up his main forces from El Obeid to Omdurman (Unm Durun), opposing the capital. Weakened by siege, the city fell on 25 January 1885, Gordon being killed in the fighting.

The fall of Khartoum marked for all practical purposes the end of the Mahdi’s ghīṣḥ. He was now the ruler of the chief provinces of the Egyptian Sudan from Dongola to Babr al-Ghazal, and from the Red Sea to Darfur. He ordered the evacuation of Khartoum, and made his own capital at Omdurman, where he died after a short illness (22 June 1885).

5. The rule of the Khilafat ʿAbd Allah (1885–98). The Mahdi’s death confronted the Ansar with two problems, one practical, the other ideological. First, who was to take the Mahdi’s place as ruler of the nascent state? Secondly, how was the Mahdi’s rule to be explained, since he had claimed a universal mission to restore Islam, but had achieved only a conquest within the boundaries of the Egyptian Sudan? The problem of the succession was in appearance quickly solved when a council of notables in the Mahdi’s house immediately after his death gave their allegiance (bays) to ʿAbd Allah b. Muhammad. Already in the critical period of political development following the fall of El Obeid, the Mahdi had conferred plenary powers on ʿAbd Allah,
so that he was henceforward the deputy of the Mahdi (khilafat al-Mahdi), although he did not use this title until after the Mahdi's death. He was, furthermore, the commander of the largest body of tribal warriors concentrated in Omdurman. His political and military pre-eminence was recognised in his election as the Mahdi's successor. This event suggested how the ideological problem arising from the Mahdi's death could be handled. A proclamation stressed the parallel between the succession of Abū Bakr as-Siddīq to the Prophet and that of Khilafat al-Siddīq to the Mahdi, and urged the Ansār to follow the example of the early Muslims, who had fought for their faith after the Prophet's death. There was other propaganda, much of it of a visionary or mystical nature, to legitimise 'Abd Allāh's succession.

His position was not, however, uncontested. Khilafat al-Kurds Muhammad Sharīf was the ostensible leader of the Aqṣāf (i.e., the kinsmen of the Mahdi), a group whose overweening pretensions the Mahdi himself had rejected in his last days. The Aqṣāf were the élite of the sedentaries from the northern riverain areas and their diaspora, known as aṣṣāf. This comparatively sophisticated group had little in common with the Bakkārīan tribal warriors, whose ascendancy was assured by the accession of the Khalifa. Within twelve months he had defeated a conspiracy hatched by the Aqṣāf in Omdurman and their kinsman Muhammad Khālid, the governor of Dār Fūr. The Khalifa's fellow-tribesmen or their clients replaced the Mahdi's appointees in the provincial governorships, with the exception of Uṯmān Dīnā, who was still in charge of the capital. The new appointees in the south were brought under the khedivial administration, were never integrated into the Mahdist state. Although (as mentioned above) Bahr al-Qusayr had fallen in 1884, its governor Karam Allāh Muhammad Kurkuṣūlī, a Dunkūkilī trader by origin, withdrew his troops in October 1885 to fight the Rizaykāt Bākṣāra and Dār Fūr. Thereafter, Bahr al-Qusayr drifted out of Mahdist control. The Equatorial province was even more remote from the centre of the Mahdiyya. Its governor since 1878 had been Emīn Pāsha (Edvard Schnitzler, of Silesian Jewish origin, and the last of Khedive Ismā'īl's expatriate officials), who in spite of mutiny and two Mahdist invasions (1885, 1888) held out until forcibly rescued by H. M. Stanley (1889). The second invading force, however, established a garrison at al-Raddīf, which maintained sporadic contact with Omdurman by steamer. The Mahdists held little more than the river line, and their position was challenged by former government troops, who had refused to be evacuated by Stanley, and who were led by Fadl al-Mawīlī Muhammad, an officer of southern Sudanese origin. Al-Raddīf became a place of banishment for political and other prisoners. The year 1889 marks the end of the militant phase of the Mahdiyya. The following period saw the stabilization of the Khalifa's autocracy within a territorial state limited for all practical purposes to the Muslim and arabised regions of the northern Sudan. A factor in the decline of militancy was the great famine of 1888-90, the effects of which were aggravated by the migration of the Ta'ā'isha to Omdurman. For the second time, the Khalifa's authority was challenged by a revolt of the Aqṣāf in Omdurman under the leadership of Muhammad Sharīf (November 1891). After some desultory firing and a few casualties, a formal reconciliation was effected by Khilafat al-Fārūq 'Ali b. Muhammad Hilā under terms advantageous to the Aqṣāf. The danger once past, the Khalifa proceeded to destroy his opponents piecemeal. Muhammad Sharīf himself was arrested in March 1892, and sentenced to imprisonment by a special tribunal. Thereafter the Khalifa's autocracy was unchallenged. His only intimates in matters of government were his half-brother Ya'qūb, who acted as his maiṣir (but without the title), and his son Uṯmān, who about this time received the honorific
of Shaykh al-Din, and was trained for the eventual succession. When the Khalifa thus strengthened his position internally, there was increasing European pressure on the frontiers of the Mahdist state. Sudan, which alone among the garrisons of the Red Sea area had not fallen to Uthman Dikna, formed the base for a campaign against the local A’nsar after the Anglo-Egyptian victory at Tokar. The operations, early in 1891, culminated in the capture of Uthman Dikna’s headquarters at Tokar (Tokar) in Feb. 1891. Although still a nuisance, he was no longer a threat to the Anglo-Egyptian forces in the vicinity. In the previous year Eritrea had been constituted an Italian colony. A Ma’asir raid into the territory was routed (December 1893), and in July 1894 the Italians with the prior agreement of the British government occupied Kasala [q.v.]. The loss of this important strategic position was even more serious than that of Tokar, but in spite of making a threatening demonstration in Omdurman, the Khalifa did not take the offensive. The Italian presence in Eritrea was equally threatening to Menelik II, who was committed by the death of John IV. In 1895 he sought to establish friendly relations with the Khalifa, but his overtures were repulsed. He repeated them in 1896 after his victory over the Italians at Adowa, and further embassies were received in Omdurman in 1897 and 1898, but no practical military or political co-operation resulted.

A more remote European danger appeared in the far south, when Belgian expeditions from the Congo Free State began to advance towards the Upper Nile and Babr al-Ghazal. In 1892 Faqil al-Mawali Muhammad and his followers entered the service of the Congo Free State, he himself being recognised as the governor of the Equatorial province. In the following year, a Mahdist force was sent to strengthen the garrison at al-Radjidjaf. Its commander, ‘Arabi Dafa‘ Allah defeated and killed Faqil al-Mawali (January 1894), and combated the Belgians with some success. His isolated position and precarious communications with Omdurman were, however, insuperable difficulties, and in February 1897 he lost al-Radjidjaf to a Belgian force.

By this time the final assault on the Mahdist state was developing. In March 1896 the British government authorised an advance by the Egyptian army into the Mahdist province of Dongola. While the pretext for the invasion was afforded by the Italian defeat at Adowa, the real reasons lie in British foreign policy and the international situation at the time (see G. N. Sanderson, England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882–1899, Edinburgh 1965). The Egyptian expeditionary force, commanded by Sir H. H. Kitchener, constructed a railway as it advanced up the Nile from Wadi Halfa. By the end of September 1896 the province was completely occupied. In the following year, Kitchener was authorised to make a further advance. A second railway was constructed across the Nubian desert, reaching the Nile at Abu Hamad, and was extended southwards as the Anglo-Egyptian annexed West Dongola. The Khalifa summoned Mahomed Ahmad with the bulk of his forces from the west to defend the approaches to Omdurman. He proved to be an irreproachable commander, lacking in all initiative. His base was al-Matamma [q.v.] in Djalali territory. Its inhabitants refused to evacuate their town, which Mahomed Ahmad took by force of arms—an incident which confirmed the hatred of aswad al-balad for the Ta’ifsha. Once established there, Mahomed Ahmad was reluctant to move northwards to confront the invaders, who were steadily advancing along the river-line. Abu Hamad fell in August 1897, and the important route-centre of Berber was evacuated in the same month. Mahomed Ahmad, faced with increasing desertions and shortage of supplies, was ultimately goaded to advance. His army (augmented by troops brought in by ‘Uthman Dikna) was overwhelmed on 8 April 1896 at the battle of the Atbara [q.v.], and he himself was taken prisoner. The Anglo-Egyptian advance continued, and the Mahdist state received its death-blow at the battle of Karrar, often called the battle of Omdurman (2 September 1898). Ya’qub died in the fighting, but the Khalifa escaped, and remained a fugitive for over a year. Finally, he was a handful of army was defeated by Sir Reginald Wingate in a skirmish (24 November 1899) at Umm Diwayikah on the White Nile, in which he was killed. ‘Uthman Shaykh al-Din was made prisoner, and died in the following year.
landownership. Undesirable customs regarded as repugnant to Islam were prohibited. The Mahdi's judicial functions were widely delegated to his officials, and one specifically judicial officer was appointed with the title badi’ al-rais. Ahmad ‘Ali, who held this post for twelve years (1882-94), had been a judge in Dar Fuir under the Turkiyya.

These military and administrative institutions developed further during the reign of the Khalifa. A detachment of the ‘alqidiyya, the regular corps first formed during the siege of El Obeid, was stationed in the Kama, i.e. Fort Omdurman of the Turkiyya. After the revolt of the Ajuria in 1891 the Khalifa felt the need of a reliable bodyguard. This was created by expanding a corps of orderlies, the mudizimiyaa. By 1895 it consisted of 5,000 or more troops under the general command of ‘Uthman Shaykh al-Din. A civil service, recruited chiefly from ‘awal al-balad and Copits, staffed the departments and treasuries of the capital and the provinces. Many of its members had occupied similar posts under the Turkiyya; some went on to serve the Condominium. Already in the Mahdi’s time a regular chancery procedure had been established, and the surviving archives of the Mahdiyya as a whole have been estimated at 50,000 pieces. The bulk of them are now in the Central Records Office in Khartoum (see P. M. Holt, The Mahdist archives and related documents, in Archives, v(8) [1962], 193-260).

Dispatches were sometimes exchanged almost daily between the ruler and his provincial governors. The provinces fell into two categories; an outer circle under military governors with their own fiscal and judicial establishments and garrison troops, and a core of metropolitan provinces, which fiscal areas rather than administrative units, and were tributary to the treasury in Omdurman.

The history of the office of amin bayt al-ni‘a illustrates both the institutional elaboration and the increasing autonomy of the Khalifa’s reign. Ahmad Sulayman, the first amin, was a partisan of the Ajuria, and was disgraced in April 1890. His successor, ‘Abd al-Rahman Muhammad al-Adlan, had been a merchant in El Obeid. His reluctance to extort grain for the soldiery during the great famine led to a clash with the Khalifa and his execution (February 1890). His successor, al-Nur Ibrahim al-Diroyawli, was another former merchant. Tenure of office became increasingly precarious: one commissioner was twice appointed and twice removed, and the last year of the reign saw three treasurers. At the same time special treasurers were established, of which the most important were the treasury of the mudizimiyaa and the Khalifa’s privy treasury. The sources of revenue had meanwhile changed. With the ending of the ‘alqidiyya, gladima sank into insignificance. Zakat continued to be levied and also for a poll-tax paid at the end of Ramadan. ‘Aid fi ‘ad was also paid as customs-dues, originally at the rate of 2½%, but al-Diroyawli imposed a further 10%, and this might indeed be taken at several points on the route. Fines were imposed on smoking and drinking, and the goods of other offenders were liable to confiscation. In addition, merchants and others might be required to pay “contributions” (tabirr al-imta‘) to the treasury. The minting of dollars at Omdurman continued, but the silver was increasingly debased. The minting of gold had ceased with the Mahdi’s pounds, which were soon driven out of circulation by Gresham’s Law.

The history of the judiciary is similar. Ahmad ‘Ali held office as ‘adil al-rais until May 1894, when he lost the Khalifa’s confidence, and was thrown into prison. His successor, al-Husayn Ibrahim had al-Zahrani’, had been trained at al-Azhar, but his overzealous adherence to the principles of the Shar’i led to a clash with Ya’qub. He was imprisoned and put to death, probably in the summer of 1895. The title of ‘adil al-rais seems to have died with him. Already in the time of Ahmad ‘Ali there was a deputy-judge (maqdi al-makrana), and the two seem usually to have acted in concert. By the end of the Khalifa’s reign, the chief judge had six deputies (muna‘ab), two of whom had special duties in connection with the mudizimiyaa. In addition, there were special courts in Omdurman for the market, the quay and the treasury. Both in the capital and the provinces, the judicial officers were dependent on the Khalifa and his governors, and were deferential to their wishes.

7. Subsequently developments. Although the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest overthrew the Mahdiyya, Mahdisim continued to be a powerful force, particularly in the west. The movement was virtually proscribed in the early years of the Condominium by Wingate, who was governor-general from 1899 to 1916. The surviving leaders were held in prison, the use of the Mahdi’s devotional manual (rādi‘) was forbidden, and several religious risings were suppressed. The revival of the Mahdiyya in a new form was the achievement of a posthumous son of the Mahdi, ‘Abd al-Rahman (1883-1959), whose considerable political talent found opportunity in changing political circumstances during and after the First World War. To many Anṣār he was a charismatic figure, regarded by some as al-Nabi ’Isa, and hence as having an eschatological role. To his westernised followers, he was rather a nationalist leader, the patron of the Umma Party, which was founded in 1945, and has continued to play a leading part in Sudanese politics. In one modern view, the Mahdi is seen as a mughaddat, and the Mahdiyya as a reformist but essentially orthodox movement.

The flow of emigration towards the New World originated in what was then known as Syria (the land currently comprising Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, attaining its highest point in North America in 1913; the tide began to ebb in the period following the First World War as a result of obstacles placed by the United States in the way of immigration, with the limitation of numbers of immigrants and with legislation on nationality, passed in 1924, which almost put an end to it, although a reflux of emigrants into Southern America continued.

The causes of the emigration were primarily economic. Among the Lebanese—who left their country in the greatest number—the inhabitants of the mountain region were deprived of agricultural land after the establishment of the regime of the mutasarrifiyah [see LUBNÁK], inaugurated in 1861 (and modified in 1864) in the wake of the intercommunal religious disturbances of 1860 and following intervention by the European states, and by France in particular. This regime accorded administrative autonomy to the mountain region, which possessed meagre financial resources, having first detached from it its fertile plains and sea ports. A section of the population was thus forced to leave the mountain region and to seek employment in Beirut and other Lebanese towns. This was the first phase; subsequently, some individuals left their homeland and made their way to Egypt and other African countries. When emigration to America became possible, some groups of Lebanese, insignificant in size, travelled there. After 1883 the scale of the movement accelerated, as the first emigrants elicited their compatriots with glowing reports of the financial opportunities that existed in America, while tourists, shipping companies and their agents added further encouragement, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century a virtual epidemic had arisen and almost half the inhabitants of Lebanon left their country. The contagion spread to the cities of the interior (Homs, Damascus and Aleppo) and to the mountains occupied by the 'Alawites, whence it is estimated that a seventh of the population chose to become exiles. Some Palestinians had preceded the Lebanese, and others accompanied them. By the final phase of the movement, the total number of immigrants from Greater Syria who were settled in the United States and Canada exceeded half a million, attaining close to double this figure in the cities of Central and South America.

At the time, the movement was encouraged among the Christian population of Syria not only by economic factors—including the oppression of the peasants by their feudal lords, the monopoly over lands and goods exercised by the monastic communities, the oppressive burden of taxation, disastrous crop-failures, the slump in the natural silk market caused by the success of artificial Japanese silk sold cheaply and the diversion of international trade-routes following the excavation of the Suez Canal—but also on account of psychological factors aroused by a hated social and political situation; detestation of the foreign authority which governed them and always regarded them with suspicion, religious conflicts which culminated in the events of 1860, persistent sectarianism, corruption of an administration in which bribery was rife, the subjection of the faithful to religious leaders who collaborated with the French authorities in oppressing and robbing them, the suppression of public liberties, the alienation experienced by the entire population in the time of 'Abd al-Hamid, the posting of young Arabs to distant theatres of war, widespread ignorance and the rule of anarchy in all facets of existence.

On the other hand, there was talk of those advantages of emigration which constituted powerful incentives: the prospect of making a fortune, numerous opportunities for finding work, respect for public liberties, the acceptance by society of personal ambitions, the judgment of people by their actions and their abilities rather than on the basis of their origin and class, concern for the rights and dignity of all citizens without discrimination and the rule of order and of law.

The Syrians in general and the Lebanese in particular had been in contact with the West and its culture since Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the creation of scientific institutions in this country in the time of Muhammad 'Alí [q.v.]. These contacts had been reinforced by the religious missions which began to arrive in Lebanon in the period when the son of the ruler of Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha [q.v.] was governor of Syria (1832-40), and which expanded their activities following the installation of the régime of the mutasarrifiyah (1861).
founding schools, cultural associations and charitable societies, importing presses, translating and publishing books. These contacts were also encouraged by the presence of tourists and members of the French expedition who stayed on in Lebanon for a full year after the events of 1860. These constant contacts with the West and the learning of the languages spoken there, in addition to the common religion which it shared with the majority of the future emigrants, reinforced their admiration for this part of the world and its principles, in particular those of the French Revolution and its well-known slogan, and strengthened their desire to migrate to it.

When these factors are considered in conjunction with the geographical position of Lebanon and Syria, facing the West from the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and the hereditary zest for trade and travel characteristic of the Lebanese, descendants of the Phoenicians as they are, and also their eagerness to travel far in search of favourable opportunities, it is possible to understand the deep significance of this quasi-collective migration towards the New World and the dispersal of this race throughout the globe.

In the first instance, the emigrants were attracted to the United States; subsequently, they turned their attention towards the South, still virgin territory and offering greater employment opportunities than the North, on account of sparseness of population, the vast areas of agricultural land requiring manpower, emergent industry and the wide range of opportunities for commerce. Opportunities for emigration to South America were enhanced following the visits to Palestine and Lebanon undertaken in 1877 and 1887 by the Emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II and the conclusion, in 1892, of an agreement between the Ottoman and Brazilian governments establishing the conditions of immigration. This emperor, who spoke Arabic, favoured the settlement of emigrants in his country as a means of contribution towards its prosperity and furthering the exploitation of agricultural land, and he promised them aid and assistance. Argentina offered similar attractions with its enormous tracts of land requiring cultivation and its untapped material resources. Waves of immigrants therefore made their way towards South America, to such an extent that their number amounted to 500,000 in Argentina alone, and Brazil accepted more than half a million. For their part, the Palestinians preferred the states of Central America or Chile and Mexico.

After disembarkation, these foreigners settled in the poorer quarters of the towns which they had chosen, usually because they had relatives there and attempted to make a living through street-trading and hawking. Those who succeeded (the minority), would open a small shop, and some found opportunities for expansion, in some cases even becoming industrialists or prosperous merchants [see DAVILA],

The people among whom they lived had little respect for them. They called them Turks, because they came from a land dependent on the Ottoman Turkish state, and in some instances they were treated in the same light as the Mongols, members of the yellow race; the immigrants themselves were aware of the need to correct the image which had formed in the minds of Americans.

Initially, they believed that their exile was temporary and would last no longer than the time needed to amass sufficient money to support themselves and their families at home; this same time-period, it was hoped, would see changes in living conditions in their own country. But once settled and accustomed to their new existence, seeing their businesses prosper and their children growing up in this new milieu, learning its language and becoming attached to it, they contemplated staying there permanently, in spite of the pain involved in the awareness of exile and in spite of the bitter nostalgia that they felt for their country and families.

Of these, there can be no doubt that it was in response to the need to communicate among themselves in their exile, and on the other hand to follow events occurring at home, that they were led to produce a number of minor Arabic newspapers; these began to appear with the arrival of the first waves of immigrants in the closing years of the 19th century, but in the South and the North of the continent.

It was in New York in 1892 that the first newspaper, Kawkab Alwadiba, appeared, followed by Al-Ya'ar (1894), Al-Ijmam (1897), Al-Hadd (1898) and Mir'al-Charb (1899). In Brazil, the oldest one, Al-Fayadh (1893), was followed by four others: Al-Rahif (1892), Al-Satdil (1898), Al-Mandif (1899) and Al-Siddi (1901).

Subsequently, the need was felt to form associations and literary societies to serve the interests of the immigrants, unite their energies and support their social institutions. Al-Djam'isyya al-sarayiya al-muttahsida came into existence in New York in 1907, and other associations followed. In Brazil, numerous clubs were founded, of which the most important was Al-Nadi Al-himsi, and literary societies subsequently came into being. But literary life prospered at an earlier stage in North America, for the following reasons: immigration there had a longer history, printing-presses had been established there at a relatively early date and writers of talent had been living there since the end of the previous century. Amin al-Ribani [see AL-MANDIF] arrived in New York in 1883, followed by Djibril Khalil Djibrin (q.e.) in 1895, the poet Nidir Haddad in 1897, then, at the beginning of the century, the two poets Nasib Sirgi and Ra'id Al Ayyub in 1905, Nidir's brother, the journalist 'Abd al-Masih Haddad in 1907, Mkhittar Nasirna (q.e.) and Iltiya Abi Madi (q.e. in Suppl.) in 1911. Printing-presses proliferated to such an extent that six were in existence by 1910, producing, besides newspapers, some remarkable literary reviews, such as Al-Fumun (1913) which was edited by Nasib Sirgi, and al-Sik (1913) edited by 'Abd al-Masih Haddad.

Amin al-Ribani began to write in newspapers at the end of the last century; his extremely vivid language had an alluring nature and displayed a marked penchant for innovation. He had published three of his books before Djibrin's first, Al-Musib, appeared in 1905. The concerns of his people, both in the mahdiar and in their homeland, pre-occupied him, and he set himself to preaching liberation in the widest sense of the term, political, social and intellectual, and to attacking in his articles and books (al-Mukhabita al-Ma'diya, al-Mahiti wa 3-l-kitab, Banakabi al-feur, Kifirini al-barin) inertia, bigotry and religious sectarianism. It is, moreover, entirely symptomatic that his first work published in the mahdiar is intitled Tu'ribi al-hawra al-ad nelisaniyya.

For his part, Djibrin began in 1903, while still residing in Boston (which he did not leave for New York until 1912) to publish his articles in the newspapers al-Muhdja (1903), al-Hadd and Mir'al-Charb. He appears to have been more forceful than al-
Rhâîî and more inclined to challenge traditions directly. Because he loved painting, imagery dominated his writing, and his education and experience endowed him with burning zeal and a penchant for idealism. His style reveals a poetic soul close to the sources of an Oriental mysticism inherited in the West by the various romantic movements. He put together in his first books ʿArāʾis al-murarāṭ (1906), al-Arīḏā al-mudamaṭirrā (1908), al-Rā şikā al mutakassira (1912) and Danūa wa-btisdnū (1913), his articles and novels which had been published in the newspapers of the mahdjar and in the two reviews al-Funun and al-Ṣābih.

Like al-Ribârist and Djibrîn, Nuʿaymâ also possessed a pronounced taste for innovation. He retained from his theological studies, undertaken in Russia between 1906 and 1911, a profound religiosity and, like Djibrîn, a tendency towards mysticism; he considered it necessary to go beyond the sensory organs in order to arrive at the reality of things, but he did not have the same ardour of feeling and he was sometimes more capable of effecting a synthesis. After theology, he turned to the study of law and literature at an American university. This training enabled him to improve his precision of expression and to attain a better equilibrium between the elements of the work of art; his knowledge of Russian literature also enhanced his aptitude for psychological analysis.

In this way, these men of talent, as well as the writers and poets who joined them later, were able to prove their literary abilities and, almost forty years after the arrival of the first waves of immigration in New York they found the means enabling them to found, after the end of the First World War, an association which had the object of "stimulating the literary spirit" and of establishing the norms of literary work. In 1920 they formed al-Rabiṣa al- khulamiyya, entrusting the presidency to the "doyen" Djibrîn and the post of secretary to the "counselor" Nuʿaymâ. Included among its members were the poets Nalīya Abū Mādî (1890-1957), Nasīb ʿArīda (1887-1949), Rashîd Ayyûb (1917-1943), Nuṭra Abū Mādî (1949) and a number of less prolific writers, of whom the best known was William Czetselli (1879-1950), treasurer of the Rabiṣa. They decided to make the review al-Sāṭib the pulpfit from which to address the public.

Literary reviews in Lebanon and South America soon began reprinting specimens of their work in verse and in prose, delighting in the strong innovatory tendency that they revealed, to such an extent that their reputation became wider and their influence on the literary life of the Arabs was accentuated.

But after the formation of the Rabiṣa, Diabān wrote nothing more in Arabic; except for a few articles, and he turned to the English language in which he composed eight books, of which The Prophet is considered the most significant work of his entire corpus. He gives his prophet the name Al-Mustafâ and, in a very engaging poetic style, puts into his mouth, in the manner of Nietzsche with Zarathustra, the outcome of his interpretation of existence and of man.

The other members of the Rabiṣa continued to write in Arabic. Mīḥālī Nuʿaymâ collected his articles of criticism and published them in a book intitled al-Ghirāṭ (1923); from this work it is possible to draw all the rules of criticism representing the most important characteristics of the writing of the Rabiṣa: to preach innovation, to uphold the truth, to relate literature to life and always to make it revolve around man and his vital problems. Nuʿaymâ is also the author of a series of short stories and articles which he subsequently inserted in his narrative collection, Kān mà kān (1937), in the Kitāb al-Murāsh (ca. 1935) and in the first part of his philosophical novel Muddāhīdīn al-ʿArāṣ (1949). Before the formation of the Rabiṣa, he had published his only dramatic work, al-ʿAbî wa-l-banîn (1927), in which he took the part of the younger generation and attempted to reconcile classical and dialectical forms in dialogue.

The majority of the members of the Rabiṣa wrote in verse and in prose, but it is the poets among them who still occupy the prominent place. Tiyyâ Abū Mâdî, whose collections of verse composed in the mahdjar were published before (vol. ii of his Diwān, 1929) and after the formation of the Rabiṣa (al-Qaḍāwîl, 1949) and of Tiyya ʿl-lawwâd (1941), and of Nuṭra Haddâd, whose single drīwânt is intitled ʿArâdî al-kabîr (1941), their poetry reveals the weight of nostalgia, anguish and love of mankind which essentially characterizes the literature of the mahdjar and the charm of style which marks its form.

However, the Rabiṣa did not monopolize the whole immigrant literary movement in North America, and there remained, outside it, renowned men of letters and journalists including Amin al-Ribârist, pioneer of the literature of the mahdjar, the poet Mâṣûd Samâba (1882-1926), whose poetry was powerful, versatile and rich in metre, the historian Philip Hitch (Hitti), who contributed, through his historical works composed in English, to making the Arabs, their history and their civilization known to the West, the journalist Naʿûm Mukarzâl, proprietor of al-Huşâ, his brother Sallûm who published numerous periodicals, and many other poets and writers.

The Rabiṣa lasted more than ten years (1920-31); with the death of its doyen Diabān (1931) and the return of Nuʿaymâ to his homeland (1932), it was dispersed, but other members continued their literary production for a certain length of time.

To give due credit to the Rabiṣa, it must be recalled that the literary press which made known to the world the best of the production of the mahdjar is owed to three of its members, al-Funun to Nasīb ʿArīda (1913), al-Ṣâbih to Abū Mâdî (1925) and al-Rabiṣa to Tiyyâ Abū Mâdî (1929) that, through the combined action of all its members, there came into being the first modern literary movement to present to readers of Arabic a kind of literary school, in spite of individual disagreements; that genres such as biography, the short story and the philosophical novel only became known in Arabic literature as a result of the artistic form that these writers gave to them; that one of its members, Abū Mâdî al-Haddâd, preserved in his original histories published under the title Hijâkāt al-mahdjar (1931), documents relating to the first phase of the immigration which contain precise and living details with which history is not normally concerned; that the effects of their reformist move-
ment on Arabic society are almost as important as its consequences in the literary domain, since they aimed to reconstruct the Arabic personality on new social foundations characterised essentially by love, a principle drawn from the Gospel; and that their activity in the cause of renewal gave firm support to a trend that came into existence in the Near East through the influence of the works of Mutrān, of the Apollo group and its disciples, and that the latter movement perhaps thereby gained a stronger voice, clearer views and greater homogeneity.

With the demise of the Rībiq, the centre of gravity of literary activity shifted towards Brazil, where the first association had been founded under the name Rūmāk al-Muṣarri (1900) by Na‘ūm Luhālī, but had ceased to exist long before the First World War when its founder returned to his homeland in 1908; its members then took to holding in their homes what could be described as literary salons. Subsequently, in 1933 Michel al-Ma‘īlī did see al-Ma‘īlī succeed in founding an association which took the name al-‘Uṣba al-andalūsīyya; this title was chosen by the members of the group because they were conscious of the fact that they lived among a people originally from the Iberian peninsula, in the south of which their Muslim Arab ancestors had been assimilated with the population, and they believed that they were rediscovering al-Andalus in this "New Andalusia". It seems to be an established fact that numerous Muslims of Spain, who had been forced to convert to Christianity after the end of their rule in 1492 and the decision of Philip III in 1609 to expel the Arabs and to try them before the courts of the Inquisition, took part in campaigns of exploration and conquest in the New World. The peoples of South America thus retain in their culture and their blood traces of the civilisation and the blood of the Arabs of al-Andalus; there are visible in their languages, appearance, customs and social traditions, which are familiar to Arab immigrants and encourage them to believe that here they can become attached to their roots.

The ‘Uṣba fulfilled its linguistic and literary mission with the aid of important societies founded by the immigrants, numerous schools established for teaching the Arabic language (for example, some fifteen thousand pupils were educated at the school of the Mu‘allim Wādī al-Ya‘sīrī), various social institutions sponsored by clubs which organised, for their support, festivals in the course of which members of the ‘Uṣba delivered speeches and recited their poetry, in addition to the festivals which took place on the occasion of various national ceremonies; it was also assisted by journals and reviews of which the most important were al-Shark, edited by Muṣāṣ Kurayyīm and al-Andalus al-dijadda, edited by Shukr Allāh al-Di‘ārī, which published the literary work of its members, sometimes also campaigning on behalf of opposing political opinions and thus supplying other motives for original creation to men of letters whether they belonged to the association or not.

At first, the latter had chosen as its platform al-Andalus al-dijadda which one of its members, Shukr Allāh al-Di‘ārī, published in Rio de Janeiro; two years after its foundation, in 1933, it established its own organ to which it gave its name, al-‘Uṣba, and of which the editor-in-chief was another of its members, Ḥābit Mas‘ūd. The ‘Uṣba and its review lasted until 1953, by which time it had been considerably enfeebled by death and by the return of the exiles to their homeland. With it, there came to an end the second literary movement of the mahdiar and the torch of mahdiar literature was extinguished; all that remains of it today are a few timid flames here and there on the American continent which still resist the assaults of time.

In North America, the mahdiar built up the prestige which it enjoys both there and in the Near East on prose rather than poetry, in spite of the influence exercised by the Mahdiyar of Di‘ārī, the Hams al-Ma‘īlī of Na‘ūyma and the poetical works of Ilyās ‘Abd Mādi and Na‘īm ‘Ardān, in turning the modern poetic movement towards the heart and the soul of man and in reforming the linguistic form and the music of verse, in spite also of the debt owed to the pioneers, al-Rihānī and Di‘ārī, for the development of the "poem in prose" which is highly regarded in certain Arab circles. In the domain of Arabic rhetoric, Di‘ārī created a kind of school of his own, with his style that was harmonious, warm and wrapped in a maze of symbols and colourful images, both pleasing and elusive to the senses. His prose and that of Na‘ūyma are applied, on the other hand, to major subjects concerning man, society and criticism, for which versification was inappropriate on account of the concentrated texture of Arabic verse; in addition, they tackled in prose the majority of literary genres. It is by means of this depth and this universality that their prose and with it, the Rībiq al-balānīyya and the works of the mahdiar as a whole, have acquired the prestige that they enjoy in modern Arabic literature.

In the case of the ‘Uṣba, it is prose which absolutely dominates the work of its members, under the influence of the inherited taste of the Arabs for poetry, in a milieu constantly looking back towards its Andalusian past. It is by means of this poetry that the activity of the mahdiar occupies a place in modern Arabic literature for which the credit belongs to the most prolific and gifted poets of the ‘Uṣba: al-Sha‘īr al-Karwāsī (Mu‘at al-Thā‘irī, born in 1887, emigrated to Brazil in 1913), Ilyās Farhāt (born in 1893, emigrated in 1910), Shukr al-Ma‘īlī (born in 1905, emigrated in 1926) and Shukr Allāh al-Di‘ārī (born in 1905, emigrated in 1926).

It may be noted, in general, that the poets and writers of South America were deeply attached to their literary and general intellectual heritage on account of the admiration that they felt for it; this is why they kept their eyes fixed upon it when seeking inspiration for their poetic works, while Di‘ārī and Na‘ūyma, in the North, allowed little interest in this heritage and Abū Mādi, ‘Ardā, and the other poets of the Rībiq ignored it completely, even if they read ancient works. Al-Rihānī appreciated the latter and translated some fragments into English, without, however, allowing himself to be bound by literary tradition. In addition, their works were dominated, in a general manner, by the originality and innovation which earned them their reputation and enabled them to exert their influence on modern Arabic literature. It seems in fact that these two tendencies were caused by the influence of the milieu; in the North, American society removed authors from their literary heritage, while those in the South were brought closer to it, as has been shown. This also accounts for the fact that the most eminent writers of the North have displayed linguistic weaknesses, amounting in some cases to misunderstanding of the rules of Arabic (see the article intitled Na‘īm al-daj‘ālī in al-Qādirī, while in the South there were poets (Ilyās Farhāt in
particular) who imitated the glories of the past and celebrated the Bedouin life, camels and tents; and even those who are distinguished by clarity and sensibility of expression (e.g. al-Shā'ir al-Karawi and Shafīq al-Maṣḥuf, have never lapsed into the use of excessively affected language, even though the nature of Lebanon and the poetry that emanates from its atmosphere have exerted their influence on their poetic images.

The difference between the North and South is revealed in the content as well as in the form. In North America, men of letters are for the most part interested in general human problems, both in their verse and their prose; they are broadly concerned with the destiny of man whose soul they wish to save from the oppression of material civilisation. Christianity and the ancient oriental religions, western romanticism, the works of which they have read in part and the writers of mystical tendency (Wake, Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau) have left their mark on their literature, while those of South America address themselves to national questions and their content - the works who could and stayed in their homeland, to such an extent that they commemorated some national festivals and honoured past and present rulers and writers of their country. But this did not prevent the poets of the South from writing historical dramas and excelling in long compositions, for example ʿAlā ʿbidī al-rīḥ by Fawzī al-Maṣḥuf, Shafīq by his brother Shafīq or Muʿallāb al-aṭ-ṭare by Niʿma Ḥārān.

In Buenos Aires, the poet George Shayda (1893-1958) attempted in 1949 to establish a new literary association, to which he gave the name al-Rabbī al-aḍābiyya, but it ceased to exist two years later. Literary production in Argentina has remained limited to the personal and prolific efforts of the poet and prose-writer Iyās ʿAqīl (1914-1981) who has been succeeded in this respect by his younger brother Zākī (emigrated to Argentina in 1958). The work of these two writers and that of George Shayda is dominated, like the literary output of all men of letters of the South, simultaneously by concern for the national problems of their country and by the desire to respect the purity, versatility and correctness of expression.

A few further remarks should be made concerning the effects still being exercised today by immigrants in South and Central America, but also in the North, to spread through the American continent awareness of numerous aspects of their general literary heritage, ancient as well as modern, with books such as Kamla wa-Ṭawāba, the Muḥaddaṣa of Ibn Ṣafīrīn, the Muʿallābīt, the Rihla of Ibn ʿAlī Bāṭṭuqa, the Laddīṣ al-Maṣʿūba and the Kīsāl al-ḥafūrīn of al-Maṣʿūba, and the Kīsāl al-Ḥanāfī of the Ḥanāfī, as well as certain works of Diārān, of Niʿma Ḥārān, of Abū Mālāḥ of al-Shāfīq al-Karawi, of Fawzī al-Maṣḥuf and of his brother Shafīq and of others. Philip Ḥittī has also edited Arabic texts (including the Kīsāl al-Ḥanāfī of Usāma b. Mūnṭaḵḥ, 1930) and has written in English his History of the Arabs (8th ed., 1963), History of Syria (2nd ed., 1957) and Lebanon in history (1957). Certain of his colleagues have applied themselves to making known the heritage of the Arabs, their customs, their legends and their stories, Arabs who emigrated to other states of the continent (Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile and the republics of Central America) have left a large number of books and periodicals in Arabic and Spanish which also have the purpose of making known the Arabs and their culture; in addition, they translated English, Spanish and Portuguese texts and in this respect played an important role in the cultural exchanges necessary between peoples.

In a general fashion, the influence of the maḥdīyar on Arabic literary thinking remains alive today, since its poets and its writers are still read; most of all, they have influenced authors of romantic tendency, both in the Maqārib and in the Maḍāʾīn, Manṣūrī and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭafir, for this impetus of poetic thinking, represented in particular in al-Ǧīrūḥ by Niʿma Ḥārān, has contributed to the moulding of one of the most eminent modern critics, Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Naqī (1907-64) [w.v.]

It is now possible to summarise the common characteristics of the literature of the maḥdīyar in North and South America in the following fashion: dominance of the sentimental tendency of the authors on account of their expatriation and nostalgia for their native land; love of nature to the extent that it is made an object of worship, through the images of its beauty and serenity that they have brought with them and the consolation that they find therein in their distant exile; a penchant for reflection on the things of this world with poetic insight and lyricism in the manner of treating them.

With these specialties and with the individual and collective differences revealed by their works, the emigrants have conferred on some of them a world-wide renown (especially The Prophet by Diārān, which has been translated into more than fifty languages, and ʿAlā ʿbidī al-rīḥ by Fawzī al-Maṣḥuf) and a special place in modern Arabic literature. This particular and singular nature of their literary production is due to the particular and singular violence of their experience.


(ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Saṭṭar)
in 1021/1612. It eventually fell to Siddhar, as successfully defending it against the Mughals,
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247). (He was eventually defeated in m'dthir, depredations (text of letter in <Ali TabAtabA,
the sultan Mahmud I of Gudjarat [7.U.J to request
the north Konkan coast up to Cambay, sent a fleet taken.
but a counter-attack by the GudjarAtls was success¬
Gudjaratl commander had died. At that time, the
passing to the Nawwabs of Farrukhnagar, and later in the century it was harried by the Sikhs and MarAthas. From 1753 it was the centre of a petty principality carved out by an Irish adventurer George Thomas, but passed into the control of the British East India Company in 1803. The population of the Rohilkhand District according to the 1971 Census was 1,985,534, 58.49% of which was Hindu and 40.6% Muslim.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, xvi, 430; Punjab District gazetteers. IIIA. Rohilkhand District, Lahore 1920, 24 ff. (C. E. Bosworth)

MAHIM, a port of India, with an island fort and two creeks forming a harbour, about 60 miles/90 km. north of Bombay. The large village of Kelve on the opposite bank of one creek is now incorporated with it in one municipality named Kelve-Mahim, which distinguishes it from the suburb of Mahim on Bombay island. The name is also spelt Mahim and, in Bahmian records, Mahldn. It was known to have been included in the possessions of the Dhiifi sultanate in the mid-8th/14th century, from which it passed to the Gujdarat sultanate, of which it became the southernmost port on the north Konkan coast. At the time of Gujdarat-BahmanI friction, in 833/1430, the BahmanI governor of Dawahtahd, Khafa Hasan, Malik al-Tadjหลb, occupied it, on receipt of a report that its Gujdaratl commander had died. At that time, the BahmanI northern maritime outpost was Tanha, but a counter-attack by the Gujdaratl was successful, thanks to the first recorded serious clash between DakhnI and Afrkl elements in the BahmanI armies, and not only was Mahim regained but ThaIa also taken.

In 896/1490 a BahmanI rebel amir, Bahadur Glianl, kotddI of Goa, engaged in piracy and predations on the north Konkan coast up to Cambay, sent a fleet of 200 raiding ships to attack Mahim, which caused the sultan Mahmud I of Gujdarat [70] to request the BahmanI sultan to put an end to KhaibdI's depredations (text of letter in Shd TabatabAb, Bkandh-I mahim, 147). [He was eventually defeated in 900/1494 by that Sultan-KuIl, who thereby received the title of Kuth al-Mulk and later became the first ruler of the Kuth-Shahi sultanate [70].]

In 920/1413 the Portuguese, negotiating with the Gujdarat sultan for permission to establish a base at Diu, were offered instead sites elsewhere, including Mahim (Alonso d'Albuquerque, Conmendarios, Eng. tr. W. de G. Birch, Hakluyt Soc. 1872-84, iv, 93-105); these they refused, but by 938/1532 Mahim was in their possession, and they were recorded as successfully defending it against the Mughals in 1021/1612. It eventually fell to Shivaji (see MarAthas) by 1068/1653, but in 1101/1690 Sidda Yakd Kot Khan, the Mughal (Habshi) admiral at Dindargera, engaged against the MarAthas, took Mahim among other coastal forts (J. Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, Bombay 1898, 274-6).

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, see the bibls. to Gujdarat and BahmanI.

MAHISUR, MAYSOR, conventional spelling Mysore, a former princely state of British India, now the core of a component state of the Indian Union called Karnataka, with its capital at Bengalore, and also the name of the town which was the dynastic capital of the state.

The native state was a landlocked one of South India, lying between lat. 12° 36' and 13° 32' N. and longs. 74° 38' and 78° 36' E. and with an area of 29,433 sq. miles. Its population in 1991 was 7,329,146, over 90% of this being Hindu; the Muslim minority was overwhelmingly Sunnd. Mysore city, the seat of the MahArAdja of Mysore, lies in lat. 12° 18' N. and long. 76° 39' E at an altitude of 2,493 feet. The principal language of the princely state and also of the present Karnataka was and is Kannarese or Kannda, spoken by approximately 95% of the population today, but Telugu, Tamil, Hindi and Marathi are also spoken on the fringes.

I. Geography and history. Geographically, the Mysore princely state boundaries comprised what is essentially an undulating table land, with rocky hills and ravines, and with the steep mountain barrier of the Western Ghats forming the western limits and the Nilgiri Hills the southern ones. Mulainadiri rises to 6,317 feet; the mountains are lushly forested, the timber being exploited commercially, and rainfall can be as high as 360 inches per annum at the crest of the Western Ghats. This heavily-wooded hill country of western Mysore has traditionally been known as the Mallad, whereas the more open country of valleys and plateas in the east, where rainfall may be as low as 20 inches per annum, is known as the Maydan or Bayalshlme. Drainage here is mainly eastwards to the Bay of Bengal, with the main river systems of the Kaveri or Cauvery in the south and the Kistna or Krishna in the north; none of these rivers or their tributaries is navigable within the boundaries of the princely state, but they have always been used, e.g. by the use of dams, for irrigation purposes and, in the present century, for hydro-electric power generation.

Popular etymology connects the name Mahisur with Skr. mahiśa- "buffalo" (lit. "beastful"); the "sour" in the present Karnataka was and is Kannarese or Kannda, the principal language of the princely state and also of the present Karnataka, being used by approximately 65% of the population today. But Telugu, Tamil, Hindi and Marathi are also spoken on the fringes.
of Bidjapür, of Golconda (the Kuth-Shahis [a.w.]), of Ahmadnagar (the Nizān-Shahis [a.w.]) and of Bijar (the Barī-Shahs [a.w.]) defeated Rama Rājā at the battle of Tālkot, leading to the sack of Vijayānagara itself. Nevertheless, his descendants established the Rāma Rājā dynasty in Mysore, and it was from one of them that English merchants in 1639 secured the grant of what became Fort St. George at Madras on the Coromandel coast in place of the earlier site at Masulipatam.

Mysore was now flourished under the waliyār feudatories, who gradually assumed de facto power, acquiring in 1640 Shrirangapatnam (Seringapatam). The power of the Muslims in Bidjapur was withstood, until in 1688-9 the Mughal Emperor Aḥmad 'All, Haydar's grandson, conquered the whole of the Deccan. A further major blow to Mysore was the rising prosperity to Mysore state, with expenditure on roads, metre gauge railways and irrigation, together with the first electric power station in the subcontinent at the Cauvery Falls. In 1947 Mysore acceded to the Indian Union, and the Maharājā Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar became the new Mysore State's first governor. With the administrative reorganisation of 1953 and 1956, under the pressure of South Indian demands for ethnic and linguistic administrative units, the State (as that comprising essentially Kannarese speakers) received additional territories in the west which gave it a coastline on the Arabian Sea and it acquired the name of Karnataka; the much-increased area is now 74,037 sq. miles; 1,75,757 km². The total population is 37,043,451 (1981 estimate), and the population of the state capital Bangalore is 1,549,747 and of Mysore city 355,682 (both 1971 census figures). The state is one of the most educationally advanced in the Union, with four universities and 31% of the population literate in 1971.


2. Monuments. The only significant building to survive from the Bidjapūr incursions, a mosque at Sante Bāndu (ca. 1547/1573) in Shimoga District, owes little to Adil Shāhī influence as it was built from the grant of a temple to Rangānāthē on the same site, with a groined roof and pointed arches. It is most remarkable for a stepped square tank surrounded by eight towers, with another at the arch, in the mixture of Hindu and Islamic forms characteristic of Vijayānagāra. The building is said to have been consecrated, and became known as a masdjid naqshī. The subsequent, but limited, development of Muslim architecture did not begin until the Mughal invasion of 1098/1687, when it can be traced from the Dīmāl Masgājī at the new administrative centre of Sirā and at Hirābidānur near Gauribidānur, and some tombs at both places. At the latter, where the mosque faces the Darastā of Niyamat Bī (properly the tomb of Husayn Shāhī) across a pool, the influence of Bidjapūr [a.w.] is evident in the careful modulation of the four-square tomb walls with panelled arches, the prominent guldāstās at the corners, the shape of their finals, and the dome set on a lotus-petal base, with a hemispherical profile above; the mosque dome too is bulbous in the other Bidjapūr fashion, though here given a different, turnip-like profile, and it has a tall minaret shaft engaged at each corner with lesser ones at the back. The merlons are articulated with smaller guldāstās at intervals, and the front wall by blind arches pierced by openings below. The combination of masgājī tank, and mausoleum is repeated at Kolar, where the mabbarā [a.w.] or cemetery houses twelve members of Haydar's [a.w.] family, but the building, with six internal pillars and a dome placed off-centre over Haydar's father, is of little interest.

Although the Sangin Dīmāl Masgājī at Taramandai-pet, Bangalore, follows the earlier pattern, with a prominent fretted parapet around the prayer-hall roof, and minarets at the front corners taller than these at the rear, these may not be original, as the roof was damaged in accident and restored in 1836. The substructure is attributed
to the Mughal period. The Masjid at the hill fort of Midigeshi has its strongly tapering minarets set on massive square towers at the front corners of the hall, with banded angles framing a well-proportioned, three-arched facade. The relatively tall upper works are again crowned with a fretted parapet. Such minarets, with domical finials, have become symbolic, like their 16th-century counterparts, rather than functional. The Masjid-e Fateh at Shrirangapattanam represents the culmination of this type, as built by Tipu Sultan [q.v.] (dated 1201/1786-7). The rectangular precinct wall, which houses an internal verandah, encloses a high terrace with a row of rooms at the front, and the prayer hall at the back. Though the flat roof of the hall is raised on multi-cusped arches, and the panelled wall outside is relieved by blind arches to match, its front is trabeated, with slender columns supporting a neat entablature. This runs between the squared bases of two immense minarets which rise in three octagonal stages, with elaborately pinnacled balconies, to prominent bulbous domes. The facades are set off by diagonal and vertical rows of small openings, and the domes are gadrooned. A small room to the west forms the mihrab. The unusual plan is due, again, to the re-use of a temple site. The interior carries five Kur'anic inscriptions.

Tombs of a square format surmounted by a dome are again found at Cannappattana. In that of Sayyid Ibrahim the small central cell is surrounded by a flat-roofed verandah on simple octagonal stone columns of Hindu derivation; the dome is only slightly bulbous, and its pointed profile is distinctly Iranian. The Salar Mas'ud Dargah at Tonnur is a more ambitious example of the same type, with a flat roof supported by four pillars, and a perimeter of six fluted and tapering ones each side, surmounted by a latticed parapet that almost conceals the dome. There were baluster-like minars at each corner of the terrace. The Mahbura of Ibrahim Khan Kila Durr at Kumbharpet in Bangalore, dating from Haydar Ali's rule, has a particularly squat bulbous dome on a square chamber, surrounded by merlons on fretted bases. Baluster columns with matching guldastas are engaged at each corner, and two smaller ones at mid-side. In the Mausoleum of Haydar Ali and Tipu at Shrirangapattanam, dated 1219/1782 (the year of Haydar's death), the two types of tomb are combined: the cubic mass of the walls rises through a verandah of black serpentine columns to more than twice its height, with a large bulbous dome above. Both the verandah and the central block have chahar-golus surmounted by slotted parapets and the usual panoply of bulbous guldastas; those below are skittered and those above carry a single range of seven blind cusped arches on each face. The dome, though rising from a boldly scooped lotus base, and crowned with a mahapada, is flatter than those at Bijdapur; even so, the tomb is clearly related to such buildings as the mausoleum of Shish Karim. The interior is decorated with the tiger-stripe mechnettes typical of Tipu, and there is a cunei in Persian inscribed on the west wall; the ebony doors inlaid with ivory are a restoration due to Lord Dalhousie.

Palaces. The Mughal Fort at Sira, with its palace and gardens (Khav Bagh) is said to have stimulated Haydar Ali, who was made sindahar of the province, to create his own retreats at Bangalore and Shrirangapattanam; little of it now remains. The Haydar-nama of 1784 confirms his interest in building, naming these in particular (ARASM [1930], ro1-2). The palace buildings, such as that below the Fort at Gitaldrug, were erected with tall timber columns; in most cases, this has unfortunately led to their destruction. That at Bangalore (built 192-1923/1778-9, survived until 1868) had four halls on the upper storey, each opening onto two balconies. Tipu Sultan held his darbars from a jhara-rookh looking down on his courtiers at ground level. The remaining part has fine tapering columns set on lotus bases. Paintings show that it had a lofty columned hall three bays by five open on one side, with balconies forming a mezzanine on the other, flanked by a solid, two-storied block of the same height either end; the flat roof rested on lines of cusped arches, with heavy brackets for the chahidjgd, and balusters above framing the varied tracery of the parapet. Tipu's principal palace at Shrirangapattanam, dismantled in 1807-9, was in the middle of the north side of the Fort. The main hall was also open on one side. His private apartments, guarded by four tigers chained in a narrow passage, were on one side of a square, the other three being storehouses full of goods. The Lal Bagh Palace, once at the eastern end of the island, has also vanished; drawings show it to have been of the same type, though the flanking blocks are columnated with seven narrow bays traversed by balconies, and the parapet is reduced to display a studious of guldastas.

The format seems to stem from the Baradar at Adimar via the Shish Mahall at Lakhaw [q.v.], and may be compared with the A'tkh Maball at Bijdapur [q.v.] (1900/1799), as well as 18th-century parallels in the Golap Bhawan at Dig, Bhuratpur. One fine example remains in the Daryâ Dawaiyat Mahall built by Tipu as a summer palace in the Dawlat Bâgh to the east of the Fort in 1198/1784. It is set on a substantial plinth, and the tapering wooden pillars with their prominently moulded bases and reeded shafts are used to form a verandah all round, with a deep chahidjâd and a fretted parapet in four tiers punctuated by small rounded finials. The three central arches, which though cusped are almost semicircular, open on to a tibba hall through a matching set on paired shafts. The two lateral bays on each side, which are wider, employ a rounded, shouldered arch to articulate the end peristyles, and the two-storied flanking blocks within them, here set back behind the verandah and opening onto the tibba through two ranges of cusped arcades, with a flat, diapered ceiling above. The facade to the river on the north, and that to the south, are identical, the building being square. There are three rooms on each side of the upper floor, and a central hall with projections. The whole interior is panelled with small blind arches and cartouches, richly painted and gilded, and is remarkable for a series of wall paintings depicting military successes and civil ceremonies, where individuals can be identified. Buchanan's description of the gardens at Bangalore (1800) shows that they followed the usual pattern of square plots, each allotted to a different plant, with five cypress trees at the sides bordering the walks. In those laid out by Tipu, the irrigation system of masonry channels was very prominent.

Bibliography. Scattered references can be found in the Annual reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department (ARMAD), continued as the Annual reports of the Archaeological survey of Mysore (ARASM) from 1927 to 1943, though unfortunately Muslim buildings receive much
less attention than Hindu ones, and information is cursory. The most useful are, for Shrirangapattanam, ARASM (1935), 51-65, with plates; for Tipu's palace and the Fort at Bangalore, ibid., 24-8; for Canapattana and its tombs, ibid., 21, For Hiribidaran, see ARMAD (1934-4), 20; for Kolay, ARASM (1930), 21-2; for Nandi, ARASM (1932), 57-63; for Sarca Benhad, ARASM (1939), 60-1; for Medigeti, ARASM (1938), 10-17; for Tonk, ARASM (1939), 57; and for Bangalore Fort, ARASM (1940). 54-7. The Museo gesilcct, Bangalore 1936, ed. Rao, ii/4, 357-9, provides a little extra material, but no illustrations. Early pictures of Bangalore and Shrirangapattanam can be found in L. James Hunter's paintings (1864-8) at the Government Museum, Bangalore, reproduced in M. Fazl Hasan, "Bangalore through the centuries," Bangalore 1970, in Charles Gold, Oriental drawings, London 1806, in Robert Home's Seleci views in Myors, London 1794, and his Description of Seringsapam, London 1796. Further descriptions can be found in Dr. Francis Beccham's A journey through the countries of Myors, Canasa and Malabar, London 1867 (repr. Hindi, 1952). The Data of Daudar Mahali is illustrated in O. Reuther, Indische Palastc und Wohnhäuser, Berlin 1925, pl. 164-5. See also Ziaur-din Desai, Mosques of India, New Delhi 1957, 71-2 and plate. (F.A. ANDREWS)

MAHITWA (L). "quiddity". On the construction of this technical term, al-Tahinawl provides interesting information. There are several explanations. One of them derives this word from the interrogative md haze? ("what is it?"). In this case, it is to be noted that the yd of the nihsa has been added, the wau suppressed and the d2 substliya termination given in order to change the word from the adjectival to the substantive form. Another explanation derives it from md, with the addition of the d3 of the nihsa and of the d3 marbilla. The original form would then be md?yyn; the hamza has subsequently been transformed into a h2 on account of the proximity of the articulation points. This md would therefore not be, as in the previous explanation, the interrogative particle (quid est?), but that which introduces the reply to the question pud?: "is that which..." In the same manner, hakfiya is the term for a response to the question how? ("how?"), and kamiyya is the response to the question ham? ("how much?").

The first explanation is appropriate in the context of the sense given by logicians to the word mahitya; it is that which replies to the question: what is this? It expresses the genus (gives), while the question ayeyy says what it is in relation to the species (defines). It is thus a case of yd firs. But in fact, the mahityya replies to two questions at once. In the Kibd al-irudid or Book of definitions, Ibn Sinâ writes with regard to the badd: "It is that which indicates the quiddity of a thing, this being the perfection of its existence in essence (hamal wadidid al-dhihi); it is composed of the genus and of the specific difference" (Arabic text, 11). This question will be encountered again with regard to the tmiya.

The second explanation accords better with the usage of theologians and metaphysicians. The mahityya is that through which a thing is what it is (md bth al-dhây' hawus hawas). This is the th2 y2 elven of Aristotle. In this sense, the term is synonymous with essence (dhâl (q.v.) and with reality (bâhiya, cf. Sîyás, Lihityiyd, i, 31). This reality, like quiddity and essence, is beyond the universal and the particular, the existent and the non-existent, meaning that it can express not only the genus but also the individual essence, not only that which exists in beings themselves (fi 'l-ayyîn), but that which does not exist thus, while existing in thought (fi 'l-bdd; cf. Shi'â, ibid., 32).

In the expression: "that through which a thing is what it is", the particle be (through) should be understood in the sense of causality (al-sababiyya): that, on account of which a thing is this thing (al-awm al-ahd bi-sababihi al-glayf 'dhâhik al-glâyf'). But this cause is not the active cause (al-fâsid), which is that through which a thing exists externally (fi 'l-âdâri), not that through which a thing is such a thing. It is thus a case of the internal cause which dictates that a thing is what it is. From this point of view, it follows that the action of the active cause (al-âhâs al-fâsid) is applied not to the quiddity in itself and as such, but to its relation to existence (wadâlî). This is the thesis of the Peripatetics and of those who say that it is not quiddity as such which is "placed in the being" (mafr'da); the active cause places it in the being and clothes it with the attribute of external existence (yâd'iyâ). In this important notion of mafr'da, cf. Fâhdr al-Dîn al-Râzi, al-Mabâthî b'lamgrâbîyya, i, 52. This is another case of the distinction between essence and existence which characterises the thought of Ibn Sinâ. For him, in fact, the active cause and the final cause are concerned with existence, while the material cause and the formal cause are concerned with essences. A thing may be an effect (ma'dâl) in relation to its quiddity and to its reality; it may be an effect in its existence. It is possible to express this through the example of the triangle: its reality depends on the area and on the line which is its side; area and line constitute it as a triangle and it has the reality of triangularity (bâhiyya al-mâbal'dahiyya), the area and the line being as its two material and formal causes. But from the point of view of its existence, it depends on yet another cause. This is neither a cause which constitutes its triangularity, nor a cause which is part of its definition; it is the efficient cause or the final cause which is the efficient cause of the causality of the efficient cause" (Isârâ, iii, 441-2). Of every thing which is such that existence does not enter into the comprehension of its essence (dhâl), it may be said that existence is not for it a constituent which enters into its quiddity" (ibid., 424).

But when it is said that quiddity is that through which a thing is what it is, it may be objected that there is another cause which is the active cause. This is its quiddity of such a kind that a line of causality can be represented between the two. But what is meant by this is, that the thing, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself. Nevertheless, if this definition of quiddity is taken literally, there is the possibility of confusion between quiddity and accident, especially particular accident, since the risibîl (al-dâhik) is that through which man is risibîl, capable of laughter. But if this definition is understood in the sense of a thing which, to be what it is, needs nothing other than itself, it applies only to quiddity, since if man is capable of laughter, it is because he is reasonable, not the reverse. Thus quiddity expresses the essence as distinct from accidents, particular or otherwise. This is why, according to al-Tahinawl, philosophers begin their researches by distinguishing clearly between quiddity
and its accidents. Ibn Shāh writes on this subject (K. al-Najāt, 6-7): “The essential is that which constitutes quiddity from that to which it is attributed. But to define the essential (al-dhāt), it is not sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable, since many inseparables are not essential. Neither is it sufficient to say that it signifies that which is inseparable in existence and which cannot be truly separated in the imagination (makhlūq), in such a way that if it were to be suppressed in the imagination, there would thereby be destroyed its object of attribution in existence. In fact, many inseparables are of this nature: for example, the fact that the sum of the three angles of a triangle is equal to two right-angles. This is an attribute of all triangles; it cannot be separated in existence, nor suppressed in the imagination. And yet, it is not essential. It is a consequence of the reality of the triangle, but it does not enter into its definition. The same applies to all concomitants (waṣṣāṣ), which are attached to a thing when its quiddity has been established. The essential is that which is such “that it is impossible to comprehend the essence of the object of attribution without having first comprehended that the specification of this belongs to it.” Such is the case for “man” and “animal”.

Ibn Shāh notes that the terms mahīyya, ḥābiṣa and ḍhāṭt may be taken as synonyms. But ḥābiṣa and ḍhāṭt are applied most of the time to quiddity considered in its relation to existence or the exterior of thought, whether this quiddity be universal or particular. But when it is particularised, it is called ʿipseity (huwiyya). In this sense the following passage from the K. al-Fīṣṣī is to be read: “All things have a quiddity and an ʿipseity. But quiddity is not ʿipseity and does not enter into it. If the ʿipseity of man were his quiddity, the representation that we have of the quiddity of man would be his ʿipseity, and when we described what man is, we would describe him in terms of “this is a man” and would know his existence. Every description would imply a judgment. Nor does ʿipseity enter into the quiddity of these things, unless it is constitutive of it and the representation of the quiddity cannot be perfected without it. It would be impossible to suppress it from quiddity in the imagination and the relationship of ʿipseity to “man” would be like the relationship which corporality and animality have with him; just as if man is understood as man, it is not doubted that he is a body and an animal, so it would not be doubted that he exists. But it is not so.” The ḥābiṣa of ḍžayd is to be distinguished from that of ᶠm and, as noted by Fāqih al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Maḥābh, 1:10), at the outset of the ʿipseity of a thing, does not differ from that of the other. In denying the alterity of the humanity of Zayd in relation to that of ḍmarr, we mean only this: “Humanity as such is humanity and nothing more; where that of ḍžayd is other than that of ḍmarr, this is something that comes from the exterior”. Thus quiddity, in the true sense of the word, must be considered in itself and for itself, as pure representation, separate from any judgment of existence or of attribution. Al-Rāzī (ibid., 1:48) declares explicitly: “Equity (faraṣṣy) as such is nothing other in itself than equity. It is in itself neither unique, nor plural, nor existent, nor non-existent... Unity is an attribute that is attached to it; with it, it becomes unique; and similarly, in that it corresponds to numerous things, a character of generality may be found in it. But in itself, equity is only equity”. Another term is related to mahīyya; this is inniyya. Ibn Shāh speaks of it at length in the Shafīʿī (Madkhal, 39-46). His thought may be summarised by means of an example which he himself employs. Take the term ḥāsaʿī (“endowed with sensibility”). Arising from the genus (ḏimm) “body”, it is interposed as a specific difference (faṣḥ) to define the animal. It is essential for the animal and for the man to be these bodies endowed with sensibility. Nevertheless, this single essential characteristic which is expressed by the term ḥāsaʿī does not suffice to indicate the quiddity of the animal or of the man. The same may be said of “reasonable” in relation to the definition and the quiddity of man. Now Ibn Shāh observes that the logicians make man a species of animal, but they do not do likewise with “reasonable”. The same statement applies to the terms “body”, “animal”, and “endowed with sensibility”. However, the specific difference is important, for, if the genus and the species signify what a thing is insofar as it is this thing, the specific difference is that which enables it to be distinguished (yamāla) from other things and provides for an exact response to the question: what kind of thing is this? This being so, the mahīyya represents a notion which may be placed between two other notions; the inniyya represents the notion by which a thing may be distinguished (yamāla) from others. The mahīyya expresses the genus of the species, the inniyya expresses the specific difference. However, Ibn Shāh draws attention to the fact that it is by no means impossible that that which indicates the inniyya of certain things may indicate the mahīyya of certain others. For example, ḥāsaʿī, in relation to “man”, “horse”, “bull”, does not indicate the quiddity, but only the inniyya, whereas ḥāsaʿī (man “living creature endowed with sensibility”) expresses it perfectly. But in relation to “endowed with sight (bāṣir), with hearing (samīʿ), with the sense of touch (lāmīs)”, this same term ḥāsaʿī denotes a quiddity. In spite of these distinctions, it is apparent that on occasion Ibn Shāh uses these two words side by side in the same sense. The word inniyya may be translated by the Scotist term of “essence”.

Alongside these concepts of the Peripatetics, attention must be drawn to the point of view of the philosophers who stressed the role of illumination (al-ḥaṣrābiyyān). For them, the action of the active agent is applied to the quiddity itself, which “follows” it as light follows the sun. It is reason which, subsequently, separates essence from existence. Thus al-Suhrawardī of Aleppo, in hismat al-ğirār (186, § 193), explains that “that which is placed in existence (al-majāli) is quiddity, not existence; given that existence is only a relation among entities (al-ṣūrā al-miṣni), it is evident that it is inseparable for the genus and cannot happen that a thing has a cause of production (al-ḥaqīq ḍalūl) which are transient. It follows that a thing has its ʿipseity (huwiyya) by means of its emanant cause (min ʿillat al-fayyādīyya) ... It can happen that a thing disappears when agents of corruption appear, while its cause in emanation remains; this is because it depends on other causes which are transient. It can happen that a thing has a cause of production (ḥudūt) and a cause of internal consistency (ṭabīt) which are different, as in the case of a statue: in effect, the cause of its production, which is the person who makes it, and the cause of its internal consistency, which is the dry nature of the element. But it may be that the cause of internal consistency and the cause of production are one and the same, as in the case of the receptacle which gives to the water [that it contains] its configuration. Now the Light of lights is at the same time the cause of existence of all existing things and the cause of their
internal consistency..." In a word, there is no distinction, according to this point of view, between essence and existence other than one of reason. On the level of the Light of lights, which is the cause whence all things emanate, there is no need to distinguish the four causes of Aristotle in order to attribute to him only an efficient causality which does nothing but give existence. It is in its unity and by the same right the perfect cause of essences and existences. It is total agent which gives to each being its existence, its quiddity, its material and its end. Al-Suhrawardi has another argument besides to show that the effect of the cause through emanation is not existence without essence. We may consider for example the darkness. If it is non-existent, it is not realised (laya bi-hayyil), so its existence is not an existent, since it is, itself (like the darkness) non-existent (na'dam). Now if we perceive existence and we judge that it is not an existent, that which we understand by existence is other than what we understand by existent. If we then say: the darkness exists, that which we have taken to be non-existent, of which the existence was not realised, then is realised, it follows that the realisation of existence is something other than realised existence, such that there will be an existence for the existence... and so on ad infinitum, which is absurd" (ibid., 127-4, § 38). Thus quiddity is distinguished from accidents: "The fundamental principle in accidents is that they depend on something other than themselves, while the fundamental principle in quiddities is that they depend on themselves, except that which happens to generable and corruptible things owing to the fact that quiddities need a subject (mawdill)." By virtue of the doctrine of Ibn Rushd on being, which is fundamentally and essentially by substance, the quiddities will be in the strongest sense quiddities of substances and will follow the hierarchy of substances, from sensible and mobile substances, to intelligible and immobile substances.

As for māhiyya (which Bouyges vocalises muniyya in his writings), it is in beings, in the true sense, "a signifying intention of thought (ma'na dâhâi), meaning that the thing on the exterior of the soul is in accordance with that which is in the soul. Consequently, that which it indicates is synonymous with truth (sâdiq). Muniyya is that which is indicated by the existential copula (al-rabîa al-wudaiyya) in judgments of attribution (fi 'l-hadâyâ al-hama- liyya).